

# ON URBAN FEAR: PRIVILEGE, SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE, TOPOPHOBIA

---

## THE EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES OF MIDDLE-CLASS WOMEN IN SECUNDA, SOUTH AFRICA

Thesis Presented for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

*In the School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics*

Faculty of Engineering & the Built Environment

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

January 2017

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

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

## PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

I, Tarryn Nicole Kennedy Paquet (smttaroo9), hereby declare that:

1. The thesis is my own unaided work, both in concept and execution, apart from normal guidance received from my supervisor;
2. This thesis/dissertation has been submitted to the Turnitin module (or equivalent similarity and originality checking software) and I confirm that my supervisor has seen my report and any concerns revealed by such have been resolved with my supervisor.”

Signature: 

Signed by candidate
---------------------

Date: 26/01/2017

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I'd like to thank the following people and organisations who journeyed along this path with me.

My supervisor Tanja – There is a story about a mythical woman who dropped roses and pearls from her mouth as she spoke. Through the last five years, my supervisor, Prof. Tanja Winkler, has encompassed this woman for me: Although sometimes her words have also contained a bee or two. I have appreciated every pearl (and bee) that was dropped just when I needed a little strength to keep going. I have often tried to define the meaning of a successful relationship between a supervisor and a student. Truly, it is too vast. It is enough loyalty hang around for the full term of a sometimes confusing time, the frustration of teaching and learning, the anxiety of flinging and being flung into the air in order to learn to fly on your own, it is the elation of a winning a battle of the self and watching as it is won. It is an honour to have gone through this with such an intelligent, kind and fearless woman.

To my bursars, the National Research Foundation (NRF) and UCT for their Doctoral Research Scholarship – I appreciate the financial backing greatly! Without it, none of this would have been possible.

To SANPAD – for the amazing opportunity to mingle with great minds, and make lasting memories and friends. The experience gained through the Research Capacity Initiative (RCI)

programme has opened a greater understanding and appreciation of qualitative research, and will forever stick with me as a learning high-point.

To those who were there during the everyday moments – Emil, my husband for bringing so much love-light and for all your patience; my precious little boy who is never skint with deep stares, nerdy laughs and wiggles (“for you, I conquer the bull”); the next little one on the way (we are so excited); my mom and mom-in-law for the many hours spent babysitting (without you I would not have made it); my mom for allowing me to draw from your deep wells of strength, my dad for your wisdom and love of this country, my dogs for being warm little presences; and the Toight Toigers (for being awesome and sharing your PhD journeys), Zinzile Goba, Nkateko Mbambo, Dr Andrea Little Mason, Cobus van Wyngaard, and Melisizwe Mashinini (for your time and valuable insights).

To my participants for sharing your time and experiences.

To my Maker and Dad – for Your wisdom, love, and greater understanding. You are my reason.

## ABSTRACT

I consider how the nature and meaning of space shape middle-class women's topophobia in the new town of Secunda (with a particular focus on symbolic violence). In Lefebvre's 'terrorist societies' fear becomes latent as citizens seek to maintain *status quos* which maintain systems of privilege. I demonstrate that one such system is white privilege. Secunda assists in maintaining these systems as its design draws heavily on Eurocentric values and new town 'best practices'. As a company town developed in reaction to international sanctions during apartheid, its design also resulted in the preservation of certain privileged groups. I argue that white privilege is a white problem and thus base my study on the (white) middle-class as a dominant group. I show that the identities of women (although traditionally viewed as passive and fearful) are diverse, falling both victim to and inflicting symbolic violence and topophobia. I focus on topophobia, or spatial fear, as fear affects us all and influences our shaping of urban space. The mutually reinforcing nature (abstract representations of the ideologies of planners) and meaning (infused through emotions, identities and power relations) of space are explored. I dispute the bias against emotion-based research that exists within planning, arguing that this has debilitating consequences for transformation. I suggest the use of intersecting emotion-spectra rather than the dichotomous approach conventionally taken by emotion research. A feminist ethnography is used with an iterative inductive research process engaging a variety of techniques, including digital/social media. My own multiple insider identities (of middle-class, white, English-Afrikaans woman, and planner) are used to critique systems of dominance. Findings highlight various forms of symbolic violence (in addition to white privilege) including codes of 'respectability' and 'purity', consumerism, fat talk, and persistent gender roles. Further, possible influences of dominant systems on space (particularly in reinforcing persistent social segregation in Secunda) are demonstrated. Symbolic violence can be used to deflect accountability, but this research shows that topophobia is a planning problem, worthy of consideration.

**KEYWORDS:** Topophobia, white privilege, symbolic violence, systems of dominance, the everyday, middle-class women, Secunda

## ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
CBD	Central Business District
CTL	Coal-to-Liquid
DRDLR	Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
GMM	Govan Mbeki Municipality
HAT	Verklarende Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal
HG	Higher Grade
NATREF	National Petroleum Refiners of South Africa
NG	Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church)
NP	National Party
OPEC	Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
RSQ	Revised Subsidiary Question
SASOL	South African Synthetic Oil Limited
SDB Transvaal	Sasol Townships Limited Transvaal
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
TEKS	Trichardt, Evander, Kinross and Secunda
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

# CONTENTS

Plagiarism Declaration .....	i
Acknowledgements.....	i
Abstract.....	iii
Acronyms .....	iv
1.1 Stating the Problem .....	1
1.2 Structuring the Thesis According to the Main and Subsidiary Research Questions .....	10
1.2.1 Part 2: Conceptual Framework .....	11
1.2.2 Part 3: Methodology, Methods and Techniques Employed.....	14
1.2.3 Part 4: Findings of the Field Research.....	16
1.2.4 Part 5: Contribution of the Study, Key Conclusions, and Recommendations .....	19
2.1 Introduction .....	22
2.2 The Three Forms of Space.....	23
2.2.1 Conceived space.....	23
2.2.2 Perceived Space .....	24
2.2.3. Lived Space of the Everyday.....	25
2.3 Understanding Meaning Through the Identities, Power Struggles and Emotions of Social Relations.....	27
2.4 The ‘Affect’ of Emotion and the ‘Dividual’ Society .....	28
2.5 Conclusion.....	30
3.1 Introduction .....	31
3.2 Fear and Topophobia .....	31
3.3 Introducing Lefebvre and the Topophobia Bred by ‘Terrorist Societies’ .....	32
3.3.1 Whiteness and the Topophobia of Terrorist Societies in South Africa .....	37
3.3.2 The (In)advertent Terrorism of Urban Planning Legislation and Policies.....	42
3.4 Recommendations from the Literature .....	46
3.5 Conclusion.....	47
4.1 Introduction .....	49
4.2 Early Modernist Planning in the Nineteenth Century: A Focus on Social Reform .....	52
4.2.1 The Ideology of Social Reform .....	52
4.2.2 Informing Secunda: Social Reform, Garden Cities, and Model Company Towns.....	53
4.3 The Ripening of Modernist Planning (the late 1890s/early 1900s to WWII) .....	58
4.4 High Modernist Planning: Post-WWII to 1970s .....	61
4.4.1 Nuclear Family Planning and Binaries .....	63
4.4.2 The Female Body, the Housewife and ‘Respectability’ .....	65
4.5 Well-Known Models of Modernist Planning .....	69
4.5.1 Le Corbusier (1920s to 1940s).....	69
4.5.2 Broadacre City (the 1930s to 1950s).....	71
4.5.3 New Towns (the 1940s to 1970s).....	73

4.5.4 Radburn (the 1920s) .....	76
4.5 Situating Modernist Planning: Secunda and its Interpretations .....	78
4.6 Conclusion .....	82
5.1 Introduction .....	86
5.2 Ontology, Epistemology and Methodology .....	88
5.3 A Feminist Methodology .....	89
5.4 A Method of Feminist Ethnography .....	94
5.4.1 Transparency, Reflexivity and the Emotions of Emotion Research: Being an Insider .....	96
5.4.2 Building Trust and Relationships .....	99
5.5 Techniques .....	103
5.5.1 Conversation-Type Interviews .....	104
5.5.2 Participant Observation .....	106
5.5.3 Observation of Secunda’s Digital Space (Facebook, Blogs and News Articles) .....	108
5.5.4 Archival Documentation Analysis.....	112
5.6 Consistency and Constancy of Constructs: An Iterative Research Process .....	113
5.7 Analysis and Interpretation of Findings .....	114
5.8 Conclusion .....	115
6.1 Introduction .....	118
6.2 The Ideologies Inherent in Sasol’s New Towns: Sasolburg (1954) and Secunda (1977) .....	119
6.3 Establishing Secunda as ‘Superior’ in a Regional Urban Hierarchy .....	122
6.4 Control in eMbalenhle: Creating a Black Middle-Class .....	125
6.5 Conclusion .....	127
7.1 Introduction .....	128
7.2 The Conceiving of Secunda’s Green Network .....	129
7.2.1 Secunda’s Green Network: Connecting Neighbourhoods, Defining Status .....	130
7.2.2 Creating a White Oasis: Beautifying Through Trees.....	133
7.3 The ‘Interiority’ of Secunda’s Green Network .....	136
7.3.1 The Interiority of an Overly Expansive Network .....	136
7.3.2 Offensible Space and Secunda’s Green Network.....	139
7.3.3 Efforts at Combating Offensible Space in Secunda .....	143
7.3.4 Social Integration, Topophobia of ‘the racial Other’ and the Interiority Secunda’s Green Strips .....	146
7.4 Conclusion .....	148
8.1 Introduction .....	150
8.2 Developing ‘Respectability’, Ensuring Dominance .....	151
8.3 Shifting Identities in the Face of the Increasing Influences of Capitalist Consumerism .....	156
8.4 Being Supportive and Crying Twice.....	162
8.5 Conclusion.....	170
9.1 Introduction .....	172

9.2 Secunda: An Enclave of Whiteness and Segregation .....	173
9.3 ‘Losing’ Comfort Zones within Enclaves of Whiteness.....	177
9.3.1 The Symbolic Boundary of Market Filters .....	185
9.3.2 Symbolic Boundaries of Distancing: Perceptions of It’s Not a Problem of ‘Respectable’ White People ...	190
9.5 Conclusion .....	192
10.1 Introduction .....	196
10.2 A Contribution to Planning Theory .....	196
10.2.1 Broadening Planning’s Approach to Emotion Research.....	197
10.2.2 Topophobia and Symbolic Violence in the Situated Context of Secunda .....	201
a) The Interiority of Secunda.....	201
b) Shifting Identities and Reinforced Dominance in Secunda .....	204
c) Enclaves of White Privilege, Symbolic Violence and Boundaries .....	205
10.3 A Contribution to Planning Methodology .....	210
10.4 Answering the Main Research Question .....	213
10.5 Limitations of this Study and Areas for Future Research .....	214
10.6 Reflections.....	216
Reference List.....	212
Annexure 1: Consent Forms.....	230
Annexure 2: Instilling White Privilege through Purchase Assistance from Sasol .....	232
Annexure 3: Creating a Class Hierarchy through Housing in Secunda .....	233
1. Secunda’s Housing.....	233
2. Housing and a Hierarchy for Secunda .....	236
Annexure 4: A Facebook Conversation on ‘It is What You make of It’ (2014) .....	244
Annexure 5: A Breakdown of Education and Employment by Gender .....	246
Annexure 6: A Facebook Conversation on Appearance and Behaviour: Defining ‘Commin’ in Secunda (2015) .....	247

## FIGURES

Figure 1: Secunda and its region .....	4
Figure 2: Classification of status groups for Secunda as based on income levels and class .....	6
Figure 3: The conceived space of Howard’s Garden City .....	24
Figure 4: An approximate timeline of the development of modernist planning .....	51
Figure 5: Howard’s three magnets.....	54
Figure 6: Ville Contemporaine: Three building typologies (left: cellular residential blocks, middle: 12 storey setback residential blocks, and right: 60 storey office towers).....	69
Figure 7: The elemental units for the social structure of the Broadacre City model .....	71
Figure 8: Sites Proposed by Abercrombie (represented by dots) and developed (represented by circles) as part of the new town programme in Britain .....	73

Figure 9: Radburn’s hierarchical neighbourhood design: Enclave, block, superblock, neighbourhood .....	76
Figure 10: Kirchhofer’s rendition of neighbourhoods for Sasolburg.....	78
Figure 11: An original plan of Secunda’s regional layout .....	80
Figure 12: An original (annotated) outlay showing Secunda’s green space .....	129
Figure 13: Secunda housing in 1977 .....	135
Figure 14: Trees blocking the ‘eyes on the street’ view of a house .....	141
Figure 15: A municipal plan to streamline the green network in Secunda .....	144
Figure 16: A comparison of population percentages.....	174
Figure 17: An original (annotated) plan of Secunda’s town centre .....	178
Figure 18: The original summary of uses.....	182
Figure 19: A summary of developed urban uses.....	188
Figure 20: The ‘Langeberg’ park homes of Secunda .....	241
Figure 21: The kitchen of the Langeberg park home .....	241

## TABLES

Table 1 : A Summary of Part 2: Conceptual framework.....	84
Table 2: Participants.....	105
Table 3: A summary of Part 3: Methodology, methods, and techniques .....	117
Table 4 : Population group by size in Secunda.....	175
Table 5: A summary of Part 4: Analysis and interpretation of findings .....	193
Table 6 : Compilation of single family detached units housing distribution according to social classes in 1979	238
Table 7 : Income by education amongst men in Secunda.....	246
Table 8: Income by education amongst women in Secunda.....	246

1

---

INTRODUCTION

PART 1

## 1.1 STATING THE PROBLEM

*Hate multiples hate; violence multiples violence*

(Martin Luther King, Jr in his "Loving Your Enemies" sermon, 17 November 1957)

Despite more than twenty years of democracy, South African planners and policymakers continue to face the many challenges, complexities and 'stubborn realities' of transforming grossly unequal and segregated urban forms (Visser, 2001; Harrison *et al.*, 2008; Newton & Schuermans, 2013; Watson, 2013). I argue that these challenges and complexities do not end with physical inequalities and injustices, but also include abstract realities such as symbolic violence and the subjectivities that lie at the root of symbolic violence. For the purposes of this thesis, symbolic violence occurs not when injury is caused to person or property, but through the control of emotional well-being. Considering that the meaning (and nature) of space is influenced by emotion, identity and power (see below), a deliberation on the symbolic violence that occurs in maintaining various *status quos* in society forms a golden thread for my research.

*You haven't understood a thing, not a single thing! I never said that people were terrorized but that they were terrorists. I said that a lot of people were satisfied and that a terrible unease prevails none the less*

(Lefebvre, 1971: 192).

To a large extent, symbolic violence has become an almost taken for granted part of everyday South Africa. When symbolic violence becomes taken for granted it is no longer recognised by victims and oppressors alike, and its effects lead to a 'terrible unease' (Lefebvre, 1971). This, in turn, can bring about a latent form of fear, which resides in the subconscious (Lefebvre, 1971). For the purposes of this study, the use of 'latent' will be used in the sense that something remains hidden and dormant until suitable situations arise for it to manifest ("Latent, adj.", 2014). I consider this latent form of fear in its space-based capacity – known as 'topophobia'. The term 'topophobia' was first coined by Tuan (1974, 1979) who saw space as being subjective and suffused with emotion. He considered – through the binary concepts of topophilia (love of place) and topophobia (spatial fear) – the meaning of space on the attitudes and emotions of people, and how they, in turn, influenced space.

I base my study of topophobia on its latent form rather than on a fear of place-based crime and physical violence for three reasons. First, because less is known about the (latent) fear derived from symbolic violence in the everyday. Second, my inductive research has revealed that various systems of dominance (and their associated symbolic violence) in the area selected for study (Secunda, Mpumalanga) are largely responsible for the manifestation of topophobia. Last, fear (and emotions in general), as a topic of research, seems to have received little attention in the planning milieu as an actual and identifiable urban issue: remaining poorly understood and largely ignored. Moreover, rational planning approaches (specifically those that advocate for increased surveillance and police presence, the displacement or separation of individuals perceived as ‘undesirable’ – usually the poor, and social/moral reform) to topophobia have not been successful (see Chapter 3), and there is a need to rethink strategies targeting fear, as such “approaches are killing the city” (Sandercock, 2005: 232).

Symbolic violence (along with structural and other forms of violence) can be seen as one reason why such approaches to urban planning (in South Africa and elsewhere) remain largely ineffective; this has prompted leading urban scholars to call for a deeper understanding of ‘the African urban’ (Watson, 2003, 2009; Robinson, 2006; Pieterse, 2010). My research also contends that in order to understand the challenges and complexities of South African urban spaces, planners and policymakers need to recognise and understand this unease. However, a bias exists within planning that actively resists the emotional concerns within our urban realms, and emotions are seen to be messy or “wicked problems” that defy efforts at rational planning (Baum, 2015: 506). I argue that this unwillingness to explore the impact of emotion on South African cities has had debilitating consequences for *real* urban and social transformation. By ignoring placed-based emotions, we have allowed the cyclical begetting of (symbolic) violence to go misunderstood and unchecked.

Lefebvre (1971) makes a strong link between ‘unease’, fear and symbolic violence. Briefly, he indicates that a privileged group might rely on symbolic violence to maintain ‘systems’ which favour the powerful. I seek to demonstrate that one such ‘system’ in South Africa is white privilege<sup>1</sup>. White privilege is a system of dominance geared towards preserving an

---

<sup>1</sup> That white privilege is a form of symbolic violence in South Africa was first highlighted for me by the student strikes of 2015 which opposed certain symbols (for example, the Cecil John Rhodes statue on UCT’s campus) and structures (for example, vast fee increases which bar many working-class individuals from attaining a tertiary education) of white privilege.

advantageous lifestyle for a powerful group, usually to the detriment (whether consciously exploited or not) of 'other' groups (Steyn & Foster, 2008). The symbolic violence, and resultant topophobia, of such systems are so subtle and consistent that the fear they produce becomes ingrained in the subconscious, making it latent (hidden or dormant). My research seeks to uncover and come to grips with this problem, which is 'wicked' but not in the sense that it cannot be analysed and confronted. Topophobia has a particular significance for urban planners as the creators, administrators, and users of urban space. Fear affects us all and greatly influences the manner in which we consider and shape urban space (Sandercock, 2005; Meth, 2016). Thus, all spaces are 'vulnerable' to topophobia. Arguably, if we are all susceptible to topophobia, then the space we create must also be vulnerable to the condition. As such, ignoring emotions – such as fear – that affect us as planners as well as the users of the spaces we create will be to ignore many of the issues we are faced with.

Research evidence suggests that there is a strong link between space, fear, power and identity (Sandercock, 2005; Meth, 2016). Fear, in particular, is often fuelled by unequal power relations (Koskela, 2010; Tuan, 1979). Our fears thus tend to be reflected in social relations (Katz, 2006; Koskela, 2010). Moreover, these fears manifest in both the *nature* (conceived space) and *meaning* (perceived and lived space) of space. Power relations and accompanying fears, therefore, have a direct impact on identity and the spatial manifestations of identity (Manzo, 2005). As discussed above, Lefebvre (1971) also theorises on the impacts of symbolic violence on terror – or fear – which adds a valuable understanding to the relationship between fear, power, identity and space. It is this relationship (between fear, power, identity and space) that ignites my research study and that shapes my research questions in the specific case of Secunda (see next section). Secunda, located in the Mpumalanga province (Figure 1), is the second<sup>2</sup> company town that belongs to Sasol Ltd<sup>3</sup> – an industrial company that specialises in the Fischer-Tropsch coal-to-liquid process (Meintjies, 1975; Sparks, 2012) unique to South Africa (John, 2012).

---

<sup>2</sup> The first being Sasolburg, located in the Free State province.

<sup>3</sup> Its common name: The acronym stands for South African Synthetic Oil Limited.

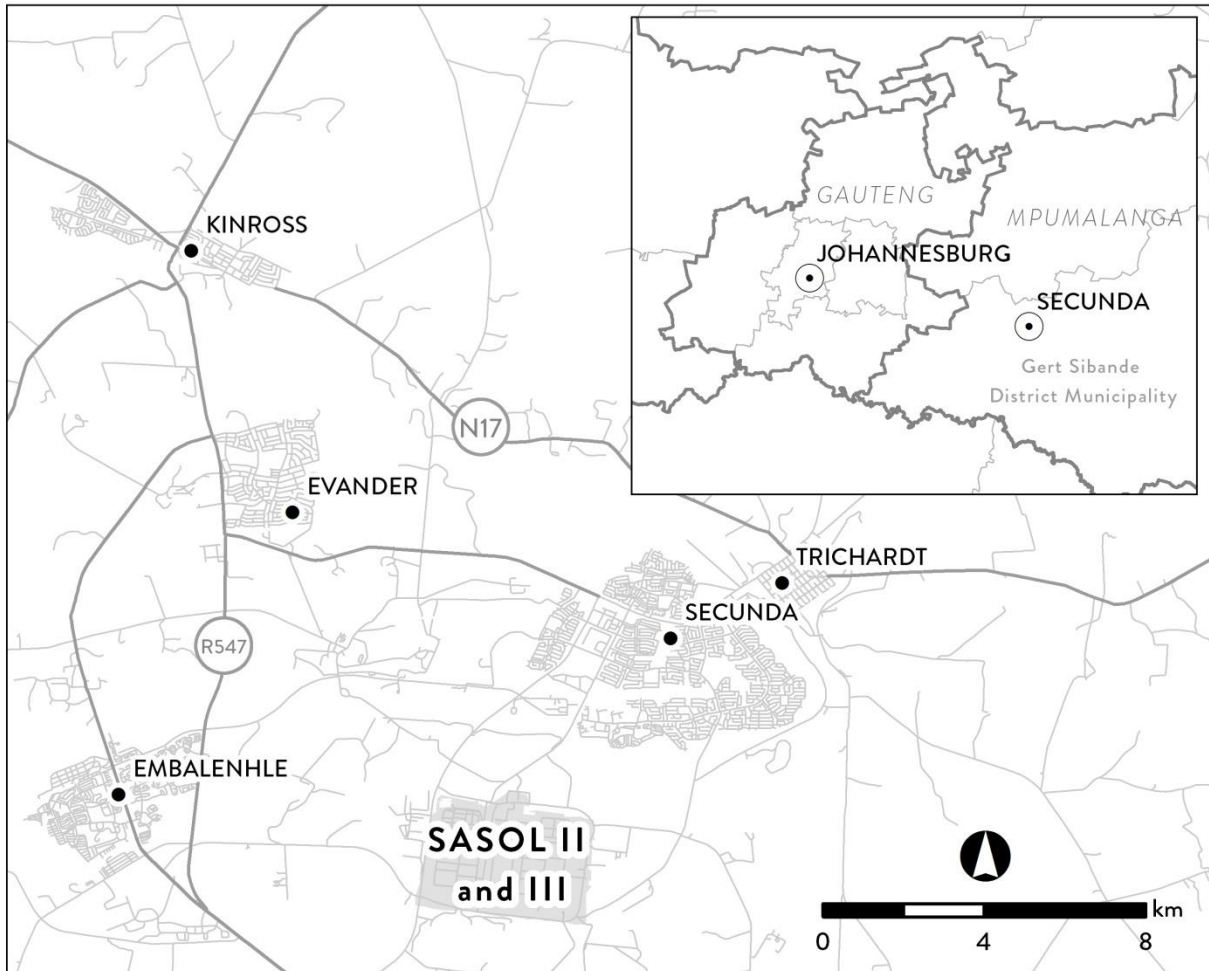


FIGURE 1: SECUNDA AND ITS REGION

As a grassroots development, it is also a new town built in response to international oil sanctions in the 1970s under the apartheid regime (see Chapter 4). As one of the most prominent symbols of modernity in apartheid South Africa (see Chapter 4), its design was influenced by various examples of modernist planning, including garden cities, British new towns, and the concept of Radburn, USA (Kirchhofer, 1982). Although there are many reasons for choosing this town as my research area (see below), one pertinent reason can be attributed to specific place and social identities that were created as part of Sasol's branding as a 'superior' company with a 'superior' workforce (see Chapter 6). These identities have created various 'systems' of dominance which, together with Lefebvre's theories on what he terms 'terrorist societies', provide a rich opportunity for understanding topophobia and symbolic violence (both in South Africa and elsewhere).

'Social standing' in Secunda is derived from Sasol's pervasive, and taken for granted, influence on residents' identities in that during its formative years the company town's conceivers<sup>4</sup> used a social hierarchy based on employees' income strata, colloquially known as 'levels', to determine residents' identities:

*My children asked me the other day, 'mommy, what level are you?' To which I replied, 'I'm not a level!' 'No, but mommy,' they answered, 'everyone at Sasol has a level.'*

(Luzell, translated 25/03/2015)

*[In] Sasol a lot of people are very focussed on salary 'levels' [or income strata]. [My] husband is a 'level' 'this' or 'that' and everyone knows how much people earn on each 'level'. I think it brings competition and a division between status... People that stay here say how noticeable it is – how aware people are of status. If my husband works for yours then he knows how much your husband earns*

(Lorraine, translated, 26/03/2015)

Income 'levels' were translated into hierarchical tiers which included "lower", "lower-middle", "upper-middle", and "higher" income groups, regardless of individual subjectivities (Mallows, Low, Hoffe & Partners, 1979). As such, many residents tend to self-identify their income status within Secunda in terms of 'class' (see Chapter 8). Thus, this term will be used to depict social standing throughout the thesis. However, setting up a 'social classification' for Secunda has proven to be, as the Afrikaans word most adequately describes, a 'tameletjie' (or sticky mess/problem). This is mainly because my research relies on a feminist methodology that seeks, *inter alia* to i) respectfully represent a variety of voices – especially those voices that have traditionally been silenced, and ii) move beyond binaries and conventional realities (such as the original, rigid and hierarchical classification for Secunda) to understand the nuance and complexities of space. Although there is little nuance to be found in the original classifications used by Secunda's conceivers, the 'interiority' of Secunda's urban space has developed

---

<sup>4</sup> The company town's *conceivers* included senior managers (mostly) from Sasol, various planners, architects and designers headed by Max Kirchhofer, and possibly certain political officials (of the National Party). This list varied according to the respective decisions that were made by Sasol's succeeding elites (or 'elders').

significantly. Friedmann (2010) defines the ‘interiority of space’ as physical space that is always subjected to the subjectivities of humankind, making it prone to change over time.

Nuances include developments such as:

- The influx of residents seeking work but who remain unemployed,
- The rise of companies that thrive on services rendered to Sasol and those that have no direct relation to the company, and
- The increased number of women and people of colour employed more recently by Sasol.

As such, the conventional hierarchal understanding of employment status at Sasol is no longer an adequate reflection of social standing: There has been a change in the ‘interiority’ of Secunda. To aid in an analysis of the complexity of Secunda’s space, I have categorised the town’s social standing with the assistance of a model, rather than a hierarchy (Figure 2). In keeping with the theme of an inductive study, the model depicts most residents’ self-identification of “class” in terms of income and status.

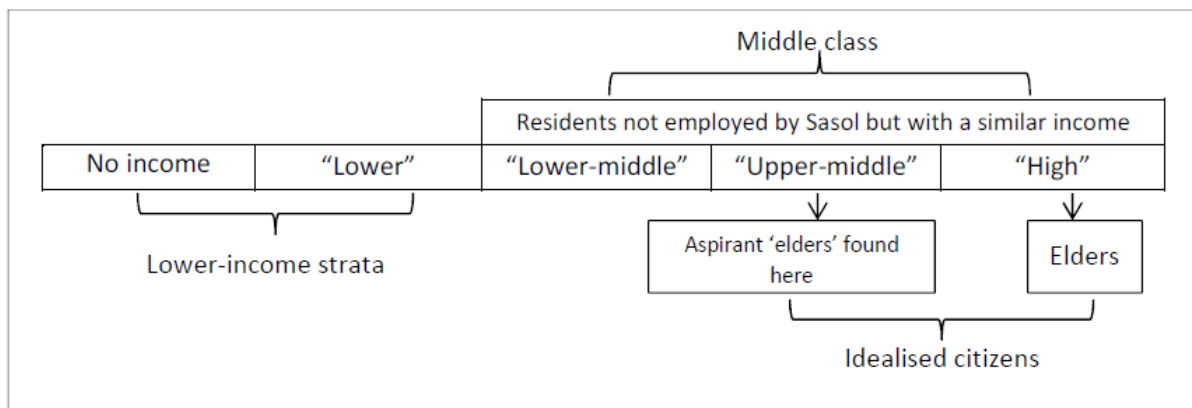


FIGURE 2: CLASSIFICATION OF STATUS GROUPS FOR SECUNDA AS BASED ON INCOME LEVELS AND CLASS

Even though the town’s economy remains largely reliant on Sasol (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform [DRDLR], 2014), status associations have altered over time and no longer solely pertain to Sasol’s income structure. To highlight this interiority, I have maintained the conventional income group classifications as originally used by Secunda’s conceivers, but have added a ‘no income’ layer to depict unemployed residents in contemporary Secunda (Figure 2).

Due to the relatively high salaries paid by Sasol, as well as the company's focus on establishing a large skilled workforce, the majority of Secunda's residents can be seen as middle-class. To incorporate the interiority of Secunda, I herewith refer to the general middle-class of Secunda as comprising of Sasol employees earning lower middle, upper-middle and high salary levels as well as residents who are employed elsewhere with a similar income. As part of the conventional hierarchy, the identity of the 'idealised citizen' was established as examples of middle-class 'respectability' (see Chapter 8). 'Elders' were distinguished from 'idealised citizens', and usually earned salaries on the upper 'levels' while aspirant 'elders' were generally younger professionals and held less senior positions with the company (Figure 2). These identities continue, more or less, to inform current identities. The enforcement of codes of 'respectability' forms an important aspect of symbolic violence and topophobia in Secunda and is explored in Chapter 8.

The middle-class in Secunda is mostly made up of white people who dominate the town's population at roughly 72.4% in 2011 (StatsSA, 2011). Notably, these figures denote a dual city phenomenon (as a remnant of apartheid planning) where the formerly 'white' town of Secunda remains segregated (both socially and physically) from its former 'black' 'township'/'location', eMbalenhle, whose population is dominated by black people at roughly 99% (StatsSA, 2011). As will be revealed in Chapter 9, a strong vein of symbolic violence towards 'the racial other' exists in this company town. Such findings, in turn, point to reasons for why we find a lack of *real* transformation in Secunda. Haffajee's (2015: 5) powerful argument thus resonates in residents' imagination:

*The [contemporary] narrative [in South Africa] feels like it is borrowed straight from the United States and it is laced with the language of an oppressed minority in the claws of a powerful majority. So, rather than understanding and analysing whites as a formerly advantaged ruling elite, the South African narrative sounds as if whites are a majority (or at least equivalent in number to black people). There are a diminishing number of whites in South Africa but the current discourse makes it seem as if they are a much larger part of the population. Whenever I ask groups of black people to estimate the number of whites in South Africa their answer is inevitably an over-estimation.*

Haffajee's quote reveals that white privilege has asserted a continuing dominance which creates a perception that white people have a greater presence in South Africa than they

actually do. It is for this reason that black people continue to be labelled by many white people as ‘the racial other’. Identities of ‘the other’ in South Africa are far more nuanced than this. The act of ‘othering’ in South Africa is a complex phenomenon that necessitates much more nuance than currently exists (Steyn, 2004). An in-depth discourse on its full extent, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, and for the purposes of analysis only, references to ‘the racial other’ in this research are viewed through the lens of white privilege and whiteness in middle-class Secunda.

The presence of white privilege in Secunda is glaring and contributes directly to topophobia. It can be seen to mete out symbolic violence in a bid to maintain various (social, cultural, political and economic) structures and *status quos* that afford advantages to white people (Leonardo, 2004; DiAngelo, 2011). Here, a struggle for urban space exists where white privilege instils an internalised (and often taken for granted) sense of belonging in certain spaces (DiAngelo, 2011). This belonging or rootedness often leads to a domination of certain spaces and an exclusion of people of colour (Manzo, 2003).

DiAngelo (2011: 66) argues that the onus of understanding white privilege lies with white people: “[w]hite racism is ultimately a white problem and the burden for interrupting it belongs to white people.” My original aim was to contribute to the interruption of white privilege by revealing the manner in which it metes out symbolic violence and topophobia in the situated context of Secunda. However, this study will show that such an assumption overlooks important nuances of the phenomenon of white privilege – and that following such an assumption can lead to an indebtedness in research on white privilege (see Chapter 5). In following this assumption, as well as the fact that the majority of Secunda’s population is middle-class, my own research focuses on the white, middle-class citizens of Secunda. This is acknowledged as a limitation. Please see Chapter 5 for an explanation of how this limitation came about as well as the lessons learned: especially in light of a feminist methodology, which seeks to give voice to a multitude of identities.

However, findings indicate that white privilege is not the only prominent ‘system’ meting out symbolic violence in Secunda, which is also strongly influenced by paternalism and consumerism (see Chapter 8). Thus, in order to gain a deeper understanding of topophobia, this study narrows its focus to women who, within the patriarchal (and ‘terrorist’) society of Secunda, tend to present a rich source of experience with topophobia on an almost daily basis. Pain (2001: 899) indicates that the literature often portrays women “as fearful and passive”,

arguing that ‘women’ as a social group are diverse and that male-female dichotomies only serve to strengthen fallacies that “certain groups commit crime and other are victims of it (except for people in low-income areas who are widely viewed as involved in both)”.

Further, not all women experience fear to an equal degree or in the same way (Koskela, 2010). This study seeks to align with Pain’s (2001) argument that such taken for granted identities should be unpacked and critically analysed. It also draws on Lefebvre (1971) who theorises that within a ‘terrorist society’, fear becomes latent as citizens seek to maintain *status quos* of ‘normalcy’ by ‘conducting conduct’, becoming both victim and oppressor (see Chapter 3). Thus, I seek to unpack the manner in which middle-class women in Secunda are both the victims and instigators of topophobia. The experiences of men have also been included where they assist in gaining a more nuanced understanding of the development and maintenance of power within Secunda’s social ‘systems’.

The problem statement can be summarised as such: South African planning history has resulted in a grossly unequal urban situation, which after more than twenty years of democracy, still hinders real transformation. Arguably, a crucial contributor to this is the symbolic violence deeply entrenched in many ‘systems’ of dominance (for example, white privilege). Topophobia is explicitly linked to symbolic violence and takes on a particular form in South Africa, presenting a unique challenge to South African planners. As a product of apartheid dominance, Secunda provides us with a rich context in which to study and better understand symbolic violence and various ‘systems’ of dominance in a contemporary setting. The interiority of space assists in understanding how topophobia has manifested over time and in accordance with various paradigm changes – including many of those linked to post-apartheid cities. The population group of women is often (mistakenly) viewed as ‘passive and fearful’ in the literature. However, those women who are part of ‘systems’ of dominance may be both victim and oppressor, and thus present another rich source from which to gain a greater understanding of the topophobias that hinder urban transformation in South Africa. From this, the overarching aim of my research becomes apparent:

*To critically assess how the nature and meaning of space shape middle-class women's topophobia in Secunda (with a particular focus on the symbolic violence underpinning topophobia).*

To reach this aim, certain research questions (main and subsidiary) are established and discussed in the next section.

## 1.2 STRUCTURING THE THESIS ACCORDING TO THE MAIN AND SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The linkage between space, fear, power, symbolic violence and identity led me to ask the following main research question:

*How does the nature and meaning of space shape the topophobia of middle-class women in Secunda?*

This study will argue that it is possible to discern between the nature and meaning of urban space: even though these are complexly interwoven. Lefebvre's (1991) three forms of space assist in grasping this complexity. In summary, the *nature* of space is conceptualised by planners on maps and plans, forming conceived (or representational) space. Thus, the nature of space can be influenced by the ideologies of the planners who conceived it. Such conceptions are subsequently developed in the physical realm and populated by humans. Through their experiences and social relations, humans suffuse *meaning* into space, thereby producing perceived and lived space. However, this meaning may deviate from planners' original ideologies informing the nature of space. The power of perceptions and lived experience in informing subjective 'realities' of space has been well-documented (Janz, 2008; Thrift, 2009; Koskela, 2010). Such 'realities' may, in turn, influence later ideologies/biases of space-users and planners who might infuse them into the spaces they inhabit. Thus, the nature and meaning of space can be seen to be mutually reinforcing.

As mentioned above, Sasol's company town, Secunda in Mpumalanga, was chosen as a case study area for its potential to explore and critically analyse the symbolic violence, and women's subjectivities resulting from topophobia. As a 'new town' designed according to various international 'best practice' design standards (at the time), Secunda also provides a valuable opportunity to study both the nature and meaning of space, especially as some of its conceivers are still alive today. The design principles that underlie Secunda's plan supposedly favour 'good space making' ideologies that purposefully seek to create a topophilic and efficient urban form. Here, I was able to determine *if*, *how* and *why* desired place-making principles have materialised into 'good' (topophilic) or topophobic (or both) spatial outcomes.

As some of the first residents are also still living in Secunda, findings encompass a strong space-time element, which is valuable for uncovering the richness and nuance of the everyday.

To answer my main research question, I have structured this thesis in five Parts (each – barring the introduction – which contains one or more chapters and which is concluded with a summary table). In order to grasp the complexities and subjectivities in a situated context, this study took on an inductive, interpretative and iterative approach. Here, a number of subsidiary research questions were initially identified during the drafting of my conceptual framework. These subsidiary questions served to guide my field research, but did not dictate it, and were refined during the analysis of my findings (in accordance with identifiable themes). The refinement of my subsidiary questions will be described below according to the Parts of this study.

Briefly, Chapter 1 forms the introduction to the study and is contained in Part 1. Part 2 contains three Chapters (2-4) devoted to setting out a conceptual framework which develops various arguments in order to assist in creating a rigorous study. These chapters set out arguments regarding both the *nature* and *meaning* of space. However, as my research question focuses on *topophobic* space, various arguments were drafted around the concept of topophobia (see Chapters 2, 3 and 4). As Part 2 serves as the conceptual framework of the research it also sets out the philosophical approach that shaped the research methodology set out in Part 3 (see Chapter 5). The ontological and epistemological standpoints used to guide and analyse fieldwork findings are also set out in Part 3. Part 4 is a compilation of these findings (see Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9). Finally, Part 5 contains a summary of the key arguments of this study and sets out various recommendations (see Chapter 10).

### 1.2.1 PART 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

As mentioned above, space is complex and it is possible to discern between its nature and meaning. Subsidiary research question 1 assists in this discernment:

*What is meant by the nature and meaning of topophobic space?*

This subsidiary question is answered in Chapters 2 and 3, which consider the relationship between space, identity, emotions (particularly fear) and power. Chapter

2 considers the nature and meaning of space in its pure form. It also considers various theories pertaining to the nature and meaning of space over time. One of these is the ‘affect of emotions’ which indicates that the ‘emotion of society’ is held together by not only topophobia or topophilia individually but by a series of ‘affects’, such as love and hate, which constantly interact with one another to create our lived experience of place (Thrift, 2009). Chapter 3 narrows my focus to the impacts of topophobia on urban space. In doing so, it uses Lefebvre’s (1971) theory on the symbolic violence meted out by a ‘terrorist society’ (see above).

One of the pitfalls of research on space-based emotion is that such research often imposes a dichotomous lens in its understanding of emotion-related issues. For example, it is argued that *negative* experiences are often more explicit to spatial reality than *positive* experiences (Krevs, 2004; Pain, 2001), that the sharing of positive identities creates *insiders* and a sense of *rootedness* (Koskela, 2010). On the other hand, space that is controlled by a powerful few creates *outsiders* and a sense of *uprootedness* (Davidson, 2010; Godkin, 1980). Further, Thrift (2009: 103) uses binaries such as “love and hate, sympathy and antipathy, jealousy and despair, hope and disappointment” to illustrate his argument on the “play of ‘affects’”.

This dichotomous way of viewing topophobia stems from Tuan’s (1974; 1979) original definitions of topophobia/topophilia during a time when modernist planning was at the height of its popularity and the pitfalls of seeing the world in terms of binaries had not yet surfaced. In a more contemporary setting, binary approaches prove problematic to those who seek to understand the complexity of space, as they tend to hide or ignore much of the nuance that makes up everyday experience. Thrift’s (2009: 103) argument on the play of ‘affect’ most likely comes closest to a non-dichotomous view:

*It probably makes much more sense to think of the individual body as a part of something much more complex, as a link in a larger spatial dance with other ‘dividual’ parts of bodies and things and places which is constantly reacting to encounters and evolving out of them, not individual awareness but dividual ‘a-whereeness’. And this larger dance is held together in particular by the play of ‘affects’.*

Thrift’s (2009) concept of dividuals, which are comprised of individuals who share a similar ‘a-whereeness’ or plays of ‘affect,’ proves valuable to this study. In the spirit of this argument an

under-researched condition, called Synesthesia, is brought to mind. Briefly, Synesthesia occurs when:

*[A] particular stimulation in a given sensory modality (e.g., touch) or cognitive process (e.g., computing) automatically triggers additional experiences in one or several other unstimulated domains (e.g., vision, emotion).*

(Safran & Sanda, 2015: 36)

Inducers of Synesthesia include emotion, smells, time, tastes, letters/digits, temperatures, and personalities (Safran & Sanda, 2015). In other words, one variant of Synesthesia allows individuals to experience emotion in terms of colour. A potentially useful approach in which to view the binaries of emotion research (whether love/hate; women/men; insider/outsider; global South/global North; etc.) might be to view them as 'existing' along ever-changing, multiple and intersectional spectra (i.e. the plural of spectrum; since our everyday experiences are complex, hence multiple spectra).

Thus, along one end of a spectrum we might identify 'love', while at the opposite end of that spectrum we might identify 'hate'. And in the interstitial 'spaces' between the two 'extremes' we might identify many more nuanced 'types' of (or tendencies towards) 'love' and 'hate'. These interstitial 'spaces', as well as the opposite extremes ('the binaries'), might be 'conceived', 'perceived' and/or 'lived'. However, this is not to suggest that spectra are linear; or that our 'conceived', 'perceived' or 'lived' understanding of spectra takes place only along some kind of preconceived, fixed, given or unchangeable sequence of events, emotions or meanings as we move from one end to the other end of a spectrum. Rather, and for analytical purposes only, the use of spectra might prove to be helpful, thereby addressing concerns of setting up binaries (and analysing 'the world' via binaries alone).

It is important to stress that there are many spectra in play at any given moment. These are dynamic and intersect in different ways, often influencing and altering one another at these intersections. It is for this reason that an understanding that bears in mind the complexity of space is crucial to a deeper understanding of topophobia. As part of this spectra approach, the use of 'binaries', specifically men/women, 'the other'/'the same' and black/white also has great relevance for this study. Human bodies can no longer be viewed as only male or female (for example, by virtue of a growing awareness of transgender), black or white, filled only with love or hate. Thus, the use of binaries is useful in discussing (and focussing on) the opposite ends of

multiple spectra by extrapolating them as female/male, black/white, love/hate and so forth. In other words, while binaries are used in the analysis aspect of this study, they are to be understood as spectra depicting, for example, (in the case of the black/white binary) the realities of all races, ethnicities and nationalities, as well as the manner in which they intersect, between the extremes of black people and white people. This in no way suggests that one race, ethnicity or nationality is more important than another, but is rather one way in which the complexity of everyday experience can be grappled with. This form of binary-speak is not uncommon to the everyday discourse in South Africa. For example, acclaimed social commentator, Ferial Haffajee, refers to herself as a black woman even though she hails from the previously “coloured group area of Bosmont” (Haffajee, 2015: 17).

I situate my study within the town of Secunda through a second refined subsidiary question:

*What are the planning ideologies that influenced the nature of Secunda’s space?*

I have already mentioned that Secunda’s chief architect-planner, Swiss-born South African Max Kirchhofer (1982), based his design on garden cities (especially Welwyn), new towns and the concept of Radburn. However, I argue in Chapter 4 that the ideologies of model company towns and apartheid planning are also evident in the nature of Secunda’s space. These models are, in turn, strongly influenced by modernist planning and paternalism. One of the main tools of modernist planning involved the nuclear family unit and Aristotle’s ‘proper place’ ideology. This model also influenced an identity based on codes of ‘respectability’ for women in Secunda – an identity that largely remains unquestioned today. Thus, Chapter 4 describes the planning ideologies that have influenced the nature of Secunda’s space to gain an understanding of how that space contributes to the play of emotion-spectra, and therefore meaning, in the town. Chapter 4 is also the final chapter in my conceptual framework (Part 2). Part 3 sets out the methodology followed during my field research.

### 1.2.2 PART 3: METHODOLOGY, METHODS AND TECHNIQUES EMPLOYED

One of the underlying aims of this study is to contribute to the innovation of planning research methods. As a result, my third refined subsidiary question asks:

*What methodology is suitable to understanding symbolic violence and topophobia within an urban planning context?*

This question is answered in Chapter 5, which seeks an innovative and more creative approach to qualitative research in an urban planning context. Here, I demonstrate eight principles for building rigour into qualitative research, namely i) visibility, ii) identification of ontology, epistemology and methodology, iii) transparency of research, iv) reflexivity, v) consistency, vi) constancy between the researcher's constructs of the everyday and 'common-sense experience', vii) reliability of analysis and interpretation, and viii) a clear statement of the limitations of the study.

A qualitative study was chosen as it is more suited to gaining a rich understanding of emotion research (Koskela, 1999). The ontology of this research is that reality is construed through social relationships and subjectivities. The epistemology of Interpretivism is followed as it is deemed most appropriate in gaining a deeper understanding of the complex and subjective meanings of space for this situated study. I argue that my own multiple insider identities (of middle-class, woman, resident, straddling the ethnicities of English and Afrikaans, and planner) place me in a unique position to critique certain 'systems' (and the symbolic violence they dispense) as embodied in Secunda.

This study uses a feminist methodology supported by a feminist ethnography. As an aside, an ethnography can be seen as a special type of case study as it is focussed on an identifiable group (in my case: middle-class women living in Secunda). Further, both ethnographies (Herbert, 2000) and case studies (Flyvberg, 2001) seek to produce a rich description of a situated context and are effective ways of challenging past assumptions. I chose to label my study as an ethnography as it has proven, over time, to be a powerful method in uncovering the nuances of multiple and intersecting gender-based identities in an urban context (Greed, 1994a). A variety of techniques were employed as part of this method, including conversation-type, unstructured interviews, both participant observation, non-participant observation of Secunda's online realm, and archival document analysis. Discourse analysis was also employed during the analysis of archival data and findings. The findings produced from my methodology are contained in Part 4.

## 1.2.3 PART 4: FINDINGS OF THE FIELD RESEARCH

A variety of intersecting identities influenced by the ideologies built into the nature of Secunda is evident. I argue in Chapter 6 that Secunda originally symbolised an outpost for South African independence in the wake of international oil sanctions. The ideologies of apartheid planning also sought to impose the identity of a modernised and ‘superior’ white workforce to complement Sasol’s second model company town. This study will show that the conceived identity of ‘superiority’ and its accompanying symbolisms have become so deeply entrenched that they have largely resisted transformation efforts from the ‘outside’ (for example, national policies aimed at social and physical integration).

I seek, throughout my findings, to demonstrate that historically conceived identities of ‘superiority’ have set up various ‘systems’, resulting in certain struggles for dominance and status within the town. However, true to the notion of the interiority of space, some of these identities have shifted, making a consideration of the space-time connotations in Secunda necessary. This led to my fourth revised subsidiary question:

*What are the space-time connotations of Secunda’s place and social identities and how do they influence topophobia?*

As argued above, the nature and meaning of space are interwoven and mutually reinforcing. Thus, the place and social identities prevalent in Secunda could not be analysed in separate chapters. Rather, to keep the nuance and complexity of the dance of emotion-spectra, the *relationships* between multiple, intersecting (place and social) identities are considered in my findings chapters. The main aim of these chapters is to uncover the symbolic violence meted out under the dominant ‘systems’ of patriarchy, ‘respectability’ and white privilege to maintain the *status quo* of Secunda’s ‘superior’ identities. Chapter 6 traces the origin of such identities to attempts, by Secunda’s conceivers, to establish a ‘superior’ model town (place identity) matched with ‘superior’ model citizens (social identity). This assists in establishing a later argument that such ‘superior’ identities have deeply-rooted racial biases which, *inter alia*, have aided in setting up the ‘system’ of white privilege.

Further, a consistency can be identified between Sasol’s attempts to market itself as a ‘superior’ company, its production of a ‘superior’ workforce, and identities of whiteness which all relied heavily on binaries (such as best practice/unplanned, rationality/emotion, white/black,

men/women, respectable/not-respectable, pure/immoral). The use of binaries is typical to “race, class, and gender oppression” as the categorisation of individuals and ideas often occurs to highlight the differences between them (Collins, 1986: s20). In other words, the opposite ends of binaries do not enrich one another but rather find their meaning “only in relation to their difference from their oppositional counterparts” – invariably underscoring relations of inferiority and superiority (Collins, 1986: s20). I argue that it is in these relations that topophobia gains traction: hence, the importance of first understanding the nuances of Sasol’s ‘superior’ model citizens.

This crafting began largely with the development of Sasolburg, Sasol’s first model town, in the early 1950’s, spelling the beginning of high modernist planning as well as the National Party’s rule (see Chapter 6). Caught up in the craze of technological advancement, the National Party (NP) sought to prove the intelligence and technological prowess of a more ‘modern’ version of the Afrikaner (Sparks, 2012). The result was a factory which perfected coal-to-liquid (CTL) technology and a model new town named Sasolburg complete with a modernised version of the Afrikaner identity (Sparks, 2012). Modern Afrikaners were industrialised, respectable, and patriarchal by nature (with white privilege being an unquestioned ‘norm’) and geared to promote the efficiency and stability required to uphold the NP’s symbol of aptitude. However, by the 1970s, the NP was faced with an international oil crisis, sanctions and social mobilisations on the home front. The NP retaliated by erecting another industrial complex at Secunda which vastly exceeded the capacity of the first complex.

Chapters 6 and 7 demonstrate how place identity was used to underscore the ‘superiority’ of white Sasol employees through various hierarchies, as well as to reinforce various (white) privileges. Briefly, a regional urban hierarchy was established where Secunda was depicted as being ‘superior’ to the surrounding towns in terms of its aspirations of modernity (for example, boasting of a model urban design and high-tech facilities and services). A second racially-based hierarchy was also formed through company spending where white people were housed in privileged Secunda with ‘other’ race groups accommodated in extensions of neighbouring towns. A scale of investment was initiated to portray the location of each area on the urban hierarchy – with the greatest budget allocated to the factory site, and then Secunda. Densities in each area underscored this hierarchy with Secunda offering the lowest densities and eMbalenhle (the former ‘black’ ‘township’ related to Secunda).

Urban landscaping, in particular, contributed to the creation of ‘superior’ identities for Secunda. I argue in Chapter 7 that, in drawing on a variety of ‘best practice’ models from the global North, an underlying aim existed to introduce white privilege (through Eurocentric standards of ‘beauty’) into Secunda’s symbolism. Trees, especially, were icons of whiteness used to depict the strength and determination of what Sparks (2012) refers to as the ‘pioneers’ of the Secunda complex. Over the course of time, the interiority of much of Secunda’s green network has altered from defensible to ‘offensible’ space, introducing strains of topophobia. Unlike defensible space, offensible space no longer houses an active citizenship and these particular spaces become associated with crime. However, emotions of fear of crime, indignation, and powerlessness can also expose deep-seated topophobias of ‘the racial other’ – as proven in this situated context.

As discussed above, such topophobias are often caused by symbolic violence meted out in an attempt to maintain certain identities and a *status quo* which favours privileged groups of a society. My findings identify four pertinent forms of symbolic violence in Secunda relating to ideologies of patriarchy, identities of ‘respectability’ (which form part of the ‘superior’ citizen), white privilege, and symbolic boundaries which may serve to maintain white ‘comfort zones’, all-the-while hindering desegregation. Although the sources of all four are related, the nuances of the symbolic violence of white privilege are too rich and prompt an additional subsidiary research question. Thus, for purposes of analysis, I chose to revise my initial subsidiary research question (*What are the forms of symbolic violence in Secunda?*) into two subsidiary research questions. As such, the fifth revised subsidiary research question considers the symbolic violence meted out in the name of patriarchal ideologies and ‘respectability’:

*How is symbolic violence meted out under the guise of patriarchy and ‘respectability’ to uphold the status quo of Secunda?*

I answer this question in Chapter 8, which seeks an understanding, through various themes from the field, of the power struggles for superiority in Secunda amongst its (mostly) white, middle-class residents. A pertinent theme involves the hierarchy created through ideologies of patriarchy and status-based dominance which are upheld through certain codes of ‘respectability’ (advocated for by ‘elders’ – see above). I argue that male dominance starts at the factory site and is carried over to the town. Where men dominate one another according to their employee status in the factory, some middle-class women mirror the dominance of their male counterparts by flaunting the latter’s salary ‘level’ (and thus status) around town. A

strong status-based dominance, coupled with the prevalence of consumerism during the 1970s in South Africa, shifted codes of 'respectability' to include an individual's ability to consume.

Lefebvre (1971) reveals that fashion is a tool used frequently by a 'terrorist society' to mete out symbolic violence and often results in citizens becoming both oppressor and victim of a *status quo*. I argue that a fear of fatness has evolved from such shifting codes of 'respectability', which has become embedded in the physical space of Secunda. A final theme considers the role 'respectable' middle-class women were (and generally still are) expected to play in Secunda, namely that of 'supporter'. I argue that the 'supportive woman' in Secunda was largely responsible for community-building in the town and has thus had a large impact on its meaning (see Chapter 8).

In Chapter 9, I argue that white privilege is the most prevalent 'system' of symbolic violence in Secunda. So prevalent, in fact, that it reasserts old patterns of racial dominance, and hinders both physical desegregation and social integration in a post-apartheid era. This is often achieved through the erection and maintenance of various symbolic boundaries, which serve to uphold binaries of 'the same' and 'the other'. Chapter 9 is a consideration of how symbolic violence and boundaries uphold Secunda as a 'white' enclave (or comfort zone) and thus seeks to answer my final revised subsidiary question, namely:

*How has symbolic violence been used as a tool of white privilege to maintain the status quo in Secunda?*

My findings lead to recommendations which, accompanied by key conclusions, will be considered in the final Part of the study.

#### 1.2.4 PART 5: CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY, KEY CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter 10 forms the final chapter of this study. Its purpose is to set out the key arguments and contributions to knowledge made by this study as well as certain recommendations for theory, methodology and practice. The contribution of this study is twofold. The first suggests more innovative planning research methodologies, especially for future qualitative studies. Specifically, the need for greater emotion-based research is put forward. As argued in Chapter 3, planning principles and policies have (inadvertently) aggravated topophobia. I posit that this

is due to a lack of understanding of our personal subjectivities and biases, as planners, when conceiving of the nature of space. Baum (2015) highlights a bias within the profession of planning itself that has actively steered away from an exploration of the impact of emotions on ourselves and the spaces we plan and administer. Arguably, without an exploration of personal emotion-spectra, subjectivities and biases, we could (inadvertently) reinforce topophobia.

My second contribution is to literature on the global South, through an understanding gained from a situated, or 'real world', context in South Africa (namely Secunda). Specifically, I seek to add to a deeper understanding of how certain 'systems' of dominance may continue to hinder real transformation in South Africa. Through this, I seek to contribute to a greater understanding of the identities, power struggles and emotion-spectra that uphold these 'systems' and the impact they may have on topophobia. I also contribute to the understanding of how fear manifests spatially – and how this manifestation, in the form of topophobia, influences both the nature (through its design and principles) and meaning (through perception and lived experience) of space. Experience has shown that it is not easy relating spatial analysis (through topos) to the highly subjective emotion of fear (through phobia). As such, the use of the phrase may become somewhat labyrinthine as the nuances of topophobia unfold throughout the study. Thus, I finalise this introductory chapter with a summary of how 'topophobia' was understood and developed for this body of work.

Topophobia, as the link between urban space and various spectra of negative emotions, can influence all spaces. If space is considered in its complexity and through its subjective nature, we find that perceived and lived space gain their meaning through human influence. Power struggles, a mixed bag of intersecting identities, and fluctuating emotion spectra all contribute to this meaning. From Lefebvre's theory on terrorist societies, we learn that various systems of dominance may be put in place to maintain status quos that benefit a powerful few. These systems often rely on the creation of binaries between 'the same' and 'the other'. In as much, they can also impress the dual function of both oppressor and victim on an individual as a fear of variegating from [middle class] 'normalcy' becomes apparent in these societies. In order to maintain 'normalcy', individuals may inflict symbolic violence on 'the other' (and sometimes even 'the same'). Chapter 8 will explore this phenomenon in a patriarchal context.

Briefly, women are seen as victims in the patriarchal society of Secunda, which relies heavily on 'respectability' as part of a middle-class code. Although no longer openly encouraged, the

traditional gender role of female 'supporter' remains largely unquestioned, and idealized, in the town. As part of this identity of 'respectable', middle-class 'supporter' (mostly white) women are held to certain dictates of fashion and consumerism, one of which hinges on a fear of fatness. Chapter 8 will demonstrate that symbolic violence, like 'fat talk' is implemented by middle-class women themselves in order to keep each other 'in line', thereby creating an oppressor-victim role. Further, this study will show that symbolic violence can also manifest spatially as symbolic boundaries that, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 9, have taken the place of physical boundaries set up as part of the apartheid city model. It is important to note that symbolic violence and topophobia are not mutually exclusive and thus viewed as separate categories. Simply put, an individual who experiences topophobia may decide against inflicting symbolic violence as a means of alleviating his/her fears.

2

---

THE NATURE AND MEANING OF SPACE

PART 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Subsidiary research question 1 asks: “What is meant by the nature and meaning of topophobic space?” For the purposes of this study, I understand the *nature* of space as the way in which space can be characterised by the design principles that underlie it. For example, is space ‘defensible’ through ‘eyes on the street’ (after Jacobs, 1961) or defended through the video surveillance networks so favoured in contemporary city planning (Bannister & Fyfe, 2001)? *Meaning* is infused in the *nature* of space through social relations and the human experience (Gonzalez, 2005; Koskela, 2010). In reverting back to the example of ‘defended space’, Bannister and Fyfe (2001) argue that the popularity of video surveillance in cities stems from a fear of – or the desire to regulate by both planners and citizens – ‘the other’ and not always as a result of high crime rates. Thus, the implications of video surveillance within cities gain deeper meaning through an understanding of the power struggles between ‘the same’ and ‘the other’. This shows us that meaning can, in turn, influence the nature of space as it may be created by planners who do not always make value-free decisions as they too are subject to social relations (Greed, 1994a).

The understanding of both the nature and meaning of urban space is key to grasping the impact of topophobia in South Africa. In other words, the nature and meaning of urban space must first be grasped before the full implications of topophobia can become apparent. This is the aim of this chapter. It begins by drawing from Lefebvre’s (1991) theory on the three forms of space, namely conceived, perceived and lived space. This is supplemented by the works of Thrift (2004, 2009) and Trancik (1986) who have also considered space according to these three forms.

For purposes of further clarity, I posit that the nature of space is manufactured, first, through the representation of planning ideologies in designs and/or on maps (conceived space) and then constructed by developers. When this is complete, people are introduced to that physical space. It is through social relations and human experience that space is suffused with meaning (Gonzalez, 2005; Koskela, 2010). Through such processes “of self-presentation and self-representation” societies *produce* social space which holds various realities for that society (Lefebvre, 1991: 34). In other words, through social relations, perceptions (perceived space) and lived experience (lived space) are *manifested* in space, giving it *meaning*. This section also seeks to demonstrate that the interiority of space, or the manner in which the meaning of space is affected over time, is crucial to the study of topophobia. Findings reveal that a strong

symbolism was entrenched in Secunda's place identity through its design. Certain derivative identities of this symbolism have become so deeply entrenched that they continue to resist transformation today. Later chapters will show that such resistance is often based on topophobias. In order to grasp the nuances of this, the identities (both place and social), power struggles and emotions that stimulate the interiority (and meaning) of Secunda are explored here.

A consideration of spatial meaning assists us, as planners, in gaining a greater understanding of the complexities and nuances of urban space in all its forms. This, in turn, allows us to improve the nature of the spaces we plan for. The second section of this chapter considers the meaning of space inspired by the identities, emotions and power struggles that stem from social relations. This is followed by a consideration of Thrift's (2009) argument on the 'affect' of emotions and how these are continuously 'at play' with one another.

## 2.2 THE THREE FORMS OF SPACE

Henri Lefebvre (1991: 87) argues that spaces are much more than static "containers distinct from their contents", and rather chooses to view space as a social and dynamic construct. To understand space and how it is constructed, he developed a spatial triad of conceived, perceived and lived space (Lefebvre, 1991). Although there is a tendency to overlook perceived and lived space (Thrift, 2009), the three forms should not be studied in isolation from one another (Trancik, 1986; Lefebvre, 1991; Thrift, 2009). Thrift (2004, 2009) and Trancik (1986) give us valuable insights into Lefebvre's (1991) theory.

### 2.2.1 CONCEIVED SPACE

Conceived space refers to the representations of planning ideologies on maps, designs and plans (Lefebvre, 1991). Planners thus work with conceived space during the conceptualisation of space. Such conceptualisations (or representations) can involve a consideration of the voids (ground) and solids (buildings) of an urban space which produce urban fabric (Trancik, 1986). More conventional methods seek to draw boundaries around paths of movement in order to characterise and order space, holding these paths responsible for certain functions (Thrift, 2009). Later authors have acknowledged the complex nature of space and seek to move away from the predetermined ordering of space, rather seeking to understand its fluidity through aspects such as movement flows and patterns, instead of fixed boundaries (Thrift, 2009).

Howard's conceptualisation of the garden city is an example of conceived space (Figure 3) which is important to this study as it greatly influenced the planning of Secunda (see Chapter 4).

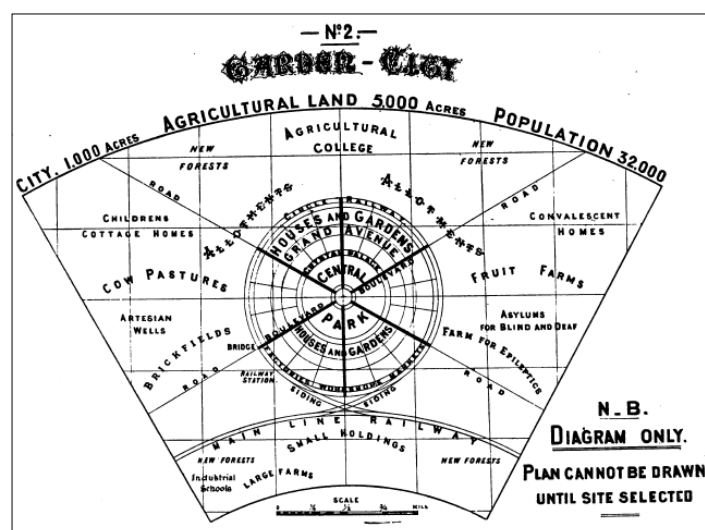


FIGURE 3: THE CONCEIVED SPACE OF HOWARD'S GARDEN CITY  
SOURCE: HOWARD (1902: 23)

The fact that conceived space can easily be represented as a “medium for objects” has led many planners to focus on conceived space as the only “true” space (Lefebvre, 1991: 361). The next form of space, perceived space, is more difficult to represent and is thus often ignored by planners (Shields, 2011).

### 2.2.2 PERCEIVED SPACE

Lefebvre's perceived space is the mental space in which the abstractions of space are formalised (Merrifield, 1993). Thrift's (2009) rendition of perceived space is 'image space' which is made up of mental images. Put differently, he says, image space is the process by which images (such as photographs, paintings, the media, graphs, and animations) trigger the symbolisms attached to space. Imagery has become so pervasive that we no longer notice it, creating a richness of imagery that constantly influences “how we do space” (Thrift, 2009: 101). As a result, the city and urban life have become metaphors, leading academics to focus not only on the physical environment but also on the symbolism behind the various aspects of cities (Porteous, 1987). This phenomenon has been referred to as imagined geographies (Koskela, 2010). Perceived space is important in uncovering the nuances of space, as the symbolisms and multiplicities of space originate between “consciousness and perception”

(Flusty, 2007: 135). However, the symbolism of place can be distorted through perception, modifying the reality of that space (Janz, 2008). In other words, the symbolism attached to space is not always a true representation of a space (Janz, 2008) and can even affect the perceptions of people who do not have first-hand experience of the specific space (Henrikson, 2001; O'Hare, 2007).

The perceptions produced through negative experiences are often more explicit to spatial reality than those created by positive experiences (Pain, 2001; Krevs, 2004). This is especially the case if these negative experiences produce fear (Krevs, 2004). Perception can thus lead to the experience of victimisation, whether or not an individual is actually victimised (Modly, 2009; Koskela, 2010). An example of this is the terror that darkened spaces may evoke (Nahnsen, 2006; Leach, 2007; Koskela, 2010). On the other hand, perception can encourage a sense of security in areas where danger might actually be real (Modly, 2009). Therefore, gaining an understanding of the perceived space in a situated context is crucial to an understanding of topophobia.

Thrift's (2009: 101) quote on 'how we do space' is a delightful way of describing the concept of spatiality. Spatiality is defined as the process of "how space and social relations are made through each other; that is, how space is made through social relations, and how social relations are shaped by the space in which they occur" (Hubbard & Kitchin, 2011: 499). Therefore, space can be said to be constructed by the process of 'how we do space' and how space 'does' us. This production of space through social relations occurs in Lefebvre's (1991) lived space which will be considered next.

### 2.2.3. LIVED SPACE OF THE EVERYDAY

Lived space, in the minds of those who inhabit it, is concrete – unlike the *conceived* or representational "space of the experts" (Lefebvre, 1991: 362). Further, while images trigger symbolism in *perceived* space, symbolism is manifested in lived space. Lived space (also known as 'place') is the embodiment of space – or space to which meaning or symbolism has been attached (Thrift, 2009). In other words, place is space that has "a certain patina given by human use over time" (Trancik, 1986: 113).

