

**A REINTERPRETATION OF URBAN SPACE IN PRETORIA**

by

**ELSA VAN DER KLASHORST**

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF VISUAL ARTS**

at the

**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

**SUPERVISOR: CELIA DE VILLIERS**

**FEBRUARY 2013**

## DECLARATION

I declare that *A re-interpretation of urban space* is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. I further declare that the artworks that I have submitted for the degree MA Visual Arts in the exhibition, *Pretoria: Past, Present, Precarious* are my own original work.

Elsa van der Klashorst

February 2013

Title:

## **A REINTERPRETATION OF URBAN SPACE IN PRETORIA**

Summary:

Various potential modes of interpreting the urban space in the inner city of Pretoria is evaluated in this study with the purpose of expanding discourse around spatial production in the city. Production of meaning through formal and structural means produced a city that served as administrative capital and ideological base for Afrikaners until the arrival of a democracy in 1994. The contemporary urban space is produced by people through everyday life, as theorised by Henry Lefebvre, rather than through formal means such as name changes. This study evaluates the way that identity and belonging is created by referring to everyday life practices, rhythmanalysis and daily activities as performances. Urban space is evaluated from a phenomenological perspective through the eyes of an artist and resident and expressed in an art exhibition. The way artists Julie Mehretu and Franz Ackermann dealt with urban space in their art is also referenced.

List of key terms:

African city; Afrikaner; Art and city; De Certeau; Deleuze & Guattari; Everyday life; Lefebvre; Performance; Performativity; *Post-Apartheid* city; Post-colonial; Pretoria; Rhythmanalysis; Social space; Tshwane; Urban geography; Urban space.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would not have been possible without the unwavering support of Gerrit, Gillian and Melorie van der Klashorst. I would also like to thank current and previous personnel of the art department at UNISA for the guidance, patience and support they provided. I am especially indebted to my supervisor, Celia de Villiers for the friendly and professional way that she guided me throughout this endeavour.

CONTENTS:	PAGE
PREFACE	<b>9</b>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	12
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	16
CHAPTER 1: Introduction	17
1.1 Problem statement	17
1.2 Intentions and aims	18
1.3 Methodology	20
1.3.1 Walking	<b>20</b>
1.3.2 Photographing	<b>22</b>
1.4 Seminal sources and literature review	<b>23</b>
1.5 Overview of chapters	<b>24</b>
CHAPTER 2: Pretoria a symbolic capital city	<b>27</b>
2.1 Introduction	27
2.2 Establishment	29
2.2.1 Founding the place	29
2.2.2 Reinforcing its position as a capital	32
2.2.3 Naming	34
2.3 Apartheid city	38
2.3.1 Spatial organisation	39

2.3.2 Spatial reshaping	39
2.3.3 Growth of the bureaucratic machinery	40
2.4 Architecture and public sculpture	42
2.4.1 Architecture	42
2.4.2 Public sculpture	48
2.4.2.1 Church Square	50
2.4.2.2 City Hall	51
2.4.2.3 Strijdom Square	53
2.5 Writing Pretoria	55
2.6 Conclusion	58
CHAPTER 3: The social production of space in the inner city of Pretoria	<b>59</b>
3.1 Introduction	59
3.2 The production of space according to the theories of Lefebvre	62
3.2.1 Contextualising Lefebvre	62
3.2.2 Trialectics of space	63
3.2.2.1 Spatial practice	66
3.2.2.2 Representations of space	68
3.2.2.3 Spaces of representation	69
3.2.3 Urban space as a language	71
3.2.3.1 Language as a science	72

3.2.3.2 Language as a sign	73
3.3 Reading, writing and translating space	75
3.4 Everyday life as a mode of producing and evaluating space in Pretoria	78
3.4.1 Everyday life as a theory	79
3.4.2 Lefebvre and everyday life	80
3.4.3 Habitus, duration, assemblages	81
3.4.4 Walking and talking the city	86
3.5 Conclusion	90
CHAPTER 4: Daily rhythms as a mode of producing social space in Pretoria	91
4.1 Rhythmanalysis	91
4.1.1 The concept of Rhythmanalysis	91
4.1.2 Informal trading on the pavements	93
4.1.3 Taxis and taxi ranks	96
4.2 Performance and Performativity as social production of space	102
4.2.1 The concept of performativity	102
4.2.2 Church Square as a performative space	105
4.3 Conclusion	109
CHAPTER 5: A personal mapping of urban space in Pretoria	<b>110</b>

5.1 Introduction	110
5.2 Urban mapping in the work of Stephen Hobbs and Dorothee Kreutzfeldt	111
5.3 Disintegration of space and grid	115
5.4 Repatterning and reframing of space and line	121
5.5 Conclusion	127
CONCLUSION	128
Appendix 1: Brief synopsis on segregated development in Pretoria	132
Appendix 2: Brief reference to some architecture in the inner city in Pretoria	136
BIBLIOGRAPHY	141

## PREFACE

The core issues in this dissertation are all gathered and connected in the complexities of urban space. Urban space is an expression of identity, ideology and social participation. As Crysler (2012:300) points out it forms an anchoring point for intersecting and competing recollections. Due to my own nostalgic recollections there seemed to be a clash with the contemporary realities of urban space in Pretoria. This sparked my interest in the contrast between the visual and sensory 'text' of the city and its ideological structures. Therefore my interest throughout the dissertation has been from the perspective of a native who lives in the city, and incorporates the sensory experiences of an artist, who wanders the streets.

Locating Pretoria in the context of post-colonial, post-*Apartheid* African cities is vital. Van Rensburg and da Costa (2008:43), lecturers from the architecture department at the University of Pretoria, maintain that there is a lack of original, indigenous discourse on spatiality in African cities and I found this to be especially true for Pretoria. The wider field of discourse on spatiality in African cities tends to revolve around architectural theory. I feel that there is a need to expand discourse around spatial production in Pretoria, which would benefit decisions on future developments and help build a user friendly city. I agree with Van Rensburg and Da Costa (2008: 48), that strategies should incorporate, connect and intensify what already exists, taking human social patterns into account. This is precisely the exploratory purpose of this dissertation.

As this is a visual arts project, my research was phenomenological, based on my own experiences in the city, as well as recollections from childhood experiences. I attempted to find a sense of the contemporary city, which could be harmonised with my own memories and perceptions. It therefore became a cathartic project, requiring a lot of translation and articulation on my part. This experience accentuated the relevance of German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer's (2007:13) observation that "The real power of hermeneutical consciousness is our ability to see what is questionable."

This process of reconciling and reframing my position as Afrikaner within the post-*Apartheid* urban space, led me to realise that the inner city of Pretoria has become a unique post-Afrikaner space, a memorial to an abominable ideology. Despite its negative connotations, I am still fond of the city, perhaps even more now that it is a lively, colourful place. I enjoy the sense of urban culture, sounds and sights, and hope that it will be sensibly developed to attract a more diverse and trendy society.

The research in the dissertation consists of three parts; The first part elucidates certain aspects of the production of Pretoria's city structures and spaces through ideological motives, resulting in a metaphoric city. I have included two appendices here, providing brief summaries on the structuring of Pretoria as *Apartheid* city, and the employment of architecture in the building of ideologically motivated structures. The second part, presented in chapters 3 and 4, involves an enquiry into alternative modes in which space can be theorised,

produced and interpreted. The last part draws the previous sections together in the form of an art exhibition, in which the experience of space is translated to the production of art. In this process, the political structures and architecture are merged with the daily, lived experience. The exhibition reframes history and reflects the vibrant contemporary production of space.

I have concluded that Pretoria will remain a political space even as new territories and patterns are formed. The conclusions that I have drawn emerged from a personal viewpoint and are part of a larger discourse. There can be no final answers concerning such complex and evolving spaces and hopefully the multifaceted debate initiated here will evolve into further discussions.

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig 1. JH Pierneef, *Apies River, Pretoria* (1931). Oil on canvas, 140 x 126, 5 cm. Part of Johannesburg Station panels, on permanent loan to Johannesburg Art Museum. (Illustration and data: Coetzee 1992, no page numbers) 31
- Fig 2. Elsa van der Klashorst, *What is left behind* detail (2011). Cut-out road maps, 42 x 32 cm. 36
- Fig 3. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Incision* (2011). Cut-out road maps, 32 x 23 cm. 37
- Fig 4. Kruger statue with Raadsaal buildings in the background. (Photograph taken by E van der Klashorst) (2011). 49
- Fig 5. Angus Taylor, *Tshwane* (2006). Bronze, 5.7m high. Pretoria City Hall. (Photograph taken by E van der Klashorst) (2011) (Information Waldner, 2006:27). 52
- Fig 6. Coert Steynberg, *M.W. Pretorius* (1955). Bronze, twice life size. Pretoria City Hall. (Photograph taken by E van der Klashorst) (2011). 53
- Fig 7. Coert Steynberg, *Andries Pretorius, horseman* (1955). Bronze, twice life size. Pretoria City Hall. (Photograph taken by E van der Klashorst) (2011). 53
- Fig 8. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Saturday morning*, detail (2012). Digital print on paper. 73 x 100 cm. 67
- Fig 9. Dorothy Kreutzfeldt, *Two men on a bench*, (2010). Acrylic and mixed media on canvas, 180 x 400 cm. (Available at [www.blankprojects.com/1012-gallery-dorothee.php](http://www.blankprojects.com/1012-gallery-dorothee.php)). 76