Lived space is subjective and social (Lefebvre, 1991). Subjectivity implies that a specific space may have different meanings for different individuals occupying it (Gustafson, 2001). To

uncover these subjective meanings, the everyday is a concept often employed in the research on place (Lefebvre, 1991; Thrift, 2009). What is useful about the everyday, says Thrift (2009: 103), is that it uncovers the manner in which people use daily events (which they usually do not control) “to open up little spaces in which they can assert themselves, however faintly”. These little spaces, he continues, are created by means of body language, gestures and speech and are instances of interaction which people do have control over.

Lived space is produced over time and is a result of a “maturation process and a failure to mature that leaves particular original resources and reserves untouched” which starts during childhood (Lefebvre, 1991: 362). Lived space, therefore, has a space-time connotation (Lynch, 1972; Lefebvre, 1991). The space-time focus has been taken up by Doreen Massey (2005) in *For Space*. Here, she advocates strongly for seeing space as interconnected by viewing it in its relationality, multiplicity and openness. Views that space is static while change occurs in time –which is spaceless – are flawed, she says, as lived space is a product of ever-changing realities. This argument equally applies to conceived and perceived space.

Therefore, in understanding the nuances of space in all its multiplicity through the relationship between space, the social, and time must also be acknowledged (Lynch, 1972; Massey, 2005). Friedmann (2010) also considers the impacts of time on place (or lived space). He argues that lived spaces have a history, present and future which impact on their meaning. He reflects on the concept of ‘interiority’ which points to an inward-looking character of place identity where, due to the subjectivities of individuals occupying a specific space, multiple identities are in effect in a singular space. Thus, interiority implies that as a result of the impacts of time on perceptions (and subjectivity):

*[C]entered places are always open to the world, so that, with the passage of time, they will inevitably change. In the way I use this term here, places undergo their own transformations; they are not forever.*

*(Friedmann, 2010: 156).*

This study will show that the impact of interiority on Secunda has great consequences for the identity of the town and its inhabitants. Secunda has proven to be a valuable case study as the symbolism entrenched in its place identity was planned so deliberately during the conception of the town. However, these identities have become so deeply entrenched that they have resisted transformation efforts initiated from ‘outside’ (i.e. nationally-based efforts at urban

integration). Uncovering this resistance has also allowed for much greater insight into the topophobias experienced by women. Thus, a consideration of the manner in which social relations give birth to identities (place and social), power struggles and emotions, is key to an understanding of the nature and meaning of topophobic space (Manzo, 2005).

### 2.3 UNDERSTANDING MEANING THROUGH THE IDENTITIES, POWER STRUGGLES AND EMOTIONS OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

As mentioned in the previous section, the meaning of space is produced through the identities, power relations and emotions inherent to social relations. Walker (2005) indicates that identities are produced by our desires to belong in a certain space by being able to relate to those around us. However, identities are also shaped by what differentiates individuals (Walker, 2005). Identities are fluid, multifarious, and are contested over time (Godkin, 1980; Manzo, 2005; Leach, 2007; Mtata, 2009). Further, a distinction can be made between social and place identity. For the purposes of this study, social identity is seen as the identities ascribed to by individuals or societies, while place identity results from the meaning manifested in lived space.

Typically, the literature has failed to move from the dichotomous view that lived space is encompassed of either positive or negative identities. Here, positive identities have been characterised as a sense of belonging, of being an insider, of feeling 'rooted' (Koskela, 2010). Rootedness can lead to place-attachment which "is indicated by the way neighbors respond to newcomers, or the manner in which groups of neighbors decide to join up in an effort to improve the physical conditions of neighborhood life" (Friedmann, 2010: 155). On the other hand, a negative place identity is said to arise when it is controlled by powerful groups, all-the-while lacking a sense of belonging for some, causing a sense of uprootedness (Godkin, 1980; Davidson, 2010). Identities in social relations usually result in struggles for domination and control which can lead to social inequality and segregation (Manzo, 2005; Koskela, 2010). Power struggles can be seen as attempts at increasing insecurity for one group while at the same time decreasing it for another (Clarke & Doel, 2011). This creates dominant and subservient identities (Flusty, 2007: 135). Thus, identity, power, and emotion are intertwined. For example, the uprootedness stemming from being dominated in a power struggle can lead to fear as an individual's identity is shaken or undermined (Godkin, 1980; Nahnsen, 2006).

Fear of 'the other' (Koskela, 2010) or desires for an individual's own rootedness (Manzo, 2003) are often justifications for excluding 'the other' from specific space, in an attempt to dominate it (Manzo, 2003; Koskela, 2010). This phenomenon has also been referred to as 'an urge to expel' (Nahnsen, 2006). Such processes of domination are usually based on anxieties which are projected onto 'the other', whose presence threatens the social order (Sandercock, 2005). Hence, space is created to make insiders disavow the identities of others through a hidden message of intimidation which results in 'the other' fearing that space (Nahnsen, 2006). The relationship between 'othering' and topophobia can be highly detrimental to the nature and meaning of space and will be considered in more detail in the next chapter. My approach seeks to move beyond this dichotomous approach in a bid to better understand the effects of topophobia. To accomplish this, I begin by seeking the 'affect' of emotion on the meaning of space.

## 2.4 THE 'AFFECT' OF EMOTION AND THE 'DIVIDUAL' SOCIETY

Although we are affected as individuals by our everyday experiences, our individual fears and joys are reflected in social relations (Katz, 2006; Koskela, 2010). Thrift (2004, 2009) expands on the connotations that emotions of place can evoke by means of the concept of 'affect'. He takes us back to the concept of place (or lived space). If place is the embodiment of space, he asks, what is the 'body'? He answers that the individual body is far more than just the flesh, but rather:

*[A] part of something much more complex, as a link in a larger spatial dance with other 'dividual' parts of bodies and things and places which is constantly reacting to encounters and evolving out of them, not individual awareness but dividual 'a-where-ness'. And this larger dance is held together in particular by the play of 'affects' like love and hate, sympathy and antipathy, jealousy and despair, hope and disappointment and so on.*

(Thrift, 2009: 103)

The concept of 'affect' is interesting in the consideration of the nuance of space. Thrift (2009) shows that it involves more than just the emotion of an individual, but rather something which is social: "an impersonal force resulting from the encounter, an ordering of the relations between bodies which results in an increase or decrease in the potential to act" (Thrift, 2009: 103). Thus it can be deduced that through this 'ordering of bodies', space itself is produced and

ordered. As a verb, the Oxford Dictionary (“Affect, v”, 2014) defines ‘affect’ as to “move emotionally”. The ‘potential to act’ suggests that the affect of our emotions influences the way in which we affect space through our ability to ‘move emotionally’. Thrift (2004: 60) puts this as “emotion in motion”. Place, says Thrift, thus has great potential to produce these ‘affects’ in that it can alter interaction by altering the affective constructions being created. Therefore, place has the potential to alter the meaning of space while it is being produced (Thrift, 2009).

Further, he says, affect is a way of thinking and thus the space constructed by human ‘emotion in motion’ must also be viewed as means of “thought in action” (Thrift, 2004: 60). For Friedmann (2010), planning necessitates action. However, this action is not “command planning” but one where neighbourhoods are created through a collective responsibility held by residents and planners (Friedmann, 2010: 159). Thus, to ensure this collective responsibility, planners need to engage on a greater level with the concept of ‘thought in action’ stemming from the affect of residents’ emotions.

The ‘play of affects’ is interesting because it suggests that the studying of one emotion (such as fear) is inadequate to grasping the multiplicity of space. The word ‘play’ suggests the relationship of more than one affect. This lends greater sophistication for understanding meaning than the traditional notion that place is reinforced by positive emotions but broken down by negative emotions such as fear, leading to “stress, detachment and alienation” (Koskela, 2010: 391). For example, topophobia can lead to a greater “understanding of fantasies and desires, of unconscious transactions, of ideological manifestations and bodily organizations” (Epstein, 2007: 140).

Further, Merrifield (2000) maintains that the ‘bad’ elements (such as fear and suffering) of a city are necessary as they provide a contrast that allows people to experience the ‘good’ elements (such as pleasure). He shows that there is an allure to urban fear, horror, pain and squalor and it is these which attract people to cities:

*The ugly, the dangerous, the garish in city life can in fact be astonishingly titillating, a pleasure itself, a source of attraction, that simultaneously thrills and appeals, even while you sometimes hate yourself for being thrilled.*

(Merrifield, 2000: 473).

Therefore, in understanding topophobia and its potential to produce space, it is important not just to focus on fear, but on a range of emotion (spectra) and affects which produce it. The affect of emotion and the 'dividual' societies created by it is explored in later Chapters (6-9) using the situated context of Secunda.

## 2.5 CONCLUSION

Using the work of Lefebvre (1991) and other thinkers, the nature and meaning of space were considered. In summary, the nature of space is informed by the ideologies of planners who conceived it. Such conceptions are represented on maps and plans, producing conceived space. Through the human experience of the everyday, conceived space is infused with meaning. This meaning can be understood through considerations of the social relations which produce both perceived and lived space. Perceived space is shaped by the symbolisms and perceptions of individuals, and can greatly influence the meaning of space. Lived space is produced when these perceptions and symbolisms are manifested in space, giving it a human 'patina'. Lived space has past, present, and future contexts which are influenced by time – characterising space through 'interiority'. The principle of interiority theorises that the nature of space is prone to change as it is subjected to human experience.

Thus, the ideologies infused in the representations of planners will constantly be altered over time as the meaning infused by humans shifts. In other words, we create meaning in lived space by manifesting the products of our perceived space, thereby altering conceived space. As such, the *nature* of space will be altered by the *meaning* infused in it. This implies that, i) the three forms of space cannot be studied in isolation from one another, and ii) as planners, we need to know how these perceptions and experiences influence our conceptions (and implementations) of space as they may reinforce personal biases such as 'othering'. Identities, power struggles, and emotions stem from the social relations which inscribe meaning in space. The identity, power relations and the 'affect' of emotion-spectra are thus of particular importance to this study as they allow for a greater understanding of the nuances of topophobia. The next chapter considers the connection between the emotion of fear and space (referred to as topophobia) as well as how the nature and meaning of space can be impacted by this relationship.

---

SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE AND LATENT TOPOPHOBIA

PART 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is focussed on the emotion of fear and how it influences perceptions of space through what is known as topophobia. It begins with a consideration of the relationship between fear and space in order to lay a platform for understanding how power struggles, identity and emotion lead to topophobia through symbolic violence – which is explored in the first section. This understanding is informed by Lefebvre’s (1971) theory on ‘terrorist societies’ which will be also considered in the section thereafter. Topophobia greatly influences the manner in which intellectuals, planners, policymakers and citizens consider and shape urban space (Sandercock, 2005). The subsequent section considers how planners might (in)advertently contribute to topophobia in their conceptions of the nature of space. I argue that it is important that as planners, we acknowledge that our own topophobias can influence planning policies; thus it is important that we do not inadvertently infuse them during the conceiving of space. The chapter closes with recommendations from the literature on how to avoid reinforcing topophobia-based biases.

### 3.2 FEAR AND TOPOPHOBIA

Fear affects us all (Sandercock, 2005) and it is thus a pervasive aspect of the city (Koskela, 2010). As argued in Chapter 1, if fear is found in our urban experiences then the space we create will also be vulnerable to it. Therefore, all urban spaces are vulnerable to topophobia, making it significant to a deeper understanding of the nature and meaning of space. In addition, the meaning infused by topophobia is long lasting and difficult to alter, making topophobia “an unwanted condition by definition” (Koskela, 2010: 391). For ease of clarity, it is important to distinguish between fear and topophobia. Fear is an *emotion*. The *condition* of topophobia arises when fear is embedded in space. Its early definition of ‘place-hate’ depicts a binary to topophilia or ‘a love of place’ (Tuan, 1974, 1979). A perusal of the term ‘topophobia’ indicates that it also relates to fear. The word ‘phobia’ is defined as “an intense, irrational fear directly associated with specific events or situations that are out of proportion to the potential danger” (Doctor & Kahn, 2000: 232). As the origin of the Greek word ‘topos’ is place (“Topos, n.”, 2015), ‘topo-phobia’ can be related to the hatred or fear of place.

In Chapter 1, I argued that Tuan’s use of the love-hate binary has set a trend where most emotion-based research uses a dichotomous lens in its analysis. In the interests of viewing space in its full complexity, emotion-based binaries should rather be considered as intersecting

spectra that constantly interact and alter one another. Thrift's (2009) argument on 'affect' where different emotions are involved in a constant play during the production of meaning in space, comes closest to my argument on intersecting spectra (see Chapter 2). The concept of affect considers more than the emotions of an individual, but rather creates an awareness of the social 'dividual'. This play of emotions in a dividual encompasses more than a singular emotion, like fear, rather considering the nuanced relationship between different emotions, such a love and hate, and how they interact (Thrift, 2009). As a result, this study aims to gain an understanding of topophobia by considering the play of emotion-spectra and how these are influenced by power struggles and identities.

The consequences of topophobia have generally been recorded as negative. Topophobia can cause individuals to flee from one space to another, for example, from a city to a rural area (Koskela, 1999). Over-exposure to topophobic places can force an individual to employ coping mechanisms such as alcohol abuse (Godkin, 1980). Perhaps the most widely recorded effect of topophobia is that it limits freedom (Doctor & Kahn, 2000; Manzo, 2005; O'Hare, 2007; Koskela, 2010). Koskela (2010) states that, if people are only fearful of a single city or area their freedom is not intolerably restricted. However, should that person be afraid on a more general scale, escapism would become a way of life – which is an unacceptable degree of topophobia (Koskela, 2010).

Beneficial consequences of topophobia have also been recorded (Doctor & Kahn, 2000; Epstein, 2007). Doctor and Kahn (2000) argue that fear is a useful emotion in that it incites a 'fight or flight' decision necessary for escaping or overcoming danger. Fear can also create a common social identity if that society experiences an external threat as: "[a] nation comes together when under threat" (Leach, 2007: 38). However, Koskela (2010) argues that this is over-simplified as the topophobia induced from an external threat (such as national terrorism) can lead to global 'othering'. Incidences of nationalism might also include fascism or the white supremacy found in neo-Nazi movements. However, these concepts are beyond the scope of this study, which focuses on the fear that finds its source *within* a 'terrorist society' and will not be explored in further detail.

### 3.3 INTRODUCING LEFEBVRE AND THE TOPOPHOBIA BRED BY 'TERRORIST SOCIETIES'

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this study narrows its focus to include *symbolic* (as opposed to physical) violence and *latent* topophobia (which remains dormant in the subconscious,

producing a ‘terrible unease’, until it is triggered by an event or memory). In Chapter 2, I argued that emotion (such as fear), identity and power are interlinked in their contribution to the meaning of space. Foucault (1982) writes that forms of power relations are not merely based on institutions or class differentials (as argued by Marx and Engels). Rather, argues Foucault (1982: 781), multiple power relations also exist in the everyday:

*[W]hich categorizes the individual, marks him [all sic] by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others must recognize in him.*

Foucault (1982: 781) identifies three forms of power struggles, against i) domination, such as gender or racial, ii) exploitation, such as those that occurred during under industrialism, and iii) struggles against “forms of subjectivity and submission”. Throughout history, such struggles have been evident and the forms can be experienced in tandem. Foucault goes on to highlight the importance of researching the impacts of power relations as opposed to violence because violence only ever:

*[A]cts upon a body or upon things; it forces, it bends, it breaks on the wheel, it destroys, or it closes the door on all [other] possibilities. Its opposite pole can only be passivity, and if it comes up against any resistance, it has no other option but to try to minimize it.*

(Foucault, 1982: 789, my emphasis)

It is this dichotomous understanding of violence and emotion that my research refutes, while, nevertheless, incorporating Foucault’s (1982: 789) analytical conceptualisation of ‘the other’. For Foucault (1982: 789), “the other”, namely “the one over whom power is exercised”, needs to be recognised and understood in relation to ‘the same’, in other words, “a person who acts” to hold power over someone else. For example, dichotomous thinking related to ‘the other’ and ‘the same’ may encourage some individuals to impart fictitious identities onto ‘others’ so as to:

*[T]reat them in otherwise unrealistic or forbidden ways. Thinking of others as evil, dangerous foes, for example, helps define one’s own group as virtuous and justifies acting aggressively or punitively against a putative enemy.*

(Baum, 2015: 511)

Thus, it is in the relationship between the two that complexity and greater understanding lies:

*[F]aced with a relationship of power, a whole field of responses, reactions, results, and possible inventions may open up.*

(Foucault, 1982: 789)

As such, responses to power relations may be vast and may have much greater impacts on urban space than we realise. If this is applied to the study of topophobia, it highlights the possibility that our previously understood urban issues may have much deeper and more nuanced roots in latent fears (often produced through symbolic violence) that inform our everyday actions. In this regard, Lefebvre's (1971) arguments shed more light on a society which enforces power through a set of actions to create a privileged group, while at the same time separating it from 'the other'. What is notable about this form of society is the symbolic violence it metes out in order to maintain a divide between 'conceived', 'perceived' and 'lived' insiders and 'conceived', 'perceived' and 'lived' outsiders<sup>5</sup>. Latent fear, I argue, is embedded in this insider/outsider function (even if this function necessitates challenging binary conceptualisations of insiders and outsiders – see Chapter 5). Lefebvre (1971: 143; 145; 147), in turn, calls this insider/outsider function a “terrorist society” which he defines according to three main characteristics:

*Any [class-based] society involving, on the one hand, poverty and want and on the other a privileged class (possessing and administrating, exploiting, organizing and obtaining for its own ends as much social overtime as possible, either for ostentatious consumption or for accumulation, or indeed for both purposes at once).*

*An over-repressive society modifies the conditions of repression, its methods, means and foundations; with apparent innocence and by means of skilful compulsion it directs adaptation into the channels of 'purely' private experience – the family, the home – and portrays freedom as something spiritual and ideal that fits in perfectly with material oppression; repressive duties are, moreover,*

---

<sup>5</sup> The use of the terms insiders and outsiders in this study is derived from feminist methodologies.

*entrusted to intimate groups, to the family or the father, or better still, to the individual conscience [emphasis in original text].*

*A terrorist society is the logical and structural outcome of an over-repressive society; compulsion and the illusion of freedom converge; unacknowledged compulsions besiege the lives of communities (and of their individual members) and organize them according to a general strategy; the distinction between other-directed and inner-directed conscience is abolished since what now plays the part of inner is the other disguised, integrated and justified; opposition is silenced either through being condemned as a perversion and thus invalidated, or by integration [emphasis in original text].*

Simply put, any class-based society having emerged from capitalist consumerism, which creates structural divides (symbolic or physical) between privileged residents who are deemed to be 'insiders' (or 'the same') and residents who are not (namely, 'outsiders' or 'the others'), is a terrorist society. Importantly, this form of society (which is omnipresent in contemporary liberal democracies) is different from a society that is ruled by a repressive government where fear has an external source (Lefebvre, 1971). A terrorist society, he says, is made up of individuals who themselves are the sources of terror in a continual bid to overpower one another in the quest to meet the unlimited needs created by consumerism and to enforce social codes of conduct favouring only the privileged of the society. Because violence is meted out by citizens in a bid to attain more individual power, it becomes latent, omnipresent and citizens often don't realise that they are living in a state of continual fear (Lefebvre, 1971). As a result, moral order and a façade of 'normalcy' become imperative to presumed survival and safety:

*[E]ach member [of this society] is a terrorist because he [sic all] wants to be in power (if only briefly); thus there is no need for a dictator; each member betrays and chastises himself; terror cannot be located, for it comes from everywhere and from every specific thing ; the 'system' (in so far as it can be called a 'system') has a hold on every member separately and submits every member to the whole, that is, to a strategy, a hidden end, objectives unknown to all but those in power.*

*(Lefebvre 1971: 147)*

One such 'system' in the South African context, despite more than twenty years of democracy, can be identified as white privilege (see below). This is demonstrated by the following quotes by the acclaimed social commentator, Ferial Haffajee (2015: 10; 13):

*For the purposes of research, I turn my white privilege antennae back on. I realise that somewhere along the way, I have grown oblivious to its irritations. 'White privilege' refers to a set of behaviours that underlie conduct that inflames South Africa's sometimes awful race relations – it is often unconscious, the mark of a former ruling class. Having turned it on, I can't wait to turn it back off.*

*Whiteness is the study of a system of privilege in which white people are held to be at the centre of gaze. It is, I find, an ideology and school of thought that has come to surpass non-racialism as a prism through which to understand contemporary South Africa.*

Through the 'systems' of a terrorist society, the desire for normalcy becomes so strong that it becomes ingrained and the experience of fear is ignored until it is no longer recognised (Lefebvre, 1971). Fear thus becomes insidious as its source is internal (Lefebvre, 1971). The desire for normalcy ensures that citizens, themselves, become the enforcers of 'the system' in the name of normalcy: "they are not obliged to behave in this way, nobody forces them, they force themselves" (Lefebvre, 1971: 187). This is similar to Foucault's (1977) 'governmentality' (or the 'conduct of conduct') which looks at how the conduct of individuals (and states) is controlled both by themselves and others through accepted norms of conduct to produce submissive citizens who are compliant to the capitalist system and civic duty. Therefore, in brief, the terrorism of modern day societies occurs through the latency of fear created by citizens in their bid to 'conduct conduct' by creating 'normalcy' and maintaining 'the system'; thereby becoming the terrorists of a malformed reality of the everyday. In this way, citizens become both the enforcers and victims of fear (Lefebvre, 1971).

Although a terrorist society is administrated by a penal code (Lefebvre, 1971), this plays a minor role in governing the conduct of the everyday (Lefebvre, 1971; Rose, 2000). Rather, the terrorism of a terrorist society relies on structures and their institutions to establish an illusion of reality and transparency (Lefebvre, 1971). Rose (2000: 324) identifies some of these institutions as schools, the legal system, the media, the labour market, planning and architecture, welfare, and even the family, which have been mobilised in "the name of good

citizenship, public order and the control or elimination of criminality, delinquency and anti-social conduct". Rose (2000) explains that all citizens have a legitimised identity that can be proven by a system of passports, driver's licenses, credit cards, credit ratings, user passwords and even criminal records, which control access to certain privileges.

In a society based on consumption, he says, the 'value' attached to an individual's identity determines their "moral consciousness, self-control and self-advancement" and thus freedom within a city (Rose, 2000: 321). For example, a better credit record assists in obtaining a home mortgage: Homeowners are generally perceived as 'stable and solid' citizens. I add to this legitimised identities of whiteness (as a social construct or consciousness) which depicts certain 'realities' of morality (see Chapter 9) and bestows on its beneficiaries various everyday privileges, often at the expense of 'the other'.

### 3.3.1 WHITENESS AND THE TOPOPHOBIA OF TERRORIST SOCIETIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

For the purposes of this thesis, 'othering' refers to the labelling of persons who cannot, or will not, conform to specific social codes that favour a certain group (which is usually privileged and powerful). 'Othering' and topophobia are inextricably linked, says Koskela (2010: 390), as without 'the other', there would be nothing to fear, and without fear, there would be no 'the other':

*If there was no Other there would be no reason to be afraid. Fear needs the Other.*

Thus, topophobia breeds the inability to accept difference (Janz, 2008), rupturing social relationships (and, by default, the meaning of space), decreasing quality of life, and blocking both social and physical integration as "[w]ithout trust, there is no interaction" (Koskela, 2010: 403). An important point must be made here. In Chapter 2, I argued that social relationships make up the perceived and lived space of cities: It is here that our lived experience emerges, influencing the way in which we produce place identity and infuse our urban space with meaning. If social relationships are ruptured by a fear of 'the other', urban transformation will be very difficult to effect no matter how well we, as planners, attempt to conceive of topophilic cities that embody equality. Thus, a greater understanding of the topophobias prevalent in social relationships is needed to reach the goal of transformation in South African cities.

'Othering' is usually based on characteristics of identity such as poverty (Sandercock, 2005; Whitzman, 2007), gender (Whitzman, 2007), and ethnicity or race (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003; Koskela, 2010). Markedly, fear of 'the racial other' has a large impact on contemporary South African cities as a result of apartheid planning and continues to "dominate sociospatial exclusions" within the urban realm (Lemanski, 2004: 103). Recall from Chapter 1 that, when viewed through a lens of whiteness, 'the racial other' refers to black people in general. Findings will reveal that racial 'othering' was used through systems of dominance (like white privilege) to fabricate identities of 'white superior/respectable citizens' in Secunda.

One of the main drivers behind this is the patriarchal ideology of apartheid which developed hierarchies along race, gender and ethnic divisions (Sparks, 2012; Freund, 2013). This ideology ultimately sought to instil a consciousness of whiteness, which sought (and seeks) to ensure the progression of white power and domination (Ballard, 2004; Steyn, 2004). It is important to note that, in keeping with the principle of interiority (where multiple identities are produced by the subjectivities of individuals space-users over time – see Chapter 2), multiple identities of whiteness can inhabit a single space. This argument supported by Hubbard (2005) who continues that some identities of whiteness may not all be subject to equal forms of white privilege (for example, the late nineteenth century Gypsy travellers in England).

Although not the first to initiate segregationist policies, the apartheid government created what Ballard (2004: 51) calls 'comfort zones' to maintain a Western, modernist place identity to bolster whiteness within an African context:

*[T]he minority government removed those people, values, behaviours, languages which were seen to contradict this identity.*

Ultimately, argues Ballard (2004: 54), white people used exclusion and segregation to "contend that they lived in civilised, modern, First World cities." This view can be related to a modernist quest for order and social reform (see Chapter 4) which saw the displacement of 'the other' as a necessary price in the overall public interest: "[t]here was really no good reason to tolerate the Other who, by definition, rebelled against the truth" (Bauman, 1992: xiv). To further ensure segregation between spatial zones, while simultaneously cementing a 'white' dominance over

spaces of privilege, a dichotomy of ‘the white same’ and ‘the black other’ was established<sup>6</sup> (Ballard, 2004).

This dichotomy sought to produce ‘superior’ or ‘civilised’ identities by equating white people with labels such as ‘order’, ‘purity’, ‘modern’, ‘clean’, ‘moral’ and so forth (Ballard, 2004; Hubbard, 2005). In keeping with this thinking, black people were depicted as “lazy, licentious, criminal, dirty, and so on” (Ballard, 2004: 52). These fabricated identities have proved to be powerful tools in the establishment of whiteness and white privilege in South Africa (and elsewhere). Thus, a consideration of the concepts pertaining to them is imperative to purposes of analysis. Whiteness, as a social construct or consciousness:

*[H]as definite cultural content, characterized by assumptions, belief systems, value structures and institutional and discursive options that frame white people's self-understanding.*

(Steyn, 2004: 144)

For the purposes of this study, white privilege is viewed as a ‘system’ of Lefebvre’s (1971) ‘terrorist society’ – which seeks (consciously or not) to maintain an advantageous lifestyle of dominance, often at the expense of another race group (Steyn & Foster, 2008). The maintenance of racial dominance has also been referred to as environmental racism:

*[T]he series of structures, institutions and practices which may not be intentionally or maliciously racist, but which serve to maintain the privileged status of white spaces.*

(Hubbard, 2005: 52)

Specifically, white privilege can be viewed<sup>7</sup> as:

*[T]he financial, social, and cultural privileges that Whites possess because of the historic advantages their race/skin color has afforded them.*

(Nuru-Jeter *et al.*, 2009: 33)

---

<sup>6</sup> Notably, this dichotomy is not pertinent only to South Africa, but may affect most Western cultures and identities of whiteness (Hubbard, 2005).

<sup>7</sup> For further reading, see also the critiques of Lewis Gordon and Naomi Zack of the term ‘privilege’.

Thus, environmental racism and white privilege both serve to ensure the dominance of certain spaces and racially-based privileges. As an inherited construction existing in the subconscious of beneficiaries, white privilege is not easy to grasp or acknowledge (Leonardo, 2004). The latency of white privilege is perhaps its most disturbing aspect when considering its potential for inflicting symbolic violence and contributing to latent topophobia. Because white privilege is often deeply ingrained in the subconscious of some white people, it may lead to an ignorance of the affliction (Sullivan, 2014). Sullivan (2014: 595) refers to the term ‘white ignorance’ (a potential condition of white privilege) as:

*[A] product of white people’s unconscious racial habits, which have deep roots and are strongly invested—albeit not consciously—in maintaining the economic, psychological, and global domination of people of color.*

Through white ignorance, argues Hubbard (2005: 54), whiteness itself can become an “unnamed norm against which Otherness is gauged.” Sullivan (2014) argues that white ignorance affects both educated and uneducated people. This often manifests itself as knowledge that reinforces a world in which white people feel comfortable socially, economically and psychologically (sometimes at the expense of other race groups), but can simultaneously render us blind to certain privileges and may also cripple our moral capacity to identify unethical behaviour (Sullivan, 2014)<sup>8</sup>.

White privilege can be found in the power relations inherent in our urban spaces and it is these relations that contribute to the symbolic violence in a ‘terrorist society’, which allows it to maintain a *status quo* favouring the more powerful. Nuru-Jeter *et al.* (2009) use access to healthier (and wealthier) living environments, and better facilities and services (such as schools) in majority-white neighbourhoods, as urban-related examples of white privilege. Housing segregation, the repudiation of interracial marriages, and lack of completely desegregated schools are other identified examples (Leonardo, 2004). However, white privilege also has latent consequences that are so deeply entrenched in society that they can be difficult to identify and disrupt.

---

<sup>8</sup> Bobo (2011) writes a detailed article on the present-day American situation which he posits is an ‘unsettled place’ between Jim Crow-type discrimination and a *laissez-faire* racism.

To use Lefebvre's (1971) term, through white privilege 'the system' is established and little room is left for an awareness of other 'systems' or ways of being in the world. Through its latency, white privilege is subtle and many white people are not aware of the manner in which we benefit from being white. Further, the 'truth' of 'the system' becomes so deeply entrenched that any variances to, or questioning of, it are experienced as a personal threat. DiAngelo (2011: 56; 57) speaks directly to this in coining the term white fragility, which occurs from a "lack of racial stamina" and can be defined as:

*[A] state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These moves include the outward display of emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, and behaviors such as argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation.*

In white-dominated (or comfort) spaces, many white people have not had adequate opportunities to develop the skills or stamina necessary for constructive interaction with members of different races (DiAngelo, 2011). Such a lack of racial stamina is underscored by racial belonging. For example, the everyday images of a global culture reinforce the presence and values of white people: standards for beauty are based on the Caucasian form, histories and movies depict white heroes and heroines and so forth (DiAngelo, 2011). In fact, says DiAngelo (2011: 62):

*[I]t is rare for most whites to experience a sense of not belonging, and such experiences are usually very temporary, easily avoidable situations. Racial belonging becomes deeply internalized and taken for granted.*

In contemporary South Africa, spaces and identities of whiteness endure through attempts to "maintain privilege in a situation in which black people have achieved political power" (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 25). Markedly, in some cases, former 'white zones' have been altered through integration, and some individuals have experienced heightened topophobias in a "living environment [that] no longer functions to affirm a Western, modern, sense of self" (Ballard, 2004: 51). However, in other spaces, transformation efforts have largely been thwarted through the ongoing dominance of whiteness. In particular, hefty disparities in land prices between former 'black townships' and 'white zones' are experienced countrywide and serve to limit mobility between these dichotomous spaces (Schensul & Heller, 2011). Further, in the absence of State-condoned racial barriers, some former 'white' spaces are maintained, *inter alia*,

through large disparities in property prices and market filters which have seen a shift from racial segregation to class segregation in South Africa (Schensul & Heller, 2011). Arguably, market filters can be seen as a form of symbolic boundaries.

A desire to exclude ‘the other’ has led to an increase in the presence of boundaries not just in South Africa, but also in many other global instances, leading to a greater militarisation and segregation of space (Marcuse, 2007; Koskela, 2010). Boundaries, which can be physical<sup>9</sup> or abstract<sup>10</sup> (Nahnsen, 2006; Davidson, 2010), usually symbolise the dominance of a space, making their use “aggressive as much as defensive” (Marcuse, 2007: 103). Because abstract boundaries intimidate through rejection, humiliation, and subordination, and also play on the fears and desires (to belong) of individuals (Nahnsen, 2006), they are most likely to be used in the symbolic violence of a terrorist society. In Chapter 9, I will show how topophobias of ‘the other’ have, *inter alia*, led to an increase in the meting out of symbolic violence on ‘the racial other’ in an attempt to retain or reassert spatial dominance.

Later research has emerged that considers a form of the turf system where cues (such as graffiti and rubbish) are used to keep certain ‘others’ (for example, residents and police) away (Cozens, Hillier & Prescott, 2002). This has been referred to as ‘offensible space’ (in Cozens, Hillier & Prescott, 2002), as opposed to ‘defensible space’ which seeks to stimulate active citizenship and topophilia (Jacobs, 1961). The effects of offensible space on the interiority of Secunda’s green ‘lung’ will be explored in Chapter 7. Although boundaries are a hegemonic tool in the domination of space, it must also be recognised that boundaries can be used as coping mechanisms to counteract very real phobias<sup>11</sup> (Davidson, 2010), or emotions that have arisen from tragedy (Janz, 2008). Further, the regulation of ‘the other’ is not restricted to privately enforced boundaries, but also extends to state control through legislation and policies (Rose, 2000), as well as a planning bias towards emotion research or thinking.

### 3.3.2 THE (IN)ADVERTENT TERRORISM OF URBAN PLANNING LEGISLATION AND POLICIES

---

<sup>9</sup> Examples of physical boundaries are gated estates (Baeten, 2002; Nahnsen, 2006; Janz, 2008), and the regulation of ‘the other’ to “unrecognized villages –hidden from the eyes of planners and deprived of basic services” (Yiftachel 2010: 78).

<sup>10</sup> Examples of symbolic boundaries include ‘communal neighbourhoods’ where potential residents of a community have to undergo a screening process before they may take on residence (Yiftachel, 2010), and turf systems which restrict movement through certain areas using cues as a means of identifying each turf (Jacobs, 1961).

<sup>11</sup> Such as agoraphobia.

Baum (2015: 498) argues that a bias towards emotion thinking may have a large impact on planning:

*Planning successfully depends on understanding what motivates people: what desires and anxieties lead them to act as they normally do, and what would lead them to act in ways urged by a plan.*

Ultimately, he says, planning is dependent on an understanding of the cognitive processes of people. Understanding emotion is one aspect of these processes. However, this can be made difficult through the complexity inherent to emotions as well as a Western culture that “downplays the role of emotion in human behaviour” (Baum, 2015: 498). Emotions have long been linked to irrationality (Baum, 2015). For example, in Chapter 4, it will be shown that modernist planning ideology viewed the ‘irrational’ as a threat to order and stability. Further, says Baum (2015: 503), some planners fear the controlling effect of emotions on the thoughts and actions of individuals, viewing these as originating “outside his or her true, reasonable, self.” This, he argues, can be disconcerting in itself as ‘rationality’ (in this sense) largely depends on an ignorance of the effects of emotional experience. Viewing emotions as external to the rational ‘self’ has two main outcomes. First, as passive objects rather than actors, individuals are released from the responsibility of certain ‘emotionally-driven’ actions:

*None need fear being found responsible for causing their own pain, such as debilitating shame, people can plead innocence of causing harm to others by blaming their rage rather than themselves, and everyone can assume that all mean to do whatever they can to focus on material accumulation.*

(Baum, 2015: 503)

Chapter 9 will demonstrate that, in Secunda, this is linked to white privilege, and symbolic boundaries that maintain divides between ‘the same’ and ‘the other’. A second outcome of viewing emotions as external is that this view also “cuts off people’s responsibility for controlling emotional actions” (Baum, 2015: 503). As a result, says Baum (2015: 503), actions become defensive and controlling rather than introspective – and the opportunity for the greater understanding of “personal reasons, intentions, judgments, and strategies” is neglected. The feminist principle of reflexivity also highlights the importance of introspection and will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5. The condition of what Sihlongonyane (2015) calls ‘instant

blackness' could be seen as an example of this lack of introspection. This condition, he continues, can affect all races (especially researchers who want "to be on the 'right side of history'"), generating anxieties produced through an "obsession with race" – especially in the aftermath of apartheid racism (Sihlongonyane, 2015: 65). One of the consequences of instant racism is:

*[T]he tendency to adopt a pro-black position or façade, while asserting or expressing values or interest that support the status quo.*

A desire to be 'pro-black', but at the same time, reinforcing *status quos* of dominance may easily result from a lack of introspection of 'the self'.

In the spirit of Eurocentric thinking, planners cling to rationality because:

*If they acknowledged either that the complexity of cities defied ready understanding or that rational analysis was insufficient for managing cities, they would lose authority to others who could claim expertise enough.*

(Baum, 2015: 510)

Further, argues Baum (2015), societies are organised by institutions and leaders through the implementation of basic codes and relations. Although innovation is allowed for, this must occur within the confines of a social order that favours the public interest. In this light, the governance offered through rational planning may appear "relatively easy" as it focusses on passive objects such as "land use, rather than land users – territory and buildings rather than people" (Baum, 2015: 511).

As such, the emotional concerns of spatiality are often regarded as 'messy' or 'wicked' problems that are insurmountable (Baum, 2015). Arguably, in planning research that deals with 'systems' of dominance or power struggles, the value of emotion-based research is crucial. Baum (2015: 501) shows us that "people often think unconsciously about emotional concerns" especially when these concerns may be interpreted as "illogical, unseemly, or dangerous". In post-apartheid cities, where it is no longer acceptable to publically express racial prejudice (Vestergaard, 2001), the presence of racially-based topophobias is a good example of this (see Chapter 9).

Arguably, this can apply to both planners and the individuals they plan for. In Chapter 2, I argued that the nature and meaning of space are mutually reinforcing. In other words, while the nature of space is conceived by planners through maps, designs, and policies, planners themselves are subject to the power relations, emotions and identities that give space its meaning. Thus, the way in which we plan is influenced by the meaning found in existing space. In this manner, it is possible that we infuse personal or ‘dividual’ subjectivities and biases into the space we create and administer – thereby reinforcing topophobia despite our best intentions (see Chapter 2). Thus, latent emotions (such as ‘obsessions with race’ and/or a fear of appearing ‘racist’) have the potential to prevent “planners from planning properly” – especially if little or no introspection is undergone (Baum, 2015: 501).

Perhaps the most criticised version of this involves the stigmatisation of ‘the poor other’ where a culture of poverty is blamed for any number of social ills, prejudicially linking the poor to crime (an example of deferring responsibility for ‘external emotions/stigmatisation?’):

*Of course, programmes of crime control have always had less to do with control of crime than they have to do with more general concerns with the government of the moral order*

(Rose, 2000: 321).

Wacquant (2008) explains the above quote in greater detail by arguing that ‘othering’ often hides a change in the focus of the state – from one with the goal of providing for the poor to one which has become a tool for the upkeep of the ‘moral’ order of the powerful. The main brief of this role is the removal of ‘the other’ from certain spaces coveted by the dominant (Wacquant, 2008, 2009). The state, through planning policies infused with biases against ‘the other’, has sometimes (perhaps inadvertently) reinforced topophobia. These policies are often violent and based on fear (Yiftachel, 2006, 2010), which in the name of control, can and do silence the needs and fears of the vulnerable (Sandercock, 2005).

These run along themes of increased police presence, the forced removal of individuals perceived as ‘undesirable’, spatial segregation, and social/moral reform (Sandercock, 2005). Examples include New York’s Zero Tolerance program<sup>12</sup> (Merrifield, 2000), Broken Windows<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Zero Tolerance promotes an “intensified police presence” to target disorder, e.g. vagrancy, petty crime, drug peddling, informal trading and so forth (Merrifield, 2000: 484).

(Modly, 2009), ‘quiet laws’ and laws on behavioural norms (Low, 2009), and the Federal Housing Act (1968)<sup>14</sup> (Newman, 1972). Some planners have also reacted subconsciously to topophobia through design (Sandercock, 2005). Some examples include the implementation of those improvement districts which restrict ‘the other’ (Sandercock, 2005), gated estates (Low, 2004), and increased surveillance and boundaries (Saraiva & Pinho, 2011).

In other instances, the spaces of ‘the other’ are left out of official planning documents, resulting in their being classified (often by default) as illegal (Yiftachel, 2009). These spaces are what Yiftachel (2009: 246) calls ‘grey space’, which is the space produced “between the ‘lightness’ of legality, safety and full membership, and the ‘darkness’ of eviction, destruction and death”. The exclusion of certain places from legal documentation is significant as it makes ‘grey spaces’ vulnerable to the whims of planning, as illegal spaces can be weakened through instability, marginalised, or even destroyed (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003; Yiftachel, 2009). Further, any actions undertaken by the citizens of these spaces to regain their right to the city can be criminalised (Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2003; Yiftachel, 2009). Residents of ‘grey spaces’ are also sometimes excluded from certain social policies such as welfare assistance (Rose, 2000). The literature poses some recommendations on how to deal with topophobic space.

### 3.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE LITERATURE

*When we deal with cities we are dealing with life at its most complex and intense.*

(Jacobs, 1961: 386)

Jacobs’s quote reflects a prominent argument in the literature that calls for a greater understanding of the complexity of space through a focus on social relationships found in the everyday (Jacobs, 1961; Lefebvre, 1971, 1991; Koskela & Pain, 2000; Whitzman, 2007). Jacobs’ (1961) argument for defensible space (which encompasses diversity, strong identities and positive social relationships) has successfully informed ‘safer-communities’ initiatives which

---

<sup>13</sup> According to Modly (2009), Broken Windows is based on the premise is that a ‘healthy’ neighbourhood is maintained through the imposition of certain norms and values. If a window is broken, he explains, and quickly repaired it is symbolic of the control being exercised in that space. However, if the window is not repaired quickly, it is assumed that order is not being exercised in the neighbourhood; leaving it unprotected and open to activities of a criminal nature. There is no empirical evidence to support this theory, but there is a clear reflection of current societal perception equating visual disorder to danger (Modly, 2009).

<sup>14</sup> Which stated that families (with children) of low income status cannot occupy high rise buildings (unless no other options are open to them) due to the risks related to crime (Newman, 1972).

are in direct contrast to ‘nuisance policies’ such as Broken Windows and Zero Tolerance (Whitzman, 2007). This is accomplished by moving away from prescriptive planning to greater understandings of the multiplicity of space, and the proposal of themes (rather than stipulations) to combat crime and topophobia (Jacobs, 1961). Defensible space is based on, i) a differentiation between public and private space through clear but non-impeding boundaries, ii) resident ‘eyes on the street’ (or active citizenship) encouraged by designs that assist in visual and auditory observation, and iii) well-used streets that stimulate positive contact between users. This contact, she continues, flows to a natural sense of public identity as well as a private commitment to space, thereby increasing residents’ safety. Jacobs (1961) advocates strongly for resident surveillance to assist in keeping the public peace. Physical surveillance, in turn, is underscored by an intangible network in which residents are aware of danger and respond to it. However, other authors warn that surveillance might reinforce exclusionary boundaries, as it can assist in identifying, monitoring and mapping perceived ‘social nuisance’ (Bauman, 2000; Wacquant, 2009). Defensible space, as well as its opposite offensable space (above), is explored in the situated context of Secunda in Chapter 7.

Other authors have considered more specific aspects of topophobia and the complexity of space. For example, Koskela and Pain (2000) recommend a deeper understanding of the complexity of gender-based topophobia in order to better inform policies. Lefebvre (1971) gives advice on how to address the negative consequences of topophobia and effect change within a ‘terrorist society’. He argues that a consideration of emotions should be included in understandings of the complexity of the everyday. He continues that change is difficult within terrorist societies, but that they can be affected through public upheavals and the “explosion” of the society where the *status quo* of everyday life is disrupted (Lefebvre, 1971: 148). These explosions can be harmful, and understanding why and how they explode can assist in finding an “opening, the way of escape” (Lefebvre, 1971: 150).

### 3.5 CONCLUSION

The goal of this chapter was to consider the relationship between topophobia, and the nature and meaning of space. It began by identifying the difference between fear (emotion) and topophobia (a condition which relates fear and urban space). I argued that topophobia affects all individuals, societies and urban spaces. Thrift’s (2009) argument on the ‘affect’ of emotions and was drawn upon to demonstrate the necessity of considering the effects of topophobia on the social ‘dividual’. This sets up a basis for the analysis of the play of emotion-spectra

surrounding topophobia and how these influence power relations and identities within the situated context of Secunda.

The chapter drew on Lefebvre's (1971) theory on terrorist societies. In these societies, fear has an internal source, namely, its more powerful citizens. These citizens are responsible for meting out symbolic violence to uphold systems which favour privileged members. In this manner, fear becomes latent through the imposition of social codes by citizens who are also the victims of the 'conduct of conduct'. Those who cannot, or will not, conform to the conduct of this order are subjected to symbolic violence which seeks to ostracise and/or stigmatise certain individuals as 'the other'. Findings will demonstrate that symbolic violence meted out towards 'the racial other' is a potent source of topophobia in Secunda. As such, this chapter explored the social construct of whiteness and its 'system' of dominance, namely white privilege, so as to inform a critical analysis on the subject. Other concepts which relate to whiteness and white privilege, including white ignorance and white fragility, were also explored.

However, 'othering' is only one manner in which topophobia is created. Another is through the (possibly) inadvertent actions of planners themselves, which may occur as a result of a planning bias towards emotion thinking. In order to combat the negative consequences of topophobia, there is a need for planners to recognise the nuances of space (of which emotion is one). Further, it is crucial to be introspective of how our own subjective topophobias might affect our conceptions of space (i.e. its nature). These subjective topophobias can often be found in the ideologies of planning intervention. The next chapter will consider the ideologies underlying the nature of Secunda's space in an effort to gain a greater understanding of the symbolic violence and topophobia inherent to its meaning.

# 4

---

## THE PLANNING IDEOLOGIES THAT INFLUENCED THE NATURE OF SECUNDA'S SPACE

### PART 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

## 4.1 INTRODUCTION

In a quest to understand the topophobia that has manifested in the lived experience (and *meaning*) of Secunda, this chapter aims to unearth the planning ideologies that informed the town's design (and the *nature* of its space). Before the development of the much larger Secunda complex, Sasol's Sasolburg factory was described as "*the* symbol" of modernity in apartheid South Africa (Sparks, 2012: 86). Further, its company towns formed key sites for the progression of the National Party's (NP) interpretation of industrial modernism, or what Sparks (2012) calls the 'apartheid modern'. The design of Sasol's company towns (Sasolburg and Secunda) was thus directly influenced by international ideologies of modernist planning.

For the purposes of this thesis, I use the term 'modernism' (specifically the form pertaining to architecture and later planning) to describe the philosophical movement which originated as a spinoff of the Enlightenment during the period of modernity (roughly 200 years after the Enlightenment). Modernism, as a philosophical movement, sought to shrug off the confines of tradition through scientific knowledge and technological advancement (Friedmann, 1987; Ley, 2003). It was also an archetype of the 'modern' government and can be identified by its socio-cultural processes of rationality, commodification, bureaucracy and discipline (Barker, 2003). A specific approach to urban and regional planning was established as part of the modernist movement which, it will be shown below, still exists and can be referred to as modernist planning. In order to unpack the complexity of modernist planning (and its expression in Secunda), this chapter considers its development in terms of three variations, namely early, the ripening of, and high modernist planning.

It commences with a consideration of early modernist planning which took place in the nineteenth century and considered issues such as the social reform (whose roots can be traced back to the Enlightenment era) and mobilisation of the industrial city (Friedmann, 1987). The Garden City movement signifies, more or less, the beginning of the 'modernist movement' in planning. Ebenezer Howard's second official garden city, Welwyn (the first was Letchworth garden city), directly informed the design for Secunda (Kirchhofer, 1982). Thus, this section seeks to demonstrate how the nature and meaning of Secunda's urban space has been influenced not only by the utopian principles that inspired Howard (through the epistemological and ontological approach used to conceptualise and implement company towns like Bournville or Port Sunlight), but also his Garden City principles.

However, chief architect-planner of Secunda, Max Kirchhofer (1982), does not attribute his design solely to the Garden City movement, but also to later models of British new towns and that of Radburn in the USA – also inspired by modernist planning. Thus, a further perusal along modernist planning's timeline is required. The subsequent 'ripening of modernist planning' took place, more or less, between the early 1900s and the start of World War II (WWII) in Europe and North America and is discussed in the second section of this chapter. This will show that the planning of this period was largely fragmented. The section thereafter considers the epitome of 'high' (and, more or less, global) modernist planning that began with the reconstruction of European (and Japanese) cities after WWII. The chapter then considers some of the key models of 'high' modernist planning, namely Le Corbusier's Radiant City, Broadacre City, the British new towns, and Radburn.

The last section of this chapter critically assesses the models of Western modernist planning used to inform the South African company towns of Secunda and Sasolburg. Throughout this chapter, I also consider the role and experience of women in twentieth century urbanisation. This has proven challenging due to the scarcity of literature available on the topic. Where possible, I have turned to discourse analysis (see Chapter 5). This is especially evident in Section 4.4.2 which considers the impact of 'respectability' on the identity of the post-WWII woman. The subtle nuances of modernist planning (along with their global influences) are summarised in Figure 4. Although this figure represents a timeline of the variations of modernist planning, there is no clear beginning or end to any of these movements in history; ideas merge; some ideas remain in place for centuries, while others last for such a short time that they may be forgotten by succeeding generations. Thus, the dates used in this timeline should be viewed as approximate.

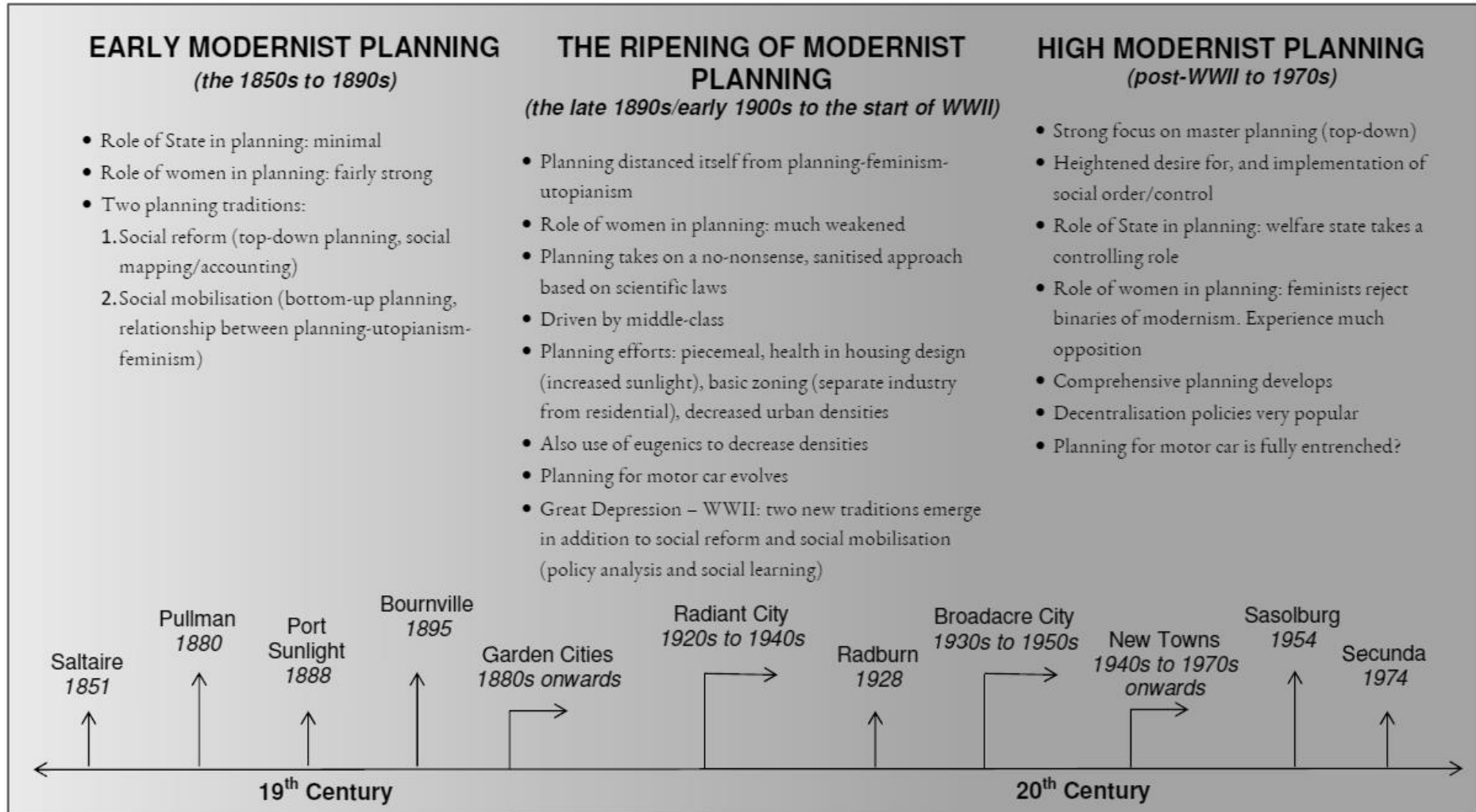


FIGURE 4: AN APPROXIMATE TIMELINE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERNIST PLANNING

## 4.2 EARLY MODERNIST PLANNING IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: A FOCUS ON SOCIAL REFORM

Friedmann (1987) identifies two major planning traditions, *social reform* and *social mobilisation* which developed in the nineteenth century but which have carried over into current planning thought. It was through the bottom-up tradition of *social mobilisation* that first wave feminism could infiltrate certain planning ideals (Friedmann, 1987). This was mainly achieved in an *ad hoc* manner by middle-class women who challenged traditional views on gender and who enjoyed an increasing influence in certain planning interventions, attained mostly through their influence in debate, philanthropy and/or social campaigns (Greed, 1994b). Arguably, the tradition of *social reform*, through company towns, the garden cities, and mainstream modernist planning had a greater influence on the ideology of Secunda's planning. Thus, this section first considers the ideology of social reform and then turns to its application in garden cities and model company towns.

### 4.2.1 THE IDEOLOGY OF SOCIAL REFORM

Social reform measures sought to stabilise the poor social conditions of the industrial city (Goodchild, 1990). George (1909: 74) gives his perception of these:

*The pictures of our city slums rise before our eyes, and it is difficult to argue coldly and logically, so violent is the gust of passion that overwhelms one who can picture the slum family: the man hopelessly brutalized because he has no 'home', because he is driven into the wet streets or the glaring gin shop by the noise and the dirt; the woman, old at thirty and her girlish beauty gone, shrewish, over-worked, her nerves jarred by continual association with the children, by her life in the foul atmosphere of the kitchen and the washtub; the children feeble, ill fed, herded together in one room, often in one bed, deprived of air, of food, of light, and rich only in the vicious experience that oozes from the very pavements of our great cities.*

Social reform, says Friedman (1987), sought to give credibility to planning interventions by introducing science-based logic into their practice. The state took on the role of both mediator and authoritarian through planning interventions, acting in the interests of the general public

by intervening in economic growth, employment stimulation, and the reallocation of income (Friedmann, 1987). However, these practices were fragmented and a comprehensive approach to planning (involving a wide range of urban concerns such as housing, services, transport, land use and social amenities on a regional and local scale) only developed after WWII. In the nineteenth century, planning interventions took a mainly top-down approach and the opinions of politicians and citizens were largely ignored as they were perceived to be irrational and uneducated in matters of urban development (Friedmann, 1987; Ley, 2003). This led to a dismissal of the subjective everyday in favour of universal scientific truths and generalisations (Ley, 2003).

Social reform measures also incorporated various tools for example, social accounting and regional economics (Friedmann, 1987), as well as mapping and zoning, in the pursuit of order and the public interest (Scott, 2003). Social mapping, once favoured by Victorian sociologists such as Charles Booth, was also implemented (Osborne & Rose, 2004). Here, planners relied on the assistance of middle-class citizens, such as teachers and doctors, to provide social statistics which were then mapped into a 'moral topography' which, in turn, influenced policy measures (Rose, 1999; Osborne & Rose, 2004). This 'moral topography' focussed on aspects such as immorality, squalor, child mortality and working-class women, leading to a (misguided) conceptualisation of immorality and the 'social ills' of the poor (Rose, 1999). In his quest to improve the living conditions of the working-class, Howard drew on various ideologies of the era (Fishman, 1982), many of which were social reformist in nature (von Hoffman, 2009).

#### 4.2.2 INFORMING SECUNDA: SOCIAL REFORM, GARDEN CITIES, AND MODEL COMPANY TOWNS

Edward Bellamy's futuristic, utopian account, *Looking Backward*, inspired Howard (Buder, 1969; Fishman, 1982; Clark, 2003). *Looking Backward* was a futuristic and utopian account set in 2000 in which nineteenth century urban issues were overcome through technology and the solidarity of individuals working together for the prosperity of the community (Fishman, 1982). Howard was also motivated to unite nature and cities, a principle contained in the Arts and Crafts Movement initiated by Marxist author and artist William Morris (Fishman, 1982; Clark, 2003) as well as the work of Sir Thomas More and Ruskin (Osborn, 1950: 231):

*Accepting the town as a good thing, he wanted to humanize it; to bring the greenness of the country into it; to keep it small enough to give everybody access to fields and woods outside it.*

Kropotkin's thesis that all major concentrations of power and people were destined to dissipate into "small-scale cooperators" sat well with Howard's opposition to nationalisation and centralisation (Fishman, 1982: 36). Howard believed that, under the fading industrialism, cities had served their purpose (Buder, 1969) and thus sought to draw citizens away from large-scale cities through urban decentralisation (Fishman, 1982; Clark, 2003). To illustrate this, he used the symbol of three magnets, shown in Figure 5 (Fishman, 1982; Clark, 2003). Two of these signified the allures and aversions of cities and nature (Fishman, 1982). 'Town', the first magnet, offered employment and socialisation opportunities which were negated by lower health standards, overcrowding and higher costs of living (Howard, 1902; Fishman, 1982). 'Country', the second magnet, was healthier and more beautiful, but marred by social isolation and weaker economies (Howard, 1902; Fishman, 1982; Clark, 2003). The third magnet, which had none of the drawbacks of the first two, was to symbolise the fusion of urban and nature in an ordered and planned environment, forming the garden city (Howard, 1902; Fishman, 1982; Clark, 2003).

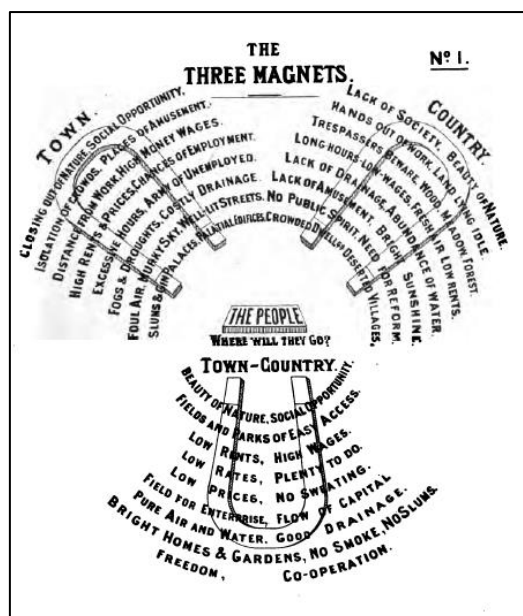


FIGURE 5: HOWARD'S THREE MAGNETS  
SOURCE: HOWARD (1902: 17)

Briefly, the garden city's design envisioned communities engaged in diverse local enterprises and agriculture (Jacobs, 1961; Buder, 1969; Fishman, 1982; Clark, 2003). As a garden city reached its planned 30 000 population peak, a new city would be established nearby until a cluster formed, that Howard referred to as the *social city* (Fishman, 1982). The garden city was circular (Eden, 1947; Fishman, 1982; Clark, 2003) with a compact urban centre surrounded by agricultural belts (Fishman, 1982). It was self-sufficient; agricultural belts produced food and contained sprawl (Clark, 2003). The urban centre was comprised of a mixture of activities including residential, commercial, cultural and industrial uses (Batchelor, 1969; Fishman, 1982). It was divided into six self-sufficient neighbourhoods (Eden, 1947; Fishman, 1982; Clark, 2003) and one civic centre (Fishman, 1982; Clark, 2003). Houses sported a garden for recreation and food production (Buder, 1969; Fishman, 1982; Clark, 2003). To create a healthy environment, an abundance of gardens, parks, trees and grass were featured (Greed, 1994b). The main mode of transport was rail to, i) assist in the transportation of goods, ii) reduce traffic within the town (Clark, 2003), iii) keep the price of transport and food low (Fishman, 1982) and, iv) link the city to the rest of its region (Staiger, 1988). Cycling was also encouraged and was a preferred method of transport amongst more liberal women of the time (Greed, 1994b).

Howard was also impressed by certain principles of model company towns – especially those of Bournville (built by the Cadbury brothers) and Port Sunlight (the Lever Brothers). Cadbury and the Lever Brothers ascribed to environmental determinism which postulated that a positive urban environment could influence the behaviour and moral character of residents (Fishman, 1982). Green spaces were plentiful to countermand the pollution of industrial activity (Rees, 2012). Infrastructure was highly advanced and facilities extensive (Baxter, 2012; Minnery, 2012). Central to the establishment of model company towns was the creation of a stable and efficient workforce which would improve the efficiency and profits of the company (Garner, 1992; Minnery, 2012). Model towns and their citizens were also used to promote the company brand and were thus designed to inspire awe (Sinha & Singh, 2011; Minnery, 2012; Rees, 2012).

However, unlike Howard's desires of a community-centred model, company towns were strongly linked to capitalism (Baxter, 2012; Rees, 2012) and paternalism (Fishman, 1982). Here, social reform was used to regulate 'moral' behaviour, creating stable 'model citizens' for 'model' towns (Garner, 1992; Gold & Gold, 1996). As such, '*the system*' [in referring back to Lefebvre (1971), see Chapter 3] of moral codes was set out by company town proprietors who

took on a pronounced father-figure role. For example, the sale or consumption of alcohol was banned in Bournville in accordance with George and Richard Cadbury's Quaker beliefs and support of the teetotal movement (Bailey & Bryson, 2006). These codes also prevailed in Pullman town which was monitored to ensure that no congregating occurred on porches or in public areas and people had to be 'properly dressed' when out in the streets thereby discouraging 'unruly' behaviour and 'disorder' (Baxter, 2012).

Social hierarchies went hand-in-hand with paternalistic ideals and were imposed through housing policies (Baxter, 2012). Typically, larger and prettier houses (placed in the public eye) were allocated to middle-class employees while working-class employees were located on the outskirts of the town in smaller housing units (Baxter, 2012; Rees, 2012). Paternalistic ideology also imposed a 'proper place' ideology (Walker, n.d.; George, 1909; Hoover, 1988). 'Proper place' was initially theorised by Aristotle (Green, 1992) and became commonplace in nineteenth century ideology through thinkers such as Ruskin (Fishman, 1982; Smith, 2012). 'Proper place' is well reflected in George's (1909: 44) comment:

*It is hardly necessary to emphasize the importance of this rule; the evils that follow in the train of industrial work for married women work which to the shame of England is sometimes persisted in up to the day when the woman gives birth to a child are so notorious that it is needless to enlarge upon them, any more than upon the results of such work on the home, upon the health and the education of growing children.*

This modernised version of Aristotle's 'proper place' saw men as competitors in an economic realm that lacked moral values (Walker, n.d.). Thus, it was surmised that the success of the working-class depended on the physical strength of its men whose morality was held 'in check' by a stable family unit governed by a maternal figure (Walker, n.d.). A further (mis)conception was that, if a woman had to work outside the home once she was married, she "had married a bum" (interviewee in Hoover, 1988: 67). In industrial cities, poor conditions caused concern over the diminishing health of children, raising calls for "higher maternal standards" (Smith, 2012: 58). Working-class women became the focus of social reform and were ideally portrayed

as the proprietors of the family and guardians of male morality – often portrayed as the ‘Angel in the House’<sup>15</sup> (Walker, n.d.; Smith, 2012).

However, modernism had also cemented ideologies on individual rights to life and respect amongst individuals (Healey, 1997), which opened a door for the feminist movement and changes in the way gender was considered (Dekoven, 2005; Bergh, 2006). However, Greed (1994b) argues that early modernist planners were generally divided on the social position of women in cities and, although some models took on radical approaches to sexual differences, the ideas of women were often met with reservation.

Feminism, as a critical consciousness opposed to male domination, responded negatively to such patriarchal ideologies (Friedmann, 1987). In particular, first wave feminism through women’s suffrage (mid to late nineteenth century), sought to impose a singular moral code for both men and women and produced the ‘Modern Woman’ as an alternative identity to the reformist notion of the ‘Angel in the House’ (Greed, 1994b; Dekoven, 2005). Greed (1994b) argues that a change in gender considerations also saw an ever-increasing female influence in early modernist planning – especially amongst middle-class women who experienced less state interference in their private lives. For example, powerful women like Beatrice Webb, who promoted the Garden City movement and played an advisory part in issues of parliament were involved in many social causes. In an ironic twist, paternalistic social reform measures such as the ‘Angel in the House’ were often spread by middle-class women who “engaged with a sense of ‘obligation’ to ‘educate society’, exercising social superiority in their interaction with working-class families” (Smith, 2012: 58). This often led to tension amongst the classes with working-class women becoming “suspicious of any initiative in which middle-class women are in authority over them, telling them what to do, and ‘judging’ them” (Greed, 1994b: 99).