Fig 10.	Old Parlaiment (Raadsaal) (Photograph taken by E van der Klashorst) (2011).	76
Fig 11.	Julie Mehretu, <i>Black city</i> (2007). Ink and acrylic on canvas, 304, 8 x 487, 7 cm. François Pinault, New York.(Illustration and data: Joo & Kheehn II 2011:275).	86
Fig 12.	Elsa van der Klashorst, <i>Pretoria: spun city</i> (2012). Mixed media, photographs, 100 x 1500 cm.	89
Fig 13.	Street market on the pavement in Pretoria (2012). (Photograph taken by E van der Klashorst) (2011).	95
Fig 14.	Vegetable market on the street in Pretoria (2012). (Photograph taken by E van der Klashorst) (2011).	96
Fig 15.	Elsa van der Klashorst, <i>Inextricable</i> (2011). Mixed media, photographs, 44 x 66 cm.	98
Fig16.	Elsa van der Klashorst, <i>Dialectical Interaction</i> (2012). Installation, pvc tubes, enamel paint, wire, cable ties, perspex, dimensions variable.	99
Fig 17.	Franz Ackermann, <i>Farewell at the sea</i> (2000). Oil on canvas, 271, 8 x 546, 1 cm. (Chambers 2001:48-49, fig 29.)	101
Fig 18.	Julie Mehretu, <i>Mural</i> (2010). 7 x 24 m. Goldman Sachs building, 200. West Street, New York. (Illustration and data available at <a href="http://www.flickrriver.com/photos/sokref1/sets/72157623602182570/">www.flickrriver.com/photos/sokref1/sets/72157623602182570/</a> ).	104
Fig 19.	Elsa van der Klashorst, <i>On the square</i> (2012). Digital print on paper, 93 x 73 cm.	108
Fig 20.	Stephen Hobbs, <i>Torque of the town</i> (1999). Intervention	112

- detail, paint roller on road surface (Illustration and data O'Toole 201:87.)
- Fig 21. Changing of street names in Pretoria (2011). (Photograph taken by E van der Klashorst). 113
- Fig 22. Stephen Hobbs, *High Voltage, Low Voltage*, (2007). 113  
Installation, pine batons, plate glass, adhesive tape, acrylic paint, halogen lamps, dimensions variable. (Illustration and data Williamson 2009:208-209.)
- Fig 23. Dorothee Kreutzfeldt, *The immanent inauguration of the 5th corner* (2010). Acrylic and mixed media on canvas, 180 x 400 cm. (Illustration and data Holleman 2011:68.) 115
- Fig 24. Julie Mehretu, *Berliner Plätze* detail (2008-2009). 3 x 4, 3 m. Deutsche Guggenheim Museum, Berlin. 1116  
(Illustration and data Young ) Available at [www.db-artmag.com/en/57/on-view/grey-area---julie-mehretus-commissioned-work-for-the-deutsche-gu/](http://www.db-artmag.com/en/57/on-view/grey-area---julie-mehretus-commissioned-work-for-the-deutsche-gu/)
- Fig 25. Elsa van der Klashorst, *What is left behind* detail (2011). 117  
Cut-out road maps, 42 x 32 cm.
- Fig 26. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Incision* (2011). Cut-out road 117  
maps, 32 x 23 cm.
- Fig 27. Elsa van der Klashorst, *What is left behind* detail (2011). 117  
Cut-out road maps, 42 x 32 cm.
- Fig 28. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Incision*, detail (2011). Cut-out 118  
road maps, 32 x 23 cm.
- Fig 29. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Topography 1* (2012). Paint and 118  
ink on canvas, 22 x 91 cm.
- Fig 30. Elsa van der Klashorst *Topography 2* (2012). Paint and 118  
ink on canvas, 122 x 91 cm.

Fig 31.	Elsa van der Klashorst, <i>Inextricable</i> (2011). Mixed media, photographs, 44 x 66 cm.	119
Fig 32.	Elsa van der Klashorst, <i>En route to the Voortrekker monument</i> (2011). Mixed media, photographs, 44 x 66 cm.	120
Fig 33.	Elsa van der Klashorst, <i>Just off the N1</i> (2011). Mixed media, photographs, 44 x 66 cm.	120
Fig 34.	Elsa van der Klashorst, <i>Old places, new spaces</i> (2012). Photographs, twine, 60 x 80 cm.	121
Fig 35.	Elsa van der Klashorst, <i>Pretoria: spun city</i> (2012). Mixed media, photographs, 100 x 1500 cm.	122
Fig 36.	Elsa van der Klashorst, <i>Saturday morning</i> (2012). Digital print on paper, 73 x 100 cm.	123
Fig 37.	Elsa van der Klashorst, <i>On the square</i> (2012). Digital print on paper, 93 x 73 cm.	124
Fig 38.	Elsa van der Klashorst, <i>Dialectical Interaction</i> (2012). Installation, pvc tubes, enamel paint, wire, cable ties, perspex, dimensions variable.	126
Fig 39.	Elsa van der Klashorst, <i>Dialectical Interaction, detail</i> (2012). Installation, pvc tubes, enamel paint, wire, cable ties, perspex, dimensions variable.	127