The proprietors of company towns also embraced social reformist ideology, particularly that of ‘proper place’ for its supposed ability to add to a moral and efficient workforce (Hayden, 1980). They argued that a high quality home life through better housing and a support structures offered by a “serene” “home manager” would create “happy workers”, decrease conflict on the factory site, and lead to larger profits and salaries which could enable employees to enter into

---

<sup>15</sup> The Victorian ‘Angel in the House’ idealisation first stemmed from Coventry Patmore’s poem (1866) on marriage in which he idealises his wife as the model for all women in being: compliant, soft, pure, pious, dignified, charming, self-sacrificing, and devoted to her family (Roberts, 1977).

home mortgages, ensuring a permanent workforce (Hayden, 1980: 172). Women were thus encouraged to use their households as a tool in upholding a 'moral' order (Hoover, 1988: 102):

*[W]omen were to maintain their homes as cheerful oases of calm that would pacify and rejuvenate men harried by the rigors of the workplace. Women were to bear and nurture children in this environment, instilling in them values of industry, frugality and cleanliness.*

By only employing unmarried women and terminating the contracts of newly married women, companies forced many women into the role of 'housewife' (Walker, n.d.; George, 1909). Although Howard aspired to many of the theories that Ruskin (and company town proprietors) had adopted, 'proper place' was not one of them. Rather, he accepted the view of co-operative housekeeping which saw the kitchen as a "symbol of women's enslavement", adopting communal kitchens in Letchworth's design (Greed, 1994b; Cuthbert, 2006: 140). Further, Howard envisioned that women would play an active role in the progression and management of garden cities (Smith, 2012). However, the Garden City Association did not have much success in drawing in female interest which was largely focussed on social upliftment and suffrage at the time (Smith, 2012).

Urban planning became officially recognised as a profession in the early twentieth century (Friedmann, 1987; Goodchild, 1990). This was largely in response to industrial cities (of supposed chaos), an emerging market system, a maturing scientific community and the maturation of the industrial revolution (Friedmann, 1987). As a result, twentieth century modernism has informed the very definition of planning (Sandercock, 1998). During this time, modernist planning officially parted from the revolutionist ideals of utopianism, focussing rather on urban reform which "rapidly deteriorated into control to facilitate the further growth of the very factors the early movements wanted to replace, namely capitalism and patriarchy" (Greed, 1994b: 94).

#### 4.3 THE RIPENING OF MODERNIST PLANNING (THE LATE 1890s/EARLY 1900s TO WWII)

In addition to the lingering conditions of the Industrial City, planners had to contend with a tumultuous mix of post-World War One (WWI) destruction, the growing popularity of fascism, and the Great Depression (Friedmann, 1987; Goodchild, 1990). For many, order

appeared to be especially fragile and the quest to order the city heightened (Bauman, 1992; Nahnsen, 2006). As a result, planning largely dissociated itself from both feminism and utopianism, and took on a “sanitised, no-nonsense persona” (Greed, 1994b: 104). During this period, planning was largely driven by middle-class citizens who enjoyed ever-increasing wealth, power and status as a result of capitalism, affording them greater influence in local governments (Goodchild, 1990). In this manner, middle-class ideologies were infused into planning practice (Ley, 2003). In particular, the excesses of Imperialism were rejected leading to urban forms that encompassed clean lines and geometric forms (Ley, 2003).

Greed (1994b) argues that, during this era, not all modernist planners were professionals, as entrance into the field was largely based on political connections. Those, she argues, who were officially qualified as 'planners' were usually former engineers, architects or surveyors. Further, entrance-by-political-connection and power-mongering led to a band of planners that “were unlikely to be visionaries” and “thus were, arguably, imbued with traditional patriarchal values” (Greed, 1994b: 106). These patriarchal values were largely justified in the name of ‘public interest’ where the public was expected to adhere to the protective framework set out by a group of ‘elders’ (Healey, 1997). In donning the mantle of ‘elder,’ planners embraced singular views on what is ‘right’ in order to produce the ‘good city’ through a focus on its physical form (Hobson, 1999; Huxley, 1999; 2006). Therefore, many controversial aspects – such as Howard’s social and economic ideas – were toned down (Greed, 1994b). This was especially the case for new town planning which is discussed below.

During the ripening of modernist planning, initiatives were largely a mix of uncoordinated municipal and voluntary endeavours based on improved public health, lower urban densities, and more sunlight in homes (Goodchild, 1990). Urban zones proved particularly effective in separating industrial uses from residential areas, thereby removing people from the pollution associated with factories (Scott, 2003).

In light of extreme overcrowding, early modernist planners tended to favour the expansion of cities: which mostly took place in a piecemeal fashion (Goodchild, 1990). Overcrowding was associated with sexual immorality, and decentralisation tools such as versions of the garden city became popular tools (Greed, 1994b). These were coupled with zoning and design measures aimed at the allocation of more space per individual (Goodchild, 1990). Through such measures, the modernist ‘good city’ came to be characterised by suburbanisation, high rise buildings, single dwellings, and new towns (Cuthbert, 2006). Planners turned to spatial

eugenics<sup>16</sup>, the “science of good breeding” as another tool to combat overcrowding (Studholme, 2008: 367). Eugenics sought, through multifarious calculations, to determine densities that would create a healthy city and many individuals (especially slum dwellers) were relocated from the city (Greed, 1994a). This was accomplished through attempts to speed up natural selection through the focussed proliferation of ‘well-bred’ people (Greed, 1994a; Kennedy, 2008; Studholme, 2008). Eugenics was often linked to race and led to the stigmatisation of less powerful groups (Greed, 1994a; Studholme, 2008). This widened the gap between the classes and their respective qualities of life which, in turn, increased topophobia of ‘the other’.

Kennedy (2008) indicates that young, non-Anglo-Saxon working-class women were the main targets in the rolling out of eugenics: scientists alleged that ‘undesirable’ behaviours like prostitution, pauperism, and alcoholism were hereditary and those that dabbled in them were labelled as ‘feeble-minded’. The welfare state, she says, initiated a staff dedicated to the elimination of supposedly ‘immoral’ behaviour, promoting an idealised identity for citizens. ‘Feeble-mindedness’ was seen in gendered terms where it manifested as crime and socio-economic insufficiency in men while manifesting as immorality and sexual deviancy in women (Kennedy, 2008).

The period during the Great Depression (starting in the 1930s but lasting in some places to the mid-1940s) and the Second World War (1939 to 1945) saw the emergence of two new planning traditions (Friedmann, 1987). The first of these planning traditions, *policy analysis*, evolved when planning turned its focus towards national and local policies, using the disciplines of mathematics, economics, and statistics to improve on the goals and implications of such documents (Friedmann, 1987). This development was most likely encouraged by the extensive policy change effected by the American government under Franklin D Roosevelt in 1930s (Friedmann, 1987). This was termed the New Deal and instigated large-scale reform in an attempt to boost employment, effect social justice and to curb avaricious industrialists (Friedmann, 1987). New Deal also encouraged the start of regional development or analysis by introducing widespread urban policies which encouraged, *inter alia*, mass suburbanisation (Radford, 2008). It was during this time that Catherine Bauer put her influential thoughts on modern housing forward, advocating for residential districts with shared facilities, aimed not

---

<sup>16</sup> Interestingly, the use of spatial eugenics, along with (*inter alia*) spiritism, homoeroticism and temperance, has been expunged from the sanctioned records of early modernist planning (Greed, 1994a).

exclusively at the 'poor', but encompassing standards that were acceptable to society in general<sup>17</sup> (Radford, 2008).

The second planning tradition to emerge during this era was what Friedmann (1987) identifies as *social learning* which focussed on the translation of knowledge into action. Social learning viewed knowledge as a set of 'building blocks' with which social behaviour could be modified using the scientific instruments of experimentation, observation, and learning from the mistakes of the past (Friedmann, 1987). As with social reform, the top-down mind-frame was favoured in later traditions which were precursors to the comprehensive planning model of high modernist planning post-WWII (Friedmann, 1987; Goodchild, 1990).

#### 4.4 HIGH MODERNIST PLANNING: POST-WWII TO 1970S

The main difference between pre- and post-WWII modernist planning lies in the scale of development. After WWII, says Goodchild (1990), planning initiatives began to develop on a grander scale, aligning with political inclinations towards national action. Large-scale development not only affected Western nations, but also countries that had experienced colonial rule. South Africa is one such example. Like its Western counterparts, South Africa experienced a heightened rate of industrialisation, urbanisation and housing demand, igniting an increased focus on restructuring "the disruption of global war [that had] unleashed a modernist planning fervour in South Africa, a drive to reconstruct the cities in order to address what have been termed 'the dislocations of the age'" (Mabin & Smit, 1997: 203).

During this time the welfare state was birthed in the West (Goodchild, 1990). The welfare state played a strong role in planning with its strategic themes focussing on the redevelopment of slums and the controlled growth of cities using new towns, green belts, high rise building, single family homes and suburbanisation (Goodchild, 1990; Cuthbert, 2006). The desire for lower urban densities remained (Goodchild, 1990) and was further enabled through the motor car which was both the quintessential production unit of modernisation as well as one of the era's most consumed products – making it the icon of modernism (Sheller & Urry, 2000; Alexander, 2009). With the vast technological developments experienced during modernism, combined with a capitalist quest for ever-greater efficiency, the space-time relationship shrank

---

<sup>17</sup> For a more comprehensive account of Catherine Bauer's 'modern housing' see Radford's (2008) book.

(Bauman, 2000). Bauman (2000) argues that greater efficiency was dependent on faster technology.

With faster technology, the boundaries of urban space became larger, even disappearing, and expansion became part of the modernist ideology (Bauman, 2000). Roads became ever-wider with underpasses and bypasses for faster and greater traffic circulation (Sheller & Urry, 2000; Alexander, 2009). However, to navigate this enlarged space, technology had to be further modernised to decrease the amount of time wasted in travel. Thus, states Bauman (2000: 113), modern civilisation has become focussed on decreasing the time necessary to perform tasks thereby “filling space with objects more densely and enlarging the space which could be so filled in a given time”. This has been criticised for decreasing the mobility of those without a privately owned car, increased pollution and urban segregation, the blurring of public-private space, and increased safety concerns (Sheller & Urry, 2000; Alexander, 2009).

A desire for lower densities may have been inadvertently aligned with the spatial effects of one of the greatest tools for women's empowerment of the era – the contraceptive pill (or the Pill). In her memoirs, midwife Jennifer (Worth, 2012) ascribes the Pill as one of three<sup>18</sup> things that most altered the East End of London during the last half of the twentieth century. The Pill, she says, brought about a sexual revolution where women could “be like men, and enjoy sex for its own sake.” Contraception had a great impact on urban densities as women could now choose the number of children they gave birth to. Worth (2012: Loc 101-108) notes that:

*In the late 1950s we had eighty to a hundred deliveries a month on our books. In 1963 the number had dropped to four or five a month.*

In Britain, the decision-making style turned towards a more comprehensive stance in 1947 when the newly promulgated Town and Country Planning Act afforded planners the power to oversee all development of the built environment (Goodchild, 1990; Greed, 1994b). This comprehensive approach moved away from static planning and planners adopted the role of guiding both public and private investment (Goodchild, 1990). Planners also took an increasing focus on social and economic development as part of the welfare state (Greed, 1994b). Through a comprehensive focus, planning became solution-driven, ignoring the social

---

<sup>18</sup> The other two include slum clearance and the closure of the Docks.

contexts underpinning urban issues (Goodchild, 1990; Sandercock, 1998). Comprehensive planning was succeeded by the Rational Choice model in the late 1960s and early 1970s, characterised by exact, comprehensive information that could be applied universally due to its scientific and quantifiable objectives adept in predicting future occurrences (Goodchild, 1990). In a bid to sell this ideology of generalisation, modernist planning became fixated with the binaries of order/disorder, male/female, moral/amoral, public/private, culture/nature, and so forth (Baeten, 2002; Sandercock, 2005). See Chapter 1 for my argument on the impact of binaries on this research.

However, the use of binaries goes back further than modernist planning. For example, Haussmann used binaries to separate the 'good' from the 'bad' in his attempts to reorganise nineteenth century Paris (Sandercock, 1998: 240):

*[H]is building into the architecture of the city a clear demarcation between privilege and squalor; his attempted eradication of the dark and disorderly spaces in which plots thicken, revolutionaries hide, prostitutes and criminals escape policing; his keeping the slums contained, enclosed, bounded so that the neighborhoods of the bourgeoisie might continue clean, well lighted, unpolluted.*

Another example can be found in Jacobs' (1961) criticism of garden city supporters for labelling the industrial city as dystopia while simultaneously labelling the garden city as utopia. In this manner, modernist planning contributed to the development of, through what Sandercock (1998: 5) refers to as "dusty stereotypes" – or 'othering'. One of the binaries that modernist planning fixated on was the public/private dichotomy (Greed, 1994b). This was supported by the rise of the automobile which allowed for private travel between residence and place of employment (Greed, 1994b; Cuthbert, 2006; Alexander, 2009). This, coupled with increased suburbanisation and a state housing design centred around one car per (nuclear) family, contributed greatly to the segregation of women from urban networks and economic opportunities (Greed, 1994b; Cuthbert, 2006).

#### 4.4.1 NUCLEAR FAMILY PLANNING AND BINARIES

As mentioned above, the origin of nuclear family planning can be traced back to Aristotle's 'proper place' theory. In many 'global North' cities, 'proper place' evolved through modernist planning into the traditional family unit where men adopted the role of commuting

breadwinner and women housewife and mother (Greed, 1994b; Cuthbert, 2006). Like company town proprietors, many modernist planners deduced that nuclear family planning would create stability and order in society, and thus aligned it with social codes of 'respectability'. The nuclear family model has been criticised as a planning tool as evidence shows the existence of diverse needs relating to the *family*, which comes in all forms and sizes (Oranje, 1998).

In addition, the gender assumptions of nuclear family planning further reinforced male/female binaries and excluded individuals not associated with the heterosexual nuclear family (Greed, 1994b; Cuthbert, 2006). Feminist focus began to reject the binaries so favoured by modernism, rather seeking a more complex understanding of society (Dekoven, 2005; Brown, 2010). Such investigations turned to the meaning of context, culture, and history in "the contradictory presence of the feminine" (Dekoven, 2005: 182). In this case, feminist planners viewed the formation of identity in terms of spatial themes (for example, the dystopian ghetto and the phallic skyscraper), relating them to analyses of class, race, and gender (Brown, 2010). Around this time, Jane Jacobs (not a self-proclaimed feminist), in *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), also challenged the idea of the removed urban planner, arguing for a contextualisation of planning practices through an understanding of the subjective everyday and a collaborative approach to urban development.

Feminism allowed for the increase in white collar positions amongst middle-class women from the start of the twentieth century (Greed, 1994b). Even so, these were of a subservient (often part-time) nature and not considered 'real' employment:

*White-collar work, especially that undertaken by women, fell down the gap in traditional divisions, between capital/labour, bosses/workers, mind/muscle and brain/brawn, occupying an ambiguous middle ground.*

(Greed, 1994b: 124)

Further, many professional women were forced to give up their positions upon marriage, or upon the reinstatement of WWII soldiers (Greed, 1994b). Female planners received even less consideration than their nineteenth century counterparts by 'malestream' planners, and while some women sat on some planning committees, their numbers were few and their influence usually relegated to issues of the household (Greed, 1994b) or the social aspects of the city (Sandercock, 1998). This, argues Sandercock (1998: 155), was largely because nineteenth century planning:

*[W]as infused with ideas associating the 'disorderly city' with the female body, specifically the prostitute's body. Thus planning concerned itself with controlling and cleansing, policing and pathologizing urban women...policing the city became largely a project of policing female bodies.*

In other words, while modernist planning sought to separate emotions and rationality (see Chapter 3), order from disorder and so forth, these distinctions were hierarchical and beholden to certain value systems (Burns, 2000). Particularly, hierarchies sought to establish a "supremacy of reason" where men were related to the 'rational' while women were often related to 'irrationality' (Burns, 2000: 69) and disorder (Sandercock, 1998).

#### 4.4.2 THE FEMALE BODY, THE HOUSEWIFE AND 'RESPECTABILITY'

Sandercock (1998: 230) argues that the aspirations of modernist planners (such as Haussmann and Le Corbusier) towards rational geometry was:

*[D]irected against the disorder of body, and more particularly against the dangerous curves and excesses of female body, a body 'so powerful it could move the world without the aid of machines invented by engineers.'*

She adds that modernist considerations of public hygiene and urban pathology often shaped the way in which the human 'body' was linked to the city. This link was usually represented by the female body and disorder. Sandercock (1998: 240) continues that to maintain a hierarchy of female subordination, women were portrayed as overly emotional (and thus prone to madness), irrational and "inherently disorderly and threatening to 'enlightened' society". To deal with this, planners likened themselves to surgeons who cured (through rationalisation and standardisation) or cut out the diseased portions of cities. In doing so, they imposed rationality on cities using straight lines to distinguish between women and men, and then distinguished between orderly (or 'respectable') and disorderly (needing reform) women.

Women that had been "domesticated by men, who live within the confines of men's houses and names as libidinal and economic dependents" were seen to be less dangerous than for example, unwed mothers, prostitutes, lesbians, working women, and feminists (Sandercock, 1998: 241). The quest to 'order' the city based on 'rational' planning pursuits, argues Baum

(2015), has had a lasting impact on planning research and practice. Planners, he argues, often take the position that humans are (or should be) purely rational beings who should ignore their emotions to “rationally pursue material interests” – a concept that is based on a Westernised “cultural strategy for maintaining order”. In doing so, we often overlook or misunderstand “important aspects of human experience and social activity and will wield limited purchase on conditions” (Baum, 2015: 512).

The divide between ‘respectable’ and ‘not-respectable’ women also took place along lines of social hierarchies. Female members of the bourgeoisie were seen to uphold the moral order while working-class women were labelled as being sexually voracious and/or deviant – creators of the ‘diseased city’ (Sandercock, 1998). Greed (1994b: 108) agrees, saying that more conservative (and ‘respectable’) women were sometimes included in planning committees to “block the path of more unsettling women”. She continues that such women were usually wealthy ‘elites’ who had little understanding of the needs of working-class women. Such women supported the patriarchal mould wholeheartedly and were seen to encompass the “tried and tested type of acceptable woman” (Greed, 1994b: 111).

The following accounts illustrate how different the existence of middle and working-class women was in the 1950s – and how different interpretations of urban needs might have been between individuals of the same gender. These accounts include a discourse analysis of the memoirs of midwife Jennifer Worth (2012) as well as a compilation of oral histories by Sheila Hardy (2012). Both accounts consider British women in the 1950s. However, Worth (2012), describes the life of the working-class women she attended, while Hardy (2012) focuses her compilation of oral histories on middle-class housewives.

Much emphasis was put on women of all classes to adhere to codes of ‘respectability’: “Ah, ‘respectable’, how often we heard that word in the 1950s!” (Hardy, 2012: Loc 220). Worth (2012: 66-80) demonstrates that one such code was related to marriage:

*Early marriage was the norm... Unmarried partners were virtually unknown, and no girl would ever live with her boyfriend. If she attempted to, there would be hell to pay from her family. If a young girl did become pregnant, the pressure on the young man to marry her was so great that few resisted. Families were large, often very large... I often wondered how these women managed, with a family of up to thirteen or fourteen*

*children in a small house, containing only two or three bedrooms. Some families of that size lived in the tenements, which often consisted of only two rooms and a tiny kitchen. Washing, drying and ironing took up the biggest part of a woman's working day. Washing machines were virtually unknown... The drying yards were always festooned with clothes, and we midwives often had to pick our way through a forest of flapping linen to get to our patients. Once in the house or flat, there would be more washing to duck and weave through, in the hall, the stairways, the kitchen, the living room and the bedroom. Launderettes were not introduced until the 1960s, so all washing had to be done by hand at home.*

Although much pressure was also put on a middle-class woman to marry, her lived experience is depicted as rather different from the overcrowded conditions most working-class women had to endure (Hardy, 2012). The average middle-class woman had to work according to a tight budget and a strict shopping list to meet rationing requirements in post-WWII Britain (Hardy, 2012). However, she did have more residential space. Even though young middle-class couples had to share houses with others due to post-war housing shortages, there was often space to store the household's:

*[B]est china cups that came out of the glass cabinet only when you had visitors, as well as at Christmas and for funerals.*

(Hardy, 2012: Loc 188-189)

Middle-class women also had greater access to semi-automatic washing machines and tumble driers, which would have decreased the amount of washing (if any) that, in the homes of the working-class woman, had to be hung in most of the rooms of the house. In keeping with nuclear family ideology, it became difficult for working-class women to work after marriage:

*Few women went out to work. The young girls did, of course, but as soon as a young woman settled down it would have been frowned upon. Once the babies started coming, it was impossible: an endless life of childrearing, cleaning, washing, shopping and cooking would be her lot.*

(Worth, 2012: Loc 71-72)

On the other hand, although little emphasis was put on further schooling for young middle-class women, it was not uncommon for a more independent individual to hold employment as a secretary, nurse, teacher, or sometimes clerk – sometimes even after she was married although this depended on the permission of her husband (Hardy, 2012). Divorce was taboo and rare, leaving a divorcee severely stigmatised (Hardy, 2012; Worth, 2012). For working-class families, “[i]ntense and violent family rows were common, but husband and wife usually stuck together” (Worth, 2012: 70) Obtaining a divorce was an expensive exercise – one few could afford (Hardy, 2012). Further, the nuclear family model also made women financially dependent on their husbands. If a woman did consider divorce, she could often not afford to keep her children, trapping some women in unwanted and unhappy marriages (Hardy, 2012).

As required by codes of ‘respectability’, sex became a taboo subject for women in general:

*There was a high sense of sexual morality, even prudery, amongst the respectable people of the East End...What went on in the bomb sites, or behind the dustbin shed, was not spoken of.*

(Worth, 2012: Loc 66)

*[S]ex was one subject that was rarely mentioned in polite company. It was almost as if it did not exist. There was a joke in the 1950s... that ‘sex is what the poor people have their coal delivered in!’*

(Hardy, 2012: 2857-2859)

Much pressure was put on housewives to conform to a ‘respectable’ identity through the media. Hardy (2012: Loc 2501-2503) refers to radio broadcasts by authoress Barbara Cartland whose advice included:

*[H]ow the good wife should prepare herself to greet her husband, not only with a delicious meal prepared but herself bathed, perfumed and dressed in smart clean clothes, complete with fresh frilly apron, ready to spend a cosy and possibly romantic evening with him.*

Hardy (2012) argues that, most likely, the women who managed to meet this identity could afford assistance with their household chores and were thus relatively wealthy. From the

above, it can be deduced that 'respectability' was based on strict moral codes of 'respectability' designed to 'cut out' the disorder that Sandercock (1998) argues was symbolised by the (female) body. These strict codes were symbolised by the 'rational city' which sought to remove the 'disorder' created through irrationality and emotion. Planning that envisioned the rational city had three well-known models, namely Le Corbusier's Radiant City, Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City, and new town planning (Hobson, 1999). I have added Radburn to this list due to its strong influences on Secunda's design (Kirchhofer, 1982).

#### 4.5 WELL-KNOWN MODELS OF MODERNIST PLANNING

Please note that the dates given for these models depict the periods in which they had the greatest influence on other urban designs. Some of these models, such as the Radiant City (Marmot, 1981) and Radburn (Patricios, 2002), were never built in totality while different variations of the new town were implemented (see below). The first of these models is Le Corbusier's Radiant City.

##### 4.5.1 LE CORBUSIER (1920S TO 1940S)



FIGURE 6: VILLE CONTEMPORAINE: THREE BUILDING TYPOLOGIES (LEFT: CELLULAR RESIDENTIAL BLOCKS, MIDDLE: 12 STOREY SETBACK RESIDENTIAL BLOCKS, AND RIGHT: 60 STOREY OFFICE TOWERS)  
SOURCE: CITY OF TOMORROW IN MARMOT, 1981: 84

It was Le Corbusier's skyscrapers that signalled the power of science and had the largest impact on modernist planning (Marmot, 1981; Greed, 1994b). Le Corbusier's work was inspired by Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann's renovation of Paris during the mid-nineteenth century (Sandercock, 1998). Sandercock (1998: 239) explains that Haussmann sought to rationalise Old Paris by implementing "on a massive scale the model of an ideal Enlightenment city". To do

this, she continues, Haussmann sought to standardise the disordered city by imposing a schematic layout based on statistics and mapping, and supported by a comprehensive plan (Sandercock. 1998: 239):

*This "urban surgery" is the removal of diseased organs, the opening of clogged arteries and lungs, the demolition of slums – changes that were the most massive Paris would undergo between the Revolution and World War II. Keywords for the "Haussmann pattern" are circulation, ventilation, functions, nodes, flows, hygiene, geometry, traffic, classification, system.*

Through his Radiant City, Le Corbusier desired to order the urban landscape and create an urban model to outshine the garden city (Jacobs, 1961). Le Corbusier was driven by a desire to start afresh by removing the 'clutter' and chaos of the past and thus focussed on the 'chaos' of the slums (Greed, 1994b). He was motivated by ideals of harmony through efficiency and rationality (Marmot, 1981; Greed, 1994b). His main tools to accomplish this were tall towers (some reaching up to sixty storeys high) (Marmot, 1981; Gorlin, 1982). Ville Contemporaine is one such example (Figure 6). These skyscrapers served the functions of clearing the 'clutter' produced by low buildings, allowing for the incorporation of transport planning, increasing the number of green spaces, and providing much-needed housing (Jacobs, 1961; Marmot, 1981).

Each tower was situated in the centre of a park (Gorlin, 1982). Le Corbusier also incorporated garden city-like suburbs on the periphery of his city to provide lower density housing (Marmot, 1981). However, Le Corbusier's skyscrapers have been criticised as symbolising the phallic and "thrusting style of the New World", thereby depicting the power of the modern man over nature and the rest of humankind (Greed, 1994b: 119). The model considered in the next section rejected much of Le Corbusier's ideology, preferring the garden city.

## 4.5.2 BROADACRE CITY (THE 1930s TO 1950s)

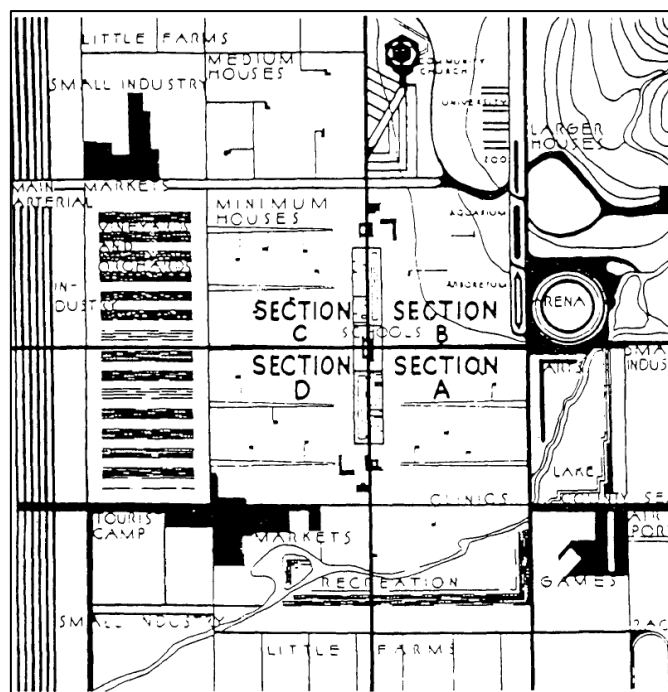


FIGURE 7: THE ELEMENTAL UNITS FOR THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE BROADACRE CITY MODEL  
SOURCE: WRIGHT (1935: 347)

Frank Lloyd Wright was one of Howard's followers and Broadacre City was thus the converse of Le Corbusier's Radiant City (Jacobs, 1961; Staiger, 1988). Unlike Le Corbusier, Wright vetoed a concentration of population, preferring to implement a decentralised urban form (Lapping, 1979; Staiger, 1988). Figure 7 is a rendition of the elemental units for Wright's model. In his words, Wright (1935: 346) sought a coordination of common interests through "elemental units of our social structure", namely:

*[L]ittle farms, little homes for industry, little factories, little schools, a little university going to the people mostly by way of their interest in the ground, little laboratories on their own ground for professional men [sic]. And the farm itself, notwithstanding its animals, becomes the most attractive unit of the city [emphasis in text].*

To blend function and form, Wright (1935) implemented large residential erven, no smaller than an acre (4046.9m<sup>2</sup>) (Staiger, 1988) to house 1400 families (Wright, 1935; Alofsin, 2011). It appears that Wright sought to create a society uniform in its social structure (Alofsin, 2011) where residents were both property owners and self-employed, thereby discouraging the

development of a “renter class” (Lapping, 1979: 16). However, Wright’s (1935: 348) housing, which varied in size and facilities, appear to have instituted the very social hierarchy he sought to steer away from:

*There is the professional’s house with its laboratory, the minimum house with its workshop, the medium house ditto, the larger house and the house of machine-age luxury. We might speak of them as a one-car house, a two-car house, a three-car house and a five-car house.*

Houses, in general, encouraged privacy as doors were embellished with porches and bulwarks (Staiger, 1988). The motor car played the leading role as Wright appreciated the freedom of movement it offered (Lapping, 1979; Staiger, 1988). Wright did not include a central business district (CBD) theorising that, with the new freedom of movement offered by the car, it would be preferable for individuals to conduct their shopping and other leisure activities – conveniently – alongside a road (Lapping, 1979; Alofsin, 2011). To accommodate the car, Wright designed a network of superhighways which allowed for rapid travel (Lapping, 1979). These highways were wide, bordered with greenery, separated land uses and sometimes used as boundaries (Lapping, 1979). Highways were served by secondary roads which connected them to residential areas (Lapping, 1979). Not surprisingly, Wright’s superhighway network has received much criticism for its contribution to urban sprawl (Alofsin, 2011). For a more detailed description, refer to Wright (1935). However, Broadacre City was not the only modernist model to be inspired by Howard’s garden city.

## 4.5.3 NEW TOWNS (THE 1940s TO 1970s)

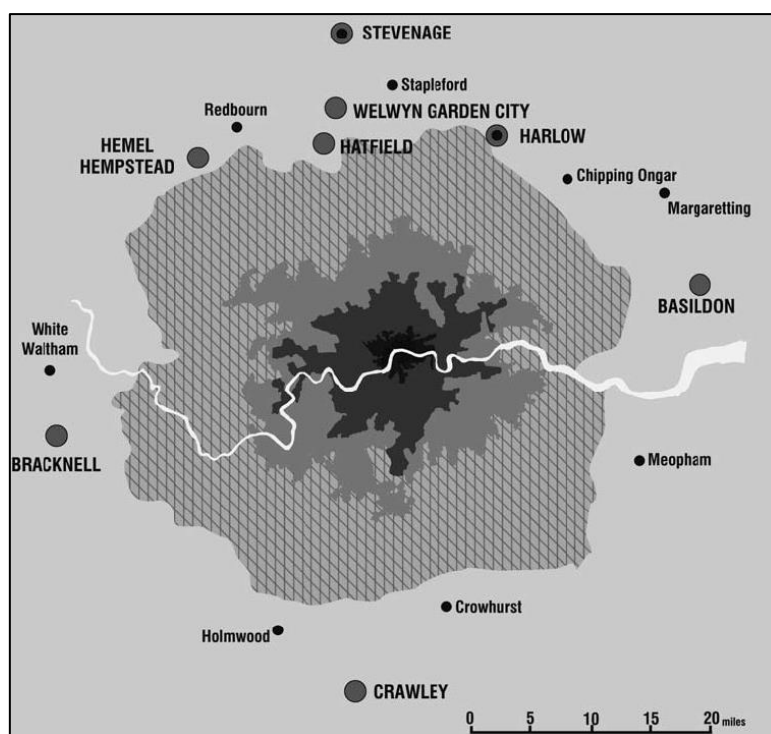


FIGURE 8: SITES PROPOSED BY ABERCROMBIE (REPRESENTED BY DOTS) AND DEVELOPED (REPRESENTED BY CIRCLES) AS PART OF THE NEW TOWN PROGRAMME IN BRITAIN  
SOURCE: ALEXANDER (2009:28)

Although an approximation of the garden city, the popularity of new town planning gained traction through Abercrombie's plan for London (Alexander, 2009; Kerswill & Williams, 2000). To overcome the overcrowding and pollution of this city, as well as the housing shortages of post-WWII Britain, Abercrombie encouraged decentralisation through suburbanisation and the building of new towns as depicted in Figure 8 (Goodchild, 1990; Kerswill & Williams, 2000; Alexander, 2009). Echoing Howard, satellite new towns were delineated from central London using a 'greenbelt' (Cottrell, 2006), but linked to the city by means of a railway system (Goodchild, 1990).

Between the 1940s and late 1970s, new towns were heralded for their success and thirty were built, inspiring urban development globally (Alexander, 2009). Indeed, new town planning has been signalled as "the ultimate form of modernist planning" (Hobson, 1999: 3). British new towns were ideally located far enough from London (40-60 kilometres) to prevent them from becoming dormitory towns, thereby creating residentially and economically self-sufficient towns (Armen, 1976; Hobson, 1999; Alexander, 2009). However, there are some cases (for

example, Glasgow) where new towns were developed on the fringes of major cities (Hobson, 1999).

The aim of new town implementation was twofold. The first aligned with the garden city objective of improving depressed urban conditions and providing housing for the working-class (Hobson, 1999; Alexander, 2009). The second aim was to improve the British economy's growth as well as to promote a progressive image of the post-War British nation (Alexander, 2009). This was created through the ideal of a social and economic balance (Armen, 1976). To accomplish this, the state lured factories, local businesses and state departments to new towns to attract both professional and manual workers (Armen, 1976). Greed (1994b) argues that women were sometimes employed in new towns but were seen as a threat to their male counterparts as they traditionally earned lower wages and increased the supply of labour. As a result of this threat, some firms resorted to imposing employment structures which indicated that only a "minimum of female employment" could be retained (Greed, 1994b: 123).

New towns were not blueprints of the garden city whose principles, especially social, were often diluted (Fishman, 1982; Hardy, 1991; Hobson, 1999). For example, the second objective undermined the first as new towns attracted skilled individuals away from struggling inner city centres, leading to the decay of the areas which regional development sought to assist in the first place (Alexander, 2009). This also led a strong middle-class presence in new towns originally designated for the working-class (Southerton, 2002).

The implementation of new towns occurred in a series of three marks or waves (Armen, 1976; Hobson, 1999). During the first wave (initiated under the 1946 New Towns Act), densities were required to be low – between 20 000 and 60 000 residents – and the towns were made up of young families (Hobson, 1999; Alexander, 2009). However, the Garden City principles of finite density proved unrealistic and the initial stipulation for optimum size was later removed (Alexander, 2009). New towns also adopted the Garden City notion of the neighbourhood unit of roughly 5000 residents, with a green space one of its key components. This allowed for a mixing of the classes during times of relaxation (Greed, 1994b). However, new towns moved away from the cottage-type houses favoured by Howard, preferring high rise buildings of mixed uses (Goodchild, 1990).

Housing was organised in the form of a self-contained neighbourhood unit with each unit having its own shops, schools and identity (Goss, 1961; Kerswill & Williams, 2000; Alexander,

2009). The New Town Committee originally recommended that a variety of housing types be built (Armen, 1976). However, development companies frequently ignored the ideology of single units surrounded by large tracts of land, preferring to build lines of terraces as they were cheaper (Alexander, 2009). A post-war shortage in materials, coupled with the rapidity of which these towns had to be built, resulted in the mass production of housing which was conventional and difficult to modify (Armen, 1976; Alexander, 2009). However, the second wave of new towns fared better as architectural restrictions were later lifted (Alexander, 2009). Alexander (2009) argues that the second wave was largely inspired by the evolution of the motor car, and although a public transport system was incorporated in some new towns, most new towns were developed around motorised movement. The presence of the car was a major differentiating factor between new towns and garden cities as it undermined the latter's principle of locality (Alexander, 2009) and increased road accidents around shopping centres and schools (Patricios, 2002).

In the 1960s, the first aim of new towns (to provide for those left destitute by WWII) no longer applied and a third wave of new town planning arose which aimed to provide an even greater option in housing, employment and leisure (Kerswill & Williams, 2000). All the same, new towns – especially those of the first wave – continued under a stigma of placelessness (Alexander, 2009). New town planning was mostly abandoned by practitioners as a result of various failures like “pockets of extreme deprivation”, a high rate of decay, and a lack of maintenance and abandonment (Alexander, 2009: 4). The next section considers the city of Radburn.

## 4.5.4 RADBURN (THE 1920S)

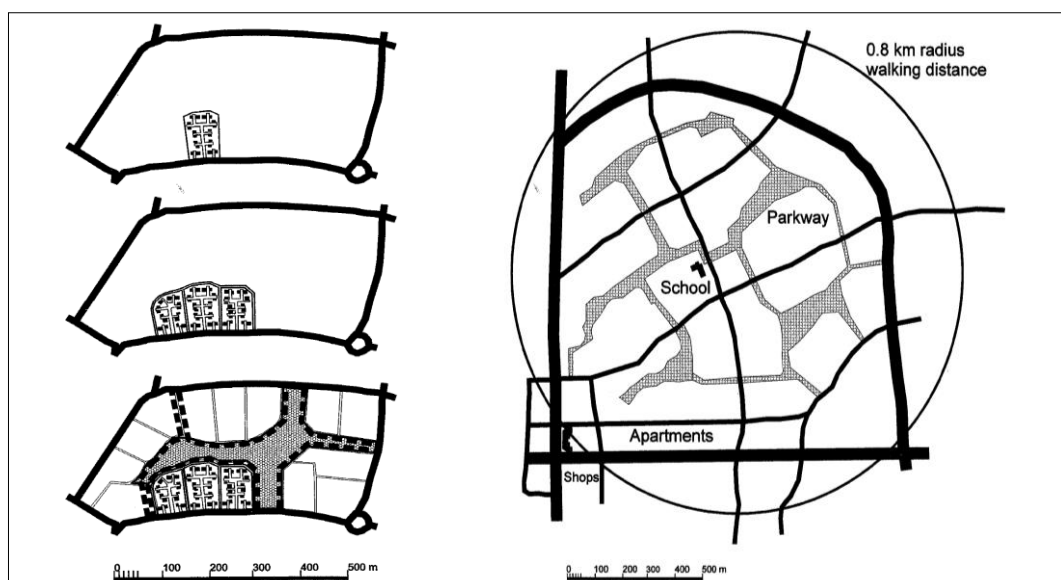


FIGURE 9: RADBURN'S HIERARCHICAL NEIGHBOURHOOD DESIGN: ENCLAVE, BLOCK, SUPERBLOCK, NEIGHBOURHOOD  
SOURCE: PATRICIOS (2002: 24-25)

Although the motor vehicle was favoured by many modernist planners in their designs (see above), it was the city of Radburn, in New Jersey, that influenced the transport planning of Secunda (Kirchhofer, 1982). The main difference between Radburn and other car-orientated models was that Radburn, through its self-contained neighbourhoods, attempted to tame unnecessary sprawl (Kirchhofer, 1982; Patricios, 2002). In 1922, planners Clarence Stein and Henry Wright met with Howard on a fact-finding mission that would inform their design of Radburn (Patricios, 2002). Although inspired by his work, they did not try to create another garden city, but rather sought to meet the needs of the motor age (Lee & Stabin-Nesmith, 2001; Patricios, 2002), while simultaneously preventing the new threat posed to pedestrians (Greed, 1994b). Here, the inclination of modernist planners to problem-solve by segregating uses rose to the fore as cul-de-sacs and pathways separated pedestrians from cars in a hierarchical road system (Greed, 1994b; Lee & Stabin-Nesmith, 2001; Patricios, 2002). To accomplish this, Stein and Wright introduced the concept of the “park as backbone” (Lee & Stabin-Nesmith, 2001: 153).

This concept called for an extensive network of green strips which allowed pedestrians to move between homes, commercial zones and schools and facilitated public transport (Lee & Stabin-Nesmith, 2001). A focus on elementary schools sought to “to provide a safe space to raise children in the age of the car” (Lee & Stabin-Nesmith, 2001). However, Greed (1994b) criticises

the car-orientated character of Radburn indicating that, typically, planners chose to elevate those elements which symbolised man (in this case, cars) over those that didn't (in this case, paths). She continues that paths were seen to symbolise women in planning policies that often based their designs of footpaths on perambulators (specifically making them wide enough for two to pass one another).

In Radburn, the self-contained neighbourhood formed the "building block of the city" (Patricios, 2002: 25). Each neighbourhood had a small shopping centre, but was arranged so that neighbourhoods overlapped one another slightly to allow for the sharing of services such as high schools and hospitals (Patricios, 2002). The design of Radburn's neighbourhoods was hierarchical in nature and comprised of four levels (Figure 9), namely "enclave, block, superblock, and neighbourhood" (Patricios, 2002: 24). A superblock comprised of four clustered residential blocks with a central parkway. Each neighbourhood (Figure 9) was made up of four to six superblocks (Patricios, 2002) and was bounded by streets or natural landscapes (Lee & Stabin-Nesmith, 2001; Patricios, 2002).

Houses within these neighbourhoods were 'turned around' with the backs of houses facing a cul-de-sac and their gardens placed in the front (Lee & Stabin-Nesmith, 2001; Patricios, 2002). In his designs for Sasolburg and Secunda, Max Kirchhofer (1982: 7) moved away from Radburn's cul-de-sac layout as he deemed it unpractical for the South African context:

*The footpaths would at once be decried as sanitary lanes in the condemnation of which householders, policemen and municipal officials spoke with one voice.*

Kirchhofer (1982) rather implemented a combination of the longer street blocks of the English neighbourhood, incorporating only a few cul-de-sacs (Figure 10). He opened up the neighbourhood pattern for Secunda more than he did for Sasolburg. This was done to combat:

*[T]he difficulty of correlating houses and primary school under ever-changing conditions of language groups and age pattern of the population.*

(Kirchhofer, 1982: 21)

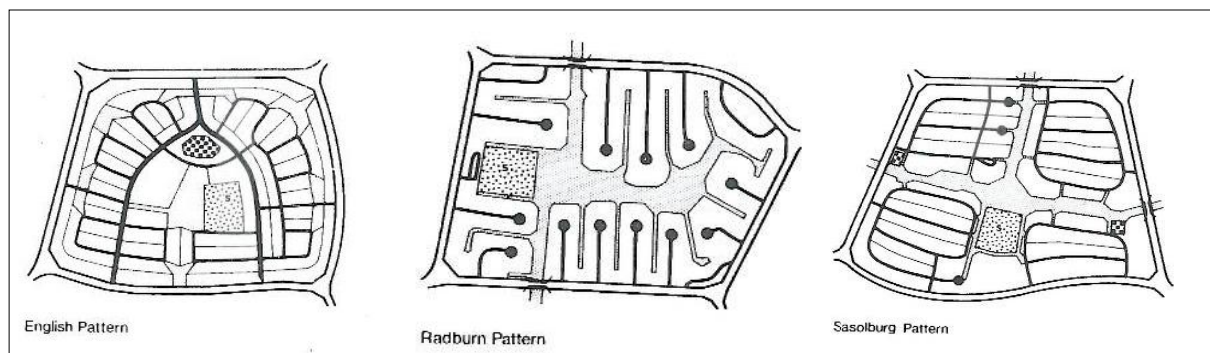


FIGURE 10: KIRCHHOFER'S RENDITION OF NEIGHBOURHOODS FOR SASOLBURG  
SOURCE: KIRCHHOFER (1982: 7)

Hyslop (2000) explains this difficulty: in order to instil a “cultural stasis” in its nation-state, the National Party (NP) instilled a white social hierarchy based on ethnic identity. Part of this movement included the separation of Afrikaans and English schools (Hyslop, 2000). In Radburn (and Secunda), each neighbourhood had its own primary school which determined the size of the neighbourhood (Patricios, 2002: 25):

*[T]he neighbourhood was to have a limited or fixed size determined by the population needed to support an elementary school*

A population guide of 2.1 children per family was used for the Secunda design (DS, 14/05/2015) and a ratio of two primary schools (built on sites roughly three hectares in size) to one high school (built on sites between five and seven hectares in size) was instigated (DS, 14/05/2015; 15/05/2015). The next section considers the interpretations made by Kirchofer and his team in implementing modernist principles in apartheid South Africa.

#### 4.5 SITUATING MODERNIST PLANNING: SECUNDA AND ITS INTERPRETATIONS

Planning in South Africa first gained traction in the early twentieth century (Mabin & Oranje, 2014), and, was greatly influenced by ‘best practices’ of the global North, due to a shortage of skilled South African planners (Scott, 2003). This adoption was heavily influenced by colonial planning legislation that sought, i) to reserve “government for ‘Europeans only’” with the simultaneous aim of solving the “so-called ‘Poor White Problem’” and, ii) “the social, economic and spatial exclusion of black South Africans from the country’s wealth” (Mabin & Oranje, 2014: 98). From this origin, planning in South Africa mostly adopted traditions and values from the global North (Sihlongonyane, 2015).

Perhaps the most classic example is the adaptation of the Burgess concentric zone model to reflect the spatial ideologies of apartheid (see Davies, 1981 for a full description of this). Referred to as the Apartheid City, this adaptation embraced the theory that “race and cultural differences in society are incompatible and that contact between ethnic groups leads to friction” (Davies, 1981: 69). What emerged from this involved individual race areas segregated by buffer zones or boundaries, and controlled movement lines (usually for public transport) that, where possible, provided direct links between work centres and former ‘black townships’ (Davies, 1981). Evidence of the apartheid city model is apparent in the new town of Secunda, which was built as a symbol of the National Party’s power (see Chapter 6). Figure 11, an original rendition of the town’s spatial structure (which remains largely unaltered today), shows the former ‘white’ area of Secunda, separated by a large buffer zone (approximately seventeen kilometres by fastest route) from eMbalenhle, the former ‘black township’ related to it.

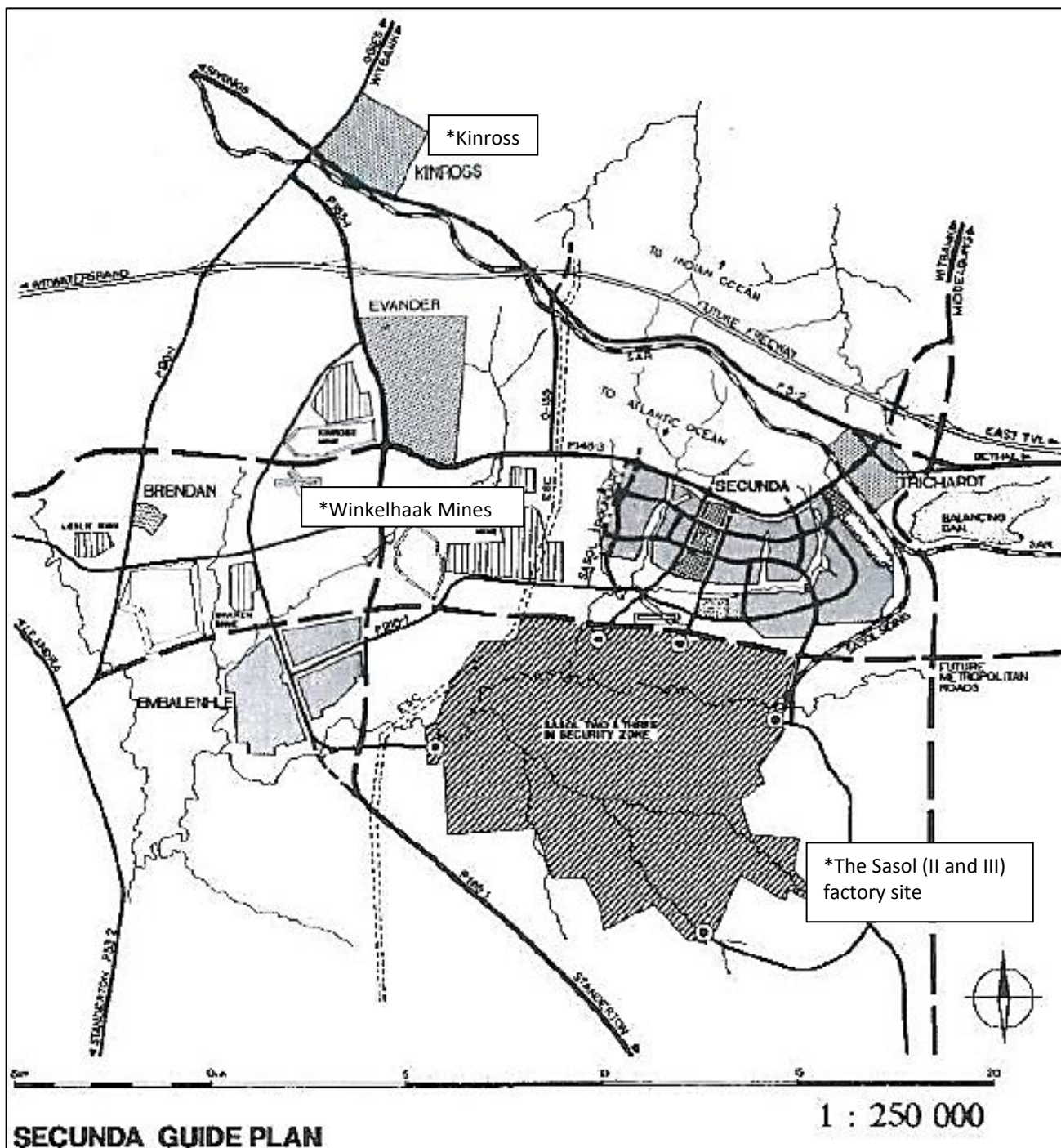


FIGURE 11: AN ORIGINAL PLAN OF SECUNDA'S REGIONAL LAYOUT

SOURCE: KIRCHHOFFER (1982: 22)

Within this buffer, the Sasol factory site and Winkelhaak Mines acted as physical boundaries between the two race areas (Figure 11). The Sasol factory site, as a main work centre, is connected directly by different roads linking eMbalenhle and Secunda respectively (Figure 11). Figure 11 also reveals that Kinross, the existing town where coloured and Indian employees were formerly housed in 'townships' built by Sasol (see Chapter 6), is also segregated from Secunda by distance, the Winkelhaak Mines site, as well as the town of Evander (in which Sasol did not house any of its employees – see Chapter 6).

It is worthy to note that many Eurocentric traditions continue to inform much of South African planning as “teaching has been largely presented from the vantage point of the developed world; and so planning practice itself is rooted in European ideological visions about the nature of problems and their solutions” (Sihlongonyane, 2015: 64). In its early days, the implementation of modernist planning was piecemeal and adapted to suit the aspirations of apartheid planning (Scott, 2003). The concept of comprehensive order, says Oranje (1998: 50):

*[W]as to sit perfectly in the expanding segregationist legal framework: Just as urban areas c/would be brought under rational control by breaking them up into (or rather, reducing them to) clear cut, segregated use zones.*

In the mind-frame taken by the NP, he continues, the former ‘black township’ was regarded as “just another use zone” that had a functional place (Oranje, 1998: 60). As such, this mind-frame could hide behind a voice of ‘rationality’ – the segregation of former black townships was not portrayed as having malicious intent, but “just applying unadulterated reason to ‘the situation as given’” (Oranje, 1998: 60).

Apartheid planning achieved its infamy through these segregated ‘locations’ or former ‘black townships’ to which black people<sup>19</sup> were forcibly removed (Robinson, 1996; Mabin & Smit, 1997). These segregated townships developed when valuable land was labelled as ‘white’ domain while black people were relegated to impoverished and overcrowded ‘locations’ on the outskirts of the city (Christopher, 1983; Sihlongonyane, 2002). Large housing estates, located far from white residential areas were built (Christopher, 1983; Mabin & Smit, 1997) to decrease contact between races (Christopher, 1983) while also establishing a labour supply to nearby urban areas (Mabin & Smit, 1997; Oranje, 1998). Races were further prevented from integrating by means of buffer zones (Christopher, 1983; Sihlongonyane, 2002) which took the form of roads, green spaces, factory sites, railroads, and even fencing. Notably, the green belts that kept the garden city contained and provided for the agricultural needs of citizens were transformed into buffer zones which segregated racial ‘townships’ in the apartheid model.

---

<sup>19</sup> See Chapter 1 for an explanation of my use of this binary.

Apartheid-modernist planning interpretations also reached the new towns of Sasolburg (1954) and Secunda (1977)<sup>20</sup>. Secunda is known as being one of the last towns resulting from the economic boom of the 1960s (Jenkins, 2007: 18). Built in the mid-1970s, Secunda symbolised an outpost of independence, in the face of international sanctions and local social mobilisations, of the apartheid regime and white privilege (see Chapter 6). In an attempt to establish the superiority of its brand, Sasol's managers sought to develop model towns (initially Sasolburg and later, Secunda) that were technologically advanced in every way. With this in mind, Sasol's chief planner-architect, Max Kirchhofer (1982) and his team travelled to Britain and America to observe the 'best practices' of the time. As mentioned above, Kirchhofer (1982: 1) and his team chose the models of the garden city (specifically Welwyn), new towns and Radburn to inform four main objectives for the planning of Sasolburg and Secunda<sup>21</sup>:

1. The separation of vehicular from other land uses in order to "break the destructive force of the motor vehicle without restraining its usefulness";
2. The establishment of a network of pedestrian paths which would allow for safe movement between schools, residences and shops;
3. The creation of self-contained residential neighbourhoods in order to curb the occurrence of sprawl; and
4. The creation of a coherent urban form, with a focus on the town's centre.

A summary of the design of Secunda is deemed too descriptive for the purposes of this study. For a more detailed description of this, please refer to Kirchhofer (1982). However, those design principles that influence women's topophobia in Secunda have been touched on in Part 4 which contains the interpretations of my field research.

## 4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored the ideologies underlying the nature of Secunda's space. Although influences from model company towns and the garden city are evident, these ideologies were largely governed by modernist planning. The actions of modernist planning were spurred by

---

<sup>20</sup> Year of proclamation for each town (Sasol, n.d.).

<sup>21</sup> It is important to note that evidence of numerous ideological and conceptual struggles fought by Max Kirchhofer with the apartheid State can be found in his manuscripts (located in the Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand) and article on the nature of Sasolburg and Secunda (see Kirchhofer, 1982).

fears of the disorderly (for example, as 'caused' by the industrial city or perceptions of the female body). WWII had a major impact on twentieth century planning, encouraging the welfare state to take on a stronger role. While the earlier stages of modernist planning focussed on the provision of housing and decentralisation, the piecemeal efforts of the middle-class were taken over by the comprehensive planning spearheaded by the state after WWII (during the high modernist planning era). The role of women was severely decreased during twentieth century planning due to an increase in paternalism. This chapter has shown that the little influence that women did have on their cities was led by 'respectable' middle-class women. The opinions of those women, such as feminists and working-class women, who did or would not adhere to principles of respectability, were met with great opposition.

This chapter argued that women of different classes can be locked in a power struggle. Here, women strove to adhere to certain codes of 'respectability', often shunning those women who did/could not do so. Indeed, 'respectable' women were often included in paternal structures to boycott insurgent women. Further evidence showed that the fear of not being respectable was thus so great that it became a phrase heard daily by women – whether in conversations with family members or through the media. This chapter also indicated that the effect of paternalism on the lived experience (and topophobia) of women in modern towns and cities was great. It indicated that modernist planning was one of the most paternal of planning eras. The subservient role of women in the twentieth century was exacerbated by an urban form that was dominated by paternal ideology such as the nuclear family, phallic skyscrapers, and car-orientated cities. Some modernist planners went as far as to represent disorder with the female body. Well-known models of modernist planning including Le Corbusier's Radiant City, Wright's Broadacre City, new town planning and the city of Radburn were considered.

However, Secunda was not only influenced by those international models of modernist planning, but also by the ideologies of the NP. To achieve its ideals of segregation and white privilege, the NP married its ideologies with those of modernist planning. As a result, Secunda's form is highly segregated. The influencing ideologies are also perceptible in the meaning of the town through stubborn identities, topophobias and power struggles that mete out symbolic violence in order to maintain a *status quo*. This is argued in more detail in Part 4. However, before I can make these arguments, a detailed description of my methodology is necessary.

TABLE 1 : A SUMMARY OF PART 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

SRQ 1	WHAT IS MEANT BY THE NATURE AND MEANING OF TOPOPHOBIC SPACE?
MAIN ARGUMENTS	<p>The nature of space is conceived by planners and represented on maps. Conceived space is developed into physical space. Meaning is given to physical space through the power relations, identities and emotions found in social relationships. Meaning is susceptible to time (history, present and future). This has been referred to as the interiority of space where the subjectivities of individuals produce multiple identities and 'truths' within a bounded space.</p> <p>Topophobia is generated by power relations, the maintenance of identities (both place and social), and the 'affect' of emotions (Thrift, 2009) found in social relationships. Symbolic violence is often inflicted through societal 'systems' to maintain <i>status quos</i> that benefit privileged groups (Lefebvre, 1971). In the struggle for dominance of space, various 'other' identities are reinforced through (moral) codes (such as 'respectability'). In this manner, fear becomes latent as citizens become both enforcers (sources) and victims of symbolic violence where normalcy is imperative to the maintenance of power. One such 'system' in South Africa (and elsewhere) is white privilege, where racially-based symbolic violence is sometimes meted out – whether with or without intent. Concepts such as 'white ignorance' and 'white fragility' may assist us in understanding white privilege.</p>
PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS ANSWERING THE SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTION ABOVE (SRQ)	<p>Emotion research should move past a dichotomous way of thinking. Rather, emotions of space could be considered in terms of various plays of intersecting emotion-spectra and how these influence each other as well as their socio-spatial relationships. Planners may suffer from a bias towards emotion research, labelling emotion-based urban issues as 'wicked problems' in a bid to appear 'rational'. However, as planners are subject to social relationships, our personal subjectivities play a role in the continued production of space. Thus, our topophobias can influence cities directly. To combat the influences of topophobia that are destructive, we must explore our personal subjectivities (such as roles in power struggles, emotions and moral codes dictated by our multiple and intersecting identities) and their influences on space.</p>
SRQ 2	WHAT ARE THE PLANNING IDEOLOGIES THAT INFLUENCED THE NATURE OF SECUNDA'S SPACE?
MAIN ARGUMENTS	<p>The ideologies of modernist and apartheid planning have had a strong influence on Secunda. Specifically, the best practice models of company towns, garden cities, new towns and Radburn were drawn upon in determining its nature. A strong patriarchal meaning has been instilled in Secunda as a result of such ideologies. Company town ideology seeks to create the 'efficient workforce' which is stable and adheres to certain moral codes. Modernist planning ideology (including, <i>inter alia</i>, garden cities, new towns and versions of Radburn) justified patriarchal measures through notions of the public interest, portrayed male planners as 'heroes' of development and implemented nuclear family planning which put women in supportive roles such as the Angel in the House. Apartheid planning drew heavily upon modernist ideology and patriarchy to enact its racial segregation.</p>

	<p>Modernist planning sought to order the city through dichotomous reasoning such as rational/emotional, men/women, 'respectable'/'not-respectable'. Women who aspired to supportive identities (for example, by being part of a nuclear family) were perceived to be less dangerous than more independent identities held, for example, by feminists, unwed mothers, prostitutes and so forth. In a bid to instil a moral order and maintain conventional gender roles, symbolic violence based on codes of 'respectability', was meted out in the everyday. Such gender roles have permeated Secunda's meaning, and remain largely intact and unquestioned.</p> <p>Certain modernist planning principles also, such as comprehensive ordering, aligned well with colonial and apartheid segregationist ideals. As such, modernist planning and rational thinking were often employed to justify the ideals of apartheid. As a result, planning in South Africa continues to be largely informed by Western traditions and ideologies, and approached to post-apartheid transformation has mostly been effected from a global North perspective.</p>
<p>PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS ANSWERING THE SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTION ABOVE (SRQ)</p>	<p>The ideologies inherent in the situated context were explored. This assists in gaining a greater understanding of the inherent meaning of the town (largely based on Western traditions and modernist planning) and also assists in questioning practices that instil topophobia such as persistent gender roles, and divisions between 'the same' and 'the other'.</p>

---

METHODOLOGY, METHODS, AND TECHNIQUES

## 5.1 INTRODUCTION

Answering my research question, “How does the nature and meaning of space shape the topophobia of middle-class women in Secunda?” requires that my study considers the spectra of emotions inherent to social relations and must thus consider the subjectivities found in the meaning of perceived and lived space (which can influence the nature of conceived space – see Chapter 2). Thus, a qualitative focus is better geared towards unearthing the social relations, emotion-spectra, and subjectivities underlying topophobia and how it is (re)produced (Koskela, 1999). The value of such research – especially that which concerns itself with everyday subjectivities – is often questioned in the realm of planning (Greed, 1994a). However, the call for more nuanced and contextual knowledge is one made by many urban scholars (Jacobs, 1961; Lefebvre, 1971; 1991; Greed, 1994a; Sandercock, 1998; Koskela & Pain, 2000; Pieterse, 2010). For example, Jacobs (1961: 16) slates certain planners for being “incurious” about the real life aspect of cities, resulting in rigid planning methods.

Greed (1994a) agrees, arguing for the inclusion of methods such as ethnography in the planning milieu. She argues that a greater understanding is needed of the way in which space is influenced by the meanings, relationships and experiences of actors within diverse communities. Lefebvre (1971; 1991) looks at the social and power relationships that shape complex space, indicating that these are in the everyday experiences of individuals. Pieterse (2010) incorporates such thinking but specifies his focus in calling for a richer account of the African City to better understand and meet its needs. Connell (2015) argues for a deeper understanding of the global South, indicating that much of the theory used in feminist literature originates from the global North. Thus, she continues, there is a great need for “conceptualisation, methodology, or explanatory frameworks” initiating in the global South (Connell, 2015: 50). As such, the aim of this chapter is to contribute to a feminist, and planning, methodology focussed on a global South context.

Research that is concerned with uncovering the subjective meaning in social space must leave a “trail of evidence” throughout the study in order to demonstrate rigour in the study (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006: 3). Davies and Dodd (2002: 280) prefer using the word “reliable” to rigour, which denotes:

*[C]onsistency and care in the application of research practices, which are reflected in the visibility of research practices, and a reliability in our analysis and conclusions, reflected in an open account that remains mindful of the partiality and limits of our research findings.*

Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) add two aspects to a definition of a good qualitative study. First, the research “must be grounded in the subjective meaning the action had for the ‘actor’”, and second, a constancy must exist between the everyday “common-sense experience” and the researcher’s constructs. Finally, the identification of my ontological and epistemological positioning is another step to contributing to a reflexive study (Doucet & Mauthner, 2012). As these influenced my choice of methodology, I include them in my understanding of rigour, which can be summarised as follows:

1. Visibility of how my research was conducted
2. Identification of ontology, epistemology and methodology
3. Transparency of research, i.e. a reflection of my own subjective meaning
4. Reflexivity through a reflection of the subjective reality of participants (or actors) and how this relates to theory
5. Consistency throughout the study
6. Constancy between my constructs of the everyday and ‘common-sense experiences’
7. Reliability in how my research was analysed and interpreted
8. Defining the limitations of my study

This chapter aims to demonstrate how rigour was built into my research using these eight principles. It begins with a consideration of visibility. Visibility can be seen to encompass Points 1-4, i.e. identifying my ontological, epistemological and methodological position, being transparent by revealing my partiality, as well as how I went about building reflexivity in the study. This will be done in Sections 5.2 to 5.5 which also consider the methods and techniques employed for this study (as part of my chosen methodology). Section 5.6 will then reflect on how consistency was built into my study by means of an iterative research process. An iterative research process has also proved useful in linking terms and concepts used in the theory with those used in the everyday. Iterative processes allow for the type of thinking-rethinking and reflecting/angst-ing needed if we hope to challenge our own preconceived assumptions of ‘truths’. The manner in which my research was analysed and interpreted is considered in Section 5.7. The various limitations of my study are discussed throughout the chapter as they

emerged during this iterative process. Let us now turn to the demonstration of visibility by stating my ontology and epistemology.

## 5.2 ONTOLOGY, EPISTEMOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY

In the interests of *visibility*, I need to clarify my own ontological and epistemological positions, as these positions underpin the research questions and the methodology used for this research. Explicitly stated, my ontological position is that reality is based on the relationships, cultures and histories of individuals. Epistemologically, this study is situated within Interpretivism. Interpretivists see ‘reality’ as historically-based, subjective and intertwined with power relations (Wedeen, 2010). Accordingly, power relations are “intersubjective relationships that are diffuse, omnipresent, and often acephalous” (Wedeen, 2010: 260). This standpoint requires a sensitive consideration of the subjective meanings of space – which are influenced by power relations (as well as by multiple emotions and identities – see Chapter 2). An inductive, interpretive, and iterative approach is most suitable for this research, as it allows the researcher to identify themes based on findings collected from the field (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this manner, research findings are not ‘forced’ into pre-existing or assumed conceptualisations (Braun & Clarke, 2006), thereby allowing participants’ (as well as my own) subjectivities to emerge from the field.

The initial subsidiary research questions served as a starting point to guide the fieldwork. However, some of these questions were then either discarded or refined in accordance with themes from my findings (see Chapter 1). I should also mention that this refinement was possible because of the explicit use of interpretive, inductive and iterative methodological approaches. Although much of this chapter focuses on the different types of research techniques employed to collect findings, I also discuss, in later sections, how various interpretive methodologies were used to analyse research findings. All six research questions, in turn, relate to the main research question, which focuses on how (middle-class) women are vulnerable to topophobia in a situated context (see Chapter 1).

In Chapter 1 I argued the importance of unpacking taken for granted identities that depict women as “fearful and passive” (Pain, 2001: 899). Thus, to assume that women are more afraid of the public (or private) domain than men are would only serve to reinforce the male/female binary. Pain (2001: 901), by contrast, argues that ‘women’ (as one kind of gender-based group)

are diverse, and embody multiple and intersectional identities that are continually shaped and re-shaped by:

*[I]ncome, class, area of residence, housing status, sexual orientation, disability, experiences of victimisation, and many other life experiences [including experiencing 'the world' from a standpoint of white privilege].*

Such identity-construction nuances stimulate vulnerability to topophobia (Pain, 2001; Manzo, 2005; Pieterse, 2010) and are thus an important part of understanding the condition. Further, in terrorist societies, citizens may become both victims and oppressors in a bid to maintain 'normalcy' (see Chapter 3). Middle-class women in Secunda were thus viewed as both victims and instigators of topophobia and symbolic violence. While 'men's' voices were recognised, the focus was, nevertheless, placed on 'women's' (self-identified) voices and their daily experiences of fear. Accordingly, recording the experiences of men was necessary for gaining a more nuanced understanding of the development and maintenance of power structures within (Secunda's) diverse social spaces (Kelly, Burton & Regan, 1994). This was of particular importance due to the strong paternalistic influences inherent in the town's identities (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8). The experiences of men were collected using participant observations, digital observations, and archival analysis techniques. Two men, in particular, were included in this study because of their longstanding expertise gained from being involved in the development of Secunda from its initial years (interviews with DS and AO, 2015).

Because the main research question asks about (middle-class) women's fear in Secunda, a feminist methodology is chosen for its proficiency at uncovering the underlying racial, gender and class-based (Reinhartz, 1992; McCorkel & Myers, 2003; Dekoven, 2005; Brown, 2010).

### 5.3 A FEMINIST METHODOLOGY

Feminist enquiry, says Denzin (2003: 248), is shaped by at least three representations of social space. First, *interpretive sufficiency* is produced through accounts that:

*[P]ossess that amount of depth, detail, emotionality, nuance, and coherence that will permit a critical consciousness [emphasis my own].*

Such a consciousness ensures that multiple voices are heard and also play a role in the unpacking of their taken for granted 'realities'. Denzin's (2003) second representation of social space is *representational adequacy* in which an absence of class, gender or racial stereotyping is evident (Denzin, 2003). In keeping with the argument put forward in Chapter 3 regarding white ignorance, a *critical consciousness* can arguably only be reached through an awareness of the personal *stereotypes* a researcher may have. I add to this argument that one of the most effective ways to uncover personal stereotyping is through a meeting with *emotionality*: not just of the social space itself, but of the emotionality which the social (perceived and lived) space brings forth in the researcher (see below). This is especially important in the case of white ignorance, which as Chapter 3 shows, is a relatively common affliction amongst white people.

One such example came to light through the emic theme on the extensive impact that 'systems' of dominance, specifically patriarchy and white privilege has on the meaning of Secunda. For example, the beneficiaries of white privilege are generally taught from an early age that they are 'superior' to 'other' races (see Chapter 3). This can produce a deeply entrenched racism which can prove harmful to transformation efforts in that it reinforces segregation (see Chapter 9).

As a child of white privilege, my own stereotypes were harshly challenged during the course of this study which has proven a valuable (ongoing) learning process regarding my own white privilege. My 'aha' moment came after years of wading through personal biases and I managed to record it in a diary entry<sup>22</sup>:

*As I read through a later draft of my work, putting it all together seems so easy. It was not. I have been offended many times by what I have read and have had the odd experience of offending myself through my not-thought-through responses to many of the nuances of topophobia in South Africa. I have been thrown into jumble after jumble of fear, white privilege, patriarchy – all biases that have affronted and confronted me. Authors, such as Aristotle, who were former heroes of mine, fell when I moved from reading one-liner quotes to larger bodies of their work. Who knew Aristotle was such an arrogant.... I don't know what?! 'Proper*

---

<sup>22</sup> I'd like to extend my appreciation to my former school friend, who wished to remain anonymous, for sharing her experience with me.

*place' indeed. For much of my life I have had a multitude of 'proper places' and very few have been a natural fit. My mother used to caution me that if a child did not know who she was by the age of eighteen she would experience an identity crisis in her thirties. But, in the face of so many proper places, how do you ever truly know who you are?*

*The eras of life are so dynamic: requirements from others change constantly, personal desires mesh and clash and spark and soothe (sometimes all at once). Amongst all this meshing and clashing and sparking and soothing, some admin issue or Facebook update calls, demanding attention before the ringing in my head can peel out its final notes. And then comes the PhD with its jumble of fear, white privilege and patriarchy, beating on the gong that encapsulates all my 'proper places'. My supervisor first told...and then INSTRUCTED me to enter into "deep reflection". Man (pun intended)! To enter into such depths with all the ruckus already going on feels like drowning. To face white privilege, inter alia, has meant that I have had to face that there are distasteful things that I have abhorred right inside of me. Things that are so deep-seated that I have not been aware of them: Confrontations that are (before I manage to quieten the clamour and THINK) bellicose and scary.*

*I have good parents. They have always told me that I am special and able. When I was a child of almost ten summers (in 1995), I was relocated from a small, private English school in KwaZulu Natal to a larger, former Model C, school in Piet Retief, dominated by Afrikaans-speaking people: My kind of people – I have, after all, two Afrikaans grannies. However, my home language is English and so I went into the English-medium (class). All of a sudden there were voices telling me I was 'less'. This I had never heard before and it was confusing. AAAHHHH, Tanja. Why do you push me to associate with this??? I struggled for a long time to be rid of the painful dust of Piet Retief, even attempting to confront it later in my bright-and-shiny newly graduated naivety. But, perhaps this process of discovery was crucial. Why was my 'proper place' diminished all of a sudden? Because, in the wake of post-apartheid integration of schools, the 'undesirables' (black people and English-speakers) were lobbed into one medium. Here, we were often told we were 'naughty, difficult to teach children of lower intellect and leadership skills'.*

*But, my white privilege protected me. I was never referred to as “die goed” (the things) – at least as a “rooinek” (a derogatory term referring to the red sunburn experienced by British soldiers during the Anglo-Boer War) I was still ‘human’. I was never made to feel that I had only been afforded my leadership position because ‘political correctness’ demanded it. If I struggled with certain classes taught mostly in Afrikaans (some of the classes for students with higher academic averages were mixed in high school), my mother – a maths teacher – made sure I read more Afrikaans books, bought me an expensive HAT (Afrikaans dictionary) or retaught the mathematical terms to me without the literal translations. At our ten year reunion, I realised that, while such diminishing allegations can prove debilitating, they can also develop incredibly strong characters. I see this in my friends who have grown to be a fusion of influential businesswomen yet doting moms, some of whom have had to do it without the assistance of a partner. However, no matter the outcome, we have all walked away with lesions to our identities.*

*It remains a fuzzy time so I asked an old friend for some of her experiences of our school. The result was: WhatsApp message.... pause... ‘typing’... pause... ‘typing’... WhatsApp message... and so it went on: a long thread of messages each depicting a painful memory:*

“Oh my I’ve even forgotten

I think more so because at that time it sort of seemed like it was the norm, you know when you don’t know better you accept whatever

It was only at tertiary [university] interacting with others that one realised that my ‘normal’ was far from normal

I had somewhat of a challenge in maths in matric as I was the only black student HG [higher grade] and the teacher would go on about driehoek [triangles] till she caught my eye and remembered that she ought to drop an English word here and there so she didn’t lose me completely

I guess also in an environment where you are being 'accommodated' and the system was not particularly designed with you in mind you tend to bend over and adapt instead of expecting the system to fully accommodate you

I even did better in Afrikaans compared to English in matric and it was only in hindsight that even our parents got the picture of events [of what their children were experiencing]

And the bobbejaan [*baboon*] and kaffir comments from students which reminded one from time to time that we still have a long way to go"

*What freaked me out about discovering my white privilege is that I have been a part of the problem. I have implemented some of the very symbolic violence I had a taste of in school by reinforcing racial biases in conversations in my white ignorance ("I'm not a racist but..."), by being afraid to disrupt social niceties by speaking out against racially-based symbolic violence, by not being aware that my black friend was suffering in maths class – a situation that could easily have been remedied by inviting her to join the lessons given by my mother in our kitchen. It is not a reality that I want to face. But, I have decided to stop. To refuse to throw dust on people as it was thrown on me. I will not dull the shine of others (forgive my use of the word for I still have learning to do) to make myself appear 'better' [than]. And so I will suffer from the (a growing) awareness for I have made 'others' suffer.*

The above entry also reflects a jumble of emotions I have experienced during the discovery of some of my biases. Dealing with personal emotions is a key element of emotion research and is dealt with in more detail below.

Denzin's (2003) third representation of social space requires an *authentically adequate* research product which, i) represents a multitude of voices, ii) enhances moral sensitivity, and iii) promotes social transformation by empowering participants through the use of text and other forms of representation. I will discuss how I interpreted the 'empowering through text' under my section on 'trust and relationships' below. The representation of a multitude of voices requires a focus on the everyday (Anderson & Jack, 1991; Kritzinger, 1995). However,

Bailey and Bryson (2006: 194) warn that the consideration of an array of subjective voices might produce inconsistencies:

*We should accept that by listening to different voices, the contradictions and inconsistencies in our own categories used to describe urban space will be revealed, but may also be suppressed as we attempt to construct coherent accounts.*

To maintain the voices of participants, Bailey and Bryson (2006: 194) recommend that dissimilarities be highlighted by the researcher who should “engage in the development of an urban geography that highlights the plurality of places and of populations”. Even though this might lay waste to neat categorical-type research, it will produce more nuanced versions of the lived experience to be had in our cities – which will allow for more informed planning (Bailey & Bryson, 2006). Triangulation, through the collection of fieldwork findings from as many sources as possible, is also useful in considering research participants’ subjectivities (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2007). Here, both consistencies and inconsistencies are portrayed in my research in an attempt to depict their subjective voices (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2007).

I argue in Chapter 2 that emotions are located in social relationships and that topophobia manifests in the meaning of space through subjective perceptions and lived experiences. As a result of their mutual focus on the subjectivities of lived experience and their ability to delve deeply into social space (Thomas, 2003), the integration of feminist methodologies and ethnography (or ‘feminist ethnography’) is deemed most adept at answering my research question.

#### 5.4 A METHOD OF FEMINIST ETHNOGRAPHY

An ethnography is usually a form of study where a considerable amount of time is spent observing a society; seeing its citizens as “knowledgeable agents” in understanding the nuances of the everyday (Herbert, 2000: 551). One of the main techniques of ethnography is participant observation, which will be discussed in greater detail below (Herbert, 2000). Feminist ethnographies reject the idea of objective knowledge alone, and, instead, argue for the development of theories based on the subjective and everyday lived experiences (Stacey, 1991; Greed, 1994; King, 1994; Herbert, 2000). Kritzinger (1995: 299) explains this in saying:

*Gaining access to such a variety of communications is useful because people's knowledge and attitudes are not entirely encapsulated in reasoned responses to direct questions. Everyday forms of communications may tell us as much, if not more, about what people know or experience.*

Feminist research is thus critical of “hygienic research” where the nuances of the everyday are regarded as ‘messy’ and ‘chaotic’ and are thus censored until “the accounts bear little or no relation to the real events” (Kelly, Burton, & Regan, 1994: 46). To capture nuanced lived experience, ethnography values the insights of individuals but also considers how and why groups differ from one another (Thomas, 2003; Shover, 2012). Ethnography entails more than a mere description of daily minutiae; it seeks to conceptualise lived experience through the combination of findings and theory to “uncover how structures are made real in the contexts and commotions of daily life” (Herbert, 2000: 553). Uncovering and contextualising the meaning inherent to lived experience is highly important to this study which focuses on (often less-understood) symbolic violence of social ‘systems’ which create topophobia in situated contexts (see Chapter 3).

Due to their focus on subjectivity, ethnographies have been criticised for their lack of generalisation (Herbert, 2000; Thomas, 2003). However, Flyvbjerg (2001) questions and disputes the fixation with generalisation. Although Flyvbjerg focuses on case study research methods, I have argued in Chapter 1 that my (feminist) ethnography can be seen as a form of case study (which is a popular method in planning research) as both seek to provide a ‘thick’ description and challenge past assumptions (Flyvbjerg, 2001). However, I have chosen to concentrate on ethnography as this method has proven to be a powerful tool in teasing out the impact of gender identities on space (Greed, 1994a).

Flyvbjerg (2001) indicates that, although generalisation through quantitative data has the ability to cover broad areas, it cannot lead to the higher levels of expertise and understanding produced by methods that focus on nuance. Research, he says, is not always about proving something, but also about learning. Thus, he continues, the power of a single example (such as the Black Swan) can dispute formalised knowledge. Further, non-generalising methods which consider situated contexts afford invaluable practical experience to the researcher or professional and thus contribute to the overall quality of professionalism (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Thus, this study is not concerned with generalisation but rather transferability where the

'learning' from one situated context may "provide answers in other contexts" (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2007: 381). To gain transferability, an accurate and 'thick' description accompanied by clear arguments for method and techniques chosen will be presented (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2007). This also assists with infusing transparency and creating a rigorous study discussed above.

#### 5.4.1 TRANSPARENCY, REFLEXIVITY AND THE EMOTIONS OF EMOTION RESEARCH: BEING AN INSIDER

Transparency and reflexivity are interlinked as my personal 'truths' must also be subjected to theory and other 'truths' contained in the everyday. For the sake of clarity, I will refer to this interlinking as reflexivity. Herbert (2000: 559) argues that:

*[T]he observer's 'subjectivity', is actually an analytic asset...it is only through the interrogation of my subjective experience within a milieu, and the subjective reactions it engenders, that one can glean the meaning structures that motivate everyday agency.*

As active participants in the interview process, researchers add their own cultural and historical experiences to the complexity of the findings (Anderson & Jack, 1991). Thus, the voice of the feminist ethnographer becomes one of the multitudes that this form of research aims to uncover (Reinhartz, 1992). Reflexivity extends beyond situating yourself in terms of personal characteristics such as class, gender, ethnicity or position as 'insider/outsider' (Doucet & Mauthner, 2012). Rather, Doucet and Mauthner (2012) recommend being transparent about personal, theoretical, institutional and emotional (*inter alia*) influences on the research. Meth and Malaza (2003) agree. Research, they say, is a two-way process whereby the researcher and the research process affect one another. Indeed, they continue, the process of reflexivity is itself an emotional process. Reflecting on personal emotions has three benefits namely, it is cathartic to the researcher, provides support to fellow researchers, and allows for "the entrenchment or stimulation it serves for one's own politics and identity" (Meth & Malaza, 2003: 156).

I am not necessarily comfortable with engaging with my emotions (for the purposes of research) and it originally put me off adopting a feminist ethnography. However, my research field kept steering me back towards this for three reasons. First, we as planners are so much a

part of both the nature and meaning of space by our actions of designing, administrating and improving on cities that we infuse our own emotions into our spaces (see Chapter 2). Second, as a planner conducting emotion research, it is imperative that I am aware of my own emotions and the impact they may have on my analysis (Baum, 2015). The potentially pungent relationship between planning and emotion was considered in Chapter 3. Finally, in Secunda, identities of whiteness assume that all other identities 'conform' to their way of seeing and moving through the world. Such identities are based on strong codes which uphold a 'system' of white privilege – of which my own politics and identity are a part (see Chapter 3). In order to disrupt this form of symbolic violence, I have needed to come to grips with my ignorance and the emotions resulting from this newfound awareness as described above just after I had my greatest 'aha' moment (see above).

In the beginning of this study, I tried very hard to position myself as neither outsider nor insider – I did not want to be associated with Afrikaners as I have struggled against being dominated by certain identities related to this ethnic group. Rather, I attempted to be aware of the fluidity of my presence in the research field – as relationships are dynamic, fluid and constantly influenced by values and codes (Naples, 2003: 49):

*[O]ur relationship to the community is never expressed in general terms but is constantly being negotiated and renegotiated in particular, everyday interactions; and these interactions are themselves enacted in shifting relationships among community residents.*

I was once told by one of my participants (with whom I have built a strong relationship):

*You English are white and thus also part of Die Volk [the Nation]. But, we as Afrikaners have a stronger moral standing*

(translated, journal notes).

As a relatively conservative individual, I was initially quite offended by this statement. But, later, I came to understand that our moral codes were not always the same and that we, as individuals, do not ascribe to singular, but rather multiple, intersecting identities which determine the 'truths' of our individual existences. This participant and I share many identities (and codes of conduct): we are both white, middle-class women of the same age, having attended schools with similar ideologies and traditions, both in Mpumalanga. We share the

religion of Christianity but belong to different churches which sometimes differ quite drastically on certain issues. We also share many benefits of white privilege but also disagree on certain aspects of whiteness. For example in the conversation above, while she is not open to the idea of interracial relationships, she assumed (without me stating so) that I (before I married) would have been more likely to date a black man because I am English. Thus, because I am English I am perceived to be more liberal and a less 'moral' citizen of *Die Volk*. I baulk at the thought of being a member of *Die Volk*. And I do not believe that interracial dating decreases an individual's 'morality'. However, this does not mean that the latter is not a code of the immediate (English) society I belong to.

Through such conversations, I have realised the 'power' of my multiple insider identities in critiquing certain identities embodied in Secunda. I am a middle-class woman, Secunda is my home (and so was Sasolburg for a year or two as a baby), and although I am not a full-blooded Afrikaner (very few white South Africans are), I have a deep and personal understanding of, and connection to, this identity. Much of the traditions and cultures I have been raised in align with the Afrikaner identity. I cut my teeth on *biltong* (dried meat), love *koeksisters* (a sweet pastry made of fried dough and syrup), the traditional Afrikaner Sunday lunch of *rys, vleis en aartappels with pampoen en boontjies* (rice, meat and potatoes with pumpkin and beans), and phrases from some Afrikaans songs put stars in my eyes (*vir jou sal ek blomme koop tot my geld opraak...* I'll buy you flowers until all my money is spent). From the ages of nine and a half to twenty five I attended Afrikaans institutions of learning (Piet Retief Primary and High schools, and the Universities of Pretoria and Stellenbosch), I am married to an Afrikaner and I speak fluent Afrikaans with a Highveld accent – even though I speak English to my parents and a mixture of English and Afrikaans to my husband. Further, I am a planner which gives me insight into the nature of space and the concept of 'planning with emotions'. Yes, identities are fluid but as individuals, we embody many identities and it is this mix that allows for a deeper understanding of certain complexities of the meaning of space.

Collins (1986: 515) is inspired by the manner in which many marginalised black feminists are able to "provide a special standpoint on self, family, and society" revealing a distinctive ability to analyse and critique the 'truths' of the everyday:

*[L]iving as we did – on the edge – we developed a particular way of seeing reality.*

*We looked both from the outside and in from the inside out...we understood both*

(Bell Hooks in Collins, 1986: 515).

Collins (1986) describes this as being an ‘outsider in’, or as an individual with deep and personal knowledge of certain identities and but is enough of a stranger or outsider to be able to question taken for granted ‘truths’. My own whiteness, coupled with having grown up in the Afrikaans culture, has afforded me a deep and personal knowledge of many of the identities entrenched in Secunda. This places me in a unique position to uncover and question the symbolic violence of white privilege in Secunda (which is predominantly Afrikaans). However, I have always positioned myself as an English-speaker which has (and does) made me an outsider in certain social relationships and contexts. Although my multiple insider identities have sometimes prevented me from seeing taken for granted anomalies, my outsider identities and past experiences have helped me listen – to my supervisor who has, over the last five years, pointed out some of my blindness and encouraged my grappling attempts to see that which I have taken for granted. To be in the privileged position to listen to the experiences of my friends who have fallen victim to white privilege and patriarchy. And to listen to the voices of authors who, from their written words, have confronted and taught me about the nuances of symbolic violence and what should not be taken for granted.

These past five years have been painful and I can’t say that I have always enjoyed my research. It has been a dogged effort at making sense of a whirlwind of discomfort, fear and pain – that of ‘others’ and of my own<sup>23</sup>. They have possibly been the most valuable five years of my life. I believe that an exploration of ‘the self’ and its multiple identities is crucial to emotion research and personal learning. The process of facing my fears has given me a greater compassion for the fears and biases of my participants – even though I might not agree with all of them, I have realised the importance of understanding multiple realities. This has helped greatly with the building of relationships and trust – a key requirement of a feminist ethnography (Stacey, 1991).

#### 5.4.2 BUILDING TRUST AND RELATIONSHIPS

Building *reliability* within a feminist ethnography also entails not becoming too immersed in the research setting thereby losing the ability to be reflexive (Thomas, 2003; Delamont, 2004).

---

<sup>23</sup> In the further interests of reflexivity and being explicit about the researcher’s role in the interpretation of findings (Herbert, 2000), it is worth mentioning that my own weight gain (during pregnancy) highlighted the ‘fear of fatness’ evident on many of Secunda’s digital platforms: see Chapter 8 for my analysis of this topophobia.

However, this can be challenging in the face of building relationships and trust with participants. In the interests of *visibility (listed above)*, this section is dedicated to explaining how I accomplished a balance of the two. Trust through relationship-building has proven beneficial to interacting with the, sometimes sensitive, emotion of fear. For example, asking a stranger: “What fears are inspired by Secunda?” will only produce a superficial, at best, account even if closed questionnaires are employed (i.e. that offer a list of possible factors influencing fear that can be ‘ticked off’). In fact, this form of research which has dominated studies on topophobia is heavily criticised for its inability to approach the “mental and social processes behind fear and in understanding the fear-related production of space” (Koskela, 1999: 111).

However, the close relationships formed during a feminist ethnography increases the potential for harm or exploitation (Stacey, 1991). The need to be reflexive has sometimes felt like a betrayal of trust – especially during the analysis phase of my research. Let me use the example of an elderly ex-conceiver of Secunda who afforded me much of his time to answer my questions. This man was a gentle-man and made every effort in ensuring my comfort during our interview sessions. He was kind, patient and open with his answers. My analysis led me to criticise Sasol and its managers for their part in creating dominant, racist and patriarchal identities. This criticism did not mesh with the gentle manner in which this particular, and in fact, most of my participants had treated me. This highlighted the importance of understanding that multiple identities exist in the meaning of space (for example, while some conceivers might aspire to be arch-patriarchs, others are willing to invest in developing the knowledge of a young woman and are unpretentious in answering awkward questions). An awareness of these multiple identities forced me to be understanding of the fact that symbolic violence is not always meted out by ‘bad’ people. Rather, it is possible for kind, gentle people to be oppressive (even though it may be done unawares), if they do not question the societal ‘systems’ we have been born into (see Lefebvre, 1971 in Chapter 3).

The principle of ‘empowering through text’ where participants are given a chance to review what has been written about them (see above) also sometimes proved a struggle for me (diary entry, May 2016):

*Part of feminist methodology requires that participants’ views be given back to them for review. I found this difficult with some of my participants as, when looking from a standpoint of newfound awareness of white privilege, I haven’t resorted to my usual rose-colouring (a part of my ‘proper place’ as ‘oulike meisie’*

*or sweet/nice girl). My writing does not attempt to protect the senses of white participants who view life through a lens of whiteness. I was, and sometimes still am, one such example. Having our sensibilities protected is a privilege of whiteness. Do we, as beneficiaries of white privilege, continue to deserve having our senses protected? Although I sometimes still wish for it to continue, this privilege has the power to do great harm, and I can no longer desire its continuity. I am getting used to being jolted and no longer simply close myself off to lessons on white privilege – dismissing them as ‘silly’ or ‘racist’ – and try to LISTEN. How to handle those participants and members of my dividual who are not yet used to being jolted? How to have the biggest impact?*

This excerpt shows the struggle I had with this recommendation of some feminist methodologies. Certain pieces of my work were easier to ‘give back’ than others – for example an earlier draft of Chapter 7 that rather rationally analysed the green network of Secunda. However, other chapters in which I do not protect the sensibilities of some of my participants (particularly those who view the world through more destructive constructions of whiteness) proved difficult. This recommendation seeks to empower participants by presenting different views on taken for granted ‘truths’. From personal experiences, the written word – especially short phrases which cannot present the greater context – has often offended me so much that I have reinforced personal unquestioned biases in a bid to ‘protect’ myself. I’d like to use the example of Haffajee’s (2015) book, *What if there were no whites in South Africa?*

The book cover is decorated with an aggressive colour combination of white, black and red – with NO WHITES in large print and what looks like a piece of paper ripped off the page where the word WHITES is located. The first time I saw this book was online and I immediately dismissed it as racist propaganda. “What a horrible question!” I thought to myself. This is a typical reaction of white privilege. It was only after I saw the book lying in my parents’ house that my interest was piqued. “If my father, whom I trust and respect, is willing to read such a book, is there perhaps merit to it?” I wondered. I decided to give it a go and was hooked from the first page. Haffajee’s book is not a “kill all white people” kind of book but one which asks important questions and which has expanded my awareness.

But, it was only able to have an effect on me because my fear was slated through the encouragement of my father, whom I trust, to read it. This is one reason why white privilege is a white peoples’ problem. Because there is a greater element of trust between the individuals of

our individual as we share certain identities (see Chapter 2). For me to present certain aspects of my work back to certain participants would be injurious to our relationship. This does not mean that white privilege is not a matter that cannot be broached but rather that it might be broached within relationships of trust and in contexts of the everyday as they happen. Further, by presenting some of my participants with an academic paper (albeit one that is written in the feminist style of being accessible to all) for ‘criticism’ and to ‘learn from’ am I not reinforcing the arrogance of privilege – whether white or academic? Expectations of participants to ‘learn’ from ‘their’ mistakes (another form of ‘othering’?) as highlighted by an aspiring academic might increase the power divide between the researcher and her participants – something that must be avoided in a feminist ethnography (King, 1994; Thompson, 1996).

So how then to ensure that the voices of the oppressed are heard and play a role in the transformation of Secunda (as argued by Denzin, 2003 above)? The ‘systems’ I have researched during this study are so deeply ingrained that they have become latent (symbolised in perceived space and located in the subconscious of individuals) through decades of producing and reproducing. Thus, I believe that the answer lies in conversations of the everyday. DiAngelo (2011: 67) refers to such an approach described above as “pacing”. She indicates that, as most white people have not been exposed to direct, complex, information on racism, we “often cannot explicitly see, feel, or understand it.” Thus, discourses on white privilege should take the form of a process:

*Starting with the individual and moving outward to the ultimate framework for racism – Whiteness – allows for the pacing that is necessary for many white people for approaching the challenging study of race.*

(DiAngelo, 2011: 67)

This study has allowed me to build relationships of trust that have allowed for open and honest discussion. These should be used to convey what I have learnt in the role, not of ‘teacher’, but of ‘conveyor-learner’, i.e. with humility and the realisation that I also still have much to learn and that I am also a victim-oppressor in the ‘system’ of white privilege. Other ways in which I have dealt with those instances where I have resisted becoming too immersed in the research setting are as follows. Physically removing myself from the research setting to write has assisted in ‘clearing my head’. To do so, I spent a week or two at a time writing outside of Secunda. The reviews of residents not involved in my research, as well as those that did not live in Secunda, were sought. The latter group incorporated individuals who had either

personal or theoretical experience with a particular theme. For example, I sent the chapters relating to white privilege to some of my friends and colleagues, asking them to 'check my whiteness'. This also assisted in checking for personal biases. Where I found the relationship between a participant and myself becoming too familiar, I refrained from further interviewing. The fact that interviews were not my only research technique allowed me to do so, and it is thus highly recommended that multiple techniques be employed for this kind of research.

## 5.5 TECHNIQUES

Feminist ethnographies are known to draw upon a variety of techniques such as participant observation, interviews and archival analysis (Reinhartz, 1992). I have added considerations of digital media, specifically Facebook, blogs and online news articles. Facebook was chosen over other similar mediums for example, Twitter, as it houses a number of established groups pertaining to the town. My initial version of this chapter indicated that I would use photography to capture the topophobias of women. However, this proved impractical to my study as most of my participants were not willing to walk around taking photographs, as a result of their topophobias, codes of middle-class 'respectability', and/or time constraints. I then thought to use the services of professional female photographers who were also residents of Secunda. However, the findings that could be obtained were not deemed worth the cost when compared to the potential of other techniques.

The findings were mostly in Afrikaans which is the language most spoken in the town (StatsSA, 2011). This made translation necessary. Growing up in a town (close to Secunda) where Afrikaans was also the main language spoken, and having been schooled in both Afrikaans and English as first language subjects, made this task easier for me. Thus, no interpreter was necessary and I made all translations although locals were approached on the cultural meaning of certain phrases or words to ensure that these were captured adeptly. To specify translated 'quotes' throughout the document I have used single quotation marks (') and double quotation marks (") to depict direct quotes. My chosen techniques (which include both secondary and primary sources) were employed over an official period of two years (2014 and 2015) with a pilot study conducted in 2013. Most of the findings (but not all) used for this study took place in 2015 after I had completed the pilot study and had a chance to become more immersed in the research setting.

### 5.5.1 CONVERSATION-TYPE INTERVIEWS

Twenty five conversation-style interviews were conducted with twenty participants, as well as a few instances of email correspondence, although not all were used for this study (see Annexure 7). This number does not include the follow-up conversations had with participants via email and text message, nor does it include informal conversations had in the streets, shops and homes of Secunda's residents, which all formed part of an iterative process. The latter were recorded in my research journal as part of my observations (see below). The names of my participants were changed to ensure confidentiality. Conversation-style interviews were usually between one and a half, and two hours long and were recorded using a voice recorder. Transcription of these proved arduous<sup>24</sup>. In my experience, the use of voice-to-text software (specifically the home version of Dragon Naturally Speaking) approximately halved the amount of time needed for transcription (from five hours/one recorded hour to two and a half hours/recorded hour). This is empowering for any transcribers who experience physical limitations that are antagonised by long periods spent in front of a computer (see Matheson, 2007 for a description of how to use this software). Informed consent was gained from all participants (see Annexure 1).

Purposive sampling<sup>25</sup> was used to identify key informants for interviews including:

1. A former high-ranking individual who was involved with Sasol's development committee for Secunda;
2. A high-ranking town planner employed by the municipality since its early days;
3. Various professionals employed in the built environment of Secunda;
4. Long term female residents who have lived in the town since childhood (mostly older women);
5. Shorter term female residents who did not spend their childhood in the town and have more recently relocated here usually as they, their partners or family member(s), are employed by Sasol (mostly younger women);
6. The experiences of women, in general, were also captured during my participant observations and online observations.

---

<sup>24</sup> Especially those interviews transcribed during the first twenty-two weeks my pregnancy (see above) where long periods spent focussed on a computer screen did not help my constant nausea .

<sup>25</sup> Which can be defined as deliberate sampling based on a participant's characteristics (for example, being representative or unique to the population) (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2007).

Table 2 is a list of the participants interviewed but excludes those individuals who were interacted with online and during observations. Please note that the names used are pseudonyms.

TABLE 2: PARTICIPANTS

NO.	PSEUDONYM	DATE	GENDE R	DETAILS	TERM OF RESIDENCY*
1	AO	07/05/2015 (interview 1), 30/06/2015 (interview 2)	M	Municipal official	Long
2	Cindy	11/02/2013 (focus)	F	Resident	Short
3	Corinne	25/08/2015	F	Resident	Long
4	Estie	31/03/2015	F	Resident	Long
5	DS	14/04/2015 (interview 1), 15/04/2015 (interview 2)	M	Former Secunda conceiver	Long
6	HS	16/07/2015	M	Professional of the built environment. Was not comfortable with his information being used as he has signed a non-disclosure with Sasol. Interview not included in the study	Long
7	Karla	25/02/2013 (focus)	F	Resident	Long
8	Loraine	26/03/2015	F	Resident	Long
9	Luzell	25/03/2015	F	Resident	Long
10	Marlie	30/04/2015	F	Resident	Long
11	Melissa	27/02/2015 (interview 1) 17/06/2015 (interview 2)	F	Resident	Long (born)
12	Mienkie	18/03/2013	F	Resident	Short
13	MO	30/07/2014	M	Academic, former resident of Sasolburg and having followed the progress of the towns closely	Not a resident of Secunda
14	NM	Email correspondence	M	Municipal official	Long
15	PB	15/05/2013	M	Sasol Property	Short
16	Sandra	17/07/2013 (interview 1), 25/03/2015 (interview 2)	F	Resident	Long
17	Suna	11/02/2013 (single), 25/02/2013 (focus)	F	Resident	Short
18	Susan	11/03/2015, 19/08/2015 ( email correspondence)	F	Resident	Long
19	Suzette	15/01/2015	F	Resident	Long
20	Teresa	11/02/2013 (focus), 27/03/2015 (single)	F	Resident	Short

\*Long term residency defined as having spent longer than twenty years in Secunda

I did not start this study with the intention of considering white privilege. I began with a vague awareness of a thread of fear running through our (South African) cities but could not name it. I just knew that it went deeper than a fear of crime. It was only much later on in the process of my studies – through the voices raised during a spate of student strikes – that I began to be aware of the existence of white privilege. My ignorance of the phenomenon was so complete that I woke up one morning with a start and a question: “Where were the black voices of earlier days in my current everyday experience?” They had simply become missing. This I traced back to a move made to the town of Stellenbosch after working for local government in Mpumalanga and then, after Stellenbosch, to Secunda.

The (what felt to be far too loud back then) voices of my younger, black UCT fellows, coupled to the writings that followed in their wake, pierced through the white fog I had come to embrace, forcing me to reflect on this unnamed fear I was hunting and that, perhaps, I was not only a victim of it, but part of the problem. A problem that was painfully evident in Secunda – in its archives as well as its everyday: A problem I had been skirting in my quest as I told myself it was not a problem relevant to the urban planning realm. This realisation spurred me into a frenzied action of picking apart the concept of white privilege – a concept that I honestly took a long time to grasp: and indeed, have not yet done so in its entirety. This frenzied action has blinded me to the voices of black people in the town. I told myself that white privilege is a white peoples’ problem: we did, after all create the condition. As such, I have missed an important nuance and am left with a niggling indebtedness. I name this a limitation of my study, and ask that the reader keep this in mind, but also that this indebtedness not overshadow the progress made into how topophobia and white privilege affects the South African urban context.

I now turn to the next technique employed, namely participant observation.

### 5.5.2 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

As mentioned above, participant observation is a key tool of ethnographic study as it allows researchers to get ‘close’ to the actions, conversations, and interactions of their participants (Gans, 1999). Observations were written up in the form of field notes in a research journal (Russel, 2006). Initially, I thought to focus my participant observation in streets and malls. However, even though Secunda’s design favours pedestrianism and the separation of vehicles and people (see Chapter 4), the low density neighbourhoods and poorly maintained urban

lung does not make walking a pleasurable or efficient form of transport and are mostly avoided by Secunda's middle-class. Thus, observations in streets and green areas were not deemed relevant to the target population. Further, findings gathered in these places were not as rich as those assembled online and in more private spaces such as living rooms and in social occasions. As mentioned above, the commencement of my research roughly coincided with my relocation to Secunda. Gaining access to such personal spaces, such as living rooms, took time and mostly coincided with the socialising processes typically undertaken by an urban newcomer. Observations were recorded during or immediately after an interview in spaces such as my car, public restrooms and coffee shops (the latter which coincidentally allowed for further observations of more public spaces in Secunda). I found that observing is an on-going process that can become consuming. As such, I kept two small note books in my handbag and in the centre console of my car. The 'Notes' and 'Voice Notes' applications on my phone also proved extremely useful in documenting observations as this device was a constant companion. The analysis tool used for this study, Atlas.ti, proved invaluable to making sense of all these observations and in drawing all the mediums for capturing them together.

My preference for online and private spaces (for this context) centred on the observation that the nuances of symbolic violence and topophobia do not generally present themselves in the open (journal notes). In fact, such nuances are often so insidious in nature that individuals are not aware of them (see Chapter 3) and rather present in daily conversations amongst peers with similar subjectivities. It could be argued that this limits the sample population. However, in some cases it widened it for me; giving me access to people I had not yet met (friends and colleagues of friends). Further, this did not conflict with my process of purposive sampling (see above).

Perhaps most of my observation took place on Secunda's digital space which is a rich source of interaction between residents. However, I would not describe this as 'participant' observation as I chose to not to take part in digital conversations as I did not want my opinions to influence my findings.

### 5.5.3 OBSERVATION OF SECUNDA'S DIGITAL SPACE (FACEBOOK, BLOGS AND NEWS ARTICLES)

Although there are not as many blogs as Facebook groups relating to Secunda's digital space, some provide a valuable source of commentary on the town (South Africa, and the world)<sup>26</sup>, and have assisted in gaining alternate perspectives on racial issues. I have attempted to access all digital platforms relating to the town of Secunda. This has been difficult in some cases where platforms are not well-frequented, or longstanding (notably, some platforms, especially Facebook groups, have a tendency to come and go). In my experience, victim-oppressors of the 'system' tend to be more forthright in digital space than in public (and even private) space. Digital space has become a part of the everyday but continues to be largely overlooked as a field for research (Murthy, 2008; Hallett & Barber, 2014). Perhaps what is of great importance for planning is that online communication has largely made the space-time boundaries of communities defunct, and can thus form without being geographically connected (Hallett & Barber, 2014). Individuals can, therefore, be members of multiple communities (or 'dividuals' – see Chapter 2) simultaneously while also being part of a spatially-bound community (or 'dividual') (Hallett & Barber, 2014). Research indicates that individuals who are deeply connected to online community groups are also more connected to spatially-bound communities than individuals who are not connected online, as they take part in events and organisations advertised and discussed online (Hallett & Barber, 2014).

The online field is similar to a physical field setting and is not a neutral field as it is influenced by norms, individual histories and agendas (Murthy, 2008). In my experience, one of the difficulties of working with Facebook conversations is that it can be difficult for the researcher to probe into certain comments. This is especially the case where a conversation has been influenced by the nuances (norms, histories or agendas) of a previous conversation. Previous and related conversations may prove easy to overlook in the maelstrom that a Facebook newsfeed can become. Further, the first few responders frequently set the tone of replies made to an initial comment. For example, in 2015 I came across three conversations that related to Secunda residents' opinions on interracial relationships. Two or three people who were anti-interracial relationships initiated the thread of replies in the first two conversations. In these

---

<sup>26</sup> Opinion pieces of the greater 'dividual' on white privilege were also drawn on to guide my understanding.

conversations, very few people expressed their support of interracial relationships. Those who did were subjected to punishing examples of symbolic violence. However, individuals who had strong pro-interracial relationship views initiated the third conversation and the show of opposition was significantly less in this conversation.

Other conversations (although not all) have also displayed this trend where replies have been light-hearted and ‘jokey’ in response to serious questions or have taken on racial and argumentative perspectives, sometimes ending with the administrator of the page disabling further commentaries. On the other hand, individuals may have also become bored with the topic on interracial relationships, which had been discussed twice before, and thus refrained from commenting. Or, responses to either of the two situations might have resulted from the fact that more people of a similar mind-frame were logged on to Facebook at a specific point in time. Further, responses made by a ‘friend’ are displayed in his/her ‘friends’ newsfeeds. Often, ‘friends’ might have similar viewpoints and back one another in the commentary without making their connection evident. Thus, it is crucial to be aware of the many complexities that Facebook conversations may encompass, and not mistake them for being ‘neutral’.

As mentioned above, I chose not to actively participate in these conversations to avoid imposing myself on the research. This is the general stance taken by ethnographers when observing online networks or blogs as it allows for unobtrusive observation (Murthy, 2008) and the ‘gathering’ of certain nuances that overt research cannot reach (Calvey, 2008). This lack of participation may be construed as ‘passive deception’ or ‘covert research’ although my Facebook profile did reveal my standing as a researcher. The concerns linked to passive deception involve a lack of informed consent (Russel, 2006; Calvey, 2008). Calvey (2008: 907) argues that “all probabilities cannot be covered by the consent form” and that the researcher’s “normal status and privilege” is removed by covert research thereby levelling any power hierarchies that abide in overt research (Calvey, 2008: 914). This is in line with feminist methodologies which advocate for the breaking down of power relations that might develop between researchers and their participants (King, 1994; Thompson, 1996).

Personal profiles are generally seen to be private – to be kept from parents, employers and the larger Facebook community (West, Lewis & Currie, 2009). Thus, I have refrained from ‘adding’ personal profiles to my ‘friends list’ and have only interacted with (semi-private) groups. There are a number of groups on Facebook which pertain to Secunda. A variety of topics is discussed

with multiple opinions given by people (mostly residents) who have an interest in the town. Facebook forms a platform where women (and men) discuss their daily lives and thoughts, ask one another's advice, advertise their businesses and interact with one another on issues pertaining to the town. Digital conversations on Secunda's Facebook groups are generally either started by the group administrator or anonymous initiators (journal notes). Members of these groups can also send comments to the group administrator who posts them to the conversation thread under his/her name with the title 'anon' (journal notes). In this manner, digital research allows for anonymity as opposed to confidentiality (of interviews). Koskela and Pain (2000) argue that confidentiality (where identities are kept secret but participants can still be identified by the researcher) can lead to the exclusion of women who are too fearful to express their fears openly.

However, as Secunda is a relatively close-knit community, there have been instances where the anonymity of the commentator has been guessed at and even revealed by other group members (journal notes). This is one example where feminist ethnographers should attempt to foresee potential harm and avoid it (King, 1996). The ease with which some online participants are revealed in digital forums has the potential for harm in the interpretations of my study – especially if findings are published. Although the audience of academic journals is mainly academic, there is always a chance that articles can be read by the greater public. Thus, the question, “how to I ensure the confidentiality of my online participants?” must continually be asked. King (1996) recommends not naming blogs, groups, or specific websites pertaining to individual viewpoints without prior and written consent. I have gone further to make a distinction between information collected on the Facebook groups and blogs used for this study.

The Facebook groups of Secunda, although aimed at the general public of the town, require a 'friend request' signalling intent to join a group. The group's administrator then decides whether access can be granted. This is usually based on a perusal of the individual's profile to confirm if, i) the person is a resident of Secunda, and ii) the profile is governed by an actual person and is not part of a scam (journal notes). The latter is usually accomplished by considering the detail of the profile. Sufficient detail (such as a few profile photos, plausible profile characteristics, and 'recent activity') usually denotes that the person is real. This method is by no means fool-proof and depends largely on the effort and decisions taken by the specific administrator. However, such screening measures are in place, and these groups were thus viewed as 'semi-private'.

On the other hand, the blogs I have used for this study are more easily accessed. To illustrate, I will use the example of a blogger who goes by the name 'Giken'. A simple Google search using the terms "Secunda" and "blog" reveals a number of his blogs which are freely available. A fair amount of time was spent in attempting to gain informed consent but to no avail. The website on which Giken wrote was one dedicated to bloggers in general, but is no longer administrated (i.e. no new work can be contributed to the website although the existing blogs remain). The telephone number stated on the website belongs to a larger company whose employees are new and did not have any interaction with the website in question. An email address of a former administrator of the blog was given by one of these employees but no response was received to my emails. A search of Sasol's employee list (Giken indicated he worked for the company at the time) did not reveal any current employees of that name, neither did a Facebook search, nor a general Google search (barring links to his blogs). Thus, in this case, informed consent was not possible. Thus, I have viewed this as being in the 'public' domain.

The large difference between the 'semi-private' and 'public' online information occurs with the desire to use direct quotes as they can be traced back to individuals (King, 1994). In other words, the patterns formed by the word sequences of direct quotes can sometimes be located through simple online searches. As the blogs discussed above were located in this manner in the first place, it was not deemed harmful to use direct quotes from them (this argument excludes blogs that are not as easily accessed). However, direct quotes were not used in my 'semi-private' findings.

In any case, as most of these were initially written in Afrikaans, translation was required which mostly rendered considerations of direct quoting moot. Where photos were posted as 'comments' graphics were not used (to protect copyright), and were rather replaced by text descriptions. Further, more general references to time (e.g. 2015, not 11 December 2015) were incorporated to make searching for the content more difficult. Also, no names were included but replaced with gender symbols (♀ for female and ♂ for male) followed by the person's initials. Due to the informality of Facebook updates and comments (conversations), much slang, digital 'talk' (e.g. emoticons), and abbreviations were used (journal notes). For the purposes of readability, some correction of spelling and punctuation was necessary (Markham, 2005). However, in order to preserve the characters of participants as much as possible, only the most essential corrections were made (Markham, 2005).

Due to greater access to technology and the internet (for example in coffee shops and petrol garages which offer free WiFi access), it can no longer be argued that internet users are middle-class only – although participants do need a know-how of online communication (Murthy, 2008). Thus, no influence could be exercised over who my ‘digital participants’ were. This might be construed as a limitation of my study. However, it was deemed that the richness of digital findings could not be passed over because of this limitation.

#### 5.5.4 ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTATION ANALYSIS

Lefebvre (1971) recommends tracing the origins and emergence of the official histories surrounding the symbolic violence meted out by ‘terrorist societies’ as set out in Chapter 3. Historical documents also play a large role in determining the power relations underlying the current forms of knowledge (Foucault, 1977), and are a generally accepted source for ethnographic enquiry (Reinhartz, 1992). My study has shown that archival documentation is an excellent technique in delving into space-time connotations of space (see Chapter 2). For example, the evolution of the Modern Afrikaner identity and how it has impacted on the meaning of Secunda’s space could be traced in detail through old news articles, letters and minutes of meetings. Two archives were accessed during the course of this study, namely the Historical Papers Archive located at the University of Witwatersrand, and the archives of Sasol’s Real Estate department in Secunda. The documents perused from the University of the Witwatersrand collection mainly involved a variety of newspaper articles, magazine articles that Sasol used to publish, minutes taken from meetings held during the conceptualisation and development of Secunda, as well as drawings made by the planners and architects during this time. The documents from the Sasol Real Estate collection were of a more administrative nature and consisted mainly of notes taken by employees of the time, photographs of the area, reports of development, minutes to meetings, title deeds, internal letters, and records of township establishment. An assortment of other texts such as copies of the old news bulletins issued by Sasol to its employees, news articles and so forth that were collected from participants, also formed part of this analysis.

A book on the history of Secunda by a former female resident, Petra Wessels (1990) also provided a rich source of information. Notably, Wessels (1990) worked in conjunction with Sasol which holds the copyright to her text. Although her tone sometimes appears over-zealous in its acclaim of the company, her close relationship with Sasol’s managers has led to a highly nuanced account, documenting certain details which have allowed me to fill in some of

the gaps of my archival research. Wessels' (1990) account also reveals her own experience as an early resident who was very involved in developing the town's lived space. The next section will consider Points 5 and 6 (consistency and constancy) set out above.

## 5.6 CONSISTENCY AND CONSTANCY OF CONSTRUCTS: AN ITERATIVE RESEARCH PROCESS

My research followed the nonlinear, iterative form typical to an ethnography (Williamson, 2006). In this sense, the researcher does not follow the steps of research linearly but moves back and forth between them (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). This nonlinearity assisted greatly in building consistency in my research as, by working backwards and forwards, I was able to pick up on inconsistencies between terms and constructs throughout the research document. My research was conducted over a period of five years. Arguments and terms used in the first year, for example, tended to 'get lost' along the way and had to be returned to, re-evaluated and worked into later chapters (if relevant to the themes produced from my findings). An iterative process allowed me to discern whether or not these arguments were adequately related to in the conceptual framework, thereby adding to the reflexivity of my study.

An iterative process also assisted in linking theoretical constructs with those used in the everyday. The maintenance of consistency is difficult in a study of five years as my understanding of terms has constantly evolved. For example, armed with arguments (from my conceptual framework) on 'respectability' and how having to adhere to codes that uphold it in social identities, I initially asked my participants what they thought the 'respectable woman' entailed in Secunda. My question was met with frowns and was generally shrugged off. However, I continued to record my observations on 'respectability' using that term. A perusal of conversations on Facebook over two years taught me that, although the term 'respectability' is commonly used in the literature consulted for this study, such was not the case in Secunda's everyday. Rather the term 'common' (or 'commin' as it is commonly referred to in Secunda, journal notes) was used to describe the antithesis of 'respectability'. As a result, I had to apply extra care in the coding of my journal notes, personal diary, Facebook information, and interview transcriptions for both 'respectability' and 'commin'. In the spirit of consistency, transparency and visibility, I chose to use 'respectability' in my final text but have included an account of how the two terms were related (see Chapter 8).

The iterative process has proved time-consuming – especially when coupled with an inductive research process. For example, this study initially included a lengthy genealogy chapter on

utopian planning which was later excluded as my findings steered me away from this form of thinking towards power structures and symbolic violence. The manner in which I analysed these findings will be considered next.

## 5.7 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

Atlas.ti was employed in my analysis as it allows for a thematic analysis by means of inductive coding (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The general steps of a qualitative analysis tend to include transcription, making notes, coding in its various forms, organising codes into categories, and then arranging them into broader themes (Williamson, 2006). My inductive and iterative research process also included these steps, but I tended to revisit them, even returning to the field or literature. Findings were first coded according to the broad topics raised by my research question. Distinct patterns, frequency of, and correlations between themes were identified from the findings (Shover, 2012). Documents were subsequently coded according to certain nuances like:

*[C]ertain types of narrative, such as jokes and anecdotes, and types of interaction, such as 'questions', 'deferring to the opinion of others', 'censorship', or 'changes of mind'.*

(Kritzinger, 1995: 301)

Meta-statements to explain abstract facets of the findings were also coded. A discourse analysis begins with the premise based on the way in which we communicate and create 'truth' (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). In other words, the way in which we talk and think reflects our identities and power structures, binding power and knowledge to one another:

*Power is responsible both for creating our social world and for the particular ways in which the world is formed and can be talked about, ruling out alternative ways of being and talking.*

(Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 14)

Foucault's (1982) institutions of power are intended to assist in analysing power relations. However, my findings were not explicitly structured according to Foucault's (1982) institutions as this would have contravened the inductive approach taken. The first institution is the *systems of differentiation* which permit an individual "to act upon the actions of others"

(Foucault, 1982: 792). These are determined by, for example, laws, status and privilege, differences in economic gain, cultural differences, and variances in education and/or skill. All power-based relationships, says Foucault (1982: 792), “puts into operation differentiations which are at the same time its conditions and its results”. Various ‘systems’ of differentiation were developed during the conception and planning of Secunda and during its continued existence, including those based on patriarchy, class, and whiteness (see Chapters 6 and 7).

Foucault’s (1982) second point considers the *types of objectives* used by individuals to maintain privileges, accumulate wealth, and exercise a function or trade. Ways in which status and white privilege are maintained as systems of dominance are considered in Chapters 8 and 9.

Third, are the *means of bringing power relations into being*. This theme considers the manner in which power is manifested. Foucault (1982: 792) lists these as:

*[T]he threat of arms, by the effects of the word, by means of economic disparities, by more or less complex means of control, by systems of surveillance, with or without archives, according to rules which are or are not explicit, fixed or modifiable, with or without the technological means to put all these things into action.*

This (third) institution of power is considered throughout Part 4.

Fourth, are the *forms of institutionalisation* which combine social predispositions and traditions, fashion, social hierarchies, and laws to ensure the regulation of a social order (see Chapters 6 and 8). Last, says Foucault (1982), are the *degrees of rationalisation* which elaborate, transform and justify structures of power<sup>27</sup> (see Part 4).

## 5.8 CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to develop a creative and rigorous way in which my research question could be answered. This is also of importance in contributing to urban planning research methodologies. The *visibility* of my research practices was demonstrated which set

---

<sup>27</sup> For a complete discussion of these institutions please see Foucault (1982: 792).

out how my study was conducted. The study commenced by making my *ontological and epistemological* position clear. This position states that ‘truth’ is socially constructed and can be interpreted through the subjective meanings found in the everyday. These meanings are influenced by a complex interplay of power relations, identities, and emotions. As such, an inductive approach was deemed most suitable for this study. Further, a feminist ethnography was deemed to be the most appropriate to my research due to its capability of unearthing power relations, everyday nuances, and relationships of trust (beneficial in fear-based research).

It was argued that transparency and *reflexivity* are interlinked because, by making my position transparent, I linked my ‘truth’ with that of the ‘truths’ of the everyday. These were then linked to theory in order to gain a ‘thick’ description. My multiple insider identities allowed greater insight into the nature and meaning of Secunda. However, I also encompassed certain outsider identities that assisted in questioning certain taken for granted anomalies. Further, reflexivity requires a consideration of personal emotions experienced during the research process and their impact on it. This led to a deeper understanding of subjectivities – both my own and those of my participants – and proved helpful in building trust and relationships. A discussion on how this was accomplished has also assisted in building visibility in my study. Visibility also entailed a clear description of which techniques were employed during this study, including conversation-type interviews, participant observation, observations of Secunda’s digital space, and archival documentation analysis.

To ensure *consistency* and *constancy* in my research, I employed an iterative process which was valuable in gaining a greater understanding of the research context. To contribute to the rigour of my study, I set out how my findings were *analysed and interpreted*. This was done by drawing upon discourse analysis and Foucault’s (1982) five institutions of power namely, i) *systems of differentiations*, ii) *types of objectives*, iii) *means of bringing power relations into being*, iv) *forms of institutionalisation*, and v) *degrees of rationalisation*. The last point includes setting out the *limitations* of my study which was done throughout this chapter. This chapter concludes Part 3. The next Part (4) sets out my findings and interpretations.

TABLE 3: A SUMMARY OF PART 3: METHODOLOGY, METHODS, AND TECHNIQUES

SRQ 3	WHAT METHODOLOGY IS SUITABLE TO UNDERSTANDING SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE AND TOPOPHOBIA WITHIN AN URBAN PLANNING CONTEXT?
MAIN ARGUMENTS	<p>Qualitative researchers must constantly seek to improve research rigour. This includes, <i>inter alia</i>, the clear positioning in terms of ontology and epistemology. Inductive, iterative and experiential research allows for greater contemplation and assists greatly in revealing real world contexts. I argue for greater consideration of emotions (of the researcher as well as those contained in the everyday) in planning research which can also benefit from lesser-used approaches (such as ethnographies and online observation). A feminist ethnography is most suited to this instance of emotion research which has employed a variety of techniques to unearth the nuances of the everyday. Further, emotion research requires deep contemplation of personal biases and emotions to determine the effect they might have on research and practice. I also argue that my multiple insider identities put me in a unique position to question various 'systems' and the symbolic violence meted out in a bid to maintain them.</p>
PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS ANSWERING THE SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTION ABOVE (SRQ)	<p>The aim of this part was twofold, i) to develop a platform for personal reflection to assist in 'checking' ingrained biases/privilege and how these might have affected the research (researcher as a research instrument), and ii) to develop a checklist for building rigour into my qualitative research using the principles of a feminist methodology, namely:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Visibility of how my research was conducted</li> <li>2. Identification of ontology, epistemology and methodology</li> <li>3. Transparency of research, i.e. a reflection of her own subjective meaning</li> <li>4. Reflexivity through a reflection of the subjective reality of participants (or actors) and how this relates to theory</li> <li>5. Consistency throughout the document</li> <li>6. Constancy between researcher's constructs of the everyday and 'common-sense experience'</li> <li>7. Reliability in how my research was analysed and interpreted</li> <li>8. Limitations of my study</li> </ol>

---

ESTABLISHING A 'SUPERIOR' PLACE IDENTITY FOR  
SASOL'S SECOND MODEL TOWN

## 6.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 2 I argued that the power struggles, identities and emotions inherent to social relationships give meaning to space. From this argument, the overarching aim of Chapters 6, 7 and 8 is to demonstrate how desired *place* and *social* identities were created for Secunda by its conceivers, and how these identities were infused with specific meanings. To be clear, desired identities for Secunda (and for Sasol's original company town, Sasolburg) coalesced around the idea of 'respectable' and industrialised citizens (Sparks, 2012). Such 'model citizens' were also to subscribe to the ideals of modernity and, during Secunda's early years, to the ideologies of apartheid. Findings reveal deeply entrenched identities related to the 'model citizen' that have contributed to the manifestation of topophobia in the town. The aim of this chapter is to explore how the place identity of Secunda originated as well as how various hierarchies and systems of dominance have been established as part of the town's interiority (see Chapter 2).

The chapter begins with an argument that the designers, owners and managers of Sasol aspired to create (in the case of Sasolburg) and continue (in the case of Secunda) a 'Modern Afrikaner' identity. It will show that this identity (with its inherent gender, status, and racial biases) was imprinted on the company's employees in a bid to foster 'model citizens' to complement its model towns. The ideologies inscribed in the identity of Sasol's towns embodied two of the apartheid government's largest statements of power: symbols of its 'superior' intellectual capacity (Sasolburg) and of its ability to withstand international oil sanctions as well as political opposition on the home front (Secunda)<sup>28</sup>. The chapter then turns to the regional urban hierarchy devised to establish Secunda's 'superior' status. It closes by considering the positioning in and impact on this hierarchy maintained by the former 'black township' of eMbalenhle. Developed to house Sasol's black employees, its expansion fell within a changing political environment which sought to establish a 'black' middle-class as a stabilising measure, as well as a great need for skilled labour created by the Sasol II and III developments.

---

<sup>28</sup> I'd like to extend my appreciation to Professor Mark Oranje for his insight into the underlying identities present in Sasolburg and Secunda.

## 6.2 THE IDEOLOGIES INHERENT IN SASOL'S NEW TOWNS: SASOLBURG (1954) AND SECUNDA (1977)

Both the nature and meaning of Sasol's first new town, Sasolburg, was influenced by the modernist planning of the global North in the 1950s (see Chapter 4) as well as the beginning of the National Party's (NP) rule in South Africa. In 1948, a newly appointed NP began to solidify its agenda of an Afrikaner Nation (referred to as 'Die Volk') by embracing modernist ideals in its creation of a social order based on racial and ethnic themes (Hyslop, 2000; Sparks, 2012). Through such measures, the identity of the Modern Afrikaner was created which metamorphosed the *boer* or *bywoner* (tenant farmer) of the previous era into an urbanised, industrial citizen distinguishable from black people who, in turn, were stigmatised as being 'rural' and thus the antithesis of modern (Sparks, 2012).

The NP was keen to establish the intellectual capability of its Modern Afrikaner by placing much value on scientific and technological progress. It accomplished this through the establishment of various projects<sup>29</sup> (Hyslop, 2000), mining, parastatals and businesses involved in the chemical and metal industries (Freund, 2013). One parastatal, in particular, stood out in terms of its ability to signify the idea of 'intellectual superiority', thereby becoming "the symbol" of modernity (Sparks, 2012: 86). This parastatal, known as Sasol Ltd, represented an amalgamation of modernism and NP nationalism:

*SASOL, and the company town Sasolburg were key sites for the elaboration of the 'apartheid modern', the particular form which industrial modernity took under apartheid.*

(Sparks, 2012: x)

Sasol's 'elaboration of the apartheid modern' was multi-directional, involving contributions to Afrikaner language through the "SASOL Terminology' list" which standardised the terms for equipment used in the plant (Sasol I), the perfection of oil-from-coal technology, and the progressive design of its first new town: Sasolburg (Sparks, 2012: 89). Sasolburg was thus to become an example of modern urban living in South Africa. Once constructed, it received many visits from dignitaries and was highly praised by the media (Meintjies, 1975). As argued

---

<sup>29</sup> For example, its nuclear research programme and civil engineering projects such as "the Orange River Dams, its operation of a fleet of French jet fighters and Boeing airliners" (Hyslop, 2000: 37).

in Chapter 4, the designs for Sasol's towns (which are similar) were inspired by certain international 'best practice' models, namely garden cities (specifically Welwyn), the new towns, and Radburn. The influence of these models on Secunda's design, with a specific focus on its green network, is discussed in more detail Chapter 7.

The Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) Oil Embargo in 1973, coupled with international oil sanctions against the apartheid state, led to increased energy costs for the country (Sasol, n.d.; Freund, 2013). As the NP's technological projects were based on cheap energy, these events posed a major threat to their success (Sasol, n.d.; Freund, 2013). Political changes on the home front further threatened the stability of the NP. For example, the social mobilisation held at Sharpeville in 1960 against pass laws "created headlines around the world and marked the very public rejection of apartheid planning by African residents" (Freund, 2013: 24). This also led to a change from "Gandhian nonviolent resistance" to an armed resistance by the ANC, resulting in the banning of the party, the exiling of thousands of its members, increased state violence and repression, and the enforcement of the physical separation of black people into 'townships/locations' (Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012: 5).

A further state response was, in the tradition of modernism, to build a megalith factory (first Sasol II and later Sasol III) supported by a second, but bigger and more advanced new town. Sasol II, with its ability to produce ten times that of Sasol I (Sasol, n.d.), was hailed as a modern wonder, a giant on whose shoulders the future stability of the country could be ensured:

*If that view of Sasol II does not make you feel a mouse or mite, nothing will.*

("Rising Giant", 1978)

The press went as far as to compare Sasol's newest endeavour with the ancient Babylonians who attempted, but failed, to reach the heavens by building a tower so high that it extended to the sky. Sasol, implied the article, through modern technology and Afrikaner intelligence, would not fail where the Babylonians had:

*Here man [sic] is trying to reach for some sort of sky again. But instead of Babylonian confusion there is Sasolonian systemisation.*

("Rising Giant", 1978)

This systemic efficiency carried over to the new town of Secunda. A powerful partnership was merged between Sasol Townships Limited Transvaal (also known as SDB Transvaal) and the national government to ensure the quick clearing of red tape:

*This detailed planning was carried out at top speed and steamrolled through innumerable official channels and departments. On 28 June 1975 the first layout sketches were submitted. Less than three months later, on 16 September, the plans were approved by the Transvaal Provincial Administration. Four days later, the first sod for the simultaneous construction of roads, services and houses, was turned. The first family moved in on 28 June 1976, just twelve months and eighteen days after the site for the new town had been approved.*

(Wessels, 1990: 39)

The 'power' that irrigated the grassroots of Secunda was also hailed in the rain of media propaganda which branded it a modern wonder:

*Secunda is a town where tomorrow has already begun; where everyman's pie in the sky has prematurely settled on virgin veld.*

("Secunda: Tomorrow's world...", 1980)

*A modern wonder of development without equal in the entire Republic and most likely the whole world...In Secunda one brick is placed upon another according to a master plan that, even in its foetus-stage, lay complete on the table, the work of the best brains in all aspects of modern urban design [translated].*

("Secunda, wonderdorp van...", n.d.).

Once again Sasol's conceivers were exulted as being the 'best' and most capable of creating another 'superior' town as had been done with Sasolburg. In light of the political turmoil faced by 'white' South Africa, Secunda would symbolise an outpost of Afrikaner independence, determination and strength. This symbolism sought the development of strong and persistent identities:

*Secunda breathes a pleasant Boeregees (Afrikaaner Spirit) and one hears almost only Afrikaans where one goes or stands. Approximately 70 percent of the residents belong to the language group (my own translation).*

(“Secunda, wonderdorp van...”, n.d.)

The NP’s ideals followed robust patriarchal and hierarchical themes that were actively reflected in Secunda’s social and place identities. I argue in later chapters that some of the *social* identities related to these themes remain deeply ingrained in contemporary Secunda: often coinciding with unquestioned anomalies that directly contribute to symbolic violence and topophobia. The reflection of these themes in its *place* identity can be found in a regional urban hierarchy depicting Secunda as ‘superior’ to its cohorts.

### 6.3 ESTABLISHING SECUNDA AS ‘SUPERIOR’ IN A REGIONAL URBAN HIERARCHY

To establish the ‘superiority’ of Sasol and those citizens who aspired to the NP’s directives, various strategic moves by Secunda’s conceivers and the media were enacted to place the town at the apex of a regional urban hierarchy<sup>30</sup>. The Star newspaper heralded Secunda as being more advanced than the country’s dominant city, Johannesburg. Although the original sections of Johannesburg grew faster than Secunda, it argued, “the golden city started as a mere squatter camp without sewerage or even water.” Secunda, on the other hand, could boast of “all mod cons” and could easily “claim to be the most modern – *indeed prophetic* – town of just about any” (“Secunda: Tomorrow’s world...”, 1980). Here, the press implied that the peaks of modernism achieved by Afrikaans-dominated Secunda made it more ‘successful’ than even the (then) predominantly English-speaking metropolis, Johannesburg. Markedly, struggles between Afrikaans- and English-speaking white South Africans can be traced back to power struggles over the colonisation of the country and Afrikaner resistance to subordination to the powerful British Empire after two Anglo-Boer wars (Steyn, 2004).

Secunda was prophetic, states The Star, due to its bus-transit system (that has since ceased to function) which lessened the dependence of residents on private cars as well as the town’s

---

<sup>30</sup> With Secunda at its apex and the surrounding, former ‘white’ towns of Trichardt, Evander, and Kinross envisaged by conceivers as ‘less superior’ (in terms of design, size, spending and modernity) and thus lower on the regional hierarchy. Interestingly, this urban hierarchy remains persistent and is, arguably, a contributing factor to the privileged position that Secunda retains (see Chapter 9), as well as skewed development which largely takes place along racial lines (GMM, 2009).

dependence on fuel (“Secunda: Tomorrow’s world...”, 1980). In other words, that Secunda could function during an energy shortage made it “South Africa’s first essentially fail-safe town” (“Secunda: Tomorrow’s world...”, 1980). This could be construed as part of the independent and militaristic stand that Secunda posed to the rest of the world, i.e. as a defence outpost for white South African privilege. Secunda’s militaristic nature was but an echo of the factory site itself:

*Security is tight. A team of khaki-clad security guards patrol the site in four-wheel-drive vehicles. The entrances and exits are heavily guarded, and those without documents cannot get in.*

(“Out of the cosmos”, 1978)

*It was secretive, so absolutely protected...and the terrorists...back then you were taught that the factory was a central target that the terrorists focussed on. Thinking back now it is very difficult to picture the situation. Just after the attack in 1980, my dad and his colleagues had to do guard duty one night a week for two or four hours...I can’t remember precisely...at a time. All the Sasol employees had to stand guard...Sasol even had its own komando [elite militaristic force]. They also built those watchtowers after that attack [in 1980].*

(Luzell, translated 25/03/2015)

This militaristic stance is no surprise, as Sasol’s original managing director, Dr Etienne Rousseau, played a key role in creating the apartheid security state (Sparks, 2012). Threats of an oil boycott encouraged Rousseau to start stockpiling fuels, stored in abandoned gold and coal mines, and later used during the initial embargo years while Sasol II was being built (Sparks, 2012). Indeed, Sasol’s key militaristic role was recognised by *Umkonkho we Sizwe* (the ANC’s military wing), leading to bombings at Sasol I, II and the NATREF refinery on Republic Day in 1980, as well as the infamous torture of Patrick Chamusso<sup>31</sup> by the apartheid government (Truth and Reconciliation Committee, 2001).