**List of abbreviations:**

ABSA	Amalgamated bank of South Africa
ANC	African national Congress
CSIR	Council for scientific and industrial research
HSRC	Human sciences research council
ISCOR	Iron and steel corporation
UNISA	University of South Africa
WITS	University of Witwatersrand
ZAR	Zuid Afrikaansche Republic

## **CHAPTER 1:**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT**

The problem that is addressed in this research revolves around the translation of signs and spaces and the transfer of power and meaning as expressed in the urban space of inner Pretoria. Pretoria is a city that exemplifies a geography of power. Its urban topography, structural design and symbolic architecture all reflect the ambitions of an Afrikaner nation<sup>1</sup> which sought independence and sovereignty at all costs. Since a democratically elected government came to power in 1994, this modernist capital city with its abstract public spaces<sup>2</sup> no longer fulfils its mandate for nation building and ideological expression. Pretoria is now a post-colonial, post-*Apartheid* city, relegated to the economic and political margins of trendy cities like Johannesburg and Cape Town.

Pretoria has been incorporated<sup>3</sup> into the sprawling Metropolitan Municipality of Tshwane, featuring peripheral economic nodes and multiple privatised suburban areas. As administrative capital of the Republic, the inner city remains relevant,

---

<sup>1</sup> The term Afrikaner was first used in the early eighteenth century, and was used interchangeable with burgher, Christian, Dutchman or Boer. Only after 1875 it became a common term, which became an exclusive reference for white Afrikaans-speaking people in the mid twentieth century (Giliomee 2003:xix). In this dissertation I use it to refer to white Afrikaans speaking Dutch descendants, but it also denotes a political grouping. It is not an absolute term, since not all Afrikaans speakers want to be seen as Afrikaners.

<sup>2</sup> Lefebvre(1991:49-53) defines abstract space as a set of signs which functions in a formal relationship, like glass and stone, concrete and steel, angles and curves, full and empty, as a super signification of capitalism. It is a space of manipulation and domination by authorities, and include such spaces as commercial centres and big plazas where military activity may take place.

<sup>3</sup> There is an ongoing process to change the name, Pretoria, to Tshwane. For the time being, the area within original boundaries of the city is still named Pretoria. The City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality was established on 6 December 2000, by amalgamating the previous Municipalities of Akasia and Centurion as well as some areas outside previous Municipal borders (Coetzee 2005:179-180).

as it constitutes a major part of the bureaucratic infrastructure of the State. When the Afrikaner Nationalist Government, in power from 1948 –1994, was exchanged for a democracy, and its structures transferred to a new social order, a socio-political translation was set into motion that continues to this day. The contemporary French theorist and art critic, Nicholas Bourriaud (2009:30) aptly describes such an ongoing cultural translation as an act of harmonising and exchanging old codes for new ones, which inevitably remains incomplete. In representing this act of translation, the urban space of the inner city has become a site for contestation and constantly changing identities. This research engages in a discourse on the production of meaning in Pretoria, as a symbolic space in South Africa and the physical lived reality of an African city as represented through the language of visual art.

## **1.2. INTENTIONS AND AIMS**

My intention with this research is to examine the urban space of the inner city, in order to identify the codes involved in the act of translation which constitutes the changing identity of Pretoria. The research is informed by my perspective as a visual artist as well as that of being a lifelong citizen of the city. As artist, I aimed to engage with the city space on a bodily, experiential level. This dissertation represents the theoretical component of my research. The art exhibition, *Pretoria: Past, Present, Precarious* serves as the practical component.

The theoretical component aims to contextualise the establishment and growth of the city. Through selecting a hermeneutical<sup>4</sup> approach, it attempts to grasp the origins of the space, articulating and interpreting it as seen from the present moment in history. This methodology acknowledges that I remain a subjective narrator, a common understanding in this era of tumultuous post-history. The theoretical research has concentrated on philosophies on the production and meaning of urban space. Most literature about cities in South Africa centres on Johannesburg and Cape Town. It is hoped this application of philosophical theories of space to the city of Pretoria will contribute further to a healthy discourse, which seems to be currently lacking in the field.

The art exhibition and body of work *Pretoria: Past, Present, Precarious* (2012) is a personal response to the city space of Pretoria, involving a re-framing of familiar places. Throughout my early years and later adulthood, I witnessed Pretoria change and transform. It was the shopping and cultural district of my Afrikaner childhood. First my parents and then I worked here as civil servants<sup>5</sup> It is significant that the exhibition was located in the city, at the UNISA gallery, which overlooks the entire modernist urban geography of Pretoria. In this exhibition, I am both a representative of the Afrikaner nation,

---

<sup>4</sup> Hermeneutics, is a philosophy initially employed to uncover deeper truths in the reading of the Bible. In contemporary philosophy it is used as a way of interpreting and re-interpreting history. I use the term here with Heidegger's interpretation in mind. According to Heidegger, we do not understand and interpret consciously, by gathering the facts and systematically analyse them. For him hermeneutics is a mode of being, our *Dasein* in the world. (Ramberg & Gjesdal 2009)

<sup>5</sup> My father was a civil servant at various state departments and my mother a teacher at a state school. I did student work at the Department of Community development in the late seventies, and later worked for the Department of Agriculture.

and opponent of the hegemonic policies of *Apartheid*. It is therefore a personal mapping, of opposites; of memory and amnesia, nostalgia and abomination.