---

<sup>31</sup> Chamusso, a Sasol Secunda employee, was falsely accused of a first set of bombings on Republic Day in 1980. He was subsequently tortured for two weeks – an event which influenced his decision to become involved with *Umkhonto we Sizwe* where his knowledge of the Secunda complex proved integral to the destruction caused by a subsequent bombing a few years later (“SASOL plant under attack”, 1980).

This militaristic nature also assisted in creating a segregated and hierarchical urban form to set Secunda 'apart' from its neighbouring towns. In the spirit of apartheid, so-called 'superior' Secunda was designated only for 'superior' white people while 'other' races were located in areas approximately twenty kilometres away. This distance was abnormally large, leading the media to state: "Secunda is more segregated than most" ("Secunda: Tomorrow's world...", 1980). Black employees were housed in Langverwacht, now known as eMbalenhle while separate extensions (21 and 22) were made available for Indian and coloured employees respectively in Kinross (which originated as a service point for the railways) (Central Guide Plan Committee, 1979). The remoteness of these areas most likely assisted in the control of potential sources of political opposition.

A further strategic move in establishing an urban hierarchy for Secunda involved company spending. For example, the budget for the factory site, Sasol II (excluding Sasol III), was set at R2 458 million (Sasol, n.d.), with between R70 and R80 million set aside for Secunda ("A town is born...", 1976), but only R12 million for Langverwacht – a figure admittedly high for the time ("Dream Black Township...", 1977, "Out of the cosmos", 1978). No figures were found for the expenditure on the extensions built in Kinross. Differences in densities per hectare also speak of this hierarchy of Sasol II's urban areas. A density of twenty persons per hectare was allocated for Secunda, thirty three persons per hectare for Indian and Asian people, thirty six persons per hectare for coloured people, and thirty eight persons per hectare for black people (Central Guide Plan Committee, 1979).

However, this urban hierarchy extended beyond Sasol employees. A small initial investment of fourteen stands in the adjacent mining town, Evander, on which houses were constructed for initial personnel: "Just to get engineers started and so on. There was nothing in Secunda" (DS, 14/05/2015). These houses were sold once alternative accommodation was available in Secunda (DS, 14/05/2015). Sasol's propriety over Secunda is evident from this: Evander was also a company town, and only ('superior') model town Secunda would be linked to Sasol. Further, Sasol chose not to make use of Trichardt's (the town closest to Secunda – approximately 5km away) existing infrastructure, preferring to establish its new town on a separate piece of land, thereby emphasising its exclusivity. When the location of Secunda was announced, a flurry of land speculation ignited in Trichardt, but not in Evander, as speculation was prohibited by the Evander Townships Board (Central Guide Plan Committee, 1979). Newspapers report that the speculation in Trichardt led to highly inflated land prices:

*Today Willie Vermaas was offered R25 000 for his plot on Voortrekker Street that he bought 15 years ago for R385 – and he says he won't take anything less than R40 000.*

(“The birth of...”, 1975)

Sasol conceivers were adamant in their determination to pay a market-related price for the land on which to stage their newest project (Sasol, n.d.; Wessels, 1990). As such, inflated prices were likely perceived an affront and poor investment choice, and probably contributed to the decision not to invest in Trichardt.

As mentioned above, the development of Secunda took place roughly at the same time as one of the country's most violent and historic events, the Soweto social mobilisations, which started on 16 June 1976: less than two weeks before the first soil was broken in Secunda. In light of increasing resistance and amplified pressure from the unions, Sasol was forced to launch its new plants (Sasol II and III) with the use of black employees (“A New Deal...”, 1978). According to this newspaper article, such had not been the case for the building of Sasol I where only unskilled positions were made available to black people while Indian, Asian and coloured people were excluded from all employment opportunities. The establishment of a black middle-class at the Secunda complex was used by Sasol as a stabilising tool in a tumultuous political economy and assisted in maintaining a skilled labour force.

#### 6.4 CONTROL IN EMBALENHLE: CREATING A BLACK MIDDLE-CLASS

A shift in focus towards the creation of a black middle-class began under the leadership of PW Botha in 1978 (Ballard, 2004: 51). Notably, this fledgeling movement coincided with the early years of Secunda's development (recall that building commenced in 1976). Through this movement, says Ballard (2004: 55), the apartheid government sought to establish a “buffer against communism” and, ultimately, “secure the longevity of ‘white’ privilege”. This was mainly achieved by ‘affording’ some black people entrance into the dominant, privileged system: with the proviso that they adhered to dictates of whiteness including Westernisation and modernism (Ballard, 2004).

With this in mind, 'black townships' across South Africa were benefiting from improved services and facilities<sup>32</sup> (Freund, 2013). Sasol seized upon this drive and the newly developed extensions of Langverwacht were hailed as exemplary in a bid to attract skilled black employees. Although a similar drive was in existence for the townships in Kinross, it would appear from DS's interview (14/05/2015) and Kirchhofer (1982)<sup>33</sup> – who makes little mention of Kinross in his description – that it was largely initiated on request from employees stationed there. Langverwacht was not technically a new town as it formed part of an existing settlement in which Sasol developed three extensions: Extensions 4, 9 and 12 (DS, 14/05/2015). However, the urban design employed in these extensions did reflect that of Secunda but on a smaller scale (DS, 14/05/2015). For example, the houses built at Langverwacht were similar to those provided for working-class employees in Secunda: with three bedrooms, a lounge-dining room, kitchen and full bathroom and were serviced with electricity, water-bourne sewerage, plumbing and water reticulation (DS, 14/05/2015). This concept reflected the neighbourhood planning implemented for Zamdela, the former 'black township' at Sasolburg (Oranje, 1998). Oranje (1998) explains that a smaller scale effected in neighbourhoods (such as smaller erven and a less intricate road system) allowed for lower development costs in these 'townships'.

Employees were also given the choice to lease, purchase, or build privately on plots bought from Sasol (DS, 14/05/15). As in Secunda, purchase options came with assistance from the company which stood surety for bank loans (DS, 14/05/15). This policy is set out in greater detail in Annexure 2. Although this policy's main aim was to ensure a permanent skilled workforce, it also contributed to the establishment of what has later been called white privilege in Secunda (see Chapter 9). However, due to Sasol's dependence on black skilled workers this policy was extended to include the latter. Langverwacht (now eMbalenhle), as Sasol's 'model black township' would benefit from facilities such as a police station, clinic, post office, bus depot, community centre, beerhalls, crèches ("Township of 7600...", 1977) and a recreation club similar to, but smaller than, the one at Secunda (journal notes). The provision of improved services and facilities at Langverwacht was generally exceptional and were provided at "an unprecedented cost" (Freund, 2013: 26).

---

<sup>32</sup> Traditionally, few services were supplied in these (former) 'black townships'. Freund (2013) indicates that the former 'black townships' of Vanderbijlpark, one of ISCOR's (now ArcelorMittal) company towns, were not supplied with water or electricity connections in kitchens and no baths.

<sup>33</sup> Although Chapter 1 includes Max Kirchhofer as a conceiver of Secunda, it must be noted that he "would have identified himself as a liberal and liked to consider that potentially as much thought was given for black housing in Sasolburg as for white" (Freund, 2013: 8). His frustration at the racially-based limitations posed on him are also evident in his article in which he describes his design for Sasol's towns (Kirchhofer, 1982).

However, this unprecedented cost translated into higher rental prices. Black employees were relocated from former 'black township' Driefontein, near Evander, in 1977 ("Dream Black Township...", 1977, "Township of 7600..."). Although the wages offered by Sasol were higher than the average for the area (between R64 and R140/month), rental costs would increase from R8 in Driefontein to R21 per month in Langverwacht – an amount that caused great concern for residents of Driefontein, but who had little choice in being moved ("Dream Black Township...", 1977).

Through its assistance with capital, or role as lessor, Sasol could maintain strict control over its employees. For example, Sparks (2012) argues that organised labour and striking was viewed as extreme disloyalty by Sasol, who dealt with such acts aggressively. In November 1984, he says, a strike was organised by militant unions who employed intimidation tactics at Secunda. The response was forceful; employing both police and apartheid security forces, and saw the dismissal of 6000 employees at Sasol II and III. Sasol employed further intimidation tactics including eviction from rental units, demands of full settlement of housing bonds within 30 days, or withdrawal of subsidies on instalments made to private building societies (Sparks, 2012). This manipulation through housing was also used to control white employees, albeit in a less aggressive manner. Most importantly, housing was used to create a strict social hierarchy amongst Secunda's residents (see Annexure 3).

## 6.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter argued that a strong place identity was prescribed for Secunda in order to underscore a sense of 'superiority' and symbolism of an outpost for Afrikaner independence. Related identities had a dual impact on the meaning of Secunda. First, a regional urban hierarchy was established with Secunda positioned at its apex. This 'superior' place identity was further established through company spending, allocation of different densities, and the segregation of races. The establishment of an efficient workforce required that improved infrastructure and facilities be afforded to residents of eMbalenhle, thus creating a black middle-class that was uncommonly large for the era. Race groups were also afforded similar housing layouts (albeit on differing scales) as well as financial support policies which enabled employees to purchase their properties. Although this greatly improved the living conditions of black people, such measures also provided a means of control as financial support could be withdrawn if employees did not adhere to codes of 'respectability'.

---

THE INTERIORITY OF SECUNDA'S GREEN NETWORK

## 7.1 INTRODUCTION

*[In the beginning] there were no trees, nothing grew here [on the location chosen for Secunda].*

(Luzell, translated 25/03/2015)

*Gradually green shoots grew into shrubs and trees, and the valley south of the town has become a nature area with large numbers of birds nesting on the islands in the dams. The picnic places, or 'Lapas', afford a cool refuge to those who work hard during the week.*

(Wessels, 1990: 45)

The aim of this chapter is to explore the landscape architecture underlying Secunda's place identity. It considers how 'beauty' (topophilia) was interpreted during the conceiving of Secunda and how it has manifested for my research participants. The attempt to create an idyllic urban centre in the middle of the Highveld grasslands was epitomised by the inclusion of an urban 'lung', or green network. The chapter begins with an argument that Secunda's green network, especially the trees that were planted in it, represented longevity and strength, but also white privilege through Westernised values of 'beauty'.

The chapter then draws on Chapter 4 indicating that the inclusion of an extensive green network was a feature employed by the models (garden cities, new towns, company towns and Radburn) which inspired Kirchhofer's (1982) design for Secunda. In this section, I demonstrate that Secunda's green network most closely follows that of Radburn (see Chapter 4) through Kirchhofer's (1982) goals of, i) containing unnecessary sprawl through self-contained neighbourhoods, ii) accommodating the rising demand of the motor vehicle, and iii) protecting pedestrians against the dangers of the motor car. As a represented and conceived concept, Secunda's green network is a strong topophilic contributor by adding aesthetic and social value to the town.

However, true to the interiority of space discussed in Chapter 2, the place identity of the green network has varied over time, leading to the phenomenon of 'offensible space'. The chapter then considers various attempts made to reclaim this offensible space. It ends with a consideration of how racially-based topophobias have prevented most of Secunda's green

strips from acting as vehicles of social mixing. For clarity, references are made to both the green 'network' of Secunda and to the individual green 'strips' which make up this network.

## 7.2 THE CONCEIVING OF SECUNDA'S GREEN NETWORK

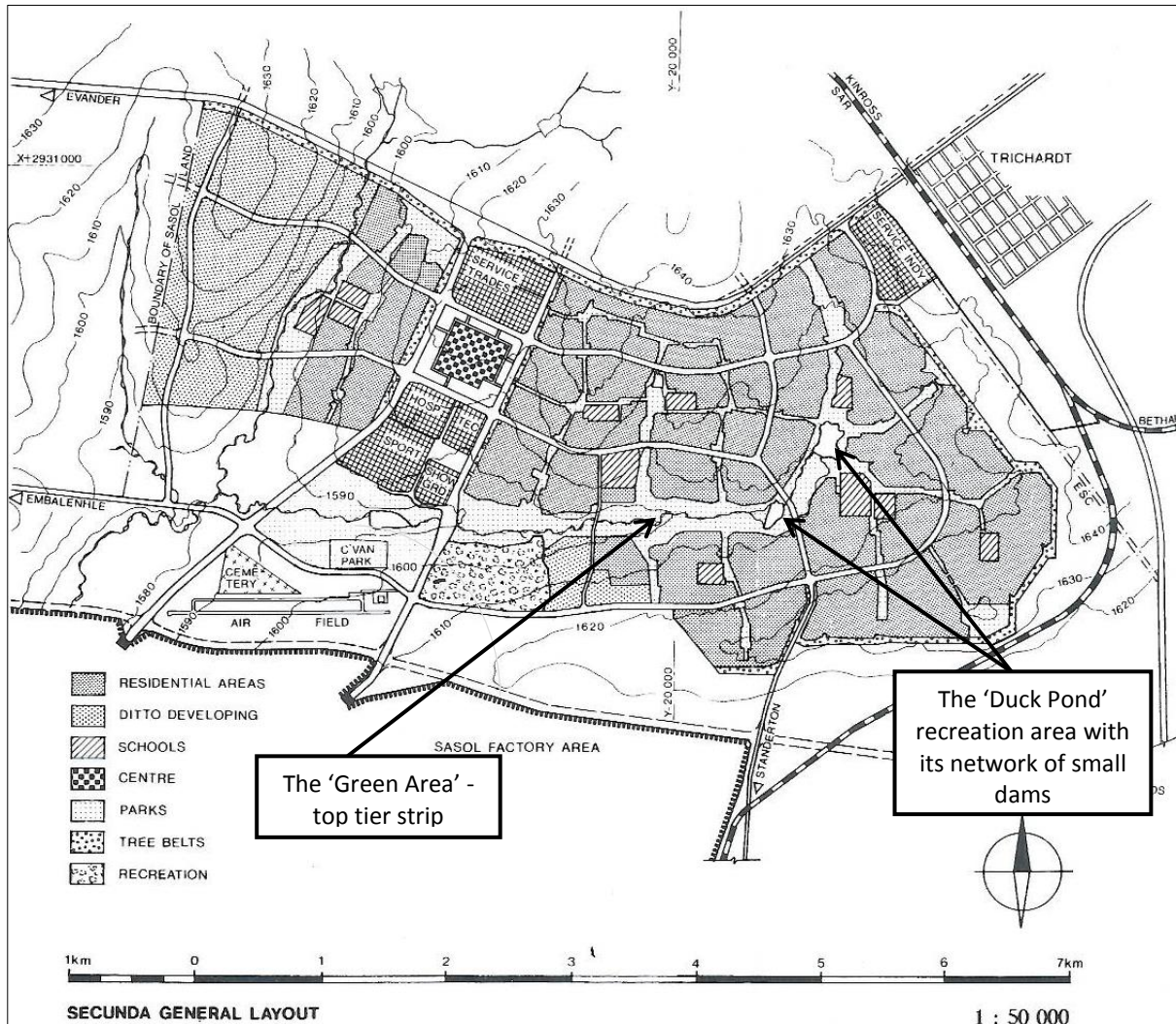


FIGURE 12: AN ORIGINAL (ANNOTATED) OUTLAY SHOWING SECUNDA'S GREEN SPACE  
SOURCE: KIRCHHOFFER (1982: 23)

In the spirit of modernist planning, Max Kirchhofer (1982) used the green network, accompanied by self-contained neighbourhoods and zoning, to separate pedestrians and the motor vehicle. Kirchhofer (1982) described his network as a system of green landscapes that connect neighbourhoods to one another and the town centre (Figure 12). Greening efforts contributed greatly to the symbolism of Secunda as an outpost of independence (see Chapter 6) and, for its conceivers, 'life' and 'beauty' came in the colour green. Much emphasis was thus placed on the planting of trees and shrubs during the conception of Secunda (Kirchhofer,

1982). This section brings together these ideologies and considers first the function (separation of land uses and connection of neighbourhoods) and then the symbolism (of strength and domination) of Secunda's green network.

### 7.2.1 SECUNDA'S GREEN NETWORK: CONNECTING NEIGHBOURHOODS, DEFINING STATUS

*Like streams, they were meandering through the whole residential area and in their sweep united the different sections*

(Kirchhofer, 1982: 6).

To create a cohesive whole, the individual green strips of Secunda were designed to serve as seams, articulating the residential areas and dividing them into distinct neighbourhoods (Kirchhofer, 1982). According to DS (15/04/2015), Kirchhofer's design for Secunda's green network is largely organic in nature as it follows an existing river network. Sensitivity to natural contexts as well as the incorporation of unique forms, says Trancik (1986), is essential to the creation of a strong place identity. This incorporation also has a functional nature as it assists in storm water drainage and houses the town's main sewer system (AO, 30/06/2015). As Secunda lies within a natural drainage area, stormwater runoff from the northern and southern sections of the town can be drained into small balancing dams, which may curb flooding during the rainy season. The main sewer lines also run along the southern and northern edges of the green network just outside the one in fifty-year flood line. These are fed by smaller sewer lines which serve the residential areas on either side of the main greenbelt (AO, 30/06/2015). Secunda's green network also plays the role of a 'green lung' which:

*[I]interrupted the spread of the residential areas and by a breath of Nature, dispelled the feeling of claustrophobia that large stretches of detached dwellings engendered.*

(Kirchhofer, 1982: 6)

This is in keeping with the Radburn concept that theorised that nature offers an "adventure land for children", allows residents to become tuned into their bodies and "their alliance with the Earth" (Paquot, 2005: 69). Kirchhofer's green network became Secunda's 'adventure land':

*When I was younger I was permanently on my bicycle. I went everywhere on it! Using the green areas, it only took twenty minutes from Kruinpark Primary one end of the town to the other. Easy! The green areas are everywhere so we didn't have to ride much on the main road and it was very safe... Sasol's alarm would go off just before dark in the summer at 18:00 every day. All the children knew: when the Sasol alarm went off it was time to go home. We used to spend a lot of time outside, in the green areas, catching crabs and small fishes in the streams that ran through them.*

(Marlie, translated 30/04/2015)

*The green strips were lovely. There are literally green strips everywhere in town. We rode our bicycles to school: I was only in Grade 2 when I started riding my bike to school. We would ride everywhere and we were not scared to go to your friends' houses, and back to school back laughs – we used to go to the green strips and slide down the streams.*

(Corinne, translated 25/08/2015)

*The children were close to their school. When I started working again, it was sometimes difficult to get away to fetch them, but, later when they were older they would walk or ride bicycles. It was nice and they were very safe.*

(Sandra, translated 25/03/2015)

The stories above highlight the emphasis on perceptions of safety in the green network. It was a space which afforded mothers a sense of freedom in knowing their children could play safely during the day and, conveniently, be summoned home just before dark by the factory's safety alarms<sup>34</sup> (which were tested every evening at 18:00). However, these points of safe and 'healthy' distraction were not only designated for children but sought to improve the lifestyle of employees through a "romping ground close at hand after work and school" (Kirchhofer, 1982: 6). Like Radburn, safety was also reinforced by the separation of pedestrians and traffic while

---

<sup>34</sup> Sasol's safety alarms are located throughout the town to warn residents of potential danger, for example, should an explosion at the factory release sufficient amounts of ammonia into the air that could be blown into the town by prevailing winds. These alarms currently only go off on a weekly basis (journal notes).

providing pedestrian access to commercial centres, schools and the recreation club (Kirchhofer, 1982). In the past, this green network facilitated a bus-transit system used extensively to transport people around town, and between the factory and residences (journal notes). Unfortunately, this system is no longer in use due to increased car reliance, but some of the former bus stops still cater to private minibus taxis (used, in the South African context, predominantly by the working-class), which connect Secunda to outlying areas (journal notes).

An increased reliance on the motor vehicle can be explained by Bauman's (2000) theory that a quest for greater efficiency and technological advancement has shrunk the space-time relationship, thereby allowing spatial boundaries to expand (see Chapter 3). As a result, individuals focus more on decreasing the amount of time needed to complete certain tasks. As mining capital relied heavily on ever advancing technologies (Foster, 2015), Sasol sought to instil a desire for efficiency, and an appreciation of technological advancement, in the identities of its workforce:

*At Secunda over-hastiness is no doubt excusable, since in all other spheres things seldom come to a halt and haste is elevated to the status of being an essential asset.*

(Wessels, 1990: 39)

Thus, for 'overhasty' citizens, the waiting times required by bus-transit have become 'inefficient' and undesirable. Further, an individual's status in Secunda is often made apparent through the type of car owned (see Chapter 8) making public transport inconsistent with a middle-class identity.

Kirchhofer shared many new town planners' captivation with duck ponds (Greed, 1994b). Secunda's 'Duck Pond' was designed to be the most 'superior' (or highest tier) of all the green strips. It comprises a set of small dams located in the southern valley of the town, which offer non-motorised water sports, fishing, scenic walkways, a mini train track, and picnic facilities to promote outdoor living (Wessels, 1990). In keeping with paternalism, company town, modernist and apartheid hierarchical ideologies (see Chapter 4), Secunda's green network was also used to demarcate the status of classes:

*[Y]our more wealthy people lived in the lower lying areas closer to the public open spaces. So if you had your house it would look out onto the dam or out onto a park.*

(DS, 15/04/2015)

DS indicates that Sasol's elite was housed around the Duck Pond and in its adjacent neighbourhood (colloquially known as the 'Green Area' – journal notes). Although Sasol no longer allocates housing for purchase, these houses have maintained high values, remaining accessible only to high 'level' employees and wealthier residents (see Chapter 9). The Duck Pond and Green Area also boast an abundance of trees that, Wessels (1990: 45) argues, traditionally symbolise wealth (for Sasol whose oil-from-coal process depends on a ready supply of the fossil fuel):

*[T]hose deep under the ground. Firewood from the past, which was to become fuel for the present.*

### 7.2.2 CREATING A WHITE OASIS: BEAUTIFYING THROUGH TREES

The trees of Secunda do not only symbolise wealth, but also strength and beauty. Kirchhofer (1982) favoured evergreens for their ruggedness, self-reliance, and aesthetic appeal. As such, many of Secunda's trees are exotic. Joan Pim, South Africa's "founder of landscape architecture" who practised in the mid-twentieth century, criticised white South Africans in general for their general apathy towards indigenous plants (Foster, 2015: 124). Foster (2015: 127) ascribes this apathy to desires for modernity and a means of justifying "their existence as Europeans in Africa". In this era, the "raw, treeless Highveld" presented as uncongenial and illegible to many white people who sought to impose Western values on the "culture of landscape" – or nature and meaning of space – through urban landscaping efforts (Foster, 2015: 129). Sparks (2012: 161) agrees:

*Trees and whiteness in Sasolburg were intimately related and the thickening arboreal landscape of the town was thought of as a marker of the maturing of a town established, apparently against all odds, by white SASOL 'pioneers'.*

This thinking was repeated in Secunda where South African, particularly whiteness, identities were infused by naming streets after (white) public figures as well as national rivers and

animals (Wessels, 1990). As such, trees and the green network of Secunda came to symbolise white power and privilege under the NP (and thus white domination over the town). The sturdiness of trees was used to symbolise the determination needed to build the Secunda complex (as an oasis and icon of independence strong enough to resist opposition to white domination), as well as the 'pioneering' image that Sasol sought to culture for its white residents as part of its "modernizing assumptions" (Sparks, 2012: 66).

*Others maintained that trees (and people) had to be tough – the hardy would survive.*

(Wessels, 1990: 45)

To solidify this image, a joint effort between Sasol, the municipality, and local residents, roughly 80, 000 of 76 species of mostly exotic trees were planted in Secunda (Wessels, 1990). As part of this effort, residents were handed a voucher for two (Wessels, 1990) or four trees along with the keys to their new houses:

*So when in the early days, you are allocated a house, together with that allocation you were given four trees of your choice. And then you went to the nursery, you selected your four trees, and Sasol would pay for it. Everybody did that.*

(DS, 15/04/2015)

In this manner, trees were used to instil a place identity of whiteness and a sense of belonging for (white) residents:

*Everyone who has planted a flower or a shrub here, has planted a part of himself. A place to stay had become a home.*

(Wessels, 1990: 49)

In Chapter 3, Koskela (2010) links positive place identities to a sense of belonging, of being an insider and of feeling 'rooted'. Urban landscaping and gardening were thus used as tools for community-building – a task which, as we will see in Chapter 8, fell to the women of Secunda. For these women, gardening filled a yearning for rootedness especially during the early days when Secunda resembled, what Kirchhofer (1982: 27) refers to as a "construction camp" (Figure 13).



FIGURE 13: SECUNDA HOUSING IN 1977  
SOURCE: SASOL ARCHIVES

Dismayed accounts from a number of participants describe their first glimpse of early Secunda as rows upon rows of sterile rooftops amid dusty construction sites, edged by burnt and blackened agricultural land in the winter months. Wessels (1990: 51) tells a story of a truckload of trees delivered to a partially built school by the Department of Education. As these trees were feared not to withstand the construction on the school site, they were sold by the headmaster of the school:

*George ventured into the streets and within four hours used his irresistible sales technique and had sold all the shrubs to eager housewives.*

This sentence is telling of the hunger for beauty and rootedness in early Secunda. It is also indicative of the role played by urban landscaping in the evolution of middle-class 'respectability'. This is not unique to Secunda, as a series of social codes linking lush gardens and well-kept yards to 'respectability' existed for Sasolburg "residents obsessively performing the aesthetic practices of respectability" (Sparks, 2012: 124).

Secunda's middle-class residents have continued this culture (journal notes). For example, in December 2014, a local Facebook group posted a discussion that slated residents for their

lateness in decorating their gardens for the Christmas season. In December 2015, a list was drawn up on a different Facebook group with the addresses of those gardens which had '50 garden lights or more'. The festive season provides an opportunity for Secunda's middle-class residents to strut their 'respectability' through opulently decorated gardens. In addition, some gardens that remain unkempt throughout the year are such an affront to middle-class 'respectability' that they become locational markers used by residents to direct one another throughout the town:

*[G]o past that house with the untidy garden in Trichardt Street.*

(journal notes)

Attempts to distance themselves from undecorated gardens during the Christmas season or permanently 'untidy' gardens is indicative of the topophobia inspired by codes of middle-class respectability, or as Sparks (2012: 124) puts it, "the existence of a deeply felt class anxiety". However, untidy private gardens are not the only affront to middle-class respectability: paradoxically, the green network, once a symbol of Secunda's 'superiority', now largely presents as topophobic.

### 7.3 THE 'INTERIORITY' OF SECUNDA'S GREEN NETWORK

While the conceived space (nature) of Secunda's green network is wholly topophilic, topophobia has been mixed into its perceived and lived space (meaning) over time. This is in line with Friedmann's (2010) argument on 'interiority' as discussed in Chapter 2. Briefly, places are influenced by world events, or subjective lived experience, and will inevitably experience change. In other words, even though space is conceived in a particular way (by planners and designers,) human influence will ensure that its meaning is altered over time. Over the course of time, the interiority and meaning of Secunda's green network have been informed mainly by, i) its vastness, ii) offensible space, iii) efforts at reclaiming the green strips from offensible space, and iv) topophobias of 'the racial other'.

#### 7.3.1 THE INTERIORITY OF AN OVERLY EXPANSIVE NETWORK

In conceiving Secunda's green network, Kirchhofer (1982: 1) echoed the principles of Radburn (see Chapter 4), specifically the "destructive force of the motor vehicle" and included strict measures to segregate pedestrianism and major roads. Neighbourhoods were designed so that

primary schools were no more than 800 meters from main roads and “no main roads were to be traversed on the way to these schools” (Kirchhofer, 1982: 6). In addition, subways and other controls were implemented at pedestrian crossings (Kirchhofer, 1982). However, Kirchhofer (1982) also designed major road reserves to be broad – at no less than 30 meters wide. Broad road reserves have assisted greatly in the expansion of the town (AO, 07/05/2015), but have also ‘stretched out’ already expansive green areas, and increased the speeds at which cars are able to travel. Further, large roads and expansive green strips increase the tedium of and time spent in walking, and may thus discourage some individuals from walking.

Another trait of the town’s interiority is the burning of the green network during the winter months<sup>35</sup>. Sandra’s interview (translated 25/03/2015) tells of her aversion to the cold wind that would whistle through the bare and blackened green strip opposite of her house:

*We hired a Sasol house flanked by a large open field on one side and two contractor houses on the other. Like all the others surrounding Secunda, they used to burn that veld every winter. Coming from Sasolburg, we were not used to the extreme cold of winters in Secunda. And that wind that used to come howling around the corner through that blackened, bare veld. It made me cry twice as hard.*

Due to the pervasiveness of the green network, the blackened green strips can be aesthetically overwhelming during the winter, reversing its aesthetic appeal. Burning is controlled to ensure safety but can take hours to accomplish (journal notes). Houses located next to a green strip run the risk of being filled with the acrid smell of burning grass, which can affect the health of residents (journal notes).

However, the major contributor to topophobia in Secunda’s green network is related to poor maintenance, currently regarded as one of the top ten service delivery issues in Secunda (Oosthuizen, 2015). As a symbol of whiteness, respectability and Afrikaner prowess (see above), poorly maintained green areas are an affront to most participants. This was specifically articulated by the following participant:

---

<sup>35</sup> Which kills pests, such as ticks, and jettisons older, yellow grass which grows out green again.

*If a tourist, for example, were to come here and see the state of our parks [pause] people will never appreciate South Africa.*

Mienkie (translated, 18/03/2013)

It is not clear when the lack of 'proper' maintenance began, but many participants tie it to the change in the political dispensation. When asked about this situation, municipal official, AO (30/06/2015), indicates that such an expansive green lung is difficult and expensive to maintain. Foster (2015) specifies that this is a typical result of early (modernist) urban landscaping which often disregarded the practicalities of planting and maintaining Westernised green spaces in South Africa. In addition, the municipality has experienced increased pressure since the amalgamation of twelve municipalities under one administration, requiring that the equipment initially provided by Sasol for Secunda is now shared amongst the green spaces of twelve urban areas. This amalgamation was a countrywide planning action which extended the boundaries of former municipalities that initially only administered privileged 'white' "stand alone towns", to include former disadvantaged 'black townships' and rural areas (Sihlongonyane, 2002: 132).

The results of this inclusionary measure have caused much frustration for Secunda's residents. For example, a local resident (echoed by others) snidely referred to a photo she uploaded of a green strip covered in knee-high grass: 'Look at how tidy our park behind Secunda Primary is' (Facebook update, January 2015). Another resident indicated that he now simply keeps away from 'those places'. Where the green strips used to offer mothers a sense of security in knowing that their children had a safe place to play in (see above), it is now common practice for schools to discourage children from walking alone through the green areas for fear that they will be attacked (Lorraine, translated 26/03/2015):

*They were originally meant as safe places where people could walk with their children and dogs. Now, if you hear about children that were mugged; it happened in the green strips. So they've actually become the dangerous parts of town...the teachers warn the children to rather walk to school in groups.*

However, children are not always seen as victims. Suzette (translated 15/01/2015) gives her perception of the green strips near her home:

*I see the children coming from school – in their school uniforms. The other day I counted fourteen. That area is a dagga nest. The school children that hang out there worry me. The police do inspections but say they can't find anything. It's because the children hide their drugs in the long grass.*

In this case, children have become 'perpetrators' of crime and fear in Secunda's green strips. Suzette's portrayal of school children as a source of drug paraphernalia is in direct contrast to Loraine's depiction of them as victims of crime within these same areas. Pain (2003) argues that youth are often labelled as 'the criminal other' which can lead to victimisation. This, she argues, can be traced to a presence of binaries, for example of victim/offender which cancels out the "complex and multiple position of young people in relation to fear of crime" (Pain, 2003: 152).

As the ideology behind the design of the green strips focussed on creating a safe environment for children to travel in on foot, it is no surprise that these areas are frequented by children. However, a decrease in active citizenship and decay has forced these users into either the dichotomous role of victim (in this context, usually younger children in primary school) or offender (in this context, usually older children in their teens). This role is not always clearly identifiable and may contribute to the 'othering' of certain children based on their race, age, gender, or the income group to which they belong [see Valentine (1996) for a more detailed discussion]. Even though fear of crime may mask a fear of 'the racial other' (see Chapter 9), crime and decay are nuances that cannot be disregarded when considering the interiority of Secunda's green network – especially when related to its morphing into 'offensible space'.

### 7.3.2 OFFENSIBLE SPACE AND SECUNDA'S GREEN NETWORK

Offensible space is the opposite of 'defensible space' as put forward by Jane Jacobs (1961). Defensible space is characterised by an active citizenship and "refers to citizens taking control of their community spaces from those who seek to intimidate and who openly engage in incivilities or offending" (Cozens, Hillier & Prescott, 2002: 8). According to Cozens, Hillier and Prescott (2002), active citizenship is more likely to be prevalent in well-maintained spaces and less likely to occur in designs experiencing incivility, neglect, or decay. Spaces, they say, that are not defended or are undefendable can be considered as 'offensible space'.

Some of these 'undefended spaces', say Cozens, Hillier and Prescott (2002), may be claimed as the territories of lawbreakers who use behavioural and environmental clues (for example, the paraphernalia of drug users, alcohol and rubbish), surveillance measures and access control to limit their usage by police or residents who become 'outsiders'. In Secunda's case, such cues can be considered a form of symbolic boundary that alters the social order, turning residents and police (once) 'insiders' into 'outsiders'. The presence of symbolic boundaries as a form of symbolic violence is considered in more detail in Chapter 9. The presence of environmental cues is of particular concern in Secunda:

*There's also so much rubbish lying around. When the municipality does cut the grass, they just mow right over all the rubbish. No one picks it up. I once took photos and gave them to my councillor, but nothing came of it.*

(Suzette, translated 15/01/2015)

*That's not to mention all the needles that lie in the grass...it's such things that happen in the evenings...*

(translated Facebook update, January 2015)

The presence of these cues heightens fear and increases negative perception, thereby increasing the prevalence of undefended space (Cozens, Hillier & Prescott, 2002). Overgrown grass and trees also limit 'eyes on the street' (after Jacobs, 1961, see Chapter 3) and allow easy access for potential burglars to escape and access private properties unnoticed by people walking past (Figure 14). On the other hand, this cover also allows potential lawbreakers to observe the activity of houses and even gain entry to private property using overhanging trees.



FIGURE 14: TREES BLOCKING THE 'EYES ON THE STREET' VIEW OF A HOUSE  
PHOTOGRAPHER: JUNE JOUBERT

To a certain extent, offensive space has also been aggravated by the nature of Secunda's design. In Chapter 4, the design for Radburn's houses was considered. These houses were 'turned around' with their backs houses facing a cul-de-sac street-front and a front view of the green strips (see Chapter 4). In his designs for Sasolburg and Secunda, Kirchhofer moved away from this concept, preferring a north orientation where possible, enlarging east and west-facing stands to assist in the orientation of housing units (Mallows, Low, Hoffe & Partners, 1975). A north orientation is favourable in the southern hemisphere as it ensures a more temperate environment within the house. Further, in a housing assessment compiled in 1975, Kirchhofer and his team of architect-planners also reveal a focus on the placement of street entrances in order to ensure privacy to houses (Mallows, Low, Hoffe & Partners, 1975).

Although the latter two principles have great merit they have, more frequently than not, detracted from a natural surveillance (or 'eyes on the street') of the (mostly lower tier) green strips as backs of houses often face them. This has been aggravated by a later tendency for Secunda residents to erect large, impermeable, walls around their properties due to a fear of crime (journal notes). Cozens, Hillier and Prescott (2002) suggest that perceptions regarding 'eyes on the street' may differ between individuals and groups. They indicate that perceptions of whose eyes might be on them could affect whether or not the watcher would be willing or able to intervene, or who might be a threat. This topophobia could:

*[R]esult in the withdrawal of the self into the home, which may become heavily fortified as a result. Venturing outside may be restricted and the curtains of such homes are generally drawn to protect privacy and to prevent the surveillance of personal valuables within the property.*

(Cozens, Hillier & Prescott, 2002: 13)

Perceptions in Secunda have become so strong that they have affected the desirability of houses adjacent to green strips: Which are generally perceived by participants as being susceptible to crime. Teresa (11/02/2013) and Melissa (translated 17/06/2015) fervently claim that they will not buy a house next to a green strip. Sandra (translated 25/03/2015), an estate agent, denies that the value of such properties is lower but recognises that such houses are more difficult to sell:

*I know people who stay next to green strips and they have not been broken into once. It's like when people ask me if the area is safe. Um, I can't say to you, 'they will never break into your house'. But people often say that they do not want to buy next to the green strip – especially women who will sometimes say straight out, "my husband is away a lot and I do not want to stay next to the green strip". We get that a lot.*

Thus, a strong perception of crime is linked to the green strips, heightening topophobia to the extent that it has commonly affected the desirability of adjacent properties. Further, the reaction to offensive space has resulted in some residents not only attempting to limit visibility into their houses (for example, by drawing curtains), but also their yards (for example, through physical boundaries and vegetation). The Facebook group of Secunda's community-watch regularly warns residents to place their possessions out of sight of the street. Incidences of theft, or attempted theft, or the poisoning of dogs<sup>36</sup> can be reported in this group (journal notes). As a result, residents begin to live 'inwards' as the front of their houses become a shadow-extension of offensive space and thus infused with topophobia. For example, on a Facebook group run by the local community-watch, participants have confessed to keeping their dogs out of sight of the street-front and letting them sleep indoors at night

---

<sup>36</sup> Dog-poisoning is often related to theft in the town.

(journal notes). Further, the effects of load-shedding<sup>37</sup> have seen gas bottles and generators (which are usually stored outside) added to the list of goods targeted by thieves (Facebook updates, 2015). In response, gas bottles are locked in cages out of sight of the street and generators moved into garages (Facebook updates, 2015). Consequently, members of this Facebook group (2015) also report a spate of break-ins that has targeted garages in attempts to access these valuables.

Living inwards has lowered the presence of active citizenship, reinforcing offensive space. A resident of Sunset Park (which is currently experiencing higher incidences of crime) describes this: 'we are afraid to leave our houses as we know we are being watched' ("Sunset Park 'n teiken...", 2015). 'Your' space potentially becomes 'theirs' due to a perceptive need to protect yourself from the 'dangerous public eye'. As such, individuals can start to avoid certain areas of their property which might be 'being watched' from the 'outside'. This leads to a reversal of the notion of 'eyes on the street' (defensible space). Recent efforts at restoring the topophilic nature of Secunda's green network will be discussed in the next section.

### 7.3.3 EFFORTS AT COMBATING OFFENSIBLE SPACE IN SECUNDA

The local municipality has attempted to combat offensive space by earmarking certain green strips for residential development due to a shortage of land within the town (AO, 30/06/2015). To combat the crime in the green network, the municipality is attempting to streamline the original design of the green strips by narrowing the "big bell mouth openings to the green lung" (Figure 15).

---

<sup>37</sup> "Action to reduce the load on something, especially the interruption of an electricity supply to avoid excessive load on the generating plant" ("Load-shedding, noun", 2016).

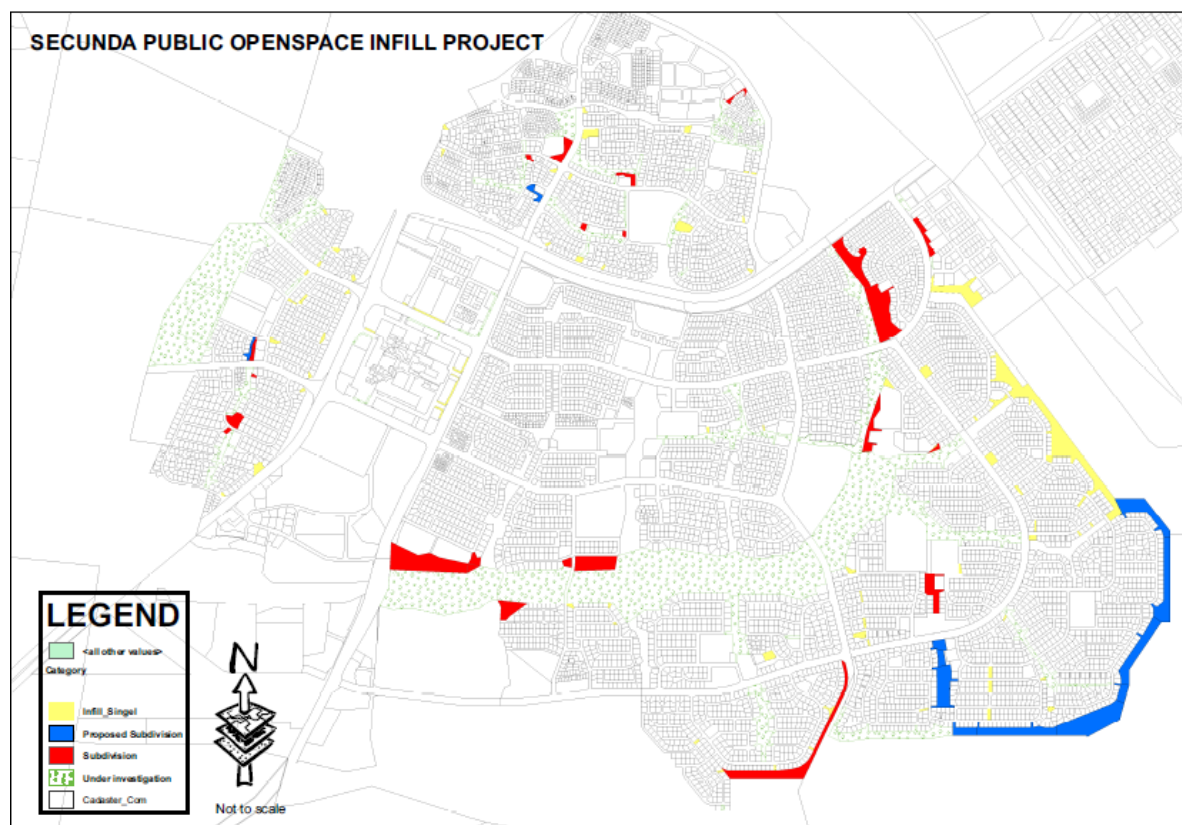


FIGURE 15: A MUNICIPAL PLAN TO STREAMLINE THE GREEN NETWORK IN SECUNDA  
SOURCE: GOVAN MBEKI MUNICIPALITY [GMM] (N.D.)

The green strips that support pedestrianism have been “left alone” (AO, 30/06/2015). This also decreases the size of the green strips, thereby making them more manageable. Streamlining the green strips (to include those areas that are used more frequently) also makes them more easily defended. Further, the practice of ‘filling in’ green space is not uncommon in anti-sprawl initiatives such as the compact city (Jim, 2004) simultaneously easing the demand for housing in the town. However, some authors (Jim, 2004; Caspersen, Konijnendijk & Olafsson, 2006) warn of the importance of green areas and posit that they should not be sacrificed for economic purposes. The narrowing of the green strips remains a sensitive issue due to the network’s importance for Secunda’s place identity. However, as argued above, if the green network is perceived as defensible space, its topophobic effects may be overpowering and efforts at regaining an identity of defensible space can be considered worthy.

Sasol has also attempted to regain a defensible space identity for its green network through its multi-million rand public-private partnership, *Ikusasa* (“hope’, with reference to the future or tomorrow” in isiZulu) which was launched in 2011 (Tancott, 2014: n.p.). Through *Ikusasa*, the green strips have been cleaned and fenced off (Oosthuizen, 2014). Fences are transparent and openings staggered to assist in visualisation (or ‘eyes on the street’) but also to decrease ease of

access. Emotions on this are mixed. Some participants were not sure why the fencing has been implemented, and another said that it was to keep four-wheelers and cars out of the green spaces meant for pedestrians (journal notes). Melissa (translated 27/02/2015) perceives an increased presence of 'the racial other' (as black pedestrians now prefer to walk along the street in which she lives on their way to the town centre) as topophobic, believing this presence has increased crime in her neighbourhood. This example of racially-motivated topophobia can often be linked to a fear of the loss of dominance over space and is dealt with in Chapter 9.

The Duck Pond, as a 'superior' green strip (see above), has benefited greatly from Ikusasa. The area has been cordoned off, infrastructure renovated, ablutions built, and the debris littering the area cleared. Sasol also has taken a larger role in the administration of the park and has employed security guards to patrol the area. In addition, numerous braai facilities, picnic areas, and toilet facilities have been installed, the play park upgraded and the children's train set in working order again (journal notes). The Duck Pond has, once again, become a favourite space for most residents, as well as visitors from surrounding areas, and is one of few examples of social mixing in Secunda. Melissa (translated, 27/02/2015) feels that the Duck Pond is the best, cheapest way to keep her stepchildren busy. She applauds the security guards for no longer allowing excessive drinking on the premises:

*[I]t used to be so bad, especially over weekends when one couldn't even drive past the Duck Pond safely because people would drink alcohol and throw their bottles in the street.*

This is in keeping with the principles of social reform that Howard's garden cities and model company towns aspired to (see Chapter 4). Thus, upgrading efforts have restored the former 'order' of the Duck Pond (such as the banning of alcohol consumption and the patrolling of security guards who also police behaviour not in keeping with middle-class norms – journal notes). As such, this former offensive space has been reclaimed by Sasol in a manner that is in keeping with the conventional codes of 'respectability' (see Chapter 8). However, upgrading attempts have not alleviated the topophobia for all participants (Susan, translated 11/03/2015; Loraine, translated 26/03/2015), who continue their boycott of the Duck Pond. This reveals a deep-seated fear of 'the racial other'.

#### 7.3.4 SOCIAL INTEGRATION, TOPOPHOBIA OF 'THE RACIAL OTHER' AND THE INTERIORITY SECUNDA'S GREEN STRIPS

*I don't like the Duck Pond at all since it became so black and degraded. People tell me that it is nice to walk along the paths now and that there are braai facilities. Years ago, we would go there on Sunday mornings and throw bread to the ducks. It was lovely then, but we've never gone back since it became so scary there. My husband is very strict...he is...I won't call myself a racist – I always say, don't do anything to me and I won't bother you – but we [black and white people] didn't grow up in this town together and it is just not nice for us. We don't actually want to be where they are, we don't enjoy it.*

(Loraine, translated 26/03/2015)

Although Loraine acknowledges recent attempts to remove signs of decay in the Duck Pond, her topophobia stemming from its forfeiture as a formerly 'white' space appears to go hand-in-hand with a deep-seated topophobia of 'the racial other'. In the previous dispensation, only white people were allowed to frequent the Duck Pond. With the repeal of the Group Areas Act, former 'white' areas are no longer restricted and the Duck Pond is now home to a diversity of visitors who eagerly make use of its facilities. This disruption of white dominance has resulted in a drastic shift in power (struggles for space) and the presence of 'the racial other' has shifted the original social order (Sandercock, 2005). As such, certain individuals, such as Loraine, may feel that their identity has been 'undermined' (Godkin, 1980; Nahnsen, 2006).

In Chapter 3, it was argued that an urge to expel 'the racial other' from dominated space can arise from such fears. In this case, Loraine's unrequited urge to expel has resulted in her abandoning the Duck Pond in an attempt to segregate herself from her 'racial other'. Her refusal to see herself as a racist is typical of white privilege where only 'bad', or 'not-respectable', white people are seen to be racist (see Chapter 9). Other examples of racially-based fears are evident in Secunda's green strips:

*They don't use toilets; the black women simply lift up or pull down their clothes and do their business right there in the green strip*<sup>38</sup>.

(Suzette, translated 15/01/2015)

Suzette's indignation is not uncommon or new. Sparks (2012: 161; 164) records similar complaints made in Sasolburg (in the 1960s and 1970s):

*I think it's objectionable. Every day, in your parks and gardens you can see Bantu men and women under the trees and on the grass, lying in the shade of the trees that you have planted for beautification.*

*Every time I come out of my front gate I see a native urinating against a tree. It's not something that one wants to speak of, but how can one go and kick up a fuss with such a native? I am embarrassed to speak with you about this, even just on paper, but things cannot go on like this.*

As discussed above, the green networks in Sasol's towns represent whiteness and Sasolonian 'superiority'. Acts such as urinating on trees or in parks are seen by some as a direct affront to this 'superiority' as well as to whiteness codes of 'respectability'. The presence of black people, as 'the racial other', in the green spaces of Sasol's towns have long provoked topophobia for many white residents. Sparks (2012: 161) argues that this presence is "linked to 'matter out of place' - to dirt, to litter" as well as to 'the racial other'.

What is pertinent for a design like Secunda's green strips – as clearly delineated spaces that link activities and people (see above) – is that they should technically facilitate both physical and social integration. Jacobs' (1961) recommendations on how physical integration can be encouraged by design are considered in Chapter 3. Briefly, she argues that the clear division of space delineates a diverse area of mixed uses and people, and creates the positive perception of a well-used and defended space. Further, the paths of Secunda's green network assist in its

---

<sup>38</sup> The minibus taxi system in Secunda, and South Africa, works on a 'first come, first served' basis and drivers do not adhere to strict set times but rather wait until their vehicle is full before departing. Depending on the demand and time arrived at the taxi, the period spent waiting could prove substantial. There are two main taxi ranks in Secunda which are in close proximity to public toilets. The feeder stops are generally not close to such facilities, but they are close, or adjacent, to the extensive green strips of Secunda which provide a solution to personal need, hence the presence of women squatting to relieve themselves.

legibility<sup>39</sup>. Lynch (1960) refers to these as seams that arrange environmental elements, relating them to one another as well as external land uses (Lynch, 1960). Seams also encourage the interaction of activities on either side by allowing for visual or movement permeation (Lynch, 1960).

In terms of social integration, public facilities (like Secunda's green network) have the potential to encourage community-building by bringing people together to make use of that facility (Lemanski, 2006). The 'defensible' neighbourhood street is another example of such a facility (Jacobs, 1961; Lemanski, 2006). The inspiration of Radburn's car-based principles has largely relocated pedestrians off the streets of Secunda into its green network. Secunda's network was designed to encourage pedestrianism and social interaction, with play parks strategically located along the network (Kirchhofer, 1982).

Unfortunately, the nature of the majority of Secunda's green strips as areas of social mixing, which originally did manifest as such, have not continued in the post-apartheid era. According to Lemanski (2006), public facilities can fail as vehicles of social mixing where an opposition to desegregation exists through a topophobia of 'the other'. Durrheim and Dixon (2010) explain that some white people may experience the desegregation of previous 'white' spaces as a loss. This fear of the loss of dominance, or weakening of a whiteness place identity, may lead to the erection of boundaries – both physical and symbolic – that, in turn, can exacerbate spatial segregation. This will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 9.

## 7.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter extends the point made in Chapter 6 that a 'superior' place identity was created for Secunda in an attempt to underscore its symbolism as a stronghold of white South African dominance. It argues that a green network was designed for Secunda to establish it as an implicit oasis for white privilege. The chapter demonstrates that, although many attempts were made to create a solely topophilic urban space, time and human influence has seen the development of topophobia in Secunda's green areas, contributing to the theory of 'interiority' of urban space. The concept of offensive space was also considered in order to better understand how topophobia has manifested in the meaning of Secunda – which often

---

<sup>39</sup> "the ease with which its paths can be recognized and can be organized into a coherent pattern" (Lynch, 1960: 2).

contradicts the intentions of its nature. As such, the time-space implication of Secunda's green strips is a good example of how the nature and meaning of space are related.

In Secunda, the shift from defensible/topophilic to offensive/topophobic space also revealed racially-based topophobias which can hinder the potential for social mixing in the green strips. These topophobias can be traced back to conventional identities created to establish Secunda as a 'superior' place populated by 'respectable' citizens'. As an extension of the Modern Afrikaner identity established at Sasolburg, Secunda's 'respectable citizens' were portrayed as elite and efficient white industrial workers. This social identity hinged greatly on patriarchy and the formation of a group of 'elders' to uphold various codes enacted to maintain a social *status quo*. This *status quo* was largely based on a social hierarchy which set out certain roles for various genders in Secunda to maintain an industrial efficiency valuable to Sasol's production capabilities and will be thus discussed in the next chapter.

---

SHIFTING IDENTITIES: RESPECTABILITY, DOMINANCE  
AND CONSUMERISM

## 8.1 INTRODUCTION

*[G]ender, as practiced conventionally despite diversity of contexts, is violence*

(Bennett in Connell, 2015: 56).

In Chapter 4, I considered some of the origins of paternalism in the nature of Secunda's design, which can be traced back to three ideologies, namely model company towns, apartheid dogma and modernist planning. The social engineering of a status-based and idealised society is ubiquitous amongst model company towns: accomplished by means of hierarchical and patriarchal ideology through design. Literature shows that such designs aimed to generate a stable and efficient workforce afforded a sense of permanence and security through idealised living conditions provided by topophilic urban design (see Chapter 4). Paternalism in company towns was traditionally exercised through the subtle control exerted over employees by means of housing<sup>40</sup> and social policies, and even activities such as the granting of free beer and food (Freund, 2013).

The early paternalism applied by Sasol is an example of this, leading Freund (2013: 10) to refer to the company as the "arch-paternalist" of South Africa. However, I argue that paternalism runs much deeper than the implementation of housing and social policies. I will show that it remains evident in some of the power struggles inherent in the everyday experience of Secunda's residents. In other words, this chapter considers some of the deeply entrenched, unquestioned conventional gender roles prevalent in Secunda's contemporary societies and the symbolic violence that maintains them. As Bennett argues above, the practice of conventional gender roles can be viewed as a form of violence. In keeping with Lefebvre's theory discussed in Chapter 3, this chapter considers the social codes that maintain conventional gender roles in Secunda as a form of symbolic violence, relating it to topophobia.

It begins by looking at some of the masculine power struggles that have influenced certain shifting identities of middle-class women in Secunda. To this end, hierarchical and patriarchal ideologies were also compounded in Secunda through modernist planning which embraced planners as 'heroes' of development (see Chapter 4). As one of the foremost symbols of modernity in apartheid South Africa, Secunda's nature and meaning did not escape its dogmas.

---

<sup>40</sup> See Annexure 3 for a breakdown of Sasol's initial housing policy for Secunda.

This chapter reflects on how these ideologies have influenced power struggles for dominance and ‘superiority’ in Secunda, showing that they have, amongst others, inter- and intra-gender implications. As part of this, it then analyses the time-space shifts that certain of the middle-class identities of women have undergone: Specifically through codes of ‘respectability’ as well as global consumerism (through fashion, nostalgia and a ‘fear of fatness’). This chapter will demonstrate that the impact of consumerism on gender identities and symbolic violence directly relates to the structuring of gender. This is in line with Connell (2015: 56) who argues that gender constructions within post-colonial contexts provide new ways of understanding contemporary gender violence. The chapter closes with an exploration of the roles enacted by the nuclear family (see Chapter 4) as constructed by the state and Sasol, in Secunda’s post-colonial context.

## 8.2 DEVELOPING ‘RESPECTABILITY’, ENSURING DOMINANCE

*Huub Czanik called hundreds of kilometres of roads and pipes to civil order, while Tom Theron literally brought light to Secunda.*

*Steyn van der Spuy emerged as master wielder of the whip.*

(Wessels, 1990: 39; 41)

The ‘heroes’ or ‘elders’ of Secunda were (and still are) generally perceived to be white men in high positions at Sasol<sup>41</sup>, charged with upholding the ‘system’ through codes of ‘respectability’. I argued in Chapter 4 that ‘respectable’ citizens and social hierarchies were considered conducive to both an efficient and stable workforce, and ‘orderly’ cities. Further, women who lived under the dominance of men were seen to be less dangerous to the implementation of order, perpetuating and reinforcing the institution of the nuclear family (where women took on a supportive role to the ‘male head of house’). The nuclear family was the key planning unit for many modernist planners (see Chapter 4). In Chapter 3, it was shown that order within a

---

<sup>41</sup> Although there are citizens in Secunda who have become wealthy through private businesses, most of these businesses offer a service to Sasol or residents of the town (most of whom are employed by the company). Thus, Sasol remains the economic focus point in Secunda. While wealthy non-employees gain status through their economic situation, emphasis has mostly centred on the company and its employees in the defining of the social hierarchy within the town. Further, while women do hold high-ranking positions at Sasol, I focus on certain conventional identities placing women in financially dependent, supportive roles (in line with the nuclear family model) to men as these have often become so deeply entrenched in Secunda that they remain largely unquestioned – and can thus be seen as a form of symbolic violence (see above).

'terrorist society' relies on institutions creating various 'transparent' 'realities'. Thus, I maintain that a focus on including the nuclear family ideology within the codes of 'respectability' has contributed to the topophobia within Secunda as it has, i) made a proportion of women financially dependent on their male head-of-household, ii) decreased the status of such women by forcing them into an identity and role of 'supporter', and iii) excludes individuals who are not a part of the nuclear family unit from certain codes of 'respectability'. Although these three ways in which codes of respectability may not initially appear to affect the spatial, or 'topos', the topophobia which can breed within such gender constructs does have very real consequences for perceived and lived space – particularly in certain power struggles for space and the maintenance of certain systems of dominance. This is considered in more detail in Section 8.3 below.

Sparks (2012) describes the 'respectable Sasol citizen' as being privileged, economically independent, well presented, Christian, ascribing to cleanliness, and exercising constraint when it comes to his/her sexual preferences and sobriety. In the social hierarchy of respectability, company managers and their families enjoyed elevated status through spatial segregation and finer housing (Baxter, 2012; Peens, 2012). This elevated status favoured senior employees, defining them as the 'idealised' citizens who set the standards for Sasol's workforce (see Chapter 1 on how Secunda's social hierarchy has been classified). For Sasol, says DS (14/05/2015), engineers largely embodied (and embody) this idealised citizen due to their important role at the factory:

*Engineers, as far as Sasol is concerned, are very important. We cannot run the factory without engineers.*

Financial independence also allows for the status of engineers to be reflected in the town's space:

*I know it's obvious but I'll say it for the record, there's a definite class difference: I hear it in the office too. There's a general perception about engineers and... I hear my staff say it all the time 'ah, he's an engineer I'm taking out an engineer'. So I think the engineer is this hot property, especially in the real estate market. If you've got an engineer as a client then as an agent you know that Sasol does pay them well and you know that normally their bank records look fine and the transaction should go*

*through. Here you'll look at people like an engineer and you'll say oh wow they're an engineer. Whereas in a different market like Cape Town you would say ok you've got an engineer as a client but it wouldn't necessarily carry as much weight because you would have had businessmen and bankers and all of these people that probably earn a lot more than engineers. So when you say you're an entrepreneur to one of my team they would probably be less impressed than if you said I'm an engineer...I think there's that need for the middle-class in Secunda to be like the engineers in a way.*

(Teresa, 27/03/2015)

However, Sandra (25/03/2015) feels that the large presence of engineers in Secunda contributes to the status they enjoy in the town:

*The emphasis is on engineers simply because there are a lot of them here [in Secunda]. Like in the place where there are a lot of doctors, doctors would be the focus point. It's because Sasol is here that engineers receive this focus.*

The status of 'idealised citizen' does not automatically qualify an individual as a paternalistic 'elder'. The social hierarchy of the town is not founded on skills, but on income 'levels'<sup>42</sup>. Because engineers fall either in the upper-middle or upper income ranges, depending on how long they have worked for the company, they are not automatically viewed as members of the elite (Melissa, translated 17/06/2015). Age has a dual meaning in that those of a more advanced age are generally thought to be more responsible and also earn more after having 'proven' themselves loyal to the company through many years spent in its employ.

---

<sup>42</sup> Some subjectivity exists in the classification of lower, middle or upper 'levels'. For example, Melissa (translated, 17/06/2015) describes this 'level system' as 'lower-class falls between level 10 and level 9, middle-class is from level 8 to level 6, and level 5 and up is elite'. Luzell's (translated, 14/12/2015) classification is similar, but varies slightly indicating that working-class employees earn salary levels 10 to 8, middle-class 7 to 5, with elite employees stationed at levels 4 and up as these levels "have allocated shares". This subjectivity could be due to the fact that some professions earn(ed) more than others on the same level (Luzell, translated 14/12/2015). Another possible reason could be attributed to the various changes undergone over the last few years before the 'level system' was discarded during Sasol's recent restructuring project, namely Project Phoenix. Even so, referrals to the former 'level system' continue in everyday dialogue (journal notes).

Further, Sasol employees (in general) continue to hold positions of status within the town, possibly due to the high level of dependence of the town's economy on Sasol (DRDLR, 2014), or as most residents are employed by the company which is perceived to pay larger salaries and afford a degree of financial stability (journal notes):

*People that work for S.... Secunda and think that the sun shines out of their a...  
and that they are too good to greet anyone or to treat anyone with respect*

(translated Facebook update, 2015).

This comment reveals a vein of resentment attributed to attempts at dominance and entitlement. The plays of dominance are rife in Secunda as individuals struggle to maintain their position in the town's social hierarchy. These plays are often based on the way dominance is exerted at the factory. Pyke (1996) assists in understanding this. Male employees that fall on lower income levels, she says, often feel emasculated at work due to the dominance exerted over them by men that are afforded greater status within the company. As such, the idealised white male identity is one which "pervades capitalist, managerial ideologies that stress rationality, success orientation, impersonality, emotional flatness, and a disregard for family concerns" in the workplace (Pyke, 1996: 531). Subordinates often experience a decrease in self-esteem and masculine identity as a result of this order-taking and compensate by reconstructing the definition of 'masculinity' based on the physical endurance required by manual labour (Pyke, 1996). This form of masculinity is also reinforced through talk of sexual prowess and by 'putting down' women "who are viewed as passive and dependent" (Pyke, 1996: 532).

Women, especially housewives, in Secunda often bear the brunt of disrespect in the everyday: "I told that housewife" (male shop assistant to another in a local department store, journal notes), 'boring housewives', and 'the busybody housewives of Secunda are heavily entertaining...she's probably one of those that think sex is overrated' (translated Facebook update, 2014). Typically, housewives in Secunda share the status afforded by their (mostly middle-class) male partners. However, because the social hierarchy in Secunda is based on earnings, working-class men justify attempts to dominate housewives based on the fact that they do not earn an official income – thereby 'lowering' their status (when compared to working-class males who do earn an official income). This form of dominance is not always restricted to housewives, but women in general who earn a lower or no income.

However, warns Pyke (1996: 532), the power struggles do not end here. Middle-class men use displays of overt masculinity exercised by working-class men to:

*[D]isguise themselves as exemplars of egalitarianism in their interpersonal relations with women. This serves to cover up the gendered power advantages of higher-class men that are built into the institutions they control and camouflaged by an aura of merit and righteousness that accompanies their privileged position.*

This play for dominance is not solely applicable to men but is also used by middle-class women in Secunda:

*They are quick to look down on you – especially women with other women. Men are less so. They'll tell me my husband is a level such and such'. It's as if they think they are royalty. When they tell me, I think to myself, ok, my husband is an appie [a learner-artisan] – he's still a man. I think those people think they are powerful. The women like to bear their husbands' title.*

(Mienkie, translated 18/03/2013)

*I had to be stripped of the snobbism in Secunda. You grow up with it and it becomes a part of you. What I drive, where I stay, who I am, who I know, those are the things that become important in life...I think it especially affects those women that have not accomplished anything. I am very crass in saying this but I think it's about 'I have not accomplished anything in my life so now I must emphasise that I have a husband that is an engineer or a senior manager and thus I only associate with a certain class of people and my children only attend a certain school. Typically, I drive a Fortuna and I attend the NG Church, my children attend the best snob school and I socialise only at certain places'.*

(Luzell, translated 25/03/2015)

One form of dominance enacted between women is to assert the social status of male partners at Sasol. Where the factory is the setting for male dominance, the town has become a setting for female dominance in the everyday. As the above excerpts reveal, this form of dominance between women of different classes is often demonstrated by an individual's ability to consume. It is noteworthy that the Toyota Fortuna (and all large models of Toyota cars) is frequently associated with a more conservative middle-class Afrikaner identity throughout

South Africa. These cars are expensive, large, with powerful and advanced engines, and have a reputation in South Africa for reliability. In essence, it could be said that they symbolise the idealism of the Modern Afrikaner identity. However, this identity has, through globalisation, become infused with ideologies of capitalist consumerism.

### 8.3 SHIFTING IDENTITIES IN THE FACE OF THE INCREASING INFLUENCES OF CAPITALIST CONSUMERISM

The 1970s saw both the conception of Secunda and an increasing exposure of the South African middle-class to consumerism (Hyslop, 2000). As a result, consumerism in Secunda had a drastic influence on the identity of the Modern Afrikaner whose codes of 'respectability' and dictates of status became increasingly influenced by other values<sup>43</sup>. In other words, status was and is increasingly determined by what you wear, where you stay, which spaces you use, and what you drive – dictates that are often used to determine an individual as being middle-class or not. Hyslop (2000) argues that the most influencing factor of the capitulation of white people in South Africa to the (current) democratic government were the forces of consumption. The introduction of consumerism exposed middle-class white South Africans to globalising influences and the social and cultural changes (gender, race and sexuality) of late modernity. Television series such as the Bill Cosby Show helped convince middle-class white South Africans that “desegregation was not necessarily a threat, but the breakdown of class boundaries was. Bill Cosby<sup>44</sup> had helped to turn the white South African middle-class from race warriors to class warriors” (Hyslop, 2000: 40).

The switch from 'race warriors' to 'class warriors' added to the heightened focus on status. Hyslop (2000: 40) argues that many middle-class white people seek to distance themselves from 'poor' white people through a “strongly asserted sense of superiority” (as demonstrated in the excerpts above). 'Common' or '*commin*' (as it is more frequently referred to in Secunda's everyday) is a large part of the everyday-speak in Secunda dedicated to distancing a 'superior' middle-class from those it labels as 'not-respectable' (journal notes). The word *common* is

---

<sup>43</sup> For further reading see Thorstein Veblen's (1899) *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* which is a critique of conspicuous consumption used to stratify societies (as a function of social class).