### 1.3 METHODOLOGY

This is a phenomenological study, involving my own lived experience (*Dasein*)<sup>6</sup> from a subjective point of view, engaging perception, memory, imagination, emotion and embodied action. The research for the exhibition involved many walking journeys through the city, documenting the urban geography and social production of space by photographing it, and sometimes engaging in conversations with people. Aspects of walking and photographing as part of the creative process are discussed below.

Research methodology also involved a literature review. The literature on the history and development of the city of Pretoria is discussed in chapter two, and literature relating to the evaluation of the social production of space is discussed in this chapter under the heading, *Seminal sources and literature review*.

---

<sup>6</sup> *Dasein*, literally meaning 'being here' in German, is a central concept in the existential philosophy of Martin Heidegger, refers to the way biological humans are embedded in a pre-existing cultural world. It is usually left untranslated in English writing; it refers to human existence and self-awareness. *Dasein* implies an automatic grasp of a situation that triggers a response, embedded in the context of the situation, as well as accumulated previous experience. (Wheeler: 2013)

### 1.3.1 Walking

The French Philosopher, Henri Lefebvre (1991:169-228) stressed that in the production of space<sup>7</sup>, the body is both a point of departure and destination. For him, the experience of a place through the sensory qualities of the body is essential in understanding the space, but also plays a role in producing that space. The walking journeys that inform my authorship of this paper were an essential sensory experience, resulting in contradictory feelings. I am thereby led to agree with French philosopher Michel de Certeau (1993:153), who argues that the people who walk in the streets of a city are the practitioners who write the text of the city, but the text remains elusive. My walking journeys offered a direct sense of place, the experience of rhythms, sounds, smells and sights, but although I was part of the space, I felt removed and alienated, unable to totally translate the new language and decode the signifiers of the post-*Apartheid* space.

Bourriaud (2009:100) gives an (arguably) accurate description of the experience when he talks of 'urban wandering' as a political inquiry into the city, a kind of writing on the move, which creates an aesthetic of displacement. He regards the artist as a prototype of the contemporary traveller, who has to find his way through all the signs of the city using the journey as a compositional device. I experienced my walking journeys almost as an 'artistic journalist', who analyses, reflects and translates, and then creates an aesthetic

---

<sup>7</sup> In his book, *The production of space* (1991, Malden: Blackwell) Lefebvre wrote the chapter, Spatial architectonics, in which he follows a lengthy argument on the role of the body in the production of space.

response. This is of course also in keeping with the phenomenological and hermeneutic approach which I ascribe to.

On these journeys, I was haunted by the work of the nomadic artist Franz Ackermann, who paints his reaction to cities that he travels to. Bourriaud (2009: 119) describes these paintings as "applying GPS to color". My experience of walking through the dense, colourful, social 'text' of Pretoria felt like an attempt at mapping, measuring and pinpointing the space. It also reflects contemporary technological journeys, such as internet roaming, which turns the viewer into a voyeur of visual images of the world. The act of photographing the inner city space confirmed this view.

### **1.3.2 Photographing**

Photography is a convenient way of visually documenting places. The American literary and cultural theorist, Susan Sontag (2005:2) was of the opinion that, "to photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed. It means putting oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge and, therefore, like power". For me it was an attempt to gain knowledge and evidence on the urban geography, which empowered me to create my own versions of the city.

Appropriating the city in this way allowed me to come to terms with my *Dasein* in Pretoria by documenting the whole active space, and not just buildings, objects or people.

Looking through the lens removes the spectator from the actual experience.

While photography can transmute a feeling of a place, it can also misrepresent a place through its ability to be selective. As Sontag mentions “photographs, fiddle with the scale of the world, themselves get reduced, blown up, cropped, retouched, doctored, tricked out”, which is the case in my artworks.

The process of walking and photographing placed me inside the space to experience it physically. This exercise left me feeling split. I fluctuated between an intimate knowledge of place and a sense of ambivalent voyeurism, almost belonging/not-belonging, I remained a spectator, documenting the space and unable to really enter the social space. The technological and visual world that we inhabit, similarly offers a voyeuristic and sometimes superficial view of life.

#### **1.4 SEMINAL SOURCES AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

For chapter two, historical sources on the development of Pretoria have been referenced, since very few new books have been written on the city. An overview of this particular selection of literature is discussed as part of chapter two.

The dissertation was to large extent based on the theories of the French marxist and sociologist Henri Lefebvre. He wrote several books, of which *The production of space* (trans. 1991) was the seminal source for this dissertation.

He also wrote on everyday life as a way of producing space, in *Everyday life in*

*the modern world* (trans.1984), and three volumes of *The critique of everyday life* (Translated in 1991, 2002, and 2006). He contributed toward the establishment of everyday life as an academic and phenomenological basis for study. His work was centred around his Marxist politics. His role as an author is reviewed in chapter three. Lefebvre's small book, *Rhythmanalysis: space time and everyday life* (trans.2004) was published after his death and provides another base for phenomenological theories on everyday life.

The British author, Ben Highmore from the University of Sussex contributed to this field by writing and editing a number of books on everyday life, *The everyday life reader* (2002), *Everyday life and cultural theory* (2002), and *Cityscapes: cultural readings in the material and symbolic city* (2005), providing a solid grounding on the subject.

Tim Edensor edited the exceptionally useful book, *Geographies of Rhythm: nature, place mobilities and bodies* (2010), which presents various chapters on how rhythms shape human experience in time-space and pervade the everyday. Kim Dovey's book, *Becoming places* (2010) features a chapter on the practices and politics of identity formation in urban spaces.

Nicolas Bourriaud's book *The radicaant* (2009), provides an interesting view on cultural diversity as a new or altermodern way of life. He writes from an art critic's viewpoint, offering new concepts such as 'radicants', contemporary individuals who wander the world, without putting down roots, carrying culture

and history as mobile concepts, and producing a precarious heterogeneous society. These theories resonate with this study of inner Pretoria on many levels.

## **1.5 OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS**

Chapter two provides a context for the discussion of the urban space in Pretoria.

I argue that Pretoria was exclusively established by Voortrekkers to centre and build a new nation. For the Dutch descendants, who became Afrikaners, the great Trek, which started in 1836, was a rebellion against British Imperialism. They had a deep desire for creating a sovereign state where their religious, cultural and political values could be expressed. Pretoria became a symbol and material expression of their ideals, growing into Afrikaner Nationalism during the twentieth century. The chapter aims to establish how the urban structures, architecture, public sculptures and literature were employed to create an Afrikaner urban space, a material presence which remains endemic to the city.

Having established the basic material character of Pretoria as metaphor for Afrikaner power, I examine theories on the social production of space in chapter three. Focussing on the writings of Henri Lefebvre, I establish that everyday life is an essential part of producing social space, as every society produces its own space. This is different from abstract, Cartesian space, as it includes the architecture, objects and daily actions, produced and experienced by the human body. I also refer to other authors such as Deleuze and Guattari, Bourdieu and Bergson, whose theories are also applicable to understanding the social geography of Pretoria.

Chapter four takes the production of space into a more practical level, referring to rhythm analysis and performativity as ways of analysing and explaining the production of space. I use the examples of a taxi rank, pavement markets and Church Square to apply these theories to the urban space of Pretoria. By applying these theories to the symbolic space of Pretoria, an understanding of ways of producing meaning in space becomes evident. The work of the international artists Julie Mehretu and Franz Ackermann is referenced in this discussion as examples of how urban space has been expressed in the language of art.

In the last chapter, I present my personal reaction to Pretoria's urban space in the form of my art exhibition. The local artists Stephen Hobbs and Dorothee Kreutzfeldt, who also work on the complexities of urban space in South Africa, are referenced. In this discussion the theories on the production of space find practical expression in the resultant art. Pretoria is seen through the eyes of the artist, involving an experience of simultaneous memory and amnesia as individual and collective factors in the production of meaning.

## CHAPTER 2:

### **Pretoria, a symbolic capital city**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

In the post-*Apartheid* landscape of South Africa, urban centers have become the sites where past and present intersect to produce new multi-coded, fragmented cities. This chapter establishes the inherent identity of Pretoria as a symbol and a manifestation of Afrikaner ideals. It provides a framework for the material character of the city. To this end, various modes of the production of urban space are elaborated on and discussed in subsequent chapters. The production of urban space in the city of Pretoria as a contemporary African city is problematised and reflected upon in the art exhibition, *Pretoria: Past, Present, Precarious* (2012). Although the focus in this chapter is on the production of urban space through the formal means of urban design, architecture and public art, the emphasis of the dissertation is formulated from the point of view of the artist, interpreting the space with reference to the visual and material signifiers in the city. This chapter therefore serves as a broad background to the uniquely symbolic features of the city.

Most world cities have an instantly identifiable feature or signature, like the boulevards of Paris, the skyscrapers of New York, or Table Mountain in Cape Town (Dear & Flusty 1999:64), which becomes part of their identity. British architect David Adjaye (2010:34), describes Pretoria as a mannerist and contrived, symbolic capital. The fingerprint of Afrikaner ideologies since the

middle of the nineteenth century is clearly visible in Pretoria from the moment you enter the city. The urban landscape of Pretoria unfolds in a series of *koppies* (outcrops) that are characteristic of the geography of the city. The *koppies* have become the foundation for a number of highly visible, ideologically-interlinked buildings of historical and political significance. Approaching the city by car on the N14 from Johannesburg, one is confronted by the Voortrekker Monument, triumphantly asserting a history of Afrikaner dominance, which is also reflected in the imposing buildings of the UNISA<sup>8</sup> campus. Across from the Monument, the semi-circle of tall symbolic 'reeds' of the more modest Freedom Park<sup>9</sup> is visible. This post-*Apartheid* memorial re-inforces the city's tradition of producing monumental architectural space on *koppies*'. Continuing the journey by car, one glimpses the Union Buildings, symbol of British Imperialism, on Meintjieskop across the valley. In the unfolding of the panorama before its visitor, the tall building of the Reserve Bank of South Africa and the ABSA Bank building stand out from the modernist cityscape.