<sup>44</sup> Specifically regarding the influence made possible through the TV series, and not Bill Cosby's current trouble with the law.

defined as “[s]howing a lack of taste and refinement supposedly typical of the lower classes; vulgar” or “of ordinary qualities; without special rank or position” (“Common, adj.”, 2016).

The value of understanding what makes an individual *commin* derives from Lefebvre’s (1971) explanation of the way in which citizens enforce ‘normalcy’ in a bid to uphold a set of social codes and values that actually favour the more powerful members of that society (see Chapter 3). The desire for normalcy becomes deeply ingrained through a continued disregard of the fear that it inspires. As a result, citizens themselves become the enforcers (and victims) of what is ‘normal’, creating a malformed reality of the everyday. Labelling an individual as *commin* is a way of enforcing normalcy through the symbolic violence of stigmatism. This can be further explored through the following Facebook conversation (see Annexure 6 for the full translated version). The question, ‘What is *commin* in your eyes?’ was raised.

Answers to this question centred mainly on adverse public behaviour and personal appearance. Examples of poor public behaviour included revving one’s motorbike loudly, women smoking in public, women swearing or using unsavoury language, people that make blasphemous jokes, or drunk and disorderly conduct.

Personal appearance was the second aspect mentioned that could be attributed to being *commin*, such as cracked heels, being dirty or sloppy, mullets (a type of hairstyle), men with long hair or ponytails, and overweight women whose clothes are too small. Interestingly, codes that identify traditional gender characteristics are evident in what is determined to be ‘not-respectable’. Men with long hair contravene the image of the traditional male who has short hair, while women with cracked heels, dirty nails, smoking habits, or who ‘talk dirty’ or swear are perceived to be ‘unclean’ and thus contravene an image of (white) ‘respectability’.

Archive data reveals that an emphasis on personal appearance and fashion was introduced early on by middle-class women who infused these concepts into the meanings and codes of the town. An article published by The Star newspaper in 1978 reported on the pride felt with the introduction of fashion:

*The women of the town even talk proudly of the forthcoming fashion parade (‘with real models from Joburg, you know’) to be presented by the Women’s Agricultural Union.*

(“Rising Giant”, 1978)

Boer (2006) argues that fashion is a construct which found its strength in consumption and the identity of the Modern Woman. It produces a “culture of appearances” and thus allows for hierarchical recognition by creating a set of class and social indicators linked to social values (Boer, 2006: 148). This is in line with Lefebvre’s (1971) argument that fashion is a tool of the terrorist society. Fashion, says Lefebvre (1971), is one way in which society metes out symbolic violence in order to maintain its moral codes. He continues that fashion does not necessarily induce terror on its own, but is an integrated part of terrorist societies as it creates a fear of not being acceptable to the social codes which determine an individual’s place in the social hierarchy. Through its extreme fluidity, he says, fashion creates the problem of unlimited needs as well as a terror of exclusion: that an individual’s everyday existence is not adequate as it does not measure up to that of the ‘demi-gods’ – or, in Secunda’s case, ‘idealised citizens’:

*Fashion governs everyday life by excluding it, for everyday life cannot be fashionable and therefore is not; the demi-gods have not (or are supposed not to have) an everyday life; their life passes every day from wonder to wonder in the sphere of fashion.*

*Lefebvre (1971: 165)*

Thus, fashion terrorises the stability of the everyday as it is constantly changing, thereby rendering null and void an individual’s ability to keep up with the times (Lefebvre, 1971). It creates a never-ending need to emulate certain behaviours and appearances – or face the stigmatisation of not being ‘respectable’ through an inability to consume that which middle-class individuals are required to consume. Thus, the ability to consume (and remain fashionable) dictates appearance which assists other members of society in determining an individual’s position in the social hierarchy (Hyslop, 2000).

Fashion also creates a contentious environment where the Modern Woman who, by definition, denies tradition and convention, is faced with the “fear of not belonging” if not adequately adhering to these indicators (Boer, 2006: 148). Recall from Chapter 4 the two prevailing identities of modernism, namely the ‘Angel in the House’ and the ‘Modern Woman’: The Angel in the House was preferred by most (male) modernist planners as she was perceived to contribute to stability and moral order (see Chapter 4). With the introduction of income-based status (reflected in an ability to consume certain products and lifestyles), a conflict has evolved

between the Modern-and-fashionable-Woman (of consumerism) and the Angel in the House (moral ‘supporters’ of Sasol’s mostly male workforce):

♀CS: *As Robbie Wessels [an Afrikaans singer] says...Speedos and Crocs...that kite doesn't fly. I find them to be extremely ugly. I'll rather buy Froggies or PC or Green Cross with a smile. ♀ CS: And no. Those boots are ugly and unfeminine. And price does not mean pretty.'*

The comments that elicited the above response argued that the cost of ‘real Crocs’, and ‘*not the plastic shoes that no one wants that you find on the shelves in a China Shop that cost R30 a pair*’, make them an item of the middle-class. The offence taken at the above criticism reveals a fear that middle-class identity is being threatened by accusations of being *commin* (or ‘not-feminine’ by wearing bulky shoes). ♀ NL echoes this sentiment indicating that by buying items that can only be afforded by a certain status group she is providing her best for her son. Criticisms are perceived as a threat to her ability to infer a middle-class status to her son, thus not fulfilling her role as a ‘respectable’ or ‘good’ mother. Inferred allegations that threaten an individual’s position of respectability in a social hierarchy are examples of the symbolic violence meted out by individuals in the name of ‘normalcy’ (Lefebvre, 1971). Another form of symbolic violence evident in this conversation is evident in ♀BB’s comment that *commin* is:

♀ BB: *Women that are overweight, that wear denim jeans with a T-shirt (that are too small) and with stomach rolls that hang out. Dammit, it looks terrible.*

Various authors argue that the ‘fear of being fat’ are both feminist (Chrisler, 2012) and spatial (Longhurst, 2005) issues that require greater understanding in a contemporary setting. The fear of fatness is an indication of an appearance-related power struggle which can be linked to ‘respectability’ and social hierarchies in the urban sphere. In January 2014, an older male, ♂JS, posted his opinion (translated) on Facebook regarding an article in the local newspaper on an injury incurred when a woman fell in the ‘new mall’:

*Hi everyone, just read in the Ridge Times of the woman that fell in the mol [mall]. You know, there are things that a person must do in order not to get hurt. First, consider what you are doing. Second, dress appropriately for what you want to*

*do, she knew the floors in the mol [mall] are slippery, so wear proper shoes that are not slippery. Third, I know I'm going to get a lot of people that will make fun of me, but watch your weight, if you are overweight and you slip your body won't be able to handle the weight and you will fall.*

This comment uses codes of 'respectability' to poke fun at (and victimise) certain women, instilling a lasting topophobia. ♂JS seeks to demonstrate that 'overweight' women do not 'belong' in Secunda's public spaces by depicting the individual above to be, i) imprudent for not looking where she was going or for failing to consume 'properly' (by buying slippery shoes); ignoring strict rules that floors in public areas must not be dangerous to patrons, and ii) that the woman in question takes up 'too much space' or 'risks' public safety by implying that her weight affects her balance. Thus, ♂JS seeks to expel 'overweight' women, labelling them as 'unwieldy' and dangerous to themselves and others.

The word 'fat' (which includes reference to words such as plump, corpulent or obese) is often experienced as a 'dirty word' which places certain women on a trajectory of physical and moral decay (Longhurst, 2005). The stigmatisation of 'overweight' women is most prevalent amongst a more conservative Western ideology (Hebl & Heatherton, 1998; Chrisler, 2012). Being 'thin' is equated with respectability and wealth while fatness is equated with a lack of self-control (Chrisler, 2012), lower intelligence (Hebl & Heatherton, 1998), as well as laziness, untrustworthiness, non-conformity, and self-indulgence (Longhurst, 2005). Self-control is deemed to be one of the major factors of 'respectability' in Western culture (Chrisler, 2012). Recall Rose's (2000) argument in Chapter 3 explaining that the value attached to a legitimised identity for each citizen determines that individual's morality, self-advancement and self-control.

What is of particular importance to this study is that the stigmatism of a 'lack' of self-control coupled to being 'overweight' often overshadows other values attached to the identity of 'respectability'. For example, in spite of the respectability gained through her career and education, academic Longhurst (2005: 248), professes her fear of "coming out as fat" to her virtual colleagues, dreading that her weight would decrease her overall respectability as both woman and academic. The greater the deviation from social norms, the more harshly women are judged and the fear of fatness has become so deeply ingrained in the everyday that it is reinforced by women themselves through 'fat talk' (Chrisler, 2012). In May 2015 (translated), a

woman anonymously posted about her frustration when she had been given unwanted advice on how to lose weight:

*Anonymous: Look, I don't want to talk shit now or anger people so early in the morning but really if she wants to give someone advice on how to lose weight you should not look like an elephant yourself! Keep quiet and follow your own advice then you can wash any comments about me out of your mouth as I have much less to lose than you!*

In her anguish and anger at receiving diet tips from a woman she considered to be larger than herself, the commentator switches from 'she' to a more direct 'you', and reinforces the stigmatism inspired by a fear of fatness in calling her advisor an 'elephant'. Another example can be found in a Facebook conversation (translated, October 2015):

*Anon: joh people, hippopotami belong in a watering hole, not at AquaZone. Have people no shame?*

Interestingly, the comparison between 'overweight' women and large African animals is a common occurrence in Secunda (journal notes). This can be traced back to attempts to infuse a strong (white) African theme into the nature of Secunda as a model Afrikaner town (see Chapter 7). Residents have picked up on this and it is not uncommon for a house to be adorned with statues and artwork depicting these animals: "they put the Big Five EVERYWHERE" (Teresa, 27/03/2015). However, comparing 'overweight' women to large animals shows the darker side of the nature and meaning of Secunda's space where symbolic violence is etched into physical space, serving as a constant reminder to victims who, as Lefebvre (1971) shows us, also become enforcers through fat talk:

*♀SS: That hippopotamus can get thinner but you can't get any better with that rotten attitude of yours.*

♀SS's argument that being 'overweight' is not a permanent condition and can be 'overcome' by getting thinner while a poor personality cannot is a good example. Symbolic violence can be so effective that it limits freedom:

♀AM: *People with your shallow mentality are exactly the reason that we prefer to drive to Badplaas rather than going to Aquazone.'*

♀AM's experience is so topophobic that she is prepared to drive 150km (to Badplaas – which is a water resort), a place where she is not known, in order that her perceived 'lack of adherence' to certain social codes 'exposed' to stigmatism. Codes of fashion sometimes clash with more conventional codes of 'respectability':

♂JB: *God loves you just the way you are...so who are you to judge other people based on their weight*

♀HJ: *You go on and on about fat people, why do you even look at them if it bothers you so much? Every person is made in God's image and He thinks they are beautiful. I hope you don't sit in church on Sundays and worship God because then you are a false person because you look down on fat people*

Religion plays a key role in the Afrikaner identity, ranking first amongst other markers such as Afrikaner history, rugby and art/literature (Steyn, 2004). This excerpt shows a struggle between multiple identities imposed by more traditional (of the Modern Afrikaner) and contemporary eras where being 'overweight' is linked to 'non-respectability' through contemporary social codes (of whiteness); judging other people 'based on their weight' is in direct contravention to the Biblical principle of 'judge not that you be not judged'.

#### 8.4 BEING SUPPORTIVE AND CRYING TWICE

*For the men of Secunda are faced with challenges of mammoth dimensions,  
which tend to reduce them to flecks of insignificance*

(“Rising Giant”, 1978)

The factory site at Secunda took a mere six years to begin production (Sasol, n.d.). The resultant pressure on Sasol's mainly male workforce was vast and the support structures offered to its workforce had to be commensurate. Although Sasol offered (and offers) much in the way of support to its employees, perhaps the identity of female 'supporter' was its most pervasive tool. Sandra (translated 25/03/2015) indicates that Sasol initially encouraged this identity by hosting various workshops and activities for housewives:

*Sasol really did a lot of effort for the women. They had many “vroue oggende” [loosely translated to ‘mornings for women’]. In this manner, Sasol really was good to its women. They even hosted workshops where you could go and learn all sorts of crafts. I think they realised that, especially for women that stayed at home, that Secunda could be a difficult place to be. Through this type of thing, they always tried to do effort for the women.*

From this excerpt and those given by other participants, it would appear that the effort that Sasol made for women who stayed at home, centred mainly around social activities to ‘keep busy’. As Sandra mentions in an earlier interview (17/07/2013), much less was done by the company to stimulate employment outside the home:

*The man that interviewed Marais and I said he’d assist me in finding the half day job that I had to give up. But, once we got to Secunda, there was never mention of a half day position again. It made me very bitter.*

The woman as a supportive ‘instrument’ to the male Sasol employee is symbolised in the relationship between the town and the factory. The name ‘Secunda’ had two connotations for David De Villiers (chairman of Sasol at the time). First, it was the Latin word for *second*, proclaiming it as Sasol’s second company town. Second, *Secunda* is the “female form of the word because a town is ‘feminine’” (Sasol, n.d.: 30). Further, while male ‘heroes’ were ‘in charge’ of conceiving and developing Secunda, the task of supporting them was allocated to women. For example, ‘master wielder of the whip’ Van der Spuy had Kinnie Schoeman who acted as his well-organised secretary – “no document gathered dust in her office” (Wessels, 1990: 42). In addition, Wessels, herself a Secunda resident, wrote the history of Secunda’s early days for Sasol (which, in true patriarchal style, owns the copyright to her book). Thus, while Secunda was built to support the factory by providing housing to its workforce, a female identity (of ‘serene home manager’ – see Chapter 4) was created to provide the support required to ensure that Sasol’s male workforce produced at maximum efficiency.

The ‘supporter’ identity was a modernised version of the Afrikaner *volksmoeder* (or Mother of the Nation – Posel, 2011) to create a woman who was self-sacrificing enough to put both nation and company above her own comforts. This identity has deep roots in Secunda. Initial birth rates are described as being of the highest in the country (Wessels, 1990) and the Mother of

the Nation role was taken so seriously that Hannatjie Coetzee, the proprietor of the first day care centre in Secunda, was given the title “mother of Secunda” (Wessels, 1990: 51). Lefebvre (1971) speaks directly to this. Sexuality, he explains, is used as a tool in the balancing of needs and resources in a consumer society. When resources are limited, demand is controlled by means of population regulation through birth control or the encouragement of celibacy. However, when the numbers of a population drop or are too small, the duty of increased reproduction is put on its women in order to increase its productive capability (Lefebvre, 1971). It is not surprising that Secunda experienced a high birth rate in its early stages – being the Mother of the Nation could quite literally be realised for those who aspired to this social identity.

However, as argued in Chapter 4, in contrast to more traditional model company towns but in keeping with codes of twentieth century middle-class ‘respectability’, not all women in Secunda were expected to be housewives and those with skills were employed in the running of the town:

*The people that worked with me [in a local bank] were mostly women who had been relocated from other branches in Sasolburg. Sasolburg shrank in that aspect. Lots of people came from Sasolburg, and they brought all that knowledge with them.*

(Susan, translated 11/03/2015)

The immense task of establishing the Secunda complex required that all hands be employed – whether building the factory and town or filling administrative needs such as the staffing of local shops and businesses. This need was so great that being a housewife was seen as a privileged position mostly occupied by women of wealthier households:

*Quite a few of the wives worked. But most the senior guys’ wives did not work at all. Many of my friends’ moms didn’t work as their dads were senior managers. So, um you know, driving kids around or serving on the school boards or helping the schools to get up and running, for example, by designing the school uniforms.*

(Luzell, translated 25/03/2015)

Luzell's comment indicates that housewives (and possibly working women during their spare time) were also often involved in community-building. Wessels' (1990: 51) account corroborates this: "[E]ager housewives", she says, planted shrubs enthusiastically, and "American and French women added an invaluable joie de vivre to the community". Great excitement accompanied every new venture, she continues, be it a shop, a tennis court, a church or an association and women "waxed lyrical about a bottle of milk delivered to their front doors for the first time. Those who helped build the new town learnt to notice and appreciate the small things in life" (Wessels, 1990: 51). From this, it appears that the supporting female role had a wide scope by either contributing to the economic independence of the family or if that economic independence was assured by her husband's position, she supported her family as a housewife. Either way, women contributed to the creation of a community within Secunda – either after hours or between obligations of the household, or both.

Just after the development of Sasol II was announced, The Star newspaper warned that the benefits of a country able to "survive an effective world oil embargo" would result in higher fuel costs, making "cheap motoring a thing of the past". However, this was seen as "a small price to pay for the stability which Sasol II will bring" ("Sasol II – start...", 1974). Thus, in exchange for stability and independence, the citizens of South Africa, especially Secunda – as 'pioneers' (in keeping with Sparks, 2012) and keepers of this independence – were expected to suffer certain hardships.

Although the town was depicted as a modern utopia by the media, accounts from residents indicate that the everyday experience was not as utopic as depicted. In her article, Victoria McKenzie describes the shopping conditions in Secunda in 1981 (four years after the town's promulgation) as being overpriced with produce unfit for consumption (eaten by rats or green with decay). Service, she explains, was also poor as competition was non-existent ("The Bread is...", 1981):

*The milkman does call – when he feels like it. When he does not you get into the car and go to the inefficient beautiful shops or supermarket and pay the earth for it.*

Angela Hammersley adds poor service delivery (such as unreliable electricity) and failing infrastructure (such as cracking houses and sewage issues) to this list ("Sasol's Secunda...", 1981). She reports that residents were 'duped' by brochures promising a modern "family

paradise” while the way of life experienced was very different. However, in closing her article on the living conditions of early Secunda, Victoria McKenzie states:

*But remember, we are here, all of us helping to make fuel. We use it. We have to under these circumstances. We cannot save it.*

McKenzie’s words indicate her acceptance of the role set out for Secunda’s female ‘pioneers’, justifying the difficulties experienced in early Secunda as her contribution to the survival of the nation, and encouraging others to be as adaptable. The value of adaptability is echoed in two mantras pertinent to women in Secunda, namely ‘Crying Twice’<sup>45</sup> and ‘It Is What You Make of It’:

*A place is what you make of it. There are a lot of residents that hate Secunda but know you, many people say you cry twice – once when you come and once when you must leave.*

(Lorraine, translated 26/03/2015)

*The second thing Marais’s new boss told me was that the women of Secunda only cry twice: once when moving to the town and once when leaving. I looked at this man and thought, ‘you must be crazy, guy. I will never cry when I leave this place’.*

(Sandra, translated 17/07/2013)

These slogans specifically target women urging them to adapt any negative attitudes they may have towards the town which may lead to the ‘loss’ of their men (as employees of Sasol). Interestingly, the influence that some women have over Sasol’s skilled employees does afford them a certain degree of power:

*[W]hat happens is the guy that applies for the job with Sasol and he gets it...Him and his wife, they get into the car and they come to Secunda and the wife looks the place and she says, ‘Koos, ek bly nie hier nie’...‘Ek bly nie hier nie, ek loop!’ [Koos, I will not stay here...I will not stay here, I’m going!] There goes the guy. We’ve lost him.*

---

<sup>45</sup> Or you only cry twice, once when you come and once when you leave.

*[T]hat was one of the main reasons why we decided to go ahead with it [the development of a regional mall in Secunda]. We had previously received continuous complaints from housewives and you never ignore a housewife...because they spend the money, and what they said is 'I can't buy anything in Secunda'.*

(DS, 14/05/2015; 15/05/2015)

This form of power has resulted in the recent development of a regional mall and private school spearheaded by Sasol to make the town more topophilic. Such gender-based assumptions are deeply ingrained and often remained unquestioned today – although they chafe at some of my younger participants who feel trapped within the town. Due to its remoteness and the, often dangerous, nature of factory work Sasol does pay its employees well in order to retain them:

*I think your standard of living is quite a lot higher than what it would be if you were living in say Cape Town or Jo'burg. Because you can afford, it seems like, more here because they're [male partners] earning more and if you put them in more of a city setting they wouldn't earn so much. I mean this is, like, case in point. Like Burt and Keith: they're two 24-year-olds and they own a house, both have big cars and they pay for everything.*

(Teresa, 11/02/2013)

The lack of higher profile employment opportunities outside of Sasol is a point of contention for many of the younger, professional women I have spoken with as many of them have taken up jobs that they are over-qualified for or simply do not work at all (journal notes). This is in keeping with census statistics (StatsSA, 2011) for the town which indicate that a large number of women with tertiary education are not employed. The numbers of men with a tertiary education but who are not employed, on the other hand, are much lower and indicate high levels of gender-related income dependency exist in Secunda amongst women with higher education (see Annexure 5 for these statistics). In return for accepting a 'supportive' identity, Teresa (11/02/2013) demanded that she is looked after by her boyfriend, reasoning that she could find better work elsewhere:

*It's leverage, its huge leverage to say you know, 'I could be somewhere else'. But I'm here as opposed to if you were living in Cape Town and you were just living off somebody – that would be a different story and I think there might be different feelings there. But here it's kind of like I am here, damn it, for you, so you will look after me.*

However, an increased financial dependency raises the power of Cindy and Suna's (11/02/2013) male partners substantially – which allows for patterns of dominance within their relationships:

*Cindy: If I tell that to Peter then he will be like 'ok then leave...'*

*All: [Gasps, laughter and sounds of friendly indignation]*

*Cindy: '...must I buy you a plane ticket? If you want to go, then go. You don't have to be here for me.'*

*Suna: Exactly. 'If you leave now, you'll be there by tonight [translation]'*

*Teresa: Jis, that's bullshit*

*Cindy: You're still lucky to say that, we just have to deal with it.*

*Tarryn: How long do you guys think you're going to be here? Do you have any long term plans?*

*Suna: I think it depends on Sasol. Unfortunately.*

*Cindy: The plan is not long term [others agree] but obviously if there's an opportunity out there then it will be. I see parents that are in my class that are, say, four or five years older than me. They started at a young age and they already have children that are born here. And stuff like that so ja, then ja...then it's...it's maybe it's long term but you hope for it not to be*

*Suna: I think it depends on Sasol, unfortunately, us being the partners: they won't be leaving for us. It wouldn't be our choice...our initiative, our jobs, our...whatever... who makes that decision because unfortunately, Sasol has spoiled us: their employees, I think, especially the engineers.*

*Cindy: that makes them stay*

*Suna: Exactly, and they get used to that. Like you say, your standard of living is actually awesome; [agreement from group] so you get used to that and ja...*

*Tarryn: How does it make you feel?*

*Suna: It's bad. I mean my degree is equal to his. I've done four years including an Honours [degree], um and it's disregarded because I cannot show the money. But I've studied and I've done my thesis and everything. It's the same and yet I cannot produce the same pay cheque and therefore, to a certain extent, it does get me down. Not necessarily at him, but at society and work opportunities um so it's bad, it's bad and how do you fight that? And I think that's also because we want to do things for ourselves but there's only so much you can do. Um and then... so ja that's me.*

A sense of helplessness as a result of their dependence on their male counterparts is evident in the manner in which Suna and Cindy speak in this excerpt. Sentences are left incomplete and the use of interjections (such as 'um' and 'ja') is deflected to in order to express agitation. Although they experience topophobia within a system that reinforces male privilege, women like Suna and Cindy conform to this system as it also serves to maintain their own privilege (Connell, 2014). Connell (2014: 561) shows that this method of maintaining a system of privilege occurs in other global South contexts such as the caste system in India. She indicates that, despite being heavily contested, this system remains entrenched in post-colonial India: "enforced by violence as well as ideology – violence directed at lower caste men as well as women who break the rules". Being subjected to subject violence in the form of phrases such as 'ok, then leave' can prove degrading.

This, coupled with a financial dependence and difficulties in obtaining employment equal to their skills has led to a sense of entrapment for Suna, Cindy and many other skilled

participants. A limited economy outside of Sasol can be seen as a symbolic boundary which does not 'keep out', but 'in.' The effect of symbolic boundaries is considered in more detail in Chapter 9. The absence of a stronger external economy is also disconcerting as Sasol's current coal reserves, says longstanding employee Luzell (translated 25/03/2015), are limited to the year 2050. This could jeopardise the longevity of Secunda as company towns typically have marginal survival rates should the company withdraw its input (Porteous, 1970; Godsell, 2011; Martinez-Fernandez *et al.*, 2012; Minnery, 2012).

## 8.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has argued that deeply ingrained social identities, based on post-colonial hierarchies, were implicitly devised for the residents of Secunda. The strong emphasis on the creation of an efficient workforce within a hierarchical setting has led to plays for dominance amongst male employees. These plays begin at the factory but are carried over to the town where they are taken up by women belonging to different status 'levels'. Demonstrations of superiority are made by some middle-class women in order to maintain structures of dominance. These demonstrations are often based on the status of male counterparts (salary level) and ability to consume. The ability to consume has become a major identifier in classifying middle-class individuals in a contemporary setting.

Where 'respectability' was traditionally based on the social codes of the Modern Afrikaner, shifting cultures have seen a greater emphasis on the individual's ability to consume as a determinant of middle-class positioning. As such, dominance is exerted through personal appearance and behaviour – which are often linked to more conventional identities of femininity. It was argued that fashion, the fear of fatness and fat talk are tools of symbolic violence. Fashion creates a terror of exclusion from 'normalcy' where individuals are constantly attempting to meet unlimited needs. It also presents a gauge used by individuals to decipher what is 'respectable' and what is not. In the name of (Westernised) fashion, 'overweight' individuals, especially women, are stigmatised as 'not-respectable'. A quest to enhance individual status through consumption as well as the presence of fat talk has led many women in Secunda to become both the victims and inflictors of symbolic violence.

The 'supportive' role expected of many women was also explored. This supporting role has limited the independence of women in Secunda, contradicting the more contemporary identity of the independent 'Modern Woman'. This dependence also contributes to topophobia

amongst younger women who can feel entrapped within the town. A sense of diminished value is also sometimes experienced where the economic value of men affords them a higher status (resulting from an income-based social hierarchy), thereby reinforcing patterns of male dominance. However, some middle-class women do conform to this system as it also gives them access to privileges of their own. Concerns were expressed over a limited economy outside of Sasol as this may affect the longevity of the town.

---

WHITE PRIVILEGE, SEGREGATION, AND SYMBOLIC  
BOUNDARIES IN SECUNDA

## 9.1 INTRODUCTION

White privilege is possibly one of the most pervasive sources of racial contention in current (and historical) everyday South Africa. It is a result of what Lefebvre (1971: 145) refers to as the “individual conscience” that bends to ensure certain privileges for a powerful few (see Chapter 3). In Chapter 3, I argued that the unravelling of white privilege is a white problem as it lies within the individual consciousness of white people. This chapter aims to further my argument by demonstrating how symbolic violence can affect various symbolic boundaries aimed at maintaining spaces of white privilege<sup>46</sup>. Findings reveal a nuance that underscores a distinction between topophobia and symbolic violence, that is, that they do not create one another in and of themselves. Simply stated, an individual suffering from topophobia may resort to symbolic violence in order to maintain a specific status quo in one context/time, but may take the decision not to do so at another. Further findings indicate that dissociative attempts may be coupled with symbolic boundaries designed to further distance, or divide, ‘the same’ from ‘the other’. Distancing can be accomplished through distinctions made in the everyday between the “threatened Self” and the “threatening Other”, which are “fundamental in the white struggle for Selfhood” (Hubbard, 2005: 60).

In Chapter 3, I argued that symbolic violence is more likely to be accompanied by symbolic boundaries in post-apartheid contexts, where boundaries separating races are no longer state-condoned. In fact, Spinks (2001) goes as far as to contribute symbolic, rather than physical, boundaries as apartheid’s most lasting legacy. She argues that state propaganda, which encouraged race groups to think of themselves as ‘separate’, remains entrenched in many post-apartheid contexts. Mienkie’s (translated 18/03/2013) comment asserts that understandings of ‘separateness’ are often entrenched in various whiteness identities from a young age:

*That’s just how white people, especially Afrikaners, are raised: That you don’t mix. That’s just how it is.*

This ‘schooling’ is one reason that racially-based topophobias and biases are often latent, or deeply embedded in the subconscious (see Chapter 3). Further, as argued in Chapter 1, the location of whiteness and its biases in the subconscious of white people places the onus of

---

<sup>46</sup> I’d like to acknowledge Dr Andrea Little Mason and Melisizwe Mashinini for their insights to this chapter.

disrupting this consciousness on white people. The latent and entrenched codes of white privilege often manifest as ‘knowledge’, ‘truth’, or value systems (based on statements of perceived ‘fact’ such as ‘that is just how it is’). This, in turn, can lead to an ignorance of the racially-based privileges which many white people benefit from (see Chapter 3). As such, many white people fail to recognise when they are being racially offensive (Hubbard, 2005), and may not recognise the symbolic violence they could be meting out in the assertion of whiteness and white privilege.

Hubbard (2005: 52) argues that opposition to transformation efforts may find its roots in identities of “unmarked whiteness” and the maintenance of white privilege. This chapter seeks to align with other studies on white privilege that seek, not to prove its existence, but to expose the manner in which it may inhibit real transformation (DiAngelo, 2011). As such, it considers white privilege in the situated context of model company and new town, Secunda. It begins by demonstrating that Secunda is an enclave of (white) privilege, which Schensul and Heller (2011) indicate, are becoming more frequent across South Africa’s urban landscape due to an increasingly class-based society. Although there is a mixed presence of different races in the town (especially during the day – journal notes), the next section will demonstrate that most individuals who reside in the town are white. The chapter will then show that this enclave is upheld, *inter alia*, by two types of symbolic violence, namely market filters and attitudes of distancing.

## 9.2 SECUNDA: AN ENCLAVE OF WHITENESS AND SEGREGATION

Residential segregation is a serious, and continuing, (negative) urban issue across South Africa (Durrheim & Dixon, 2010; Schensul & Heller, 2011). Secunda is a particularly glaring example made apparent from a comparison between the town and its larger (national and regional) environment (Figure 16<sup>47</sup>).

---

<sup>47</sup> Note that the percentages in Figure 16 have been rounded off for purposes of pie chart presentation.

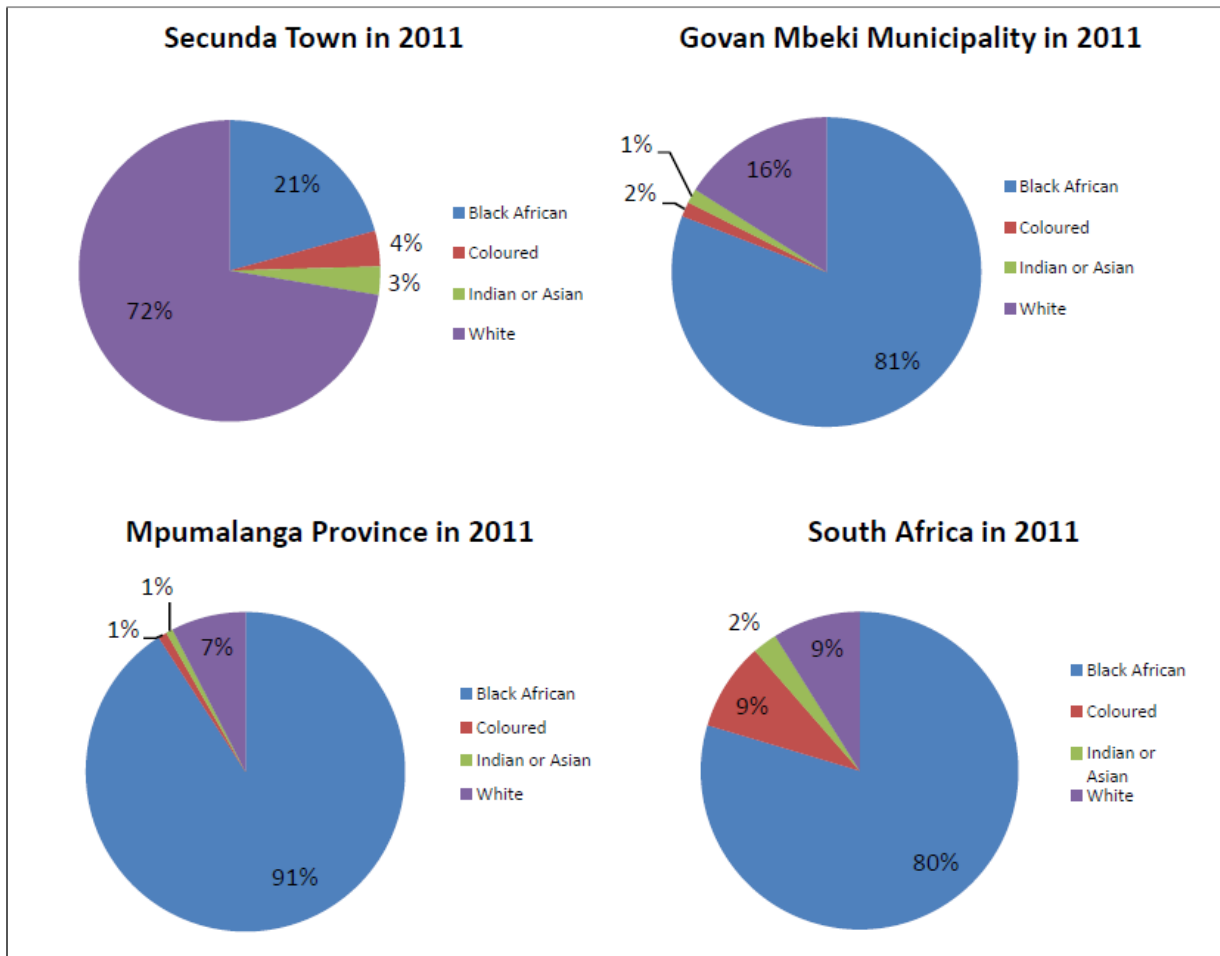


FIGURE 16 : A COMPARISON OF POPULATION PERCENTAGES  
SOURCE: STATSSA (CENSUS 2011)

White people are in the minority in larger contexts (16% of the municipal area, 7% in the Mpumalanga Province and 9% in South Africa) – a vast contrast to the dominance prevalent to Secunda (Figure 16). Table 4 indicates that white people comprise almost three-quarters (at 72.4%) of the total population in Secunda, with no other group achieving the recommended 25% ratio.

TABLE 4 : POPULATION GROUP BY SIZE IN SECUNDA<sup>48</sup>

YEAR	BLACK AFRICAN		COLOURED		INDIAN OR ASIAN		WHITE		TOTAL
	No.	≈%	No.	≈%	No.	≈%	No.	≈%	
2001	6218	23.8	424	1.6	395	1.5	19088	73.1	26125
2011	8283	20.7	1508	3.8	1225	3.1	28910	72.4	39926
GROWTH <sup>49</sup>	2065	33.2	1084	255.7	830	210.1	9822	51.5	52.8%

SOURCE: ADAPTED FROM STATSSA (CENSUS 2001; 2011)

The enormity of Secunda's ongoing segregation, its history as one of the greatest attempts at white domination by the Nationalist Party (see Chapter 6), and an increasingly consumerist identity (see Chapter 8) that has informed the values of whiteness over time, makes it a valuable case study of the 'systems' that maintain racial segregation – especially that of white privilege. Table 4 indicates that Secunda has grown by over half its population size over the last ten years, with the greatest growth *percentage* experienced amongst coloured and Indian/Asian population groups. However, despite this, segregation levels have barely shifted over this period where the dominant racial group's presence has shifted only slightly from 73.1% (in 2001) to 72.4% (in 2011) of the overall population.

Previous chapters have shown how various identities of whiteness were entrenched in the meaning of the town (see Chapter 2) to assist in the NP's quest for independence and continuing power (see Chapters 6 and 7). These identities also sought to uphold a system of white privilege to set Secunda and its (white) residents apart as 'superior' (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8). In Chapter 3, the argument was made that a consciousness of whiteness (and its identities) was established by colonialism, and cemented through apartheid policies, to ensure white domination in South Africa. Various identities were developed as part of this consciousness in Secunda to depict its white residents as 'superior' – albeit as modern and technologically 'superior', or racially 'superior' (see Chapter 6). This formed part of an initiative to create 'model' citizens for Sasol's model new town, set apart through the implementation of various hierarchies – many of which were aligned to the paternalism of apartheid and company towns (see Chapter 6). Arguably, these hierarchies acted as boundaries between different class/income and racial groups, as well as between those that worked for Sasol and those that didn't (see Chapter 8).

<sup>48</sup> Percentages rounded off to the first decimal.

<sup>49</sup>  $(2011 \text{ population} - 2001 \text{ population}) \div 2001 \text{ population} \times 100 = \% \text{ growth}$

Although a prominent example, this phenomenon of creating or maintaining ‘white’ enclaves is not particular to Secunda (Ballard, 2004; Schensul & Heller, 2011). Ballard (2004) considers the contemporary burgeoning of these enclaves, which he says, has become largely privatised. He refers to this as ‘semigration’ that originally described the migration of white people to Johannesburg or Cape Town. However, he continues, semigration can also occur when high walls are erected around a property, or through the migration to gated communities or estates. Semigration is an attempt to re-establish “a comfort zone that reflects” the “self-conceptions” of some white people (Ballard, 2004: 65). I would argue that instead of ‘semigrating’ to fortified enclaves, many of Secunda’s residents seek to maintain Secunda as a predominantly ‘white’ comfort zone by erecting and/or maintaining various symbolic boundaries (which are maintained through instances of symbolic violence). For example, Teresa (11/02/2013), a young white woman, posits:

*It’s a very segregated society. Hugely so. Like I think this is the closest to getting a snapshot of being like in the 1970s with the animosity or the superiority that white people still feel towards black people. You know you seldom see an old black person here that is on the same [salary] level and I don’t know if that’s got anything to do with violence but it’s a very strong white identity here. Um ja, I guess in a way, although not maybe like physical violence, more like violent feelings towards like people.*

Teresa’s comment hints at a relationship between deep-seated fears of ‘the racial other’ and an attempt, by some identities of whiteness, to maintain a ‘comfort zone’ by means of symbolic violence. Chapter 3 considered Ballard’s (2004) concept of ‘white’ ‘comfort zones’ established through certain social, economic and psychological privileges, and aimed at ensuring a rootedness amongst most white people. In post-apartheid comfort spaces, the boundaries that so effectively segregated ‘the same’ from ‘the other’ through colonialism, apartheid and modernist planning have been overturned in a relatively short span (Bremner, 2004). The reverberation of the fall of such boundaries, argues Bremner (2004), has thrown ‘the same’ and ‘the other’ together in many urban spaces. In other words, ‘the other’ is no longer confined to ‘the outside’ but has access (however limited) to ‘the within’ (Bremner, 2004). For some, this has threatened their comfort zones as the post-apartheid city has become an:

*[U]nbounded, uncontained, openended body. A site of violent intimacies. Where do 'we' begin and 'they' end? A deep seated anxiety prevails.*

(Bremner, 2004: 460)

A perceived infiltration of 'white' comfort spaces by 'the racial other' has heightened topophobia for many of my participants. This is particularly the case in more desegregated spaces within the town, namely the Duck Pond and the town centre. Interestingly, these were designed as two of the town's most prominent (and privileged) spaces. The town centre, in particular, is a rich example and will be considered in the next section.

### 9.3 'LOSING' COMFORT ZONES WITHIN ENCLAVES OF WHITENESS

The layout of the town centre of Secunda forms a perfect square (Figure 17). It consists of the central business district (CBD), and a civic centre including municipal buildings, a post office, magistrate's court, theatre and library<sup>50</sup>.

---

<sup>50</sup> It is noteworthy that the municipal grounds have expanded to include the old hotel (within the square) as indicated in Figure 17.

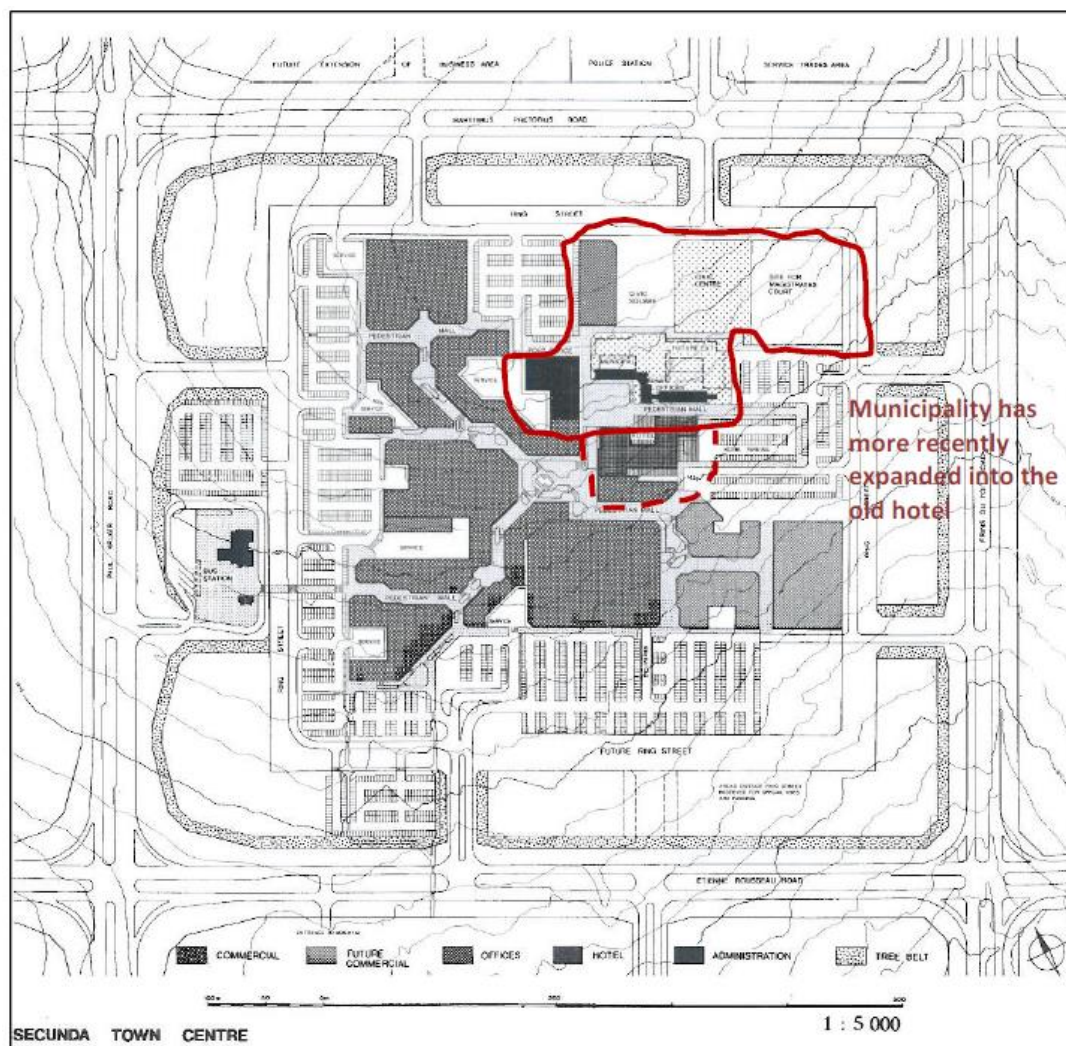


FIGURE 17 : AN ORIGINAL (ANNOTATED) PLAN OF SECUNDA'S TOWN CENTRE  
SOURCE: KIRCHHOFFER (1982: 25)

Once a centrepiece of white dominance, the town centre is perhaps the most prevalent example of racially-based topophobias, for white people, in post-apartheid Secunda. In the following excerpt, a female resident expresses her topophobia at the increase of spaza<sup>51</sup> shops housed in caravans in the CBD:

*Hi Bianca, I spoke to you last year about the caravans stationed in front of Telkom/the Gym in town [the town centre]. When are those things [the caravans] going to be removed? I'm not even prepared to invite my friends from overseas to Secunda: we have to meet them in the [nearest] city! It looks like we stay in North Africa. They are unhygienic and it looks like we do business in a squatter camp. Must we, as Afriforum [a civil rights organisation, which focusses*

<sup>51</sup> Or informal shops, usually of a micro economy, catering mostly to working class black people in Secunda.

largely on Afrikaans culture], *make our presence known or what do you suggest as councillor of the business district? I am out of ideas! Thank you!*

*Trienkie, it is really not an easy situation to solve. It actually appears as if they are escalating in number. I have already opened a case but it doesn't seem as if we are going to get a solution anytime soon. We could perhaps approach this matter from different sides. I would like to discuss this matter with you in more detail. Can we meet next week?*

(Facebook update, January 2013)

Trienkie's topophobia at the increased presence of informal spaza shops has led to an attempt to mobilise other like-minded organisations (like Afriforum to which she belongs and the ward councillor, Bianca). Phrases such as 'make our presence known' and 'approach this matter from different sides' are evidence of symbolic violence (to be) inflicted in an attempt to reassert dominance of the town centre. In Chapter 4, it was demonstrated that Secunda's design was largely influenced by various models of modernist planning. In Chapter 4, it was shown that the driving force behind modernist planning was a rationalisation of space including determined efforts to eradicate informal spaces (sometimes referred to as 'disorderly' spaces). This rationalisation was infused with (male) Western, middle-class ideologies that viewed conflicting approaches/individuals as 'irrational' and 'undesirable'. Further, attempts to displace 'the other', as a means of maintaining 'order', were often based upon justifications of 'public interest' (see Chapter 4).

The 'breakdown' of modernist order in Secunda's CBD (for example, where 'categorised zoning' is permeated with 'informal' activities) has aggravated topophobia for some of its residents. In the excerpt above, the public interest is seen to be 'jeopardised' through allegations of unsanitary conditions<sup>52</sup>. This assertion is arguably a form of symbolic violence with the intent of reinforcing symbolic barriers between 'the racial other' ('It looks like we stay in North Africa... it looks like we do business in a squatter camp') and 'the white/Western same'. Concern at what appears to be a diminishing 'white' dominance over the town centre is also expressed ('it actually appears if they are escalating in number').

---

<sup>52</sup> Interestingly, 'food trucks' are a growing trend in other parts of the world where they are linked to words such as 'haute' and 'cool culinary trend'. Although their informality is also seen as an urban issue by some, this is largely attributed to the competition they provide to formalised, tax-paying businesses [see for example, Gustin (2010)].

The breakdown of racial divides and desegregation in Secunda's town centre, coupled with failed attempts at white dominance in this area have produced topophobias: most of which are centred on 'the racial other':

*Tarryn: Do you feel safe in the town centre?*

*Karla: I never go to the Pick n Pay Mall; I'll rather go to the Checkers Mall and that area near Mr Price.*

*Suna: It feels more protected there.*

*Karla: I'm not the type of person who goes to Pick n Pay Mall. I hardly ever go there.*

*Tarryn: Why not?*

*Karla: Ohhh, it was never an attraction for me.*

*Suna: And you're a bit out of place there.*

(Suna and Karla, translated 25/02/2013)

The design of Secunda's CBD encompasses various extensions or 'malls'. The 'Checkers Mall' referred to is located adjacent to Sasol's gym and had, before the regional mall opened in November 2013, a larger white patronage than the then 'Pick n Pay Mall', which is closer to the taxi rank. As indicated in a footnote in Chapter 7, the Secunda taxi rank caters largely to the black working-class. Conversely, membership to the recently modernised/upgraded Sasol gym is inexpensive as a perk for employees and their families – who were traditionally encouraged to be 'respectable citizens' (see Chapter 8). As such, the Sasol gym (which is in close proximity to the former 'Checkers Mall') adds a sense of Western modernisation and 'respectability' to the general area, garnering comfort for some white people. Suna indicates a sense of not belonging (see Chapter 3) in the 'Pick n Pay Mall', which translates into topophobia. It is also noteworthy that the 'area near Mr Price' has a more open design, which allows for greater visibility/'eyes on the street' and 'defensible space' which is thought to lessen instances of fear of crime (see Chapter 3).

This scenario, when considered with the findings of Chapter 7, highlights a distinct nuance separating topophobia from symbolic violence. It shows that, as a result of their topophobia, some people may resort to symbolic violence to maintain various status quos that uphold their privilege. For example, a topophobia of 'the racial other' may lead to a retreat from, or abandonment of, a place altogether (as in Loraine's case in Chapter 7). In the case where

Secunda's CBD is no longer solely a 'white' space, topophobia has been accompanied by symbolic violence in an attempt at regaining dominance. However, in this latter case, the use of symbolic violence has proven ineffective: despite attempts by some who long for a 'white people only' Secunda, the Secunda CBD has diversified and is no longer a 'white' space. In this sense, even though topophobia may have been heightened when dominance over space is threatened, attempts at symbolic violence are muted because no longer being supported by instruments of the State (for example the former Group Areas Act). However, in spaces where topophobia is supported by State instruments, such as the green belts that were fenced off during the private-public-partnership, Ikusasa in an attempt to create defensible space (see Chapter 7), symbolic violence can be used to bolster fears of 'the other'. Examples of this include the 'othering' of older children (as a whole) who are labelled as either peddling or using drugs when 'hanging out' in the green strips, or by linking a perceived increase in crime to an increase in black pedestrians who have been diverted through certain green strips through the limiting of access to others (see Chapter 7).

This interview took place a few months before the opening of (what participants refer to as) 'the new mall' (in November 2013). Since then, all of my participants expressed a preference for the 'new mall':

*The mall is one of the places in town I feel most safe – I don't mind coming here alone. I don't go to the post office alone anymore. We go on a Saturday when my husband can come along because I refuse to go there alone... That area just feels...although they say that they have changed the old Pick n Pay and that it's safe and pretty, but I still won't shop there.*

(Lorraine, translated 26/03/2015)

*I don't really go to the town centre now that we have the mall.*

(Marlie, translated 30/04/2015)

*I have to go and gym [spaza caravans are located opposite, *inter alia*, here] and have to stop at that Spar then I don't feel safe... laughs. It feels a little bit run down and it feels isolated and thus I would much rather go to the new mall than stop at any of those shops... I think it's because there aren't so many [white] people that go to the shops anymore... Since the new mall has opened, I don't really feel safe in the old mall.*

(Corinne, translated 25/08/2015)

These participants reveal that a dichotomous thinking, based on whiteness, between the 'old' and 'new' mall has manifested in the meaning of Secunda's space. The history of this dichotomy can be traced to original identities that the early residents of Secunda, who were mostly Sasol employees, were expected to aspire to, namely model, modern industrial citizens: An identity that was also infused with apartheid ideologies of whiteness (Chapters 6, 7 and 8). In addition to this, the equation of 'modernisation' with 'Western' and 'development', says Sihlongonyane (2015: 67), is a product of Eurocentric thinking entrenched through powerful marketing strategies promoting the "Western city as an object of desire in South Africa". As such, instead of basing their identities on whiteness, says Ballard (2004: 55) many white people seek to assert a 'superiority' based on Eurocentric catch phrases such as "'developed', 'modern', 'Western', 'First World'".

References made by many participants to the 'old town' or 'old mall' (*ou dorp*) indicate that some individuals no longer perceive the town centre to be a central cornerstone of the town (journal notes). For these participants, it has become 'old', 'not-modern', and 'undesirable'. A dichotomy between the old and new has been aggravated by a planning decision to locate the 'new mall' adjacent to the town centre. These dichotomies include 'working-class/middle-class', 'modern/old', and 'formalised-Western/informal-'the other'" and are evidence of a symbolic barrier that has been developed to distance white residents from 'the racial other'. Arguably, these dichotomies may prove to be a direct hurdle to urban transformation in South Africa, particularly as "informality has become a dominant mode of urbanisation in much of the global South" (Sihlongonyane, 2015: 70).

Topophobias that were once ascribed to decay by some participants, remain – even though Resilient Properties, which also developed the 'new mall', has recently refurbished much of the town centre (journal notes). This reveals deep-seated topophobias of 'the racial other' which have come to the fore through a decrease in whiteness and loss of 'white' dominance over the town centre. Ballard (2004: 58) indicates that the influx of black people to former 'white' spaces has, in the views of some of his participants, altered it from a (European) space that "generated a sense of 'white' achievement" to one of few rules, or disorder: "Quite simply, home no longer feels very homely".

Further, argues DiAngelo (2011: 61), white people “often confuse comfort with safety”. Participant topophobias of the ‘loss’ of dominance in former comfort zones may lead to attempts at the reassertion of dominance elsewhere (for example, in newly developed, Westernised spaces), or the avoidance of ‘other’ spaces. The effects of this on desegregation and social integration can be extremely damaging as “fear has an unholy alliance with prejudice, hate and anger” (Koskela, 2010: 390).

Recall that Sasol spearheaded the development of the ‘new mall’<sup>53</sup> as part of a bid to retain a skilled workforce (see Chapter 8). With the demise of apartheid and the adoption of a stronger capitalist focus, Sasol’s paternalism is no longer as pronounced as it was previously (Sparks, 2012). However, Secunda remains a pseudo-company town, which Porteous (1970) says, experiences the indirect, unofficial control (as a dominant source of employment) by a corporation even though it is municipally administered. As such, Sasol is often portrayed as a ‘hero’ who ‘saves’ residents from what many participants perceive as an ‘incompetent’ municipality:

*Sasol has the manpower [sic] to come and rescue.*

(Suna, translated 11/02/2013)

*I’m very disappointed in the way our town is backsliding. For example, one morning we were left without water because the municipality failed to pay the water council. Sasol had to pay that account. I must be honest with you, I think that if it wasn’t for Sasol then our town would be much worse off. Go and have a look over weekends: you’ll see Sasol employees cleaning the town. They wear the blue Sasol overalls but with yellow stickers on them.*

(Estie, translated 31/03/2015)

*Sasol has workers who maintain the sidewalks and pick up the rubbish. Sasol has even given the municipality money to fix the streetlights because the municipality doesn’t have enough money to maintain everything... Sasol does the municipality’s job for them.*

(Melissa, translated 27/02/2015; 17/06/2015)

---

<sup>53</sup> With Sasol Pension Fund retaining a 40% ownership.

Within a new political environment, Afrikaners have increasingly become a ‘racial other’ (see Chapter 1) and have experienced “[d]eep-seated anxieties about identity and loss of self” (Steyn, 2004: 153). Historically many Afrikaners have perceived themselves as being oppressed: First by a powerful English regime, and then in a post-apartheid era, by “African majority rulers” (Steyn, 2004: 159). As an ANC-run entity, Govan Mbeki Municipality (GMM), under whose jurisdiction Secunda now falls, represents the conquering ‘racial other’. However, the municipality, like many others, has arguably entered into power carrying the heavy burden of what Sihlongonyane (2015: 69) calls an “inferiority complex” perpetuated by Western binaries, and colonial-apartheid dogma that attached identities such as ‘unfaithful’, ‘disorderly’ and ‘incompetent’ to ‘the racial other’ (Vestergaard, 2001).

For Estie, a sense of up-rootedness is aggravated by physical boundaries:

*People used to be so proud of Secunda: I'm not sure what has happened. The palisade fencing that encircles the municipality – that was never there! There were no palisades and things around the library or post office.*

(Estie, translated 31/03/2015)

The palisades, and by extension the current administration, represent danger for Estie: And might be perceived as a barricade by some. As symbols of municipal prowess, the aesthetic value of civic centres has a great impact on the topophobias of residents. Burns (2000) demonstrates that power forms are embodied by the spatial – such as prominent buildings (for example, the skyscraper) and centrally located facilities. The Secunda civic centre was designed to radiate power through its central location, a prominent group of buildings, and aesthetically pleasing street furniture. However, a civic centre that has been allowed to age goes against Western values of modernisation (see above), and can thus instil anxieties over the local administration’s interest in its constituents: Decreasing trust and heightening the ‘us and them’ dichotomy between local officials and some white residents:

*When we went to complain about it [an electrical fault], the officials were very difficult and very rude. If you look at the service that they deliver, Sasol has to keep the town tidy the municipality doesn't do it... So, if I had to change something, I would definitely change our municipality: Their attitude. If you have*

*to go and get your licence... It's terrible, filthy. The municipality is the one thing that most residents complain about in the town.*

(Sandra, translated 25/03/2015)

The challenges and competencies of local government, although an important topic, is beyond the scope of this chapter. What is important to this study is that a municipal-resident relationship can be weakened (*inter alia*), not only by stigmatisms inherited from colonial, apartheid, and modernist planning, but also by the topophobias resulting from these. In the case of Secunda, these topophobias have led some residents to cling to Sasol as a 'known' in what might have become an 'unknown' urban environment. Anecdotal research indicates that this diminished relationship could also be linked to the difficulty currently experienced by the municipality in its tax collection (journal notes). The next section will consider the use of symbolic boundaries, as a form of symbolic violence and a reaction to topophobia, to maintain Secunda as a 'white' comfort space.

### 9.3.1 THE SYMBOLIC BOUNDARY OF MARKET FILTERS

*[I]f you want to stay in Secunda you pay a premium... Secunda residents pay the exact same percentage [tax] as the residents in eMbalenhle [Secunda's former 'black township'] but the value of property is much higher.*

(AO, 07/05/2015)

The presence of a strong market filter in Secunda arguably acts as a symbolic barrier to desegregation in the town. As such, this assists in maintaining the town's former 'white' middle-class neighbourhoods as 'comfort zones', or enclaves of whiteness. Recall from Chapter 3 that large disparities in property values can act as a symbolic barrier, limit mobility between former 'black' and 'white' spaces, and have assisted a shift from racial to class-based segregation in South Africa. Ballard (2004: 57) explains this in more detail saying that market filters are effected in many middle-class urban areas:

*[W]hereby only 'desirable' people are able to move near 'whites' or take up occupation in cities because of the high cost of renting or buying property in these areas.*

AO's (30/06/2015) perception highlights the presence of such a market filter (symbolic boundary) in Secunda:

*I've realised over the past years especially from 1995, you get an economically active black person who is more traditional who does not want to come and stay in Secunda: That person would prefer to stay in eMbalenhle. Go and look at the place that he [sic] is staying in –it is one of the most beautiful places [houses] that you can think of. But then, you get the other [‘other’?] kind that is more Westernised. That person wants to have a different type of environment and can afford to change [areas]... [T]here is a small amount of your higher end income group of R1 million plus that you will find has moved to Secunda.*

AO's perception reveals that racial desegregation in Secunda is mainly based on a presence of a more 'Westernised' 'the racial other' who can afford houses of R1 million and above, while 'other' more 'traditional' black people are perceived to prefer the former 'black township' of eMbalenhle. In the same interview, he indicates that individuals who can afford houses with values less than R500 000 are classified as "lower income groups" and "have moved to Evander" (an adjacent town). Entering into the Secunda market can be difficult due to a scarcity of developable land, high salaries paid by Sasol, tight control held by local estate agents who have driven up the cost of properties (AO, 30/06/2015), and predominantly uniform, low density neighbourhoods (one house, one stand) (journal notes):

*My neighbour wants to develop a security complex of more affordable housing. He says there are a lot of young people in the town that can't afford today's [housing] prices. He says one of the guys working for him is hiring a small flat in someone's backyard for something like R4000. It's just a garage with a door: you know, not even a nice apartment.*

(Suzette, translated 15/01/2015)

*Rent is pretty steep for the sticks.*

(Chris 2.0, 2008)

*[T]he living conditions here aren't so bad, prices are steep though...*

(Lonewolf, 2008)

*My friend that I met here in Secunda from Pietermaritzburg offered me a place to stay until I get a place of my own. It's a huge mission to get a place here that fits my budget.*

(Giken, 2009)

This is especially the case for the new generation middle-class and the working-class (journal notes). Further, individual instances have been recorded where black people have been discouraged from buying in Secunda's neighbourhood by white individuals (journal notes). These include, i) an unwillingness to sell to black people by some white residents ('we couldn't do that to our neighbours'), and ii) a hesitation by local estate agents to take a black engineer to view listings in the Green Area, recommending homes in Evander instead ("When I was buying my house in Secunda, estate agents didn't want to take me to viewings in the Green Area etc. and recommended Evander")<sup>54</sup>. However, it is acknowledged that greater research evidence is required here.

In addition, a continuation in the largely uniform housing typology of "low-density, largely single-storey sprawl" typical to the 'white' spaces (and nuclear family model) of urban apartheid (Sihlongonyane, 2002,) is one example of a lack of transformation in Secunda. Neighbourhoods are predominately low in density (although the municipal SDF refers to this as 'medium density'<sup>55</sup>) with stand sizes ranging between 700m<sup>2</sup> - 2 000m<sup>2</sup> and stand alone houses with a minimum of three bedrooms (Annexure 3). Although medium-low density accommodation is available (for example, walk-up blocks of flats and a few complexes), this housing typology is in the vast minority (Figure 18).

---

<sup>54</sup> Recall from Chapter 8 the comment from an estate agent (that did not assist this engineer in question) that she and her staff favour having engineers as clients due to the status and credit-worthiness attached to the profession in Secunda. Thus, it would appear that although engineers in general are favoured by some estate agents in Secunda, an individual's race might override this automatic status for other agents. This is not to say that this phenomenon is a global perception, but rather that it may affect certain whiteness identities and may, in some cases, contribute to high segregation levels in Secunda.

<sup>55</sup> Residential densities classified as: low density: 10 units/ha, medium: 30 units/ha, medium-high: 70 units/ha, and high 100: units/ha (DRDLR, 2014).

TYPE OF USE	ERVEN N°	AREA m <sup>2</sup>	TOTAL AREA%
DETACHED DWELLINGS	1460	141,14	40,25
COMBINED DWELLINGS	23	53,50	15,25
<b>RESIDENTIAL (c)</b>	<b>1483</b>	<b>194,64</b>	<b>55,50</b>
SECONDARY SCHOOLS	1	8,82	2,52
PRIMARY SCHOOLS	2	7,00	2,00
NURSERY SCHOOLS	2	0,47	0,13
<b>EDUCATIONAL</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>16,29</b>	<b>4,65</b>
PARKS	29	38,56	10,99
TREEBELTS	9	11,70	3,34
<b>OPEN SPACES</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>50,26</b>	<b>14,33</b>
SHOPS & GARAGES	4	2,24	0,64
CHURCHES	12	4,34	1,24
<b>INSTITUTIONS (b)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1,17</b>	<b>0,33</b>
MAIN ROADS		25,18	7,18
LOCAL STREETS		56,58	16,13
<b>TRAFFIC</b>		<b>81,76</b>	<b>23,31</b>
<b>TOTAL AREA (a)</b>	<b>1543</b>	<b>350,70</b>	<b>100</b>

## NOTES :

(a) THE OUTLINE OF THE FIRST STAGE OF SECUNDA IS MARKED ON THE LAYOUT DRAWING WITH THE LETTERS A TO K

(b) "INSTITUTIONS" REPRESENTS COMMUNITY CENTRE

(c) "DETACHED DWELLINGS" COMPRISE SINGLE HOUSES ONLY

"COMBINED DWELLINGS" ARE COMPOSED AS FOLLOWS :

GROUP HOUSES 7 ERVEN, 22,45ha, 374\*

ROW HOUSES 9 ERVEN, 19,31ha, 483\*

FLATS 6 ERVEN, 8,23ha, 412\*

HOSTEL 1 ERVEN, 3,51ha -

TOTAL 23 ERVEN, 53,50ha, 1269\*

DETACHED DWELLINGS 1460

ALL DWELLINGS 2729

\* ESTIMATED DWELLINGS

Land Use	Developed	
	Count of Erven	Total Area of Erven (Ha)
High Density Residential	0	0
Medium-High Density Residential	1962	221.4
Medium Density Residential	5388	545.4
Low-Medium Density Residential	0	0
Low Density Residential	0	0
Industrial	0	0
Low Impact Industrial	35	12.9
Institutional	37	101.8
General Mixed Use	148	38.1
Low Impact Mixed Use	15	23.4
Suburban Mixed Use	21	14.6
Special	2	0.3
Tourism and Accommodation	1	11.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>7609</b>	<b>969.4</b>

FIGURE 18: THE ORIGINAL SUMMARY OF USES FOR SECUNDA'S FIRST RESIDENTIAL AREA SOURCE: KIRCHHOFFER (1982: 24)

FIGURE 19: A SUMMARY OF DEVELOPED URBAN USES IN SECUNDA<sup>56</sup>

SOURCE: DEPARTMENT OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND LAND REFORM [DRDLF] (2014: 191)

Figure 18 indicates that 1 460 stands for 'detached dwellings' were set out for Secunda's first neighbourhood, while only twenty three 'combined dwellings' were made provision for. The current situation remains largely the same where 5 388 single unit stands form a majority over medium-high density erven (1962) (Figure 19). A uniform housing typology based on the nuclear family (see Chapter 4), cannot meet the needs of a more diverse society in Secunda. For example, a new generation middle-class (which may not necessarily be based on the nuclear family, for example a couple, single parent, or individual with more cosmopolitan

<sup>56</sup> Please see DRDLF (2014: 191) for the full table.

views) may not be in favour of, willing or able to take on the maintenance attached to a 1000m<sup>2</sup> erf.

Higher density developments have recently begun to address the demand for more affordable housing stock, but are mostly located in the nearby town of Trichardt or around the town centre (in the form of blocks of flats) – which, as shown above, is no longer a ‘white’ comfort zone. According to [www.property24.com](http://www.property24.com), (currently, South Africa’s leading property sales website), the Trichardt developments involve a number of gated estates with smaller erven of between 166m<sup>2</sup> - 515m<sup>2</sup>. The municipal Spatial Development Framework (SDF) also sets out a proposed development, which seeks to integrate the towns of eMbalenhle, Evander and Secunda:

*It is foreseen that future development in this area will consist mainly of mass subsidy-linked housing schemes and other types of residential development.*

(DRDLR, 2014: 330)

Further provision is made for infill development (“infill of open spaces including green strips”) and a certain extent of densification (“the approval of more than one unit per property limited to densities of units per hectare”) in Secunda’s neighbourhoods (NM, email correspondence 11/01/2017). These proposed initiatives may one day contribute to a more integrated region. However, these proposals seem to largely encourage desegregation in zones (reminiscent of the ordering-through-zoning approach of modernist planning). For example, with higher density housing mainly in the town centre and in Trichardt; subsidised housing in corridors outside Secunda; and densification in Secunda’s neighbourhoods that has been left mainly to the (currently white-dominated) private sector. Seemingly, the transformation initiatives for Secunda may largely fail to penetrate existing symbolic boundaries or alter the current *status quo* of dominance in its neighbourhoods.