This paper draws on a hermeneutic process involving the manipulation of space.

Chapter two provides a background to this, being concerned in particular with

---

<sup>8</sup> The UNISA buildings were designed by Brian Sandrock architects in phases from 1959. His architectural practice was assigned the contract for the design of the entire campus of Unisa and its buildings as well as numerous buildings on The University of Pretoria campus between 1960 and 1990. This success in obtaining the contracts is ascribed to the membership of his architect colleague, Alewyn Burger to the secret Afrikaner society, the Broederbond. The buildings were designed as mega-structures and to emanate the physical embodiment and a degree of virility, therefore part of the phallogocentric society of Afrikaner Nationalism (Brink 2012).

<sup>9</sup> Freedom Park was built as a memorial to narrate the history of South Africa, going back to pre-colonial times. The *Ascending Reeds*, as they are named, symbolise birth, growth and the transition to after-life, and are the only visible part of the memorial from afar (Noble 2011:240).

the role of urban geography in the creation of space in the inner city. The research outlined in the following pages suggests that because its history is so strongly fingerprinted in its architecture, Pretoria seems to struggle to find ways of articulating its past to move forward into a new mode of expression that will serve its current local communities. In this regard, various factors are discussed, including the establishment of Pretoria as a place for white Afrikaners, the material development of Pretoria into an *Apartheid* city, as well as the symbolic and administrative role of Pretoria during *Apartheid*. The architecture and public art of Pretoria are explored as part of an ideological agenda, as well as the literature on Pretoria, which has continuously formed part of foregrounding Pretoria as a noteworthy place.

## **2.2 ESTABLISHMENT**

### **2.2.1 Founding the place**

The process of 'place making' through the nineteenth century colonisation of the interior of Southern Africa was set into motion through the migration of the Voortrekkers (descendants of Dutch origin who later became known as Afrikaners). This process included mapping, measuring, naming and building structures like roads, rail networks, edifices and signs which were imposed onto the existing landscape. The author of *Mapping Reality*, Geoff King (1996: 146) points out that in this process of 'mapping the void' to create familiar order in a strange new landscape, there was a negation of the indigenous presence. Instead, a place or territory was produced. By establishing a collective cultural

territory, both at micro- and macroscopic levels, the hostile landscape was transformed by the Voortrekkers into a text legible to colonial powers needing an infrastructure for expansion (King 1996:62).

Martin Hall (2007: 288), archaeology professor at University of Cape Town, traces the development and establishment of the urban grid in South Africa from its humble beginnings in the colony at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652:

Three centuries later, the Voortrekker Monument celebrated the expansion of the formal grid from city to nation, a network of roads and municipalities, farm boundaries, magisterial districts, group areas and homelands (Hall 2007:288).

This extension of the grid as a form enabling institutionalised racism and violence (Meskell 2007:175) began with the establishment of farms on what was regarded as empty land (Liebenberg 1973: 145; Pelzer 1957:18). The method applied by Voortrekkers who claimed farms in the area around Pretoria consisted of measuring a square piece of land by riding diagonally across the territory for one hour by horse (Liebenberg 1973:145). This process of mapping, colonising, and formalising the landscape into measurable squares and pieces was then formalised by naming these spaces and building dwellings on them. To name was to claim possession. This practice was continued with the establishment of Pretoria as Afrikaner cultural and administrative capital.

Similarly, to image, whether through photography or painting, is to name and therefore claim ownership. The 'empty' landscape which became the rightful property of the Afrikaner was celebrated in the landscape paintings of JH Pierneef from ca 1913 to 1957. An artist and citizen of Pretoria, Pierneef is

known for 32 panels painted at the Johannesburg Station in 1932, which depicted idealized rural landscape scenes (fig. 1). The South African art historian Nic Coetzee (1992:25) agrees with King above, arguing that: "Pierneef, in depicting the landscape as empty, silent and virgin, himself invokes the myth of the empty land." The paintings of Pierneef have become part of the manuscript of Afrikaner Nationalism.