Lemanski (2006) echoes a reluctance for the involvement of South Africa urban planning policies in social integration. She also argues that social mixing should be encouraged in public spaces only, “moving the focus of integration away from the neighbourhood” as doing so may infringe on the rights of some (Lemanski, 2006: 584). While it is acknowledged that the protection of human rights is fundamental, the case of Secunda serves to caution planners against generalised recommendations (especially when related to aspects such as a topophobias of ‘the other’). For example, in Chapter 7, I argued that Secunda’s green network

seeks to integrate all aspects of Secunda's design, and to a large extent, this meshes public space and neighbourhoods. As such, public-private dichotomies may limit the potential of planning to create holistic, integrated and just cities and it is recommended that a more context-specific approach is taken by planners.

Another form of symbolic boundary, namely attitudes of distancing, prevalent in Secunda's situated context will be considered next.

### 9.3.2 SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES OF DISTANCING: PERCEPTIONS OF IT'S NOT A PROBLEM OF 'RESPECTABLE' WHITE PEOPLE

Chapter 3 considered the concept of white ignorance which is a culmination of unconscious racial practices through which whiteness can become a subconscious norm in the gauging of 'the other'. Another functioning of white ignorance is that white people may 'ignore', or be unaware of, various racially-based privileges (Leonardo, 2004; DiAngelo, 2011). In this manner, certain white identities can distance themselves from racial inequality, which becomes a "problem of the other" (Leonardo, 2004: 143). This was highlighted one evening during a conversation on the high crime rate in South Africa (journal notes). One participant expressed an anxiety based on information that women in South Africa have a one in three chance of being raped. In an attempt to alleviate her concerns, another group member replied, "yes, but that happens mainly in the townships" (journal notes). For this participant, the concern related to such a high rape rate was reduced as it was less likely to apply to white, middle-class spaces. In other words, such a high rape rate was perceived as 'not a white problem'. This disassociation, says DiAngelo (2011: 55), is not uncommon as problems of racial inequality are often ascribed to "what 'they' have, not us". The urban planning realm has also been criticised for similar disassociations evident in the use of phrases like 'urban', 'inner city', and 'disadvantaged' rather than 'white', 'over-advantaged' or 'privileged' (DiAngelo, 2011).

Another form of racially-based dissociation can be found in Rosie's account:

*I sat on those benches [at a local pharmacy] they have for people waiting in the queue to collect their prescription tablets. An older white man, sitting on my one side, smiled at me which made me feel more positive about having to wait in a queue, which I hate doing. Two white women, with short hairstyles and tattoos, which looked strange when considering their age, approached us. When they saw*

*me, they stood and openly talked about whether or not to take a place on the bench next to me. They eventually decided not to, as I was not white, and to return another time. It was embarrassing. How can this still be happening, how can individuals still be this way? When are they going to realise that times have changed?*<sup>57</sup>

(Rosie, Facebook update: September 2015)

Rosie's post received over twenty four comments, all of which were supportive. All except three were from both white and black women. Three comments, two in agreement with the first, advised Rosie to ignore them as *'it's only low-class whites that act that way'*. Some commentators indicated their shame at being white as it linked them to *'stupid and common (or 'commin') people like that'*, others blamed the two women as having no manners and another indicated that having such hairstyles and tattoos was a sign that they were *'not-respectable'*.

These responses indicate a distancing from 'bad' identities of whiteness, which are seen to contravene certain middle-class codes of 'respectability'. This stance seeks to protect the moral standing of certain whiteness identities by transferring culpability to localised individuals, thereby allowing certain white people to 'free' themselves from conviction (Leonardo, 2004; DiAngelo, 2011):

*It must be the position of a good white person to declare that racism is always about 'other whites,' perhaps 'those working-class whites.' This is a general alibi to create the 'racist' as always other, the self being an exception.*

Leonardo (2004: 144)

As a result of this distancing, few white people are able to identify certain actions as racially-fuelled (Leonardo, 2004). Distancing can have a harmful outcome in that it may recreate white privilege "despite good intentions" (Leonardo, 2004: 144), as it affords those white people who distance themselves the choice of "when, how, and how much to address or challenge racism" (DiAngelo, 2011: 64).

---

<sup>57</sup> Note that Rosie's account was in English but her name has been changed and her comment rewritten to ensure confidentiality.

Chapter 3 sets out Baum's (2015) argument that rational planning largely views emotions as external to the rational 'self' and depends on an ignorance of emotions. Thus, viewing individuals (and planners), not as actors, but as passive objects to emotions, can lead to a release from the responsibility of 'emotionally-driven' actions as well as a lack of introspection of 'the self' (see Chapter 3). This could produce attitudes of 'it's not a problem of *respectable* white people' who are, by virtue of certain Western values, often expected to be rational. A lack of introspection, or ignorance of emotions of 'the self', could also heighten topophobia produced by the condition of instant blackness (where desires to be 'pro-black' or 'non-racist' may go hand-in-hand with the reinforcing of the *status quo* of white privilege and dominance – see Chapter 3). It could also strike cords of white fragility, missing opportunities for constructive interaction about issues of race, and possibly lead to the (symbolically) violent responses typical to white fragility, for example, argumentation, silence, or a distancing from stressful (engaging) environments (see Chapter 3).

A second outcome of viewing emotions as external is that this view may overlook an individual's responsibility for their emotional reactions (see Chapter 3). Through a lack of introspection, actions can become defensive and/or controlling (see Chapter 3) – or, as shown above, take on a form of distancing where racially-based urban issues are 'not a problem of white people', even though they may be caused by systems of symbolic violence such as white privilege.

## 9.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter considered the presence of symbolic boundaries as a product of symbolic violence in Secunda. Specifically, it focussed on the symbolic boundaries of white privilege and how transformation can be blocked in perceived and lived space to maintain enclaves of whiteness. Through its high levels of segregation (where white people constitute 72.4% of the total population), Secunda was shown to be an enclave of persistent whiteness. Two symbolic boundaries, in particular, were identified as largely responsible for this, namely market filters and attitudes of distancing. Market filters have become prevalent through an increasingly class-based society and have sometimes taken the place of state-condoned physical boundaries. In addition, attitudes of distancing may attempt to limit the participation of some white people in the transformation of the everyday, through justifications that 'it's not a white problem'.

TABLE 5: A SUMMARY OF PART 4: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

SRQ 4	WHAT ARE THE SPACE-TIME CONNOTATIONS OF SECUNDA'S PLACE AND SOCIAL IDENTITIES AND HOW DO THEY INFLUENCE TOPOPHOBIA?
MAIN TECHNIQUES	Archival documentation, interviews and online observations.
MAIN ARGUMENTS	<p>Lived space, or the everyday, is produced over time and is thus subject to historical influences. Secunda's context is a rich source of this as 'superior' (both place and social) identities, based on multiple hierarchies, were created for the town. These hierarchies included, i) a regional focus which focussed on the towns in Secunda's vicinity, and ii) a segregationist focus where company spending ensured Secunda's 'superiority' (second only to the factory itself) through lower densities and larger houses and facilities. Concoisseurs also sought to underscore Secunda's 'superiority' by means of extensive urban greening based on modernist principles as well as Westernised values of beauty. Through this Eurocentric place identity, Secunda's green network has come to represent white privilege. Trees, in particular, were meant to symbolise the steadfastness and strength of white residents in an 'outpost for South African independence' in the face of international sanctions. However, true to the interiority of space, time has altered the original topophilic nature of Secunda's green network from defensible to offensive space which lacks active citizenship. The subsequent upgrading of many of the green strips through Sasol's urban upgrading project Ikusasa has revealed deep-seated topophobias of 'the racial other', which hinder social mixing in many of the (especially lower tier) strips.</p> <p>A complementary 'superior' social identity, namely the 'modern Afrikaner', was also instilled. This identity has evolved from the industrialised, 'respectable' citizen to include consumerism-related ideologies. The dictates of consumption are, in themselves, forms of symbolic violence. Specifically, fashion is used to identify who 'belongs' and who does not and a fear of fatness has developed. Fat talk is one example of how middle-class women in Secunda have become victim-oppressors in the pursuit of normalcy.</p>
PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS ANSWERING THE SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTION ABOVE (SRQ)	The underlying meaning of the situated context was revealed by identifying traditional identities, power structures and prevalent topophobic emotion-spectra and how they have developed over time.
SRQ 5	HOW IS SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE METED OUT UNDER THE GUISE OF PATRIARCHY AND 'RESPECTABILITY' TO UPHOLD THE <i>STATUS QUO</i> OF SECUNDA?
MAIN TECHNIQUES	Archival documentation, interviews, and online observation.
MAIN ARGUMENTS	Patriarchal and hierarchical ideologies underlie the social identity of Secunda. The 'elders' of the town are traditionally older, high level male employees tasked with being examples of 'respectability'. Deeper considerations of dominance structures indicate that power is afforded to higher level employees at the factory. These men are charged with keeping the factory running and exert their dominance by controlling factory processes and the lower-level employees that carry them out. Male dominance is carried over to the town which has become

	<p>the arena for female-on-female dominance largely based on the salary levels drawn from Sasol. Another factory-town relationship is echoed in the dominant factory complex (symbolising masculinity) which is supported by the town (symbolising femininity) in providing a workforce to run the Secunda plants.</p> <p>The woman-as-supporter role was largely enacted through the nuclear family (favoured by modernist planning) which aligned with Sasol’s desire to create a stable and efficient workforce as women were/are perceived to have a steadying effect on men. This traditional role can still be found in contemporary female identities as many women struggle to find employment outside of Sasol that measures up to their capabilities and/or qualifications. Census statistics indicate that there are a large number of skilled women in Secunda that are not employed. This has resulted in a topophobia of entrapment and a sense that men are ‘more important’ as their skills are so highly valued by Sasol. However, some middle-class women conform to this system as it maintains their own privileges. Further, the supporter role does afford middle-class women a certain degree of power due to the sway they may have over their male partners. Concerns were expressed over a lack of a diverse economy outside that of Sasol-related activities.</p>
<p>PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS ANSWERING THE SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTION ABOVE (SRQ)</p>	<p>Unearthing certain taken for granted ‘systems’ and related instances of symbolic violence pertaining to patriarchy and ‘respectability’.</p>
<p>SRQ 6</p>	<p>HOW HAS SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE BEEN USED AS A TOOL OF WHITE PRIVILEGE TO MAINTAIN THE <i>STATUS QUO</i> IN SECUNDA?</p>
<p>MAIN TECHNIQUES</p>	<p>Participant, non-participant observation (online research), and interviews.</p>
<p>MAIN ARGUMENTS</p>	<p>The situated context of Secunda offers much insight on the emotion-spectra brought about through the symbolic violence of white privilege due to its high levels of prevailing segregation. This context was considered in conjunction with concepts of enclaves of privilege and ‘white’ comfort zones. In doing so, various racially-based dichotomies and the presence of symbolic boundaries was uncovered. Arguably, symbolic boundaries are a form of symbolic violence as they are usually intended (whether subconsciously or not) to segregate through humiliation and intimidation.</p> <p>Specifically, the adjacent location of ‘the old mall’ and ‘the new mall’ has highlighted dichotomies of ‘Western/’the other’, ‘formalised/informal’, ‘modern/old’ and ‘order/disorder’. These dichotomies bring to the fore various racially-based topophobias stemming largely from Westernised values of ‘good cities’. This can hinder transformation in post-apartheid cities as informality is a major form of urbanisation in many African contexts. Further, upgrading and maintenance initiatives affected by Sasol retains the company’s persona as local ‘hero’ even though the company’s paternalism is no longer as pronounced.</p> <p>This reveals deep-seated anxieties where white people, particularly Afrikaners, have become a racial ‘other’ in the current dispensation. In keeping with these anxieties, ANC-led Govan Mbeki municipality now represents the conquering black ruler for some identities, which cling to Sasol as a ‘known’ (patriarch) in an</p>

	<p>'unknown' urban world. This may have affected a municipal-resident relationship as the municipality most likely entered into its authority stymied by apartheid stigmatisations of 'the racial other' (for example, 'incompetent, 'disordered' and 'disloyal'). A poor relationship could affect crucial functions such tax collection.</p> <p>Two other symbolic boundaries that hinder transformation in Secunda were identified, namely market filters and attitudes of distancing. Market filters serve to preserve class-based enclaves of privilege, which in Secunda, are mostly dominated by white people. Attitudes of distancing project certain issues onto 'the other' – whether 'the other' is made of those individuals who were not included in former enclaves of white privilege (it is not a white problem'), or made up of individuals who do not, or cannot, adhere to middle-class codes of 'respectability' (it's not a problem of <i>respectable</i> white people').</p>
<p>PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS ANSWERING THE SUBSIDIARY RESEARCH QUESTION ABOVE (SRQ)</p>	<p>This is one demonstration of how the 'system' of white privilege influences an urban context. This subsidiary research question has also opened up room for further research as the range of symbolic violence is vast and more research in situated contexts is required to gain a better view of its extent. The use of unquestioned terms (such as 'disadvantaged') and practices that are used to distance privileged people and spaces from those they dominate should no longer be acceptable. In other words, the effects that 'over-advantaged' and 'privileged' have had on urban issues should be included in future research. In conjunction to this, ways in which diversity can be celebrated and promoted must be sought, developed and infused into the nature of transformed space in the global South.</p>

---

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATION

## 10.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to answer the main and subsidiary research questions established for this study by summarising and collating the key arguments made, and by highlighting the contributions made to planning theory and methodology (see Chapter 1). It is structured according to the contributions made to planning theory, and methodology.

South Africa provides a valuable context for learning because, unlike many global North contexts, 'the racial other' individual is the majority group. Its emotion-spectra thus permeate more of the urban environ: It has a more widespread voice. In this light, the chapter makes specific recommendations for planning, while encouraging scholars from other contexts to learn from this global South context. This chapter begins with contributions made to planning theory by highlighting some of the key arguments of this research. It first considers the nature and meaning of topophobic space, and how these influenced planning ideologies in the situated context of Secunda. It then turns to how shifting identities and symbolic violence have influenced certain gender stories of middle-class women in Secunda.

It then seeks to contribute to an understanding of the symbolic violence of white privilege in a global South context, namely Secunda, South Africa. The contribution to methodology is subsequently explored by considering how the field research was approached and the lessons learnt during the implementation of the methodology. The main research question is answered, and the chapter concludes by setting out the limitations of this study, identifying areas for further research, and reflecting on the research process.

## 10.2 A CONTRIBUTION TO PLANNING THEORY

In Chapter 3, it was argued that a bias exists in planning with regard to emotion-based research. This is arguably a spinoff of rational planning through which emotions are viewed as irrational, or 'wicked problems', that cannot be solved. This view largely overlooks much of the complexity of cities as emotions contribute greatly to the meaning of space (see Chapter 2). I have argued that the lack of emotion research in planning has had debilitating consequences for real transformation (social, political and economic). This has particularly been attributed to a lack of understanding of the topophobia produced through the symbolic violence of 'systems' of dominance (see Chapters 3, 7 and 9) and taken for granted gender roles in Secunda (see Chapter 8). Thus, by ignoring place-based emotions, we have also overlooked the cyclical

presence of violence, particularly symbolic violence, to be largely misinterpreted and to continue unchecked.

This study has critically analysed certain topophobias that have internal sources (i.e. from the individuals of urban societies themselves and not from 'external' sources such as the State or crime). In doing so, it focussed on the symbolic violence meted out, *inter alia*, by the 'system' of white privilege, which seeks (advertently or not) the maintenance of certain raced-based privileges for one group, often at the expense of another. In doing so, this study makes two main contributions to planning theory. First, it widens the literature base on the condition of topophobic space and how it has presented in a situated context. It was argued that meshing emotion research and spatial analysis (if space is considered in its complexity and subjectivity) can become labyrinthine. It was maintained that topophobia affects all spaces as most people are able to experience fear. Multiple and intersecting identities, emotion spectra, and power struggles for the domination of space were shown to impact on topophobia. Specifically, within a terrorist society, systems of dominance seek to maintain various *status quos* that benefit a few and create divides between 'the same' and 'the other'. However, these systems are also able to impress oppressor-victim identities on single individuals who pursue 'normalcy'.

To ensure a status quo, some individuals may resort to symbolic violence which should be seen as a separate category to topophobia. In other words, topophobia has the potential to drive individuals to enact symbolic violence, but some may decide against taking such action. Further, topophobias can be categorically different, especially when unsupported (see Chapter 7 where a public-private partnership sought to combat offensive space) or unsupported (see Chapter 9 on the struggles for domination over Secunda's CBD) by State instruments.

The second main contribution to planning theory centres on context-specific findings which consider the functioning of white privilege in Secunda, specifically how it maintains various symbolic boundaries in an attempt to uphold Secunda as an enclave of whiteness.

### 10.2.1 BROADENING PLANNING'S APPROACH TO EMOTION RESEARCH

The first subsidiary research question, "What is meant by the nature and meaning of topophobic space" sought to acquire a deeper understanding of the complexity of topophobic space. Lefebvre's (1991) three forms of space, namely conceived, perceived and lived, were to draw upon in Chapter 2 as a springboard for this understanding. Here, it was

argued that, as urban planners, we hold the nature of space in our hands through the conceptualisation and representation of our ideologies in plans. Through social relationships (and associated emotions, power struggles, and identities) present in the everyday, space is given *meaning* which is found in perceived and lived space. These affect not only the societies that occupy space but also the planners who conceive its nature. In this manner, our personal biases (that stem from the power relations we are involved in, the identities we aspire to, and the emotions we experience) (in)advertently contribute to both the nature and meaning of space (see Chapter 2). Thus, our subjectivities can serve to reinforce topophobia.

For example, it was indicated that planning inherently suffers from a bias against emotion research – a fact that has resulted in topophobia being poorly understood in the (rational) planning field (see Chapter 3). Viewing emotions as ‘irrational’ has negated an introspection of personal biases and emotions, and has also diminished responsibility for emotional actions as individuals are not seen as actors, but passive objects that become ‘irrational’ when ‘controlled’ by emotions (see Chapter 3). Rather than introspection, actions may become defensive and controlling. As a result, planning’s response has often served to aggregate topophobia, simultaneously contributing to the phenomenon of ‘othering’ through policies such as Zero Tolerance and Broken Windows. Another condition pertinent to white privilege is known as ‘instant blackness’, which can arise from anxieties produced through an obsession with race. This may be especially true for researchers who are afraid of appearing as ‘racist’ in the wake of post-apartheid transformation. Coupled with a lack of introspection, this condition may lead to tendencies to aspire to pro-black identities, but all-the-while maintaining the *status quo* (see Chapter 3).

Although we experience emotion as individuals, we reflect them in our social relations (see Chapter 2). Thrift’s consideration of the ‘play’ of emotions was considered. This play, or dance, of emotions in societies, results in a placed-based awareness that is based on a communal consciousness or ‘dividual a-where-ness’. In other words, societies are formed within societies that occupy the same space. These are bolstered by an ‘affect’ of common emotion-spectra such as love-hate, hope-disappointment, sympathy-jealousy. The ‘affect’ of emotions insinuates a play of different emotions. Thus, where traditional arguments have posited that negative emotions break down healthy space which, in turn, is reinforced by positive emotions, this may not always be the case. For example, topophobia may lead to a deeper understanding of one’s fantasies or provide a contrast which allows for the experience of positive emotions

such as pleasure. Further, the topophobias of urban living can also serve as a source of attraction as individuals may be drawn to danger, horror and mystery (see Chapter 2).

Here, I make a contribution to theory, especially for future planning research on emotion-based issues, proposing the use of intersecting, multiple and ever-changing emotion-spectra as an alternative to the dichotomous thinking so often employed in emotion research (see Chapter 1). The use of emotion-spectra may contribute to a deeper understanding of the complexity of space as they make room for nuances between the ends of each spectrum. For example, between love and hate, a variety of emotions such as passion, hope, attachment, apathy, disappointment and provocation may exist. When the love-hate spectrum intersects with, say a contentment-jealousy spectrum, apathy intersecting with contentment can alter the everyday experience to one of attachment.

As mentioned above, our personal experiences of emotion-spectra are often ignited by our subjectivities (such as our multiple identities). Due to the mutually reinforcing relationship between the nature and meaning of space, planners (whether involved in research or practice) should be aware of the identities we aspire to, the emotions that govern our thinking (abandoning the notion that planning must be solely rational), and the power structures we benefit from. An introspection of our roles in the power struggles for space would be valuable to the way in which we create the nature of space (through urban policies, plans and designs). This is especially the case for those power struggles, or attempts at dominance, which hinder the reversal of post-colonial and apartheid forms (whether they occur in conceived, perceived or lived space). As middle-class planners, we should be especially aware of 'systems' that inflict symbolic violence as well as the *status quos* of dominance in our cities. In addition to these, planners must also familiarise ourselves with the ideologies inherent to the spaces we administer in order to understand their interiority. This awareness might prove valuable in the approach taken to unravelling the injustices of the apartheid model.

The principle of 'interiority' tells us that, because places are influenced by evolving historical paradigms, world events and lived experience, they will inevitably experience change. In other words, even though space is conceived in a particular way (by planners and designers) human influence will ensure that its meaning is altered over time (see Chapter 2). Through change, the nature of space is never intransigent as it is continuously subjected to lived experience which contributes to its meaning. This awareness (or a-where-ness) may assist planners in questioning practices that instil topophobia and devising ways to curb its debilitating impacts

(see Chapter 2). Such an undertaking required the assistance of a second subsidiary question, namely “What are the planning ideologies that influenced the nature of Secunda’s space?”

The specific models that inspired Max Kirchhofer (1982) were considered in Chapter 4. It was argued that the ideologies behind Secunda’s nature were largely governed by modernist planning principles which ultimately sought to instil a sense of Western order and modernisation. Part of this drive in Secunda included the use of binaries to craft various identities, a focus on the nuclear family, and a patriarchy inherent to modernist planning, model company towns, and apartheid planning (see Chapter 4). Briefly, dichotomous thinking can be traced to Western modernism that sought to ‘order’ the city through a categorical approach: rationality was separated from emotion and femininity, order from disorder, public from private, and a ‘the other’ which did not adhere to various social codes was separated from the public interest, or ‘the same’.

In Secunda, for example, attempts to create various place and social identities used the binaries of superior-inferior, white-black, respectable-‘commin’, and so forth (see Chapters 6, 7 and 8). To create a superior place identity, Secunda was placed on the top tier of a regional urban hierarchy with surrounding towns depicted as ‘less superior’ by value of being less-modern, Westernised and technologically advanced – and in receipt of less funding for urban infrastructures (see Chapter 6).

The way for modernist planning was laid in South Africa through colonial planning legislation, with many ‘best practices’ of the global North being adopted in the early twentieth century (see Chapter 4). In the Secunda context, Kirchhofer (1982) specifically included garden cities, British new towns, and the model of Radburn, USA. These models have produced a form (or nature) focussed on urban greening, specifically by means of a green network, self-sufficient neighbourhoods, and the separation of pedestrians and motor vehicles. However, it was demonstrated in Chapter 4 that nineteenth century model company towns and the apartheid model also influenced Secunda’s nature. Social reform measures regulated behaviour to establish a social identity complementary to the ‘outpost of independence’ symbolism of Secunda. Systems based on segregationist and patriarchal apartheid ideology were also put in place and upheld through the meting out of topophobia and symbolic violence (see Chapter 4).

### 10.2.2 TOPOPHOBIA AND SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN THE SITUATED CONTEXT OF SECUNDA

Lefebvre (1971) sheds light on the manner in which societies mete out symbolic violence in order to maintain 'systems' which privilege the powerful (see Chapter 3). For Lefebvre (1971), a 'terrorist society' (or 'dividual' – see Chapter 2) is concerned with a continual bid to meet the unlimited needs imposed by consumerism. In such a society, moral codes are sanctioned by members of the dividual to enforce a *status quo* or 'normalcy'. In this manner, individuals regulate themselves, becoming victim-oppressors of 'the system' who dominate 'the other' in a bid to reinforce individual normalcy. The desire for normalcy becomes so strong that it creates a deeply entrenched (or latent) fear that can no longer be recognised and becomes embedded in the subconscious. As a result of this latency, an innovative methodology was required which could target emotion research within an urban planning milieu (see Chapter 3).

My findings have highlighted that, although the conventional identities inherent to Secunda's (white) middle-class citizens have shifted over time, many forms of symbolic violence remain entrenched in, *inter alia*, largely unquestioned codes of 'respectability' and taken for granted gender roles. Notably, the conventional practice of gender roles, in the presence of diverse contexts, can be related to violence (see Chapter 8). These codes may uphold 'systems' which condone symbolic violence as a means of upholding the *status quos* of the dominant. Specifically, Sasol sought to develop a 'superior' and 'respectable' workforce, which would ensure production and profits (see Chapter 6). The nuclear family played a large part in maintaining these roles. Another instrument involved the segregationist politics of the day, which infused a racial element into this identity, and sought to establish white privilege within the town. Here, racist, dichotomous propaganda hailed white people as 'superior' in the face of 'inferior' 'the racial other'. The patterns of dominance and experiences of topophobia have become so entrenched (and, hence, taken for granted) that they have become 'reality' for many. These themes will now be explored in more detail.

#### A) THE INTERIORITY OF SECUNDA

The fourth subsidiary question asked: "What are the space-time connotations of Secunda's place and human identities and how do they influence topophobia?" This question was answered in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. The main mission for the Secunda complex was to prove the apartheid government's ability to withstand international political pressure and to

assert its independence in the face of international sanctions (see Chapter 6). To accomplish this mission, the town's conceivers sought to brand the town as 'superior' with an urban design based on best practices from the global North accompanied by a 'superior' workforce based on the Modern Afrikaner identity established at Sasolburg. Arguably, the meaning of this identity of 'superiority' was located in hierarchical and dichotomous reflection of 'inferiority' onto 'other' spaces and individuals.

As such, a regional urban hierarchy was established to exert Secunda's dominance over nearby 'white' towns as well as the racially-orientated urban extensions which housed Sasol's black employees. This was largely achieved through company (and, indirectly government) spending which dictated respective urban densities (with Secunda having the lowest and eMbalenhle the highest densities). However, the establishment of a black middle-class went hand-in-hand with interests of a stable, skilled workforce. Thus, Secunda's design principles were mirrored in former 'black townships', albeit on a smaller scale. In addition, black employees were party to the loan scheme offered to support home ownership or leasing which increased permanency but also served as a tool in curbing labour strikes through the threat withdrawal of financial backing (see Chapter 6).

In keeping with this hierarchical focus, certain social and place identities were created for the town. These hierarchies included, i) a regional focus which focussed on the towns in Secunda's vicinity, and ii) a segregationist focus where company spending ensured Secunda's 'superiority' (second only to the factory itself) through lower densities and larger houses and facilities (see Chapter 6). As an aside, it was posited that these hierarchies acted as symbolic barriers between different races, class or income 'levels', and employees/non-employees of Sasol, serving to preserve a social order for the town (see Chapter 9). Conceivers also sought to underscore Secunda's 'superiority' by means of extensive urban greening based largely on Westernised values of beauty (see Chapter 7). At this time, a general trend existed amongst white South Africans to embrace modernist principles (particularly Radburn's urban lung concept in Secunda's case) in urban landscaping in an endeavour to establish identities of 'Europeans in Africa'.

Through this Eurocentric place identity, Secunda's green network represented white 'pioneering' and privilege. It is worthy to note that little exists in the archives pertaining to Secunda regarding the rather large contribution of black 'pioneers'. This can be attributed to the 'system' of white privilege, which will be discussed below. Trees, in particular, were meant

to symbolise the steadfastness and strength of white residents in an ‘outpost for South African independence’ in the face of international sanctions. Through greening efforts where new residents were handed a voucher for a few trees, planting also formed part of belonging, or rootedness, and middle-class ‘respectability’. The design of Secunda’s green network sought to increase safety by separating pedestrian and motor cars, improving quality of life by providing ‘healthy’ activities, and providing pick-up points for a bus-transit system. It also connected various uses to create a cohesive whole, and housed the bulk infrastructure of the town. Further, the aesthetic appeal of certain green strips, particularly the Duck Pond and Green Area, was harnessed to emphasise the status of high ‘level’ employees.

However, findings reveal that the green network is too extensive and, true to the interiority of space, time has altered its original topophilic nature. Three main contributors were identified, namely, i) this extensivity, combined with broad roads has resulted in higher motor speeds, ii) the method of burning-for-maintenance serves to reduce the aesthetic appeal and air quality of the town as a whole (in winter) due to the network’s pervasiveness, and iii) the difficulties and expense of maintaining (a typical result of modernist approaches to landscaping in South Africa) such a large green network has contributed to its overall decay from defensible to offensive space which lacks in active citizenship (see Chapter 7).

Through markers (such as graffiti and drug paraphernalia), surveillance and access control, lawbreakers may claim formerly topophilic space and actively exclude residents as ‘outsiders’. These also lead to a fear of crime, which has further debilitating effects for active citizenship as residents live ever increasingly inwards. The subsequent upgrading of many of the green strips through Sasol’s urban upgrading project Ikusasa, which has largely removed crime in the Duck Pond, has revealed deep-seated topophobias of ‘the racial other’. Initially, the Duck Pond was the apex of Secunda’s green strips (which symbolised white dominance and privilege – above). With the nullification of the Group Areas Act, the Duck Pond benefited from a greater diversity of visitors – both resident and out-of-town visitors. This disruption of white dominance resulted in a perceived undermining of identity for some of my participants leading them to abandon such supposedly ‘conquered’ spaces. A topophobia of ‘the racial other’ has negatively impacted the ability of many of the strips to facilitate social mixing – a phenomenon that was once active in these areas (see Chapter 7). The next section will consider how dominance has been maintained in the wake of shifting social identities in Secunda.

## B) SHIFTING IDENTITIES AND REINFORCED DOMINANCE IN SECUNDA

In keeping with the dichotomous and hierarchical thinking described above, a gender hierarchy was symbolised by the dominance of the factory over the town (see Chapter 8). The name 'Secunda' is the female version of the Latin term for second, and thus denotes a supportive role attached to femininity by the town's conceivers. Findings revealed that many systems of dominance in Secunda remain largely unquestioned due to a deep entrenchment of various gender roles within certain social identities inherent to the town (see Chapters 4 and 8).

Evidence of such systems of dominance led to the fifth subsidiary question, "How is symbolic violence meted out under the guise of patriarchy and respectability to uphold the *status quo* of Secunda?" During the town's early days, middle-class respectability was mainly tied to a supportive role that would ensure a maximum efficiency amongst Sasol's largely male employees. Further, patterns of male dominance enacted at the factory were, and are, often reflected in the town (see Chapter 8). Typically, a strict hierarchy also exists at the factory where males of higher 'level' profile dominate men who earn smaller salaries. As a result of being dominated in a work environment, men of a lower 'level' sometimes seek to reinforce their dominance through sexual talk and the domination of women – especially those who do not earn a large salary. As a result, women often bear the brunt of symbolic violence (such as disrespect) in the everyday – a form of violence which transcends the status afforded by both class and race in Secunda.

The Modern Afrikaner identity has evolved from the industrialised, 'respectable' citizen to include consumerism-related ideologies as middle-class 'respectability' in Secunda. The dictates of consumption, in themselves, can be seen as forms of symbolic violence. For example, some middle-class women are criticised for repeating the patterns of status-based dominance enacted by their male counterparts in a factory setting. This is accomplished by flaunting the level occupied by their husbands at Sasol in a bid to dominate women of a lower social status. In this manner, an individual's ability to consume has become intertwined with status and codes of 'respectability'. Specifically, fashion is used to identify who 'belongs' and who does not, and a fear of fatness has developed. People who are construed as 'overweight' are stigmatised as less intelligent, less desirable and having less self-control. Fat talk is one example of how middle-class women in Secunda have become victim-oppressors in the pursuit of normalcy. Fat talk is generally subtle in nature. Findings show that, if this form of symbolic

violence is expressed openly, the official response is usually aggressive towards the original commentator. In a town with the purpose of providing an efficient, skilled workforce, the symbolic violence meted out on 'overweight' people (who are harmfully stigmatised as being 'inefficient' or 'less intelligent') permeates the everyday, severely heightening topophobia.

Vestiges of conventional nuclear family-based roles can still be found in some contemporary female identities. Census statistics indicate that there are a large number of skilled women in Secunda that are not employed. The lack of a diverse economy outside of Sasol has led some participants to struggle to find employment outside of Sasol that measure up to their capabilities and/or qualifications or end up not employing their professional skillset at all. This has resulted in a topophobia of entrapment for some. However, the salaries paid by Sasol to its middle-class employees is generally seen by participants to support a high quality of living. As such, there is a tendency to conform to this system of dominance as it maintains certain privileges for its women. In this manner, the 'system' is maintained and such women can, in a sense, be seen as both victims (who are subjected to symbolic violence such as being 'entrapped in a certain space'), but also as oppressors for their role in upholding an oppressive system (see Chapter 8). It is also worthy to note that many middle-class women do hold a certain degree of power through the influence they are presumed (by the company) to have over the permanency of their household's residence in Secunda (see Chapter 8). A limited economy outside of Sasol may threaten the longevity of Secunda at a later stage should the company's interests in the town no longer be viable (for example when coal reserves run out in 2050). The next section considers the final chapter of my findings.

### C) ENCLAVES OF WHITE PRIVILEGE, SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE AND BOUNDARIES

The symbolic violence and topophobias of a 'terrorist society' can be so deeply entrenched that they become part of the everyday. When this happens, they are embedded in the subconscious and may have reactions that are not intentionally aggressive, violent, or racist (see Chapter 9). The latency of white privilege is considered by the last subsidiary research question, "How has symbolic violence been used as a tool of white privilege to maintain the *status quo* in Secunda?" This question has assisted in uncovering a strong theme of racially-based symbolic violence in Secunda. I began tackling this question by viewing white privilege as a 'system' of Lefebvre's terrorist society, which metes out symbolic violence as a means of maintaining *status quos* that privilege the powerful (see Chapter 3).

Lefebvre (1971) argues that change<sup>58</sup> can most potently be attempted through uncovering and understanding the depressive systems that cause a society to explode. This, he continues, is best done by considering the complexities of everyday conventions. The creation of ‘superior’ place and social identities for Secunda ultimately sought to maintain Secunda as an enclave of whiteness and white privilege (see Chapter 9). It was posited that the apartheid project contained a strong symbolic element that was largely a symbolic project, which used fear and privilege to reinforce both physical and symbolic boundaries. Arguably, in the absence of state-condoned boundaries and considering the nature of symbolic boundaries, which is usually to intimidate and humiliate, symbolic boundaries are most used in the meting out of symbolic violence today.

The town, as a former fortress for racial (apartheid) domination, has proven to be a good platform for exploring the ‘system’ of white privilege. The NP aimed to fortify a ‘superior’ dividual across South Africa, bound by similar identities and emotion-spectra, as well as a communal a-where-ness (as per Thrift in Chapter 2). This dividual was geared towards the upholding of white privilege and domination – succeeding long after the downfall of colonialism and apartheid. I have demonstrated that the impact of modernist planning has entrenched certain Western norms and values in Secunda, which assists in maintaining whiteness. For example, ‘Western’, ‘modernisation’ and ‘development’ have become synonymous with ‘good’ urban practice. The increasing presence of ‘the racial other’ in the absence of state-condoned racial boundaries has led to various anxieties for certain whiteness identities. This has amplified the meting out of symbolic violence in an attempt to maintain dominance of Secunda. Although this dominance has been lessened in more desegregation spaces, such as the town centre, Secunda remains an enclave for white privilege. Notably, segregation remains high in the town with white people making up roughly 72.4% of the total population (even after twenty two years of democracy).

This enclave was explored through the concept of ‘white’ comfort zones which reinforce the self-conceptions of white people (or identities of whiteness). When a whiteness place identity is compromised, through practices and symbolisms which do not aspire to Eurocentric views, these comfort zones are threatened. The Secunda town centre was considered as an example of

---

<sup>58</sup> Although some planners may not necessarily see themselves as agents for change, I align with Friedmann’s (2010) argument set out in Chapter 2 that planners should form part of a collective responsibility with residents to effect transformation in specific contexts.

this. The whiteness of the town centre, designed as a cornerstone of the town, was first threatened by the increasing presence of informal economies (for example, spaza shops). This led to attempts to regain dominance by mobilising certain organisations (AfriForum and local ward councillors), and appealing to the municipality. However, attempts proved futile and have largely led to an abandonment of the town centre by some white people.

This abandonment has resulted in dichotomous thinking by some participants, which sees the town centre as 'old', 'not-modern', and 'disorderly'. Such dichotomies are aggravated by the location of what is colloquially referred to as the 'new mall', opposite the town centre. Dichotomies serve to segregate the town centre from the 'new mall', the middle-class from the working, formalised from informal, and ultimately, 'the same' from 'the other'. These dichotomies can be a direct hurdle to transformation in South Africa, especially as informality is a dominant (and little-understood) form of urbanisation in many African spaces. Although the town centre has experienced decay, it has largely been refurbished (by the same company who built the 'new mall'). Even so, deep-seated topophobias remain, with most white people deferring their patronage to the 'new mall'. Here, former 'white' comfort spaces are no longer comfortable for some white people as the whiteness, or Eurocentric, nature has been altered.

One consequence of a loss of dominance in certain former 'white'-dominated spaces in Secunda is a turning to Sasol as a 'hero' in a new, or 'unknown', environment. Upgrading initiatives and various maintenance activities run by the company (in continued interests of retaining a skilled workforce) retain Sasol's persona as Big Brother, or hero, even though the company's focus has taken a more capitalistic stance, making its paternalism no longer as pronounced. In a post-apartheid context, some white people find themselves as a 'racial other'. For such identities, the municipality has come to represent the 'conquering' black ruler. However, this 'ruler' has arguably entered into power under stymies of 'incompetent', 'unfaithful' and 'disorderly' – which were typical stigmatisms inferred on 'the racial other' during apartheid. These stigmatisms could weaken a municipal-resident relationship, and possibly influence aspects like tax collection.

Two forms of symbolic boundaries were considered, namely market filters and attitudes of distancing, which hinder transformation in Secunda. Market filters act as invisible barriers to certain individuals who cannot afford the property prices of an area. This has become prevalent in a South African society, which is becoming increasingly class-based. Through such filters, mainly middle-class black people who aspire to Western norms and values, gain access

to former 'white' areas. Market filters in Secunda are mostly upheld by a scarcity of developable land, predominantly low density, uniform neighbourhoods, and high property values that are inflated by comparatively large salaries paid by Sasol and a tight market control held by local estate agents.

Secunda's uniform, low density neighbourhoods are typical to 'white' spaces of urban apartheid. Other forms of accommodation, such as flats and higher density townhouses are in the minority. This makes affordability for a new generation middle-class or working-class difficult. More recently, higher density developments have begun to address a high demand for alternate housing around Secunda. However, these developments are located mainly in the nearby town of Trichardt or around the town centre (which is no longer considered by some as a 'white' comfort zone). A further subsidised housing development is envisioned that will link the towns of Secunda, eMbalenhle, and Evander. Infill of certain green strips and densification in the residential neighbourhoods are also part of municipal attempts at residential transformation and desegregation. Interestingly, these initiatives appear to encourage desegregation in zones, and it is questionable whether these transformation efforts will succeed in transforming Secunda into a holistically integrated and socially just space (see Chapter 9).

In Chapter 9, Lemanski argues that it is not necessarily the place of desegregation policies to demand social integration in private space such as residential areas, as this might jeopardise the human rights of some individuals. Others have argued for designs which stimulate social mixing in public spaces only (see Chapter 9). In the light of what we have learnt about dichotomies and categorical, generalised planning: Planners are advised to tread carefully here. I refer to the case of Secunda's green network, which permeates the residential neighbourhoods and integrates the various functions of the town (see Chapter 7). In doing so, the green network merges the public with the private to a large extent.

Although once a powerful agent for social mixing, offensive space and topophobias of 'the racial other' have hindered real transformation in these areas, despite certain upgrading initiatives. Recommendations that desegregation policies should avoid private space, reflects a generalised viewpoint that is not necessarily the best approach for all spaces in post-apartheid South Africa. It is recognised that there is a fine line between assisting desegregation (and possibly social integration) or infringing on the rights of certain individuals. What is perhaps needed then is a more context specific approach to desegregation. Further, in light that these

policies may touch upon the fragilities and topophobias of planners themselves, there may also be a need for introspection and interaction with the emotions of space as well as the personal emotions of planners.

Thus, I maintain the position that, largely as a result of overlooking the 'affect' of emotion-spectra on the meaning of space, coupled with views that space can be rationalised and categorised into various dichotomies, planning has overlooked much of the potential of space as an agent to change. Here, I make the suggestion that planning might affect social change by taking into account the symbolism and identities entrenched in the meaning of space. In other words, that planners become more aware of 'a-where-ness'. To do so, would require a consideration of the nature and meaning separately, but also in relation to one another. We have located our domain in the nature of space. But, even if we may not be able to plan, per se, for the meaning of space, we should take it upon ourselves to gain a deep understanding of the identities, emotions and power struggles affect our specific contexts – and possibly how they may hinder urban transformation.

The second symbolic boundary which hinders transformation in Secunda is an attitude of distancing. As the codes of white privilege often lie within the subconscious of white people, I have argued that the onus of disrupting it lies with white people (see Chapter 9). However, some white people tend to distance themselves from this responsibility, as well as its related disparities. Here, issues of 'the other' are perceived as 'not a white problem' as they do not occur in 'white' dominated spaces. This attitude can also be found in the planning realm through terms like 'disadvantaged' rather than 'over-advantaged' or 'privileged', 'urban' or 'inner cities'.

Another form of dissociation places the blame of structural racism at the feet of 'bad' whites, who are seen by some to not adhere to codes of middle-class 'respectability'. In this manner, dissociative attitude is extended to, 'it's not a problem of *respectable* white people'. This form of 'othering' can also further reinforce white privilege as it affords some white people the power of deciding how, when and to what extent racism will be challenged or addressed. This may also lead to a lack of introspection and the reinforcing of existing *status quo* and topophobias. Further, opportunities for constructive interaction about issues of race could also be missed (see Chapter 9). The next section considers my contribution to planning methodology.

### 10.3 A CONTRIBUTION TO PLANNING METHODOLOGY

The second aim of this study was to contribute to planning methodology (Chapter 1). As such, the third subsidiary question was raised, “What methodology is suitable to understanding symbolic violence and topophobia within an urban planning context?” To assist in answering this question, I compiled a checklist to assist in producing rigorous qualitative research (see Chapter 5):

1. Visibility
2. Identification of ontology, epistemology, and methodology
3. Transparency
4. Reflexivity
5. Consistency
6. Constancy between researcher’s constructs of the everyday and common-sense experiences
7. Reliability in analysis and interpretation
8. Defining the limitations of the research

In Chapter 5, it was argued that visibility encompasses Points 2-4. Visibility was demonstrated first by identifying my ontological, epistemological and methodological standing for this study. It was deemed that the best approach to answering the research question is an Interpretivist epistemology based on the ontology that reality is subjective as it finds its roots in social relations. This basis focuses on the power struggles inherent in power relations, seeking to uncover the ways in which they contribute to the meaning (and nature) of space. A feminist ethnography was deemed most suited to uncovering the complex power struggles that influence the topophobias of women in Secunda. In the interests of visibility and introspection, I explored certain personal biases and emotions experienced during (and impacting on) the research process. I also argued that my multiple insider identities put me in a unique position to question various ‘systems’ and the symbolic violence meted out by agents in a bid to maintain them. To build reflexivity into the research, themes from the findings were related to theory. A variety of techniques that would support one another in uncovering the complex everyday, and how they were employed was discussed as the aspect of visibility.

Working with a variety of techniques is highly recommended as the strengths of one technique can be used in overcoming the weakness of another. For example, a feminist ethnography

requires that trust and relationship be built with participants. Further, relationships of trust may also serve as platforms to uncover and explore 'systems' of dominance such as white privilege. If these platforms are made use of, it is recommended that this is done honestly, with great sensitivity and within everyday contexts as they occur. One of this requirement's biggest weaknesses is that the researcher can become too emerged in the field, thereby decreasing rigour of the study through bias (see Chapter 5). I found that repetitive interview techniques are especially vulnerable to this weakness. As such, when using a feminist ethnography it is recommended that multiple techniques be employed to allow the researcher to desist from further interviews in cases of over-emersion.

An iterative process is also recommended for projects with larger time-frames that consider the nuances of the everyday. Here, (*inter alia*) transcription takes place in conjunction with interviewing. This may assist, first, in watching for personal partiality. In other words, seeing the progression of conversations on paper can prove useful in determining researcher partiality while in the field. Second, an iterative process makes room for a large amount of the type of deep reflection critical to a Ph.D. However, an iterative process can prove time-consuming and tedious and should not be undertaken in projects with short time-frames.

Chapter 5 also highlighted the value of online observation in unearthing the nuances of everyday conversations. This fairly new technique for planning research is a useful tool in more sensitive topics where participants are hesitant to share their experiences without anonymity. Its ability to allow for anonymity has provided participants with a platform to voice certain 'truths' that might not be 'acceptable' or 'respectable' according to moral codes (whether of a specific community or individuals at large). Further, online observation decreases the researcher's influence on the field. This is a useful form of triangulation in feminist ethnography. Although researcher bias can be dealt with through transparency, reflexivity, and acknowledgement of the researcher's role as a research instrument, it was argued that triangulation through many different sources also contributes to rigour and nuance. For example, triangulation may uncover discrepancies in participants' experiences – analysis of which contributes to the overall richness of the research product (see Chapter 5). Although I would recommend this technique, it is necessary to proceed with caution when using mediums such as Facebook as part of research analyses.

First, it must be acknowledged that the online field is not neutral, but influenced by norms, values, power struggles and so forth (see Chapter 5). Working with this technique has revealed

certain difficulties regarding probing. This is especially the case where conversations have been influenced by previous conversations held at a different time. Such influences can be easy to overlook in a heavily populated newsfeed. In addition, the tone of a conversation can be influenced by the first few commentators, especially if opinions voiced are particularly strong and/or aggressive. Members of a group may also become bored with a topic that has been discussed before, or fearful of voicing their opinions on sensitive subjects. Both cases could prevent individuals from responding. Lastly, Facebook 'friends' can also belong to the same group and may support the opinions of one another, thereby influencing the commentary. Analysis should take note of such nuances as they add to the richness of findings.

Caution must also be exercised with regard to confidentiality. This technique has great potential for inflicting harm as, in this age of information-technological savvy, it is difficult to ensure confidentiality. Or, as observed during the course of this study, participants might be able to recognise one another – especially in smaller towns where community ties are involved. Great care must thus be taken in disseminating the findings collected through this technique. Further, the boundaries of what is public and what is a private domain in the social digital sphere are still being debated. Thus, caution in protecting participants must be taken. Further, it is no longer possible to classify digital commentators as 'middle-class' as the internet becomes more and more accessible. Those researchers who seek to sample their participants solely within this social class might struggle to do so. There is still room for the development of methods and techniques relating to online research.

In conclusion to the arguments made on visibility, I recommend that greater focus is put on building visibility in qualitative studies undertaken by urban planners in South Africa. As a profession that remains largely influenced by modernist planning (which favours rationalisation, generalisation and quantitative research), much of the social and emotional complexity of cities is overlooked. While there is still room for the former type of research, the value of emotion research in planning is significant to urban transformation. Emotion research also has capacity to contribute to a network of shared learning based on global South contexts which are, themselves, rich sources capable of reshaping global (feminist) theory (see Chapter 3).

The fifth point (building rigour into qualitative research) alludes to creating a consistent document (see Chapter 5). Consistency was accomplished by following an iterative process that entailed a constant moving back and forth between the 'steps' of a research process. This

allowed for the identification of inconsistencies of terminologies used throughout the duration of this study. Further, arguments that were made at the beginning and end years/phases (for example, during my conceptual framework and analysis phases) run the risk of getting 'lost'. By constantly working back and forth, it is possible to link theory with the everyday, thereby strengthening reflexivity and analysis. In this manner, an iterative process also assisted with Point 6 (constancy) which requires that the researcher's constructs can be identified by 'common-sense experience' found in the everyday (see Chapter 5). An example of this was the use of the term 'respectability' in the theory, which was not widely recognised in the field. Rather, the term 'commin' – which denotes the antithesis of 'respectability' – was more frequently used (see Chapter 8). An iterative process allowed for the clear connection of the two terms as well as how the researcher handled them throughout the research process (see Chapter 5). Thus, an iterative process is recommended for building rigour in future urban planning research.

Point 7 requires a clear depiction of the way in which findings were analysed and interpreted. This was accomplished through an inductive, themed-based analysis using Atlas.ti software. Discourse analysis was also drawn upon as a tool to determine the way in which 'truth' is constructed from the meaning of Secunda's space. As power relations heavily underscore symbolic violence and topophobia, Foucault's (1982) institutions of power were drawn upon during the analysis. Although these structures were not explicitly stated in the interpretation chapters of this study, they did inform the manner in which findings were analysed and interpreted. No study is without limitations, which formed the final point of my checklist (Point 8). These, along with areas for further research, are discussed in Section 10. 5.

#### 10.4 ANSWERING THE MAIN RESEARCH QUESTION

*How does the nature and meaning of space shape the topophobia of middle-class women in Secunda?*

The nature and meaning of space are mutually reinforcing. In other words, the relationship between emotions, struggles for dominance and multiple identities interact to create everyday experience. As planners, we conceive the nature of space through maps, plans, and designs. Although we desire that the nature of space be topophilic (creating a love of space), this may not always manifest in everyday experience which is subjective. Thus, although emotion-based research has mostly employed dichotomous thinking (topophobia/topophilia,

disordered/ordered, 'the same'/'the other' and so forth), a shift is needed in this thinking to grasp the nuances of space.

Rather than dichotomies, the use of emotion-spectra should be employed where emotions are viewed as intersectional spectra that constantly affect one another, thereby adding to an 'a-where-ness' of space. To understand how topophobia (spatial fear-hate) shapes the spaces frequented by middle-class, privileged women in Secunda, Lefebvre's concept of 'terrorist societies' was employed. Here, the *status quo* of dominant groups is upheld by means of symbolic violence and topophobia that finds its source from within communities. As individuals are both enforcers and victims of 'systems' of dominance in these societies, topophobia can become embedded in the subconscious. Symbolic violence is seen to undermine transformation in South Africa. Examples of this symbolic violence include:

1. traditional gender roles that have become so deeply entrenched that they are no longer questioned,
2. urban and social hierarchies depicting certain individuals as 'superior',
3. codes of middle-class 'respectability' that reinforce Western values of beauty and whiteness,
4. certain codes of a consumerist society, for example fashion, fear of fatness and fat talk,
5. the 'system' of white privilege as a whole including the related symbolic boundaries which maintain enclaves of whiteness.

The use of an indicative and iterative feminist ethnography was used to uncover these forms of symbolic violence. Understanding and addressing these, and other, forms of symbolic violence is crucial if we hope to promote more just and inclusive urban planning outcomes.

## 10.5 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY AND AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

I have argued in Chapter 4, that one of the strengths of this research is that it is a critique written from the perspective made possible by my own multiple identities of white, English-Afrikaner, middle-class female, a resident of Secunda with a background in planning. However, this perspective is also a limitation of this research. In other words, this research seeks to contribute to global South literature by providing a deeper understanding of white privilege from a white person's perspective. As Sihlongonyane (2015) has made apparent, it does so through the use of Western epistemology, theory, and methodology. I by no means dispute the

value of understanding systems of dominance, multiple and intersecting identities such as the victim-oppressor within these systems as well as the contribution that such an understanding may have on unravelling certain oppressive systems within South African space. In fact, this understanding has cemented a conviction that white privilege is a pervasive and serious urban planning problem.

The missing black voices in this study leaves it with a sense of indebtedness and I name it as a limitation of this study. This limitation was fuelled by a personal frenzy brought about when I realised my own white ignorance and the resulting quest to unravel the concept of white privilege. My initial standpoint was that white privilege is a white peoples' problem, but I would like to caution future researchers against taking this stance as it negates many nuances and falls into the trap of dichotomous thinking. White privilege affects many different societies and should rather be tackled from a unified front.

This study could also benefit from an understanding of African epistemologies such as Black consciousness, and a contribution using African theories, for example decolonisation (Sihlongonyane, 2015). This is seen to be imperative to effecting real transformation in post-apartheid cities. As part of this, further research into the effects of 'over-advantaged' and 'privileged' on urban issues would most likely prove advantageous in effecting real transformation (see Chapter 9). Such perspectives would greatly contribute to the rejection of the role of 'the other' projected onto black people through colonisation, apartheid, and Western modernity (see Chapter 3 and 9).

It has been argued that the nature of space is mutually reinforcing to its meaning (see Chapter 2). Thus, if emotions contribute to meaning (of space), then the emotions summoned by a physical design based heavily on Westernised values could hinder a sense of rootedness for those individuals who do not aspire to these values. In other words, if the emotions of a place are designed to encourage white comfort spaces, then most likely, rootedness would be more difficult to achieve for some black people. The implications for transformation, social integration and even desegregation open up great potential for future research. Perhaps what post-apartheid cities need is to include matters of emotion in an attempt to change both the nature and meaning of Westernised spaces to include identities of the global South.

Specifically, there is a need for further emotion-based research (informed by African epistemologies and theories) into how cities can be made places of greater diversity and

justice, and that are no longer centred largely around Western modernist planning. By interacting with the emotion of place, planners should also enter into a process of introspection as the disruption of our own comfort spaces (and ways of doing) has the potential to stimulate topophobia (and as was shown in Chapter 3 fear, or topophobia, is often linked to 'othering'). Ways in which this can be approached open up an rich opportunity for further research.

## 10.6 REFLECTIONS

In my fear of not coming to grips with the full extent of whiteness and white privilege, I initially resorted to making hard and fast recommendations that were intended to apply to all white people. This is in direct contravention an epistemology of Interpretivism as well as feminist ethnographies. In fact, in doing so, I negated my own recommendation of emotion-introspection, and stepped into the hole of 'instant blackness'. Perhaps what I have learnt from this is that white privilege is vast – too vast to grasp fully in one research project. Further, having biases is part of the subjectivities that make us human. Perhaps, what is needed is an awareness that such biases might exist within our 'self' and that they could be hurting people. This awareness might then be coupled with a constant questioning of our actions and words – and as planners – what they mean for the spaces we create. There is no magic wand to wave over biases and subjectivities, instantly making us into 'perfect' individuals. No, I believe there is much learning to be gleaned, and earned, over time from such a process...no rather, *condition of being*.

Learning from my own identities did sometimes bring me too close to the research. I was influenced by the emotions that the student mobilisations brought about from many different perceptions and identities (see footnote in Chapter 1). My own fears of my future as a white person in South Africa were (and sometimes still are) starkly brought to the fore and often told to "keep quiet" by my rational 'self'. In the few moments where my brain and heart were not tugging furiously in different directions, my inner 'self' could be accessed and some serious questions could be asked – and answered honestly. In this space, my own topophobias could be confronted and eased, the calcified layer of my white fragility chipped away at. It is not easy to be raw as a Ph.D. candidate: There is too much to prove in this lonely space.

I have not always liked what I have seen. I have feared the biases, some of which I still struggle to overcome. I am anxious that I have not reached the end of my reflections and that I do not

end this project with a neatly wrapped box of knowledge and self-confidence. I am tired but inspired to carry on, to become less fragile, more understanding... of symbolic violence, of the fears of 'the other', of the remaining boundaries that maintain fellow South Africans as 'the other' in some of my identities. Reflection and introspection have proved very valuable in this respect, even though they have rarely been enjoyable.

I truly believe that topophobia, when coupled with struggles for dominance and symbolic violence, is a real problem for this country. On my very first day in learning to become a planner, my undergraduate class was asked the question, "why did you choose to study planning?" I remember this vividly because I exuberantly exclaimed that it was my destiny! Mortifyingly, the nickname 'destiny' followed me around for the rest of the year. I still wonder what my whole destiny entails. But, I do know that planners are well-placed to help realise the potential for equality and greatness in this country. My emotion research has convicted me of the great value in confronting personal emotions and subjectivities. Will this make me a better planner? I certainly believe so. So, if asked "why did you choose to study planning?" today, my reply would still be that it is my destiny. But, perhaps I would add that it is a destiny attached to an individual with multiple identities, subjectivities, biases, and fears. That, in my flaws and failures, lies the potential to learn, to alter the course I am set on if necessary, and hopefully, to be a tool on the journey for a greater South Africa.

I would like to end this particular voyage with a quote that has sustained throughout the process – I have it stuck in bold black letters on my wall:

*It always seems impossible until it's done*<sup>59</sup>.

My research project may be done (!!), but the larger project of transformation in South Africa is not. Let's be on our way.

---

<sup>59</sup> This quote is commonly attributed to former President Nelson Mandela. However, the database of the Nelson Mandela Foundation does not contain a reference to this quote (<http://africacheck.org>).

REFERENCE LIST

- “Affect, v.”. *OED Online*. 2014. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available: [www.oxforddictionaries.com](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com) [2016, February 16].
- “Common, adj.” 2016. *OED Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available: [www.oxforddictionaries.com](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com) [2016, May 24].
- “Latent, adj.” 2014. *OED Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available: [www.oxforddictionaries.com](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com) [2014, February 25].
- “Respectable, adj.” 2016. *OED Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available: [www.oxforddictionaries.com](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com) [2016, May 26].
- “Topos, n.” 2015. *OED Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com> [2015, February 25].
- A New Deal for Blacks at Sasol 2. 1978. *The Star*. 8 February. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- A town is born.... 1976. *The Star*. 20 July. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- Alexander, A. 2009. *Britain's New Towns: Garden Cities to Sustainable Communities*. New York: Routledge.
- Alofsin, A. 2011. Broadacre City--Ideal and Nemesis. *American Art*. 25(2): 21–25.
- Anderson, K. & Jack, D.C. 1991. Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analyses. In: *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*. S.B. Gluck & D. Patai, Eds. New York: Routledge. 11–26.
- Armen, G. 1976. The Programming of Social Provision in New Communities: Part II: Some Case Studies and Conclusions. *The Town Planning Review*. 47(3): 269–288.
- Baeten, G. 2002. Hypochondriac geographies of the city and the new urban dystopia. *City*. 6(1): 103–115.
- Bailey, A.R. & Bryson, J.R. 2006. Stories of suburbia (Bournville, UK): from planning to people tales. *Social & Cultural Geography*. 7(2): 179–198.
- Ballard, R. 2004. Assimilation, Emigration, Semigration, and Integration: 'white' peoples' strategies for finding a comfort zone in post-apartheid South Africa. In: N. Distiller & M. Steyn (eds) *Under construction: 'Race' and identity in South Africa today*. Johannesburg: Heinemann. 51-66.

- Bannister, J. & Fyfe, N. 2001. Introduction: Fear and the City. *Urban Studies*. 38(5-6): 807-813.
- Barker, C. 2003. *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*. California: SAGE Publications.
- Batchelor, P. 1969. The Origin of the Garden City Concept of Urban Form. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. 28(3): 184-200.
- Baum, H. 2015. Planning with half a mind: Why planners resist emotion. *Planning Theory & Practice*. 16(4): 498-516.
- Bauman, Z. 1992. Introduction: The re-enchantment of the world, or, how can one narrate postmodernity? In: *Intimations of postmodernity*. London: Routledge. vii-xxviii.
- Bauman, Z. 2000. *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Baxter, J.E. 2012. The Paradox of a Capitalist Utopia : Visionary Ideals and Lived Experience in the Pullman Community 1880 – 1900. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*. 16: 651-665.
- Bergh, J. 2006. Gender Attitudes and Modernization Processes. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*. 19(1): 5-23.
- Bobo, L.D. 2011. Somewhere between Jim Crow & Post-Racialism: Reflections on the Racial Divide in America Today. *Daedalus*. 140(2): 11-36.
- Boer, I.E. 2006. *Uncertain Territories: Boundaries in Cultural Analysis*. Vol 7. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*. 3(2): 77-101.
- Bremner, L., 2004. Bounded spaces: Demographic anxieties in post-apartheid Johannesburg. *Social Identities*, 10(4): 455-468.
- Brown, J. 2010. Geographies of Gender and Modernism. *Journal of Modern Literature*. 33(3): 142-149.
- Buder, S. 1969. Ebenezer Howard: The Genesis of a Town Planning Movement. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*. 35(6): 390-398.
- Burns, A. 2000. Emotion and Urban Experience: Implications for Design. *Design Issues*. 16(3): 67-79.

- Calvey, D. 2008. The Art and Politics of Covert Research Doing 'Situating Ethics' in the Field. *Sociology*. 42(5): 905-918.
- Caspersen, O.H., Konijnendijk, C.C. & Olafsson, A.S. 2006. Green space planning and land use: An assessment of urban regional and green structure planning in Greater Copenhagen. *Geografisk Tidsskrift-Danish Journal of Geography*. 106(2) :7-20.
- Central Guide Plan Committee. 1979. TEKS Gidsplan - Guide Plan. Central Guide Plan Committee of the Planning Advisory Council of the Prime Minister. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- Chris 2.o. 2008. A question for those lives in Secunda. [Forum discussion, August 24]. Available: <http://mybroadband.co.za> [2015, May 29].
- Chrisler, J. 2012. "Why Can't You Control Yourself?' Fat Should Be a Feminist Issue. *Sex Roles*. 66(9/10): 608-616.
- Christopher, A. 1983. From Flint to Soweto : reflections on the colonial origins of the apartheid city. *Area*. 15(2): 145-149.
- Clark, B. 2003. Ebenezer Howard And The Marriage Of Town And Country: An Introduction to Howard's Garden Cities of To-morrow (Selections). *Organization & Environment*. 16: 87-97.
- Clarke, D. & Doel, M. 2011. Zygmunt Bauman. In: *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: SAGE Publications. 47-54.
- Collins, P.H. 1986. Learning from the outsider within: The sociological significance of Black feminist thought. *Social problems*. 33(6): s14-s32.
- Connell, R., 2014. The sociology of gender in Southern perspective. *Current Sociology*. 62(4) 550-567.
- Connell, R., 2015. Meeting at the edge of fear: Theory on a world scale. *Feminist Theory*. 16(1): 49-66.
- Cottrell, R.C. 2006. *London: From the Walled City to New Towns*. New York: Chelsea House, Infobase Publishing.
- Cozens, P., Hillier, D. & Prescott, G. 2002. Defensible Space, Community Safety, the British City and the 'Active Citizen': Penetrating the Criminal Mind. *Crime Prev Community Saf*. 4(4): 7-21.

- Cuthbert, A.R. 2006. *The Form of Cities: Political Economy and Urban Design*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Davidson, J. 2010. Phobias and Safekeeping: Emotions, Selves and Spaces. In: *The SAGE handbook of social geographies*. S. Smith, R. Pain, S. Marston, & J.P. Jones, Eds. London: SAGE Publications. 368–388.
- Davies, R.J. 1981. *The Spatial Formation of the South African City*. *GeoJournal*. 2(2): 59–72.
- Davies, D. & Dodd, J. 2002. Qualitative Research and the Question of Rigor. *Qualitative Health Research*. 12(2): 279–289.
- Dekoven, M. 2005. Modernism and Gender. In *The Cambridge Companion to Modernism*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 174–193.
- Delamont, S. 2004. Ethnography and Participant Observation. In: *Qualitative Research Practice*. D. Seale, C; Gobo, G; Grubrium, J.F. Silverman, Eds. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications. 205–217.
- Denzin, N.K. 2003. Reading and Writing Performance. *Qualitative Research*. 3(2):243–268.
- Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. 2014. Govan Mbeki Spatial Development Framework 2014 -2034. Available: <http://www.govanmbeki.gov.za/files/sdf2034.pdf> [2014, June 29].
- DiAngelo, R. 2011. White Fragility. *The International Journal of Critical Pedagogy*. 3(3): 54–70.
- Doctor, R. & Kahn, A. 2000. *The Encyclopaedia of phobias, fears, and anxieties*. New York: Facts on File.
- Doucet, A. & Mauthner, N. 2012. Knowing Responsibly: Ethics, Feminist Epistemologies and Methodologies. In: *Ethics in Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publications. 122–140.
- Dream Black Township - at a Price. 1977. *Sunday Times*. 25 September. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- Durrheim, K. & Dixon, J. 2010. Racial Contact and Change in South Africa. *Journal of Social Issues*. 66(2): 273–288.
- Eden, W. 1947. Studies in Urban Theory. II: Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City Movement. *The Town Planning Review*. 19(3/4): 123–143.
- Epstein, D. 2007. Object terror: A story of fear, sex, and architecture. In: *Architecture of Fear*. N. Ellin, Ed. New York: Princeton Architectural Press. 133–141.

- Fereday, J. & Muir-Cochrane, E. 2006. Demonstrating Rigor Using Thematic Analysis: A Hybrid Approach of Inductive and Deductive Coding and Theme Development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. 5(March): 1–11.
- Fishman, R. 1982. *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Flusty, S. 2007. Building Paranoia. In: *Architecture of Fear*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press. 47–59.
- Flyvbjerg, B. 2001. The Power of Example. In *Making Social Science Matter*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 66–87.
- Foster, J. 2015. Modernity, Mining and Improvement. In: *Women, Modernity, and Landscape Architecture*. S. Duempelmann & J. Beardsley, Eds. London: Routledge. 122–144.
- Foucault, M. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Foucault, M. 1982. The Subject and Power. *Critical Inquiry*. 8(4): 777–795.
- Freund, B. 2013. Social Order and Organisation in Vanderbijlpark and Sasolburg: The Company Towns of the Vaal Triangle 1940–901. Available: <https://aehworkshop.files.wordpress.com> [2015, September 02].
- Friedmann, J. 1987. *Planning in the Public Domain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Friedmann, J. 2010. Place and Place-Making in Cities: A Global Perspective. *Planning Theory & Practice*. 11(2): 149–165.
- Gans, H.J. 1999. Participant Observation in the Era of “Ethnography”. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. 28: 540–547.
- Garner, J. 1992. Introduction. In: *The Company Town: Architecture and Society in the Early Industrial Age*. New York: Oxford University Press. 3–12.
- George, W.L. 1909. *Labour and Housing at Port Sunlight*. London: Alston Rivers Ltd.
- Giken, O. 2009. My HOUSEMATE doesn’t want me there! [Blog, February 6]. Available: <http://mydl.itweb.co.za> [2014, July 11].
- Godkin, M. 1980. Identity and place: Clinical applications based on notions of rootedness and uprootedness. In: *The human experience of space and place*. London: Billing and Sons. 73–85.

- Godsell, S. 2011. Rooiberg: The Little Town that Lived. *South African Historical Journal*. 63(1): 61-77.
- Gold, J.R. & Gold, M.M. 1996. To Be Free and Independent: Crofting, Popular Protest and Lord Leverhulme's Hebridean Development Projects, 1917-25. *Rural History*. 7(2): 191-206.
- Gonzalez, B.M. 2005. Topophilia and Topophobia: The Home as an Evocative Place of Contradictory Emotions. *Space and Culture*. 8(2): 193-213.
- Goodchild, B. 1990. Planning and the modern/postmodern debate. *Town Planning Review*. 61(2):119.
- Gorlin, A. 1982. The Ghost in the Machine: Surrealism in the Work of Le Corbusier. *Perspecta*. 18:51-65.
- Goss, A. 1961. Neighbourhood Units in British New Towns. *The Town Planning Review*. 32(1): 66-82.
- Govan Mbeki Municipality (n.d.) Secunda Open Space Infill Project. Available on request from Govan Mbeki Municipality.
- Govan Mbeki Municipality. 2009. Local Economic Development Strategy. Available: [www.govanmbeki.gov.za/](http://www.govanmbeki.gov.za/) [25 February 2014].
- Govan Mbeki Municipality. 2010. Land Use Scheme, 2010: Part III – Development Policy: Chapter Seven – Land Use Zones. Secunda: Govan Mbeki Municipality.
- Greed, C. 1994a. The Place of Ethnography in Planning : Or is it “Real Research”? *Planning Practice & Research*. 9(2): 119-128.
- Greed, C. 1994b. *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities*. London: Routledge.
- Green, J.M. 1992. Aristotle on Necessary Verticality, Body Heat, and Gendered Proper Places in the Polis: A Feminist Critique. *Hypatia*. 7(1): 70-96.
- Gustafson, P. 2001. Meanings of Place: Everyday Experience and Theoretical Conceptualizations. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*. 21: 5-16.
- Gustin, G. 2010. Food trucks bring haute cuisine and problems. St. Louis Post-Dispatch. 26 September. Available: [http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/metro/food-trucks-bring-haute-cuisine-and-problems/article\\_52e62195-b7d1-5d39-995e-e36a84935ccd.html](http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/metro/food-trucks-bring-haute-cuisine-and-problems/article_52e62195-b7d1-5d39-995e-e36a84935ccd.html) [15 January 2017].
- Haffajee, F. 2015. *What if There Were No Whites in South Africa?* Johannesburg: Picador Africa.

- Hallett, R.E. & Barber, K. 2014. Ethnographic Research in a Cyber Era. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. 43: 306–330.
- Hardy, D. 1991. *From Garden Cities to New Towns: Campaigning for Town and Country Planning, 1899-1946*. London: E & FN Spon, Chapman & Hall.
- Hardy, S. 2012. *A 1950s Housewife: Marriage and Homemaking in the 1950s*. Kindle Edition. The History Press.
- Harrison, P., Todes, A., & Watson, V. 2008. *Planning and Transformation: Learning from the Post-Apartheid Experience*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Hayden, D. 1980. What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work. *Signs*. 5(3): 170–187.
- Healey, P. 1997. An Institutional Approach to Spatial Change and Environmental Planning. In *Collaborative planning: Shaping places in fragmented societies*. London: MacMillan Press. 31–71.
- Hebl, M. & Heatherton, T. 1998. The Stigma Of Obesity in Women: The Difference is Black and White. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. 24: 417–426.
- Henrikson, A.K. 2001. Geographical Antipathy, and the Personification of “Place Hate”. 20:17–23.
- Herbert, S. 2000. For ethnography. *Progress in Human Geography*. 24(4): 550–568.
- Hobson, J. 1999. New Towns, the Modernist Planning Project and Social Justice: The Case of Milton Keynes, UK and Egypt. (108). Available: [www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/dpu/latest/publications/dpu-working.../wp108.pdf](http://www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/dpu/latest/publications/dpu-working.../wp108.pdf) [2014 February, 25].
- Hoover, D.P. 1988. Women in nineteenth century Pullman. Masters Thesis. The University of Arizona.
- Homes on wheels for Secunda. 1979. (1979,). *Supplement to the Rand Daily Mail*. 31 July. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- Howard, E. 1902. *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
- Hubbard, P., 2005. Accommodating otherness: Anti-asylum centre protest and the maintenance of white privilege. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30(1): 52-65.
- Hubbard, P. & Kitchin, R. 2011. Glossary. In: *Key thinkers on space and place*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. P. Hubbard & R. Kitchin, Eds. London: SAGE Publications. 491–500.

- Hulle Sorg vir Ons Huise. 1977. *Sasol News*, 16–20 July. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand
- Huston, L. 2003. A Closer Look at Radburn. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 69(3): 314–315.
- Huxley, M. 1999. If Planning Is Anything, Maybe it's Geography. *Australian Planner*. 36(3): 128–133.
- Hyslop, J. 2000. Why did Apartheid's Supporters Capitulate? "Whiteness", Class and Consumption in Urban South Africa, 1985–1995. *Society in Transition*. 31(1): 36–44.
- Jacobs, J. 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities: The Failure of Town Planning*. New York: Random House.
- Janz, B. 2008. The Terror of the Place: Anxieties of Place and the Cultural Narrative of Terrorism. *Ethics, Place & Environment*. 11(2): 191–203.
- Jenkins, E. 2007. *Falling into Place: The Story of Modern South African Place Names*. Claremont: David Philip Publishers.
- Jim, C. 2004. Green-Space Preservation and Allocation for Sustainable Greening of Compact Cities. *Cities*. 21(4): 311–320.
- John, L. 2012. *Secondary Cities in South Africa: The start of a conversation*. South African Cities Network. Available: <http://led.co.za/documents/secondary-cities-in-south-africa-the-start-of-a-conversation> [2014, February 25].
- Jørgensen, M. & Phillips, L.J. 2002. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Katz, C. 2006. Power, Space, and Terror: Social Reproduction and the Public Environment. In: *The politics of public space*. N. Low & S. Smith, Eds. New York: Routledge. 105–121.
- Kelly, L., Burton, S. & Regan, L. 1994. Researching Women's Lives or Studying Women's Oppression? Reflections on What Constitutes Feminist Research. In: *Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective*. M. Maynard & J. Purvis, Eds. London: Taylor&Francis. 27–48.
- Kennedy, A.C. 2008. Eugenics, "Degenerate Girls," and Social Workers during the Progressive Era. *Affilia*. 23(1): 22–37.
- Kerswill, P. & Williams, A. 2000. Creating a New Town Koine: Children and Language Change in Milton Keynes. *Language in Society*. 29(1): 65–115.

- King, K.E. 1994. Method and Methodology in Feminist Research: What is the Difference? *Journal of advanced nursing*. 20(1): 19–22.
- Kirchhofer, M. 1982. The Planning of Sasolburg and Secunda - Achievements and Prospects. *Journal for Town and Regional Planning*. 14: 1–28.
- Koskela, H. 1999. ‘Gendered Exclusions’: Women’s Fear of Violence and Changing Relations to Space. *Geografiska Annaler*. 81 B(2): 111–124.
- Koskela, H. 2010. Fear and its Others. In: *The SAGE Handbook of Social Geographies*. S. Smith, R. Pain, S. Marston, & J. Jones, Eds. London: SAGE Publications. 389–407.
- Koskela, H. & Pain, R. 2000. Revisiting Fear and Place: Women’s Fear of Attack and the Built Environment. *Geoforum*. 31: 269–280.
- Krevs, M. 2004. Perceptual Spatial Differentiation. *Dela*. 21: 371–379.
- Kritzinger, J. 1995. Introducing Focus Groups. *BMJ*. 311: 299–302.
- Lapping, M.B. 1979. Toward a Social Theory of the Built Environment: Frank Lloyd Wright and Broadacre City. *Environmental Review: ER*. 3(3): 11–23.
- Leach, N. 2007. Topophilia/Topophobia: The Role of the Environment in the Formation of Identity. In: *Topophilia and Topophobia: Reflections on Twentieth-Century Human Habitat*. P. Ruan & X. Hogben, Eds. London: Routledge. 31–43.
- Lee, C. M. & Stabin-Nesmith, B. 2001. The Continuing Value of a Planned Community: Radburn in the Evolution of Suburban Development. *Journal of Urban Design*. 6(2): 151–184.
- Lefebvre, H. 1971. *Everyday Life in the Modern World*. Translated by Sacha Rabinovitch. New York: Penguin Press.
- Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Maiden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Lemanski, C.L. 2004. A New Apartheid? The Spatial Implications of Fear of Crime in Cape Town, South Africa. *Environment and Urbanization*. 16(2): 101–112.
- Lemanski, C.L. 2006. Desegregation and Integration as Linked or Distinct? Evidence from a Previously ‘White’ Suburb in Post-apartheid Cape Town. *International journal of urban and regional research*, 30(3): 564–586.
- Leonardo, Z. 2004. The Color of Supremacy: Beyond the Discourse of “White Privilege”. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*. 36(2): 137–152.

- Ley, D. 2003. Forgetting Postmodernism? Recuperating a Social History of Local Knowledge. *Progress in Human Geography*. 27(5): 537–560.
- Lonewolf. 2008. A question for those lives in Secunda. [Discussion forum, August 24]. Available: <http://mybroadband.co.za> [2015, May 29].
- Longhurst, R. 2005. Fat Bodies: Developing Geographical Research Agendas. *Progress in Human Geography*. 29(3): 247–259.
- Low, S. 2004. *Behind the Gates: Life, Security, and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America*. New York: Routledge.
- Low, S. 2009. Maintaining Whiteness: The Fear of Others and Niceness. *Transforming Anthropology*. 17(2): 79–92.
- Lynch, K. 1960. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Lynch, K., 1972. *What time is this place?* MIT Press.
- Mabin, A. & Oranje, M. 2014. The 1938 Johannesburg ‘Town Planning Exhibition and Congress’: Testament, Monument and Indictment. In: *Exhibitions and the development of modern planning culture*. R. Freestone and M. Amati, Eds. Burlington, VT: Ashgate. 97–110.
- Mabin, A. & Smit, D. 1997. Reconstructing South Africa’s cities? The Making of Urban Planning 1900 – 2000. *Planning Perspectives*. 12: 193–223.
- Mallows, Low, Hoffe & Partners. 1975. Minutes to the Meeting Themed, Sasol II: Housing Assessment (held on 13 June 1975). Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- Mallows, Low, Hoffe & Partners. 1979. Minutes to the Progress Report Meeting between Mallows, Louw, Hoffe and Partners and Sasol Townships (held on 19 July 1979). Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- Manzo, L.C. 2003. Beyond House and Haven: Toward a Revisioning of Emotional Relationships with Places. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*. 23(1): 47–61.
- Manzo, L.C. 2005. For Better or Worse: Exploring Multiple Dimensions of Place Meaning. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*. 25(1): 67–86.
- Marcuse, P. 2007. Walls of Fear and Walls of Support. In *Architecture of Fear*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press. 101–114.

- Markham, A. 2005. The Methods, Politics, and Ethics of Representation in Online Ethnography. In: *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln, Eds. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications. 793–820.
- Marmot, A. 1981. The Legacy of Le Corbusier and High-Rise Housing. *Built Environment (1978-)*. 7(2): 82–95.
- Martinez-Fernandez, C., Wu, C.-T., Schatz, L.K., Taira, N. & Vargas-Hernández, J.G. 2012. The Shrinking Mining City: Urban Dynamics and Contested Territory. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 36(2): 245–260.
- Massey, D. 2005. *For Space*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Matheson, J.L. 2007. The Voice Transcription Technique: Use of Voice Recognition Software to Transcribe Digital Interview Data in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Report*. 12(4): 547–560.
- McCorkel, J.A. & Myers, K. 2003. What Difference Does Difference Make? Position and Privilege in the Field. *Qualitative Sociology*. 26(2): 199–231.
- Meintjies, J. 1975. *Sasol 1950-1975*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Merrifield, A. 1993. Place and Space: A Lefebvrian Reconciliation. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. 18(4): 516–531.
- Merrifield, A. 2000. The Dialectics of Dystopia: Disorder and Zero Tolerance in the City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 24(2): 473–489.
- Meth, P. & Malaza, K. (2003). Violent research: The ethics and emotions of doing research with women in South Africa. *Ethics, Place and Environment*. 6(2): 143-159.
- Meth, P. 2016. Informal housing, gender, crime and violence: the role of design in urban South Africa. *British Journal of Criminology*. Available: <http://bjc.oxfordjournals.org/content/early/2016/01/10/bjc.azv125.short> [2016 February 11].
- Minnery, J. 2012. Model Industrial Settlements and Their Continuing Governance. *Planning Perspectives*. 27(2): 309–321.
- Modly, AR. 2009. Geography of Fear: Understanding Students' Sense of Place. Thesis. Charleston: College of Charleston.
- Morrell, R., Jewkes, R. & Lindegger, G. 2012. Hegemonic Masculinity/Masculinities in South Africa Culture, Power, and Gender Politics. *Men and Masculinities*. 15(1): 11–30.

- Mtata, K. 2009. Space and Place in the Gospel of John. Ph.D. Thesis. Pietermaritzburg: University Of Kwazulu-Natal.
- Murthy, D. 2008. Digital Ethnography: An Examination of the Use of New Technologies for Social Research. *Sociology*. 42(5): 837–855.
- Nahnsen, A. 2006. Emergency on Planet Cape Town? (Re-)Conciliation as a Tool for Urban Planning in a Post-Apartheid City. Ph.D. Thesis. Oldenburg: der Carl von Ossietzky Universität.
- Naples, N. 2003. The Insider/Outsider Debate: A Feminist Revisiting. In *Feminism and Method: Ethnography, Discourse Analysis, and Activist Research*. New York: Routledge. 49–66.
- Newman, O. 1972. *Defensible Space*. USA: MacMillan.
- Newton, C. & Schuermans, N. (2013). More than twenty years after the repeal of the Group Areas Act: Housing, spatial planning and urban development in post-apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*. 28(4): 579-587.
- Nuru-Jeter, A., Dominguez, T., Hammond, W., Leu, J., Skaff, M., Egerter, S., Jones, C. & Braveman, P. 2009. “It’s The Skin You’re In”: African-American Women Talk About Their Experiences of Racism. An Exploratory Study to Develop Measures of Racism for Birth Outcome Studies. *Maternal and Child Health Journal*. 13(1): 29–39.
- O’Hare, D. 2007. Not another Waikiki? Mobilizing topophilia and topophobia in coastal resort areas. In: *Topophilia and Topophobia: Reflections on Twentieth-Century Human Habitat*. P. Ruan & X; Hogben, Eds. United Kingdom: Routledge. 185–201.
- Oosthuizen, J. 2015. Top 10 Service Delivery Issues in Secunda. *Ridge Times*. 5 March. Available: <http://ridgetimes.co.za/31726/top-10-service-delivery-issues-in-secunda/> [2015, June 16].
- Oranje, M. 1998. The Language Game of South African Urban and Regional Planning: A Cognitive Mapping from the Past into the Future. PhD Thesis. Pretoria: The University of Pretoria.
- Osborn, F. 1950. Sir Ebenezer Howard: The Evolution of His Ideas. *The Town Planning Review*. 21(3): 221–235.
- Osborne, T. & Rose, N. 2004. Spatial Phenomenotechnics: Making Space with Charles Booth and Patrick Geddes. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. 22: 209–228.
- Out of the cosmos. 1978. *S.T.* 30 April. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.

- Pain, R. 2001. Gender, Race, Age and Fear in the City. *Urban Studies*. 38:899–913.
- Pain, R. 2003. Youth, Age and the Representation of Fear. *Capital & Class*. 27(2): 151–171.
- Paquot, T. 2005. City and Nature, a Missed Opportunity? *Diogenes*. 52(3): 65–74.
- Patricios, N. 2002. Urban Design Principles of the Original Neighborhood Concepts. *Urban Morphology*. 6(1): 21–32.
- Peens, M. 2012. Racial Remains in a Company Town? Iscor Houses and the Appearance of Race in Contemporary Newcastle. *South African Review of Sociology*. 43(1): 23–40.
- Pieterse, E. 2010. Cityness and African Urban Development. WIDER Working Paper 2010/042. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.
- Porteous, J. 1970. The Nature of the Company Town. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. 51: 127–142.
- Porteous, J. 1987. Deathscape: Malcolm Lowry's Topophobic View of the City. *The Canadian Geographer*. 31(1): 34–43.
- Posel, D. 2011. The Apartheid Project, 1948–1970. *The Cambridge History of South Africa*. 2: 319–368.
- Pyke, K.D. 1996. Class-Based Masculinities: The Interdependence of Gender, Class, and Interpersonal Power. *Gender & Society*. 10(5): 527–549.
- Radford, G. 2008. *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era*. University of Chicago Press.
- Rees, A. 2012. Nineteenth-Century Planned Industrial Communities and the Role of Aesthetics in Spatial Practices: The Visual Ideologies of Pullman and Portsunlight. *Journal of Cultural Geography*. 29(2): 185–214.
- Reinhartz, S. 1992. Feminist Ethnography. In *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. New York: Oxford University Press. 46–75.
- Rising Giant. 1978. *The Star*. 10 February. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- Roberts, H. 1977. The Exquisite Slave: The Role of Clothes in the Making of the Victorian Woman. *Signs*. 2(3): 554–569.
- Rose, N. 1999. *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Rose, N. 2000. Government and Control. *British Journal of Criminology*. 40: 321–339.
- Russel, B. 2006. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Oxford: AltaMira Press.
- Safran, A. & Sanda, N. 2015. Color synesthesia. Insight into Perception, Emotion, and Consciousness. *Curr Opin Neurol*. 28(1): 36–44.
- Sandercock, L. 1998. *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sandercock, L. 2005. Difference, Fear and Habitus: A Political Economy of Urban Fears. In *Habitus: A Sense of Place*. Aldershot: Ashgate. 219–234.
- Saraiva, M. & Pinho, P. 2011. A Comprehensive and Accessible Approach to Crime Prevention in the Planning and Design of Public Spaces. *Urban Design International*. 16(3): 213–226.
- Sasol II - start of a new era. 1974. *The Star*. 6 December. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- SASOL plant under attack. 1980. Available: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/sasol-plant-under-attack> [2014, February 25].
- Sasol, 1979. Notes on Single House Erven Requirements (08/03/1979); Addendum to Sasol II – Housing Phase 1 (75/479). Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- Sasol. n.d. 40 Years of Sasol 1950 - 1990. *Sasol News*. 3(1).
- Sasol's Secunda: 'It's not at all like the great town we were promised' say the residents. 1981. *Sunday Express*. 22 February. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- Schensul, D. & Heller, P. 2011. Legacies, Change and Transformation in the Post-Apartheid City: Towards an Urban Sociological Cartography. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 35(1): 78–109.
- Scott, D. 2003. "Creative Destruction": Early Modernist Planning in the South Durban Industrial Zone, South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 29(1): 235–259.
- SDB (Transvaal). 1981. Verkoop van Tuinhuse: Purchase Agreement. 18 November. Sasol Real Estate Archives
- Secunda heralds a new life-style. 1980. *The Star*. 25 February 25. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.

- Secunda, wonderdorp van die Republiek. n.d. Die Osterlig. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- Secunda: Tomorrow's world has already begun. 1980. *The Star*. 10 June. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- Sheller, M. & Urry, J. 2000. The City and the Car. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 24(4): 737-757.
- Shields, R. 2011. Henri Lefebvre. In: *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. P. Hubbard & R. Kitchin, Eds. London: SAGE Publications. 279-285.
- Shover, N. 2012. Life Histories and Autobiographies as Ethnographic Data. In: *The SAGE Handbook of Criminological Research Methods*. S. Gadd, D. Karstedt & S. Messner, Eds. London: SAGE Publications. 11-22.
- Sihlongonyane, MF. 2002 Urban Planning in the Post-Apartheid South Africa: Reconstruction and Transformation. In: *Transforming South Africa*. A. Osmanovic, ed. Hamburg: Institute of African Affairs.
- Sihlongonyane, MF. 2015. The Challenges of Theorising about the Global South A View from an African Perspective. *Africa Insight*. 45(2): 59- 74.
- Sinha, A. & Singh, J. 2011. Jamshedpur: Planning an Ideal Steel City in India. *Journal of Planning History*. 10(4): 263-281.
- Smith, H.V. 2012. Elizabeth Taylor Cadbury (1858-1951): Religion, Maternalism and Social Reform in Birmingham, 1888-1914. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Birmingham.
- Southerton, D. 2002. Boundaries of 'Us' and 'Them': Class, Mobility and Identification in a New Town. *Sociology*. 36(1): 171-193.
- Sparks, S.J. 2012. Apartheid Modern: South Africa's Oil from Coal Project and the History of a South African Company Town. Ph.D. Thesis. The University of Michigan.
- Spinks, C., 2001. A New Apartheid?: Urban Spatiality,(fear Of) Crime, and Segregation in Cape Town, South Africa. Working Document. London School of Economics and Political Science, Development Studies Institute. Available: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/internationaldevelopment/pdf/wp/wp20.pdf> [2016, May 15].
- Stacey, J. 1991. Can There Be a Feminist Ethnography? In: *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*. D. Gluck & S.B. Patai, Eds. New York: Routledge. 111-119.
- Staiger, J. 1988. Future Noir: Contemporary Representations of Visionary Cities. *East-West Film Journal*. 3(1): 20-44.

- StatsSA. 2001. *Population Census 2001*. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.
- StatsSA. 2011. *Population Census 2011*. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.
- Steyn, M. 2004. Rehabilitating a Whiteness Disgraced: Afrikaner White Talk in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Communication Quarterly*. 52(2): 143–169.
- Steyn, M. & Foster, D. 2008. Repertoires for Talking White: Resistant Whiteness in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 31(1): 25–51.
- Studholme, M. 2008. Patrick Geddes and the History of Environmental Sociology in Britain: A Cautionary Tale. *Journal of Classical Sociology*. 8(3): 367–391.
- Sullivan, S. 2014. The Hearts and Guts of White People. *Journal of Religious Ethics*. 42(4): 591–611.
- Sunset Park 'n teiken vir misdaad. 2015. *Ridge Times Online*. 29 May. Available: <http://ridgetimes.co.za/37152/sunset-park-n-teiken-vir-misdaad/> [2015, June 18].
- Tancott, G. 2014. Sasol Partnering with Local Government. *Infrastructure News*. 12 August. Available: <http://www.infrastructurenews.com/2014/08/12/sasol-partnering-with-local-government/> [2014, December 13].
- Terre Blanche, M., Durrheim, K. & Painter, D. 2007. *Research in Practice: Applied Methods for the Social Sciences*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Rondebosch: University of Cape Town Press.
- The birth of a giant - Sasol 2. 1975. *Pretoria News*. 3 June. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- The Bread is Always Greener in Secunda. 1981. *Sunday Express*. 15 March. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- Thomas, R. 2003. *Blending Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods in Theses and Dissertations*. California: Corwin Press.
- Thompson, S. 1996. Paying Respondents and Informants. *Social Research Update*. (14): 1–6.
- Thrift, N. 2004. Intensities of Feeling: Towards a Spatial Politics of Affect. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*. 86(1, Special Issue: The Political Challenge of Relational Space): 57–78.

- Thrift, N. 2009. Space: The Fundamental Stuff of Human Geography. In: *Key Concepts in Geography*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. N. Clifford, S. Holloway, S. Rice, & G. Valentine, Eds. London: SAGE Publications. 95–107.
- Township of 7600 to be Moved. 1977. *The Star*. 23 September. Historical Papers Archive, University of Witwatersrand.
- Trancik, R. 1986. Three Theories of Urban Spatial Design. In *Finding Lost Space: Theories of Urban Design*. R. Van Nostrand, Ed. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 97–124.
- Truth and Reconciliation Committee. 2001. *Application in Terms of Section 18 of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No. 34 Of 1995*. Available: <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/decisions/2001/ac21003.htm> [2014, December 15].
- Tuan, Y. 1974. *Topophilia : A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Tuan, Y. 1979. *Landscapes of Fear*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher.
- Valentine, G. 1996. *Angels and devils: moral landscapes of childhood*. *Environment and Planning D: Society and space*. 14(5): 581-599.
- Veblen, T. 1899. *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions*. United States: Macmillan.
- Vestergaard, M. 2001. Why South Africa Matters. *Daedalus*. 130(1): 19-44.
- Visser, G. 2001. Social Justice, Integrated Development Planning and Post-apartheid Urban Reconstruction. *Urban Studies*. 38(10): 1673-1699.
- von Hoffman, A. 2009. Housing and Planning: A Century of Social Reform and Local Power. *Journal of the American Planning Association*. 75(2): 231–244.
- Wacquant, L. 2008. *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Wacquant, L. 2009. *Punishing the Poor: The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Walker, K. n.d. Manly Men and Angelic women: Gender and Nostalgia in George Elgar Hicks's Watercolour *The Sinews of Old England* (1857) and In an Advertisement for Cadbury's Cocoa (1886). University of Oxford Open Content. Available: <http://open.conted.ox.ac.uk> [2014, February 25].

- Walker, M. 2005. Race is Nowhere and Race Is Everywhere: Narratives From Black and White South African University Students in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*. 26(1): 41-54.
- Watson, V. 2013. Planning and the 'stubborn realities' of global south-east cities: Some emerging ideas. *Planning Theory*. 12(1): 81-100.
- Wedeen, L. 2010. Reflections on Ethnographic Work in Political Science. *Annual Review of Political Science*. 13: 255-272.
- Wessels, P. 1990. *Crescendo to Success: Sasol 1975-1987*. Johannesburg: Human & Rousseau.
- West, A., Lewis, J. & Currie, P. 2009. Students' Facebook "Friends": Public and Private Spheres. *Journal of Youth Studies*. 12(6): 615-627.
- Whitzman, C. 2007. Stuck at the Front Door: Gender, Fear Of Crime and the Challenge of Creating Safer Space. *Environment and Planning A*. 39(11): 2715-2732.
- Williamson, K. 2006. Research in Constructivist Frameworks Using Ethnographic Techniques. *Library Trends*. 55(1): 83-101.
- Worth, J. 2012. *The Complete Call the Midwife Stories: True Stories of the East End in the 1950s*. Kindle Edition. Orion.
- Wright, FL. 1935. Broadacre City: A New Community Plan. *Architectural Record*. April: 344-349.
- Yiftachel, O. 2006. Re-engaging Planning Theory? Towards "South-Eastern" Perspectives. *Planning Theory*. 5(3): 211-222.
- Yiftachel, O. 2009. Critical Theory and "Gray Space": Mobilization of the Colonized. *City*. 13(2-3): 246-263.
- Yiftachel, O. 2010. From Sharon to Sharon: Spatial Planning and Separation Regime in Israel/Palestine Hagar. *Studies in Polity, Identity and Culture*. 10(1): 73-106.
- Yiftachel, O. & Yacobi, H. 2003. Urban Ethnocracy: Ethnicization and the Production of Space in an Israeli "Mixed City". *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. 21(6): 673-693.

ANNEXURE 1: CONSENT FORMS<sup>60</sup>**INFORMATION AND CONSENT SHEET**

Hello, my name is Tarryn and I am conducting research towards a doctoral degree in Urban Planning at the University of Cape Town. I am researching the impact of emotions, specifically negative emotions like fear, on urban space and would like to invite you to participate in the project.

**Confidentiality and Anonymity:** Participation is voluntary. Should you choose not to participate, please indicate so: there will be no negative consequences. You are free to withdraw at any time. All names will remain confidential and your real name need not be provided.

**\*Focus groups:** Ensuring confidentiality during focus groups depends on the people present. Please do not repeat what has been discussed during focus groups outside the focus group.

**Recording of sessions:** Meetings will be recorded with either a voice recorder or a camera or both. By signing underneath, you consent to have the sessions in which you will take part recorded.

**Implications for the participant:** if you agree to participate, you will be asked to:

- **Focus groups:** Answer a few questions and take part in discussions.
- **One-on-one conversations:** Answer a few questions.
- **Please note that there are no right or wrong answers.**

**Risk:** There may be a risk that you might experience discomfort or emotional upset. Please inform me if you feel uncomfortable at any time. Please note that the purpose of my research is not to treat fear, but to understand it. If you are in danger, please contact the Secunda police (017 632 2322) or an organisation like FAMSA (017 631 1593).

**Storage of data:** All data will be treated as confidential. Data will be stored on one (password protected) laptop and all back-ups will be kept in a locked safe. Digital files will be password protected. Hard-copy files will be kept in a locked area to which only I have access. Aliases will be used when data is written up.

**The outcome of research:** This research may be made published in academic journals or in books, and may also be presented at conferences. No real names will be used. The final information will be recorded in a thesis.

Please note that my supervisor is Dr Tanja Winkler and her contact details are: tanja.winkler@uct.ac.za

I, \_\_\_\_\_, acknowledge that I understand the above and that I have not been forced to participate. I understand that this form will not be linked to the answers I give and that my answers will remain confidential. I understand that I have the right to exercise all the above points according to my prerogative.

Date: \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/20\_\_\_\_ Place: \_\_\_\_\_ Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

<sup>60</sup> Consent forms were made available in Afrikaans and English (as the most spoken languages in Secunda) (StatsSA, 2011).



## INFORMASIE EN TOESTEMMINGSBRIEF

Goeie dag, my naam is Tarryn en ek onderneem 'n navorsingstudie wat my in staat sal stel om doktorsgraad te verwerf aan die Universiteit van Kaapstad. Ek beoog om die impak wat emosies, meer spesifiek negatiewe emosies soos vrees, op stedelike landskappe het, na te vors. Daarom nooi ek u uit om asseblief aan die navorsingstudie deel te neem.

**Vertroulikheid en anonimiteit:** Neem asseblief kennis dat u deelname vrywillig is. U neem self die keuse om deel te neem aan die studie. Indien u sou wou deelneem sal die projek geen negatiewe gevolge vir u inhou nie. Sou u wou onttrek van die studie mag u vrylik so doen. U hoef nie u regte naam aan my bekend te maak nie, maar alle name sal as vertroulik beskou word en skuilname sal gebruik word tydens die opskryf van my navorsingsbevindinge. Om vertroulikheid binne die fokusgroep-situasie kan nie gewaarborg word nie, aangesien dit afhang van almal teenwoordig se samewerking in die verband. Daar word egter 'n ernstige beroep gedoen dat almal die inhoud van besprekings nie sal herhaal buite die konteks waarin die studie hom aan wy nie.

**Opnames van kontakssessies:** Kontakssessies sal opgeneem word met 'n bandopnemer of met 'n videokamera of selfs beide. By ondertekening van die toestemmingsbrief stem u in dat die opnames van die kontakssessies deel uit maak van die eiendom wat die navorsingstudie in of genereer.

**Implikasie met deelname:** sou u instem om deel te neem word dit van u gevra om gedurende:

- **Fokusgroepe:** Beantwoording van 'n paar vrae en deelname aan besprekings.
- **Een-tot-een interaksies:** Beantwoording 'n paar vrae.
- **Neem kennis dat daar geen regte of verkeerde antwoorde is nie.**

**Risiko:** Daar mag dalk risiko aan u deelname verbonde wees in terme van omgerief of emosionele onsteltenis. Stel my asseblief in kennis indien u ten enige tyd ongemaklik voel. Neem asseblief kennis dat die navorsingstudie nie daarin poog om vrees te behandel nie, maar om te verstaan wat die impak van stedelike landskappe het om vrees te verwerk by u as deelnemer en inwoner. Verder, as u in gevaar is, skakel asseblief Secunda se polisiestasie (017 632 2322) of 'n organisasie soos FAMSA (017 631 1593).

**Berging van data:** Alle gegeneerde en ingesamelde data sal hanteer word as vertroulik. Data sal geberg word op 'n skootrekenaar (wagwoord beskerming) en alle kopieë sal in 'n kluis toegesluit word. Digitale lêers sal met 'n wagwoord beskerm word, en harde-kopie lêers sal toegesluit word in 'n kamer wat net ek na toegang het. Daar sal egter van aliasse gebruik gemaak word om data op te skryf.

**Uitkoms van die navorsingstudie:** My navorsing mag in akademiese tydskrifte of boeke gepubliseer word, en ook aangebied by konferensies. Geen regte name sal in die opgeskrewe navorsing voorskyn nie. Die finale bevindinge sal opgeteken word in 'n tesis-formaat.

Let asseblief op dat my dosent se naam is Dr Tanja Winkler en haar kontakbesonderhede is: [tanja.winkler@uct.ac.za](mailto:tanja.winkler@uct.ac.za)

Hiermee gee ek, \_\_\_\_\_, erkenning dat ek verstaan waaroor die navorsingstudie gaan en dat my deelname daaraan uit vrye keuse is en nie uit dwang nie. Ek verstaan dat die vorm wat my identiteit staaf nie gekoppel sal word aan enige informasie wat ek bekend maak nie, en dat alle gegeneerde data as vertroulik en anoniem hanteer sal word. Ek verstaan dat ek die reg het om boegenoemde stellings uit te oefen binne my eie prerogatief.

Datum: \_\_/\_\_/20\_\_ Plek: \_\_\_\_\_

Handtekening:

\_\_\_\_\_

## ANNEXURE 2: INSTILLING WHITE PRIVILEGE THROUGH PURCHASE ASSISTANCE FROM SASOL

The following is a summary of the manner in which Sasol assisted its employees in attaining fixed property, thereby ensuring both a permanent workforce, and to a lesser extent, safeguarding white privilege in Secunda. Notably, this policy did not only benefit white, but also black employees as Sasol was dependent on a black middle-class (see Chapter 6). The sale of housing units, or plots (Sandra, translated 17/07/2013), created a sense of permanence amongst employees: “They invest a lot of money to employ an engineer and now they want to keep the engineers” (DS, 15/04/2015). Notably, stability through homeownership not only targeted engineers, but all employees with scarcer skills (which, uncommonly, included a variety of race groups) who were enabled by Sasol in affording the main costs associated with purchasing a property (DS, 15/04/2015). Thus, most employees located in the various urban areas received assistance in purchasing a property. However, properties were market-related and thus those in Secunda were more expensive as they were larger.

DS explains that houses were sold in accordance with the Alienation of Land Act (Act 68 of 1981) which allowed for the purchase of land based on an instalment basis. Sasol would finance the first 25% of the loan at a low 4% interest rate. Once 25% of the loan had been paid off by the homeowners, they would approach Sasol for what was known as the ‘wit brief’ (white letter) which was an indication that Sasol would guarantee a loan offered by a financial institution for the remainder of the 75%. Upon approval, the property and its bond would be transferred into the name of the employee and the capital price (the outstanding 75%) would be paid to Sasol as the seller. In this manner, Sasol managed to recuperate the capital it had spent on housing provision although no profit was made (DS, 14/05/15).

The allocation was based on income levels with applicants putting in a request for the number of bedrooms (and so forth) they required (DS, 15/04/2015). The company’s real estate committee would compare applications with affordability as well as the availability of the specific characteristics requested (DS, 15/04/2015). When Sasol was still building its units, the company managed to keep a tenuous equilibrium between demand and supply (DS, 15/04/2015), although choices were rather limited with luckier participants having a choice of approximately two or maybe three houses to choose from (Luzell, 25/03/2015; Susan, 11/03/2015).

### ANNEXURE 3: CREATING A CLASS HIERARCHY THROUGH HOUSING IN SECUNDA

This Annexure starts with a consideration of the housing built for Secunda and is followed by a reflection of how housing was used to establish a strict social hierarchy for the town.

#### 1. SECUNDA'S HOUSING

Secunda's conceived space echoed that of Sasolburg, with only minor changes made (Kirchhofer, 1982). Two reasons for this are evident. Firstly, a limited stockpile of fuel produced by the Sasolburg plant (Sasol, n.d.) meant that construction of the new plant(s) had to commence rapidly in order to begin production (Freund, 2013). Secondly, because much of the skilled workforce was sourced from Sasolburg, Secunda's conceivers sought to fast track a sense of rootedness in Secunda by ensuring continuity with the familiar Sasolburg design (Kirchhofer, 1982; DS, 14/05/2015).

Construction was not only rapid but intense as the town had to be built in conjunction with Sasol II (DS, 14/05/2015). Construction occurred so quickly that Max Kirchhofer described Secunda as having "grown out of an explosion" ('Secunda: Tomorrow's world...', 1980). Ground was broken on 1 March 1976 with the first houses made available three months after that – sixteen months before the town was officially promulgated on 22 June 1977 (Sasol, n.d.). These very first housing units targeted key staff for the establishment of the plants and town, such as DS, and were set in a bare environment: "When we moved in there as no road infrastructure. We just moved into the houses" (DS, 14/05/2015).

The initial timeframe set out to develop the town and Sasol II (six and a half years) was shortened to five years – although the addition of a third plant, Sasol III, did extend the overall project to roughly six years until Sasol III began its first production (Sasol, n.d.). Further, restrictions were placed on burgeoning construction costs which meant that no cosmetic changes were allowed (Sasol, n.d.). As a result, Sasol houses are aesthetically similar although the presence of more than one building contractor did allow for a slight variety (AO, 07/05/2015). This is unfortunate as it lends a sense of placelessness as houses resemble the typical 'mine-house' found in other South African company towns. The similarity of housing was commented on by a mostly adoring media:

*Houses are similar in design.*

(‘A town is born...’, 1976)

*The visitor [to Secunda] is immediately struck by a sense of monotony in the appearance of the houses.*

(my own translation)<sup>61</sup>

*One would have thought that in a new town of the eighties, there would be plenty of scope for imagination of design and aesthetic appeal, with lots of landscaping, ‘horseshoe’ and cluster effects and a lot less of the ‘strip’ style which is certainly the feature of Secunda.*

(‘Secunda heralds a new life-style’, 1980).

A perusal of the Housing Assessment done by Sasol Transvaal Dorpsgebiede Beperk, or Sasol Townships Ltd (SDB) in 1975 (Mallows, Low, Hoffe and Partners, 1975) confirms that it was more concerned with function than aesthetic qualities. Critique of the housing styles put forward by contractors only considered schematics such as entry, orientation, location and size of rooms in conjunction with one another etc. This is unlike most of the international models that inspired Kirchhofer and his team, although it is reminiscent of the mass production linked to British new towns (see Chapter 4) and the uniformity of company town housing (Garner, 1992; Peens, 2012; Porteous, 1970). However, Kirchhofer (1982: 4) and his team veered away from the terrace housing favoured by the developers of new towns, rather implemented single family, detached dwellings favoured by South African tradition at the time and are thus more in keeping with the single family houses of Radburn (Lee & Stabin-Nesmith, 2001).

To meet the strict deadline and to accommodate the demand for housing amongst Sasol employees, SDB rolled out five houses a day, twenty a week, or one hundred a month (DS, 14/05/2015). Six contracting companies built the actual houses although SDB was actively involved in the management of this (Addendum to Sasol II – Housing Phase 1 (1976) (75/479)). Of the six contractors, the Bester Brothers handled the largest portion of housing implementation (Addendum to Sasol II – Housing Phase 1 (1976) (75/479)).

---

<sup>61</sup> “Die besoeker aan Secunda word heel eerste betref deur ‘n mate van eenselwigheid in die voorkoms van die huise” (‘Secunda, wonderdorp van die Republiek’, n.d.)

This rapid construction was no easy task as the soil structure of Secunda consists mainly of black clay and dolerite which put pressure on tight deadlines. This was especially the case for the digging of foundations for housing and many units suffer from both surface and structural cracks. Poor soil quality coupled with rapid construction has led to some Sasol houses being referred to: '3-star houses: the cracks in your bedroom are so large, you can see three stars through them at night' (Suzette, 15/01/2015). The use of three stars could also be an indication of the value of the accommodation provided by Sasol, i.e. of average quality only. Luzell (25/03/2015) indicates that if you stayed in a Bester-built house then:

*[Y]ou knew for certain that it would be falling apart. The tempo at which they built was something terrible! Remember, there was such an influx of people that the town could not be built fast enough even though they released those houses at an unbelievable rate.*

She indicates that such swift progress needed massive teams of builders and that shortcuts were taken with some of the units. For example, that newspaper was stuffed between the bricks and window frames and then simply plastered over. In addition, large cement bricks were used with holes in them so that if you hit a nail into the wall, it would sometimes sink into an air pocket (Luzell, 25/03/2015). She recalls that her family home was one of those that experienced issues with an unstable foundation. The turf underneath their house pushed their floors (which were made of little blocks made of small strips of wood – a floor standard to the 'nicer' Sasol house) up so much that they had to temporarily vacate the premises to allow Sasol contractors to fix it. However, dealing with the defects also has a positive connection for Luzell:

*If you go and have a look at all the defects that have come out today, it reminds you that we grew up here and we got to see how the houses grew up around us.'*

From Luzell's recollection, it can be deduced that the experience of watching as the houses went up around her instils a sense of connectedness – that, as a child, she 'grew up' with the town and has an intimate knowledge of its conceived space which translates into a strong sense of rootedness. In the next section, she specifies that she has used this intimate knowledge of the town in buying her own house at a later age:

*I saw the way in which they built those units and then an estate agent will tell me that this house has been built on a very structurally sound area. I know precisely what area that is and her telling me that there won't be any cracks in this house lets me think that she does not know what she's talking about.*

However, even this intimate knowledge is not enough to ensure that the house she has chosen with her husband does not suffer from structural defects, which symbolically, run deep within the town:

*Even though my husband is in civils and was busy building another house at the same time that we bought our house, there are still structural mistakes that we overlooked. It is the foundation that moves too much! But people just plaster over it and paint it that you can't see it, and you can do it so well that my husband, who has a very good eye, overlooked it.*

According to DS (15/05/2015), Huub Zanick, Sasol's civil engineer devised a technique to fix the structural cracks by reinforcing the foundations of the affected housing units. This entailed digging a trench up to two meters deep alongside the outer walls of the affected unit until an alternative soil formation was reached. This trench would be filled with concrete to stabilise the foundation (DS, 15/05/2015).

Secunda was based on low rise, single-storey structures with the only high(er)-rise buildings found in the CBD (AO, 07/05/2015) and some medium density housing (journal notes). However, if the height of the houses of Secunda envisions a flat stratum, their symbolism was moulded into a strict hierarchy. This will be discussed in the next section.

## 2. HOUSING AND A HIERARCHY FOR SECUNDA

In a meeting held on 19 July 1979, Max Kirchhofer, set out four "social classes" where housing units for each social class were to be located in Secunda. Table 6 sets this out. It is evident that the highest supply of housing targeted lower middle income employees which would have played a key role in the building of the plant(s). Not much housing was built for the higher income group, most likely because this group preferred to build houses of superior quality privately as noted by the Sunday Express: "it depends on his individual finances" ('Sasol's Secunda: 'It's not at all like the great town we were promised' say the residents', 1981). While

lower middle and upper-middle income housing were mixed, having been located in the north-east and south-west quadrants, higher income housing was isolated in the south-western quadrant, spreading along the south western valley (which later became known as 'the Green Area'. If one considers the Table 6, the sizes of the houses becomes evident.

House types were divided into categories A-A to G with A-A, A and B groups accommodating the higher income bracket (Table 6). Middle-income employees were allocated houses between 120m<sup>2</sup> and 159m<sup>2</sup> on erven ranging from 900m<sup>2</sup> to 1300m<sup>2</sup> (Table 6). An article published in The Star reveals that these densities were considered to be high for the time describing Secunda as providing "the shrunken home life" which "must demand a great deal of neighbourliness" ('Secunda heralds a new life-style', 1980). However, these densities were still higher than those developed in Radburn (averaging 4500 square feet or 418m<sup>2</sup>) (Lee & Stabin-Nesmith, 2001).

As in Chapter 7, the erven adjacent to the higher tier green areas were "left open to say here we would build only a few of the highest value properties" (AO, 07/05/2015). It was here that the higher tier houses were developed (see Chapter 7 for more on the green strips of Secunda). These houses are situated on large erven ranging between 1400 and 1700 m<sup>2</sup> (Table 6). Notably, later stands in this category can range up to 2000 m<sup>2</sup> as indicated by long time municipal official, AO (07/05/2015). Upper income housing comprises of four bedrooms with separate living and dining rooms, a study, store room and breakfast nook (Table 6). The houses of the upper-middle tier are similar to the upper tier although they are not located in either the Green Area or next to the Duck Pond but are rather scattered amongst the NE – SW extensions of Secunda.

TABLE 6 : COMPILATION OF SINGLE FAMILY DETACHED UNITS HOUSING DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASSES IN 1979

SOCIAL CLASS	PERCENTAGE OF HOUSING DISTRIBUTION	LOCATION OF SOCIAL CLASS	ERF SIZE (M <sup>2</sup> )	HOUSE SIZE (M <sup>2</sup> )	CATEGORY	OBSERVATIONS (SOURCES: AO 07/05/2015 AND 'MINUTES TO THE MEETING THEMED, SASOL II: HOUSING ASSESSMENT', 1975)
LOWER	34.3%	NW	700-900 (average 800)	100-119	G	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• lower-range salaried employees,</li> <li>• 3 bedrooms,</li> <li>• living/dining room combination,</li> <li>• single garage/carport.</li> </ul>
LOWER-MIDDLE	45%	NE - SW	900-950 (average 950)	120-129	F	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• mid-range salaried employees,</li> <li>• 3 bedrooms,</li> <li>• living/dining room combination,</li> <li>• single garage and possibly a carport.</li> </ul>
UPPER-MIDDLE	16%	NE - SW	1000-1300 (average 1150)	130-159	E (120-140) D (130-140) C (140-160)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• higher level salaried employees,</li> <li>• 4 bedrooms,</li> <li>• separate living and dining rooms with breakfast nook, storeroom, and the possibility of a study,</li> <li>• usually double garage.</li> </ul>
HIGHER	4%	SE, spreading towards SW "along the frontage of the valley on the south"	1400-1700* (average 1500)	160-185+**	B (160-170) A (165-185) A-A (185+)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• highest paid employees of the Secunda factory,</li> <li>• min 4 bedrooms,</li> <li>• separate living and dining rooms with breakfast nook, storeroom, and a study,</li> <li>• double garage,</li> <li>• located adjacent to highest tier green strips (Green Area and Duckpond).</li> </ul>

\*The Notes on Single House Erven Requirements (Sasol, 1979) depict an average of 1650 m<sup>2</sup>. It is possible that erven set out at a later stage were larger in size as municipal official, AO (07/05/2015) indicates that erven sizes extend up to 2000 m<sup>2</sup>.

\*\*The Notes on Single House Erven Requirements (Sasol, 1979) indicate a distribution of 160-179 m<sup>2</sup> only.

Source: Mallows, Low, Hoffe & Partners (1979); Sasol (1979)

Susan's (11/03/2015) story is a reflection of the prestige associated with the allocation of a four-bedroomed house in one of the upper-middle income houses:

*Johan, we can get a house in the Green Area. It would be a good investment. It's the Green Area after all.' I tried to convince him, I really did. Yes, the house was small and more expensive, but it was built from face brick which appealed to my tastes for simplicity and ease of maintenance. However, Johan is conservative and is very concerned about the perils of the future and how it would be wiser to choose a cheaper house to buy. I was a young woman, newly married with an unsupportive mother and a step-father that was always unsatisfied. He had to work too hard at his job which didn't pay enough; he was worth more but never willing to put in more. The opportunities were always better elsewhere.*

*My elders were caught up in themselves and they didn't have time for me. In a sense I despised them, they were lazy and cruel. I was on my own. No, I now had Johan and he was being astute and I could understand his logic. 'Ok,' I said, gearing my plan for attaining a compromise, 'but then I want the four bedroomed house'. FOUR BEDROOMS. Four bedrooms! What a luxury. It made me feel good that my husband's salary level was high enough to gain us the option of a four bedroomed house near to a site that would become a primary school. Yes, alright, alright'. I heard a smile in his voice. This man loved me I knew. I would get my four bedroomed house albeit in a less fancy area because he wanted to please me. He wanted me to be happy in our new life together that was to be built in tangent to this ugly, drab town drowning with possibility. 'I could be happy here', I thought. 'It is what you make of it.'*

Susan's story is one of privilege where her husband (an established employee of Sasol I that had been head-hunted for Sasol II) although a frugal man, he sought to please his wife by choosing a house which included four bedrooms. Interestingly, this four bedroomed house was still quite a bit cheaper than a much smaller house situated in the Green Area. In this manner, Sasol managed to isolate their managers and professionals from lower level employees.

The main difference between upper-middle and lower middle tiered housing is that upper-middle tier houses have four bedrooms and a separate dining room and a living room, while lower middle tiered units only have three bedrooms, and an open plan setting which serves as

both dining and living room (Table 6). This is also the case for lower tier housing units which are the smallest of the single units. Three bedrooms were the minimum standard of bedrooms implemented by SDB as this was conducive to the nuclear family planning favoured by Sasol. This also resonated with the Radburn house of three-bedroomed house with relatively small rooms and a single garage also resonated with the (Huston, 2003).

Notably, Sasol did include rental options in its housing policy which were allocated to some lower income or temporary employees. Rental units ranged from single units to sectional title townhouses, medium density flats ('walk-ups'), hostels and park homes ('Hulle Sorg vir Ons Huise', 1977). Although rentals usually took the form of group and temporary housing, some single housing units were, and are, leased. It must be noted that current Sasol-owned housing comprises of rental units only. These are subsidised to assist lower income employees but are still loosely market-related in order to prevent an undermining of the private market (DS, 15/04/2015).

Group housing in Secunda includes sectional title townhouses, 'walk-up' flats (two or three storeys with no lifts) and hostels. While units in certain townhouse complexes were sold, such as Sasol's first townhouse complex, Maluti (in 1981) which echoed the design of lower income single units, others remain rental units (SDB Transvaal, 1981). This is not the case for the remaining hostels which are used for short term accommodation (e.g. for vacation workers) and were mainly located within the secondary area of the factory or on the various mines (AO, 30/06/2015). The option to purchase also did not apply to temporary housing. All Sasol's temporary housing has since been demolished as per an agreement between SDB and the local municipality (AO, 07/05/2015). However, temporary housing has played a crucial part in housing the early residents of Secunda and consisted of park homes, named 'Langebergs' (Figure 20), and prefabricated houses (referred to as 'Besterectas' after the Bester Brothers building company who were the main housing contractors for these temporary units (DS, 15/05/2015).

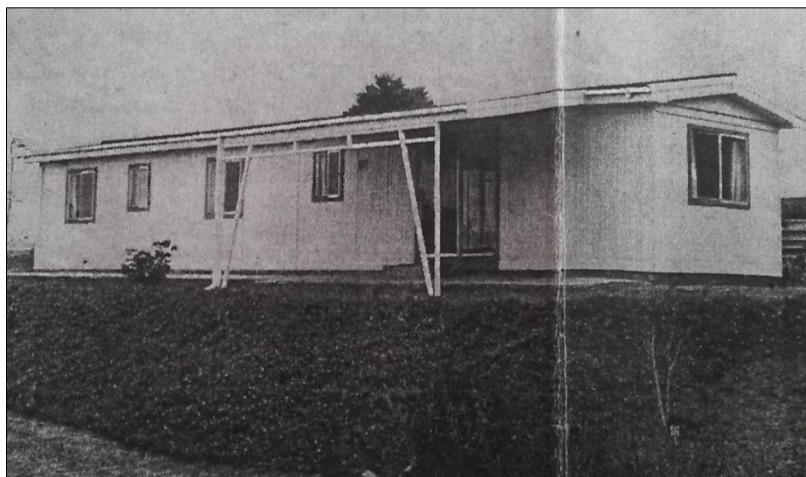


FIGURE 20: THE 'LANGEBERG' PARK HOMES OF SECUNDA  
SOURCE: 'HOMES ON WHEELS FOR SECUNDA' (1979)

Park homes were rented to residents at around R25 per month (Susan, email correspondence 19/08/2015) and numbered approximately 800 in 1979, supposedly creating the “biggest concentration of these mobile homes anywhere in the world” at the time (‘Homes on wheels for Secunda’, 1979). They were fitted with the standard requirement of three bedrooms (DS, 15/04/2015) and other modern conveniences such as fully equipped bathrooms and kitchens (Figure 21). Park homes also sported carports as visiting engineers received a car benefit (DS, 15/04/2015).



FIGURE 21: THE KITCHEN OF THE LANGEBERG PARK HOME  
SOURCE: 'HOMES ON WHEELS FOR SECUNDA' (1979)

Temporary housing was located in the areas of Kuscha Park and Silkaatskop – the latter which was only demolished recently in 2013 (journal notes). Besterectas, the other form of temporary housing implemented by SDB, were mainly aimed at housing building contractors and lower income employees. According to DS (14/05/2015) the Besterectas were made up of cement-asbestos panels which could be manufactured in large segments to be assembled on a foundation (which was “put down as one concrete slab” (DS, 15/05/2015)) as one would assemble a doll house. These units were 140m<sup>2</sup> in size and had three bedrooms (DS, 15/05/2015). According to the website ([www.asbestos.com](http://www.asbestos.com)), use of asbestos reached its peak during the Industrial Era and was favoured in construction and automobile production for its flame retardant and insulation proclivities. However, Marlie’s (30/04/2015) story indicates that the insulation provided by the Besterectas was insufficient in combating the harsh winters experienced in Secunda:

*Those houses were literally just walls and a roof with no insulation and were extremely cold. This, coupled with Secunda’s winters, which can be very very cold, made for some vivid memories. But, the houses weren’t overly small – about the size of a double garage – with a little lounge with a dining nook, a kitchen, one bathroom with a bath and a toilet, and three bedrooms. Each house also had a little garden with a single garage. However, because everyone that lived there struggled, people were close.*

Marlie’s (30/04/2015) experience of a Besterecta in Kuscha Park tells of one of the poorest communities in Secunda. Such communities (including Silkaatskop as well – the other area in which SDB built their temporary housing) held the strongest reputation for non-respectability. Suna (11/02/2013), a social worker, indicates that the town’s residents looked down on the residents of Silkaatskop due to their perceptions of it being an area inhabited by the lower income level group and thus a ‘problem area’. However, she continues, Silkaatskop did experience a high frequency of welfare issues. The origin of this perception can be traced to the early days of the construction of Secunda when Silkaatskop was the hub of construction-related activity: “It was a bit rough in those days the farming community were a little bit upset when we were there” (DS, 14/05/2015). In a letter to the Sunday Express, local resident Victoria McKenzie, uses Silkaatskop as the example of topophobia in Secunda: “If and when you are brave enough to descend upon us come and have a look at the park home area known as Silkaatskop – a real ‘eye-opener’” (‘The Bread is Always Greener in Secunda’, 1981).

The recollections of Silkaatskop are mostly rueful reminiscences of the “rough” nature of Silkaatskop (journal notes). For example, DS (14/05/2015), recalls a situation where one resident caught another siphoning off petrol from his car’s tank and killed him. However, violence was not limited to the men of Silkaatskop. In a conversation with two local men who were residents of Silkaatskop at one time, the story of a woman who lived with her husband in Silkaatskop (journal notes). They tell that, on one occasion, the husband was told he had to work unplanned overtime at the factory. As a courtesy (access to telephones was limited at the time), the two men drove to let his wife know that he would be working late. The driver got out of his Volkswagen Beetle and approached the front door to knock on it. One of the passengers who had remained in the car, yelled ‘run, she’s going to beat you up!’ as the wife had exited out the back door and was running towards the driver. This wife apparently had a reputation for physical violence and would give her husband the occasional black eye, cut up his access card or hide his keys if she did not want him to go to work that day.

Although the Besterectas were always regarded as temporary housing, those erected at Silkaatskop survived demolition for approximately forty years. Residents were relocated to other Sasol-owned properties in the northern extensions of Secunda where houses of between 75 and 90m<sup>2</sup> were built for them on subdivided stands (AO, 30/06/2015). Alternatively, Silkaatskop residents were located in open units in existing townhouse complexes (Karla, 25/02/2013). Upon demolition of temporary housing settlements, the land was donated by Sasol to the municipality which now holds the responsibility of township development for Secunda (DS, 14/05/2015). This is also the case for other public areas such as roads, potential areas for residential development, remaining church and institutional sites, and the green network (DS, 14/05/2015).

## ANNEXURE 4: A FACEBOOK CONVERSATION ON 'IT IS WHAT YOU MAKE OF IT' (2014)

*Question raised: 'Anonymous: We are planning to move to Secunda. Are there any disadvantages to living in the town? Anything that we must be aware of.'*

♀ NL: I moved here in April and, apart from the fact that I am struggling with sinus, I LOVE it here! (5 likes)

♂ JR: Very nice place, don't listen to the negative people: they associate with the chaff of the town (4 likes)

♀ DB: I moved to Secunda in 2010 and am on my way to Stellenbosch and can't wait. I cried for the last three years. If it wasn't for my husband that was already in residence here, I would have driven past the place. Thank goodness for the new mall, but otherwise I can't wait to shake the dust of this place from my feet. (2 likes)

♀ OB: Ag stories, stories...EVERY place has its good and bad and, similarly, every place has its strange and good people. I've stayed here for 24 years and I am crazy about Secunda (? Likes – cut off by PDF process)

CompanyHS: Hi. I have been here for just over a year. I have stayed in Johannesburg for my whole life. I am crazy about Secunda. It is a paradise for families. I hope you manage to overlook the negativity and look for the good that the place has to offer instead. (3 likes)

♀ SB: Except for the thunderstorms it is a nice and pretty place. It's what you make of the place, not what the place makes of you. (1 like)

♀ MS: I've been in Secunda for 38 years...and will stay here for another 38 years...I love Secunda...it is what you make of it (2 likes)

♂ CB: You can't plan a F%\$"£ thing for the day. The sun shines wonderfully. You unpack your things. When you've just finished unpacking, it starts to rain! So you start packing up again and go home. When you arrive home, the sun burns the shit out of you again! The only constant that there is: tomorrow you won't be able to plan anything for the day again!... (0 likes)

Company HS: @E (whose comment was removed). It's the same in places like Boksburg, Krugersdorp etc. In Sandton etc. you pay from R25K to 35K for a normal house. We have friends in Sandton that R75K per month for a flat (1 like)

Company LVB: I've been here for 4 weeks now and am enjoying it so far. A lot of people say there are a lot of snobs here but I haven't come into contact with one. So far, everyone is wonderful and I like the weather. I'm from Pretoria and must say I am enjoying every day (2 likes)

## ANNEXURE 5: A BREAKDOWN OF EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT BY GENDER

TABLE 7 : INCOME BY EDUCATION AMONGST MEN IN SECUNDA

	NO SCHOOLING	SOME PRIMARY	COMPLETED PRIMARY	SOME SECONDARY	COMPLETED SECONDARY	HIGHER EDUCATION	TOTAL
NO INCOME	126	1119	132	948	552	249	3126
R 1 - R 400	9	42	6	54	57	15	183
R 401 - R 800	3	15	3	39	45	15	120
R 801 - R 1 600	18	54	18	174	135	54	453
R 1 601 - R 3 200	12	45	27	240	228	66	618
R 3 201 - R 6 400	6	24	18	306	522	198	1074
R 6 401 - R 12 800	6	27	21	516	921	537	2028
R 12 801 - R 25 600	3	30	6	807	1428	1134	3408
R 25 601 - R 51 200	3	24	6	384	846	1464	2727
R 51 201 - R 102 400	3	0	0	123	156	870	1152
R 102 401 - R 204 800	0	3	0	15	27	129	174
R 204 801 OR MORE	0	0	0	9	27	51	87
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>1383</b>	<b>237</b>	<b>3615</b>	<b>4944</b>	<b>4782</b>	<b>15150</b>

SOURCE: CENSUS 2011, STATSSA

TABLE 8: INCOME BY EDUCATION AMONGST WOMEN IN SECUNDA

	NO SCHOOLING	SOME PRIMARY	COMPLETED PRIMARY	SOME SECONDARY	COMPLETED SECONDARY	HIGHER EDUCATION	TOTAL
NO INCOME	120	1029	192	1737	1698	846	5622
R 1 - R 400	6	51	6	48	39	18	168
R 401 - R 800	12	12	9	54	51	39	177
R 801 - R 1 600	30	54	24	276	192	78	654
R 1 601 - R 3 200	9	36	18	222	303	141	729
R 3 201 - R 6 400	3	12	6	243	594	375	1233
R 6 401 - R 12 800	0	15	3	237	837	804	1896
R 12 801 - R 25 600	6	3	6	168	519	870	1572
R 25 601 - R 51 200	0	9	0	72	159	579	819
R 51 201 - R 102 400	0	0	0	9	42	186	237
R 102 401 - R 204 800	0	0	0	9	12	39	60
R 204 801 OR MORE	0	0	0	0	6	15	21
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>1221</b>	<b>264</b>	<b>3075</b>	<b>4452</b>	<b>3990</b>	<b>13188</b>

SOURCE: CENSUS 2011, STATSSA

## ANNEXURE 6: A FACEBOOK CONVERSATION ON APPEARANCE AND BEHAVIOUR: DEFINING 'COMMUN' IN SECUNDA (2015)

*Question Raised: 'What is comun (common) in your eyes?'*

♀BB: 'Women that are overweight, that wear denim jeans with a T-shirt (that is too small) and stomach rolls that hang out. Dammit, it looks terrible.' (7 likes)

♀SD: 'Ai, that's mean...' (0 likes)

♀SR: 'Mullets, men that wear their hair long or have pony tails...that's just gross' (3 likes)

♂LDP: 'Commin people that judge others based on their appearance or what they wear, that's not comun at all, it's self-confidence. So go mad and be exactly who you want to be' (10 likes)

♀SD: 'People that judge' (2 likes)

♂DB: 'People and pride, and those who think earthly goods bestow a certain status on you, but no money can buy class' (5 likes)

♀LvA: 'Commin is when a guy revs his motor bike so much that it sounds like it's going to blow up...' (6 likes)

♀ML: 'A woman that smokes in public' (4 likes)

♂LDP: 'Do you smoke?' (1 like)

♂SH: 'Commin people' (0 likes)

♀ML: ♂LDP 'I do smoke, at my house in the braai are. Not to worry, I have the money, he the time!' (0 likes)

♂NvW: [graphic that did not print] (1 like)

Company NH: 'People that work for S.... Secunda and think that the sun shines out of their a.... and that they are too good to greet anyone or to treat anyone with respect' (5 likes)

[comment removed through PDF version as it was at end of page]

♂EG: 'But comun is the new cool (insert of a graphic that depicts the South African band Die Antwoord)' (0 likes)

♀NL: 'Dirty nails and Crocs!' (0 likes)

♀CS: 'Crocs ooo I agree' ♀NL (1 like)

♀YvdB: 'A woman that cusses proficiently and talks dirty' (1 like)

♀NL: 'I don't mind if children wear Crocs, but wow they look terrible on adults!' (0 likes)

♀MP: It's funny that people always have something to say about Crocs...It's probably those that can't afford to buy them because Crocs are not the plastic shoes that no one wants that you find below the shelves in a China Shop that cost R30 a pair (1 like)

♀BG: People that make blasphemous jokes, and drunk oorlamse men (women) (1 like)

♀YvdB: I believe that commin is not what people wear or don't wear, it is the manner in which you act and talk that makes you commin (5 likes)

♀NL: My son wears the proper brand name Crocs which I buy at Mica just so you know! (1 like)

♂CvdB: [graphic depicting a man with a naked, hairy chest and a caption saying: On Mondays I do my chest, and on Fridays your sister] (2 likes)

♂CvdB: ♀SR do you mean this guy? [refers to man in graphic above] (1 like)

♂unidentified: [graphic of a single black boot made by Crocs] (0 likes)

♀SR: Haha just like that (0 likes)

♀SO: Dirty, cracked heels...it is normal to have cracked heels but hell file the things and put some cream on them!!!...Or shall I say that commin is simply being dirty and sloppy (3 likes)

♀CS: ♀MP I mean real Crocs. And if you talk about the R30 ones from a China Shop or the R460 ones from Mica or where ever...As Robbie Wessels says...Speedos and Crocs...that kite doesn't fly. I find them to be extremely ugly. I'll rather buy Froggies or PC or Green Cross with a smile (0 likes)

♀CS: And no. those boots are ugly and unfeminine. And price does not mean pretty. I can buy boots for half the price that are much prettier. (0 likes)

♂CvdB: George Bush didn't look too bad! [graphic of George Bush wearing dark grey Crocs with socks, waving at the person taking the photograph] (0 likes)

♀MTE: [graphic not displayed] (0 likes)

♀MTE: Lekker komen (translated to nice and common) (0 likes)

♀MS: [graphic of a man harvesting a green leafy plant with caption: I'm just here to steal picture comments] (0 likes)

[comment removed through PDF version as it was at end of page]

♀SO: ♂SP no...I'm not going to change my opinion on cracked heels when I see someone without feet!! Someone without feet has nothing to do with someone who has cracked heels (1 like)

♂SP: Yes, I respect your opinion. Everyone has the right to share what he/she feels. I don't want to judge anyone it was just my opinion (1 like)

♀HL: Too many people with too many commin opinions... (0 likes)