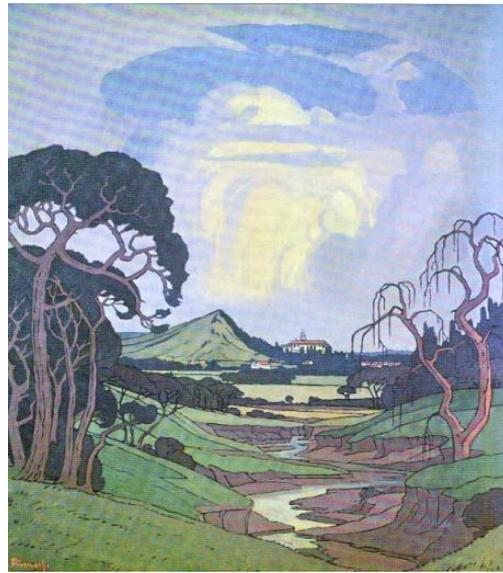


Fig. 1. JH Pierneef, *Apies River, Pretoria* (1931).

The initial establishment of Pretoria consisted of an urban grid, surrounded by demarcated farms. Around the centering principle of the grid, with streets wide enough for oxwagons to make a turn (Louw 1959: 28), Pretoria was established, primarily as a '*kerkplaats*', or church place. This gathering space, used for the three- monthly communion of the state church, the Dutch Reformed Church<sup>10</sup> (Engelbrecht 1942: 23), stabilized and rooted the Afrikaners or Voortrekkers. Their religious, cultural and political agendas were now located and focused

---

<sup>10</sup> The Afrikaans church known as *Nederduits Hervormde Kerk*

within a territory, which gained political power after Pretoria became the capital of the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) in 1860 (Meiring 1955:149).

### **2.2.2 Reinforcing its position as capital**

The significance of Pretoria has been its role as umbilicus, capital of Afrikaner religious, cultural and political ideals. Having no other distinguishing features such as a mine or a harbour, Pretoria's status as capital has been threatened at various times, but its continued role as a territory for Afrikaners ensured its enduring function in politics. The episodes when Pretoria's status was under siege demonstrate the depth of its value as a symbolic 'stable territory' for Afrikaners.

Having successfully negotiated its independence after the First Anglo-Boer War in South Africa<sup>11</sup> Pretoria's position as capital was restored. When gold was discovered in 1886 South of Pretoria, the city of Johannesburg rapidly grew to rival Pretoria in economic importance and remains the economic capital<sup>12</sup> of South Africa (Bremner 2008:203-211). The conservative and religious views of the Afrikaans ZAR government experienced the influx of foreigners into the booming town of Johannesburg as threatening. Instead of moving the capital to Johannesburg, Pretoria retained its status as capital. The ZAR government used

---

<sup>11</sup> The annexation of the ZAR by Lord Shepstone in 1877 marked the beginning of the first Freedom war (Anglo-Boer war). Only in 1881 was peace negotiated by Paul Kruger as representative of the ZAR.

<sup>12</sup> The gold mining industry transformed Johannesburg into one of the richest African cities, attempting to fulfil its promotional edict as a world-class African city. It was never a symbolic city though like Pretoria (Bremner 2008:203-211).

the economic boost from gold mining to embark on elaborate state building projects in the last decade of the nineteenth century, when many of the government buildings around church square were built, for example the Raadsaal (Parliament building) and the Palace of Justice (Holm 1998:64). Pretoria's position as Afrikaner territory was therefore re-enforced.

When Pretoria's position as capital was questioned again during the establishment of the South African Union in 1910, Afrikaner leaders negotiated to keep Pretoria the administrative capital (Vernon2007:148). Keeping the power base in Pretoria was vital for the Afrikaners, because it could remain relatively Afrikaans, while continuing to benefit in taxes from gold production (Engelbrecht, et al, 1955:26). As the capital of the Union, Pretoria flourished and grew into a significant place. It remained administrative capital when South Africa became a Republic in 1961 and after the first democratic election of 1994, it still holds that position.

Having followed a short history on the establishment of Pretoria, I have argued that the sole existence and growth of the city was due to Afrikaner power politics that gained huge momentum during the twentieth century. Its role as capital has benefitted the development of Pretoria enormously as much of its growth has been financed by the taxpayer and the riches of the mining industry. It has grown from a central religious gathering space into a modernist city. In the next section I will establish how the character of the city is reflected through the naming of streets, buildings and places.

### 2.2.3 Naming

The naming of Pretoria after Voortrekker leader Andries Pretorius, as well as the naming of places and streets in the city, played an integral part in establishing its Afrikaner identity. As the Canadian urban geography scholar Jane Jacobs (1996:2), pointed out, ideas of race, class, community and gender are expressed in signs, metaphors, narratives and names as part of colonial practices. For the Voortrekkers, who established a place to rule in their own language, religion and culture, their space was consolidated<sup>13</sup> by street names. These names became part of the production of a familiar social world, as geographical features 'merged' in the consciousness of South Africans (Tuan 1991:688). The changing of street names, among others, during 2012 in Pretoria has therefore resulted in disruption of familiar territories for myself and other members of the community. These name changes occurred on three levels, affecting the name of the city itself, the street names and the names of institutions like the Municipality and government departments. The renaming process has turned Pretoria's urban space into a site of contestation and lent a fragmented quality to its identity<sup>14</sup>.

On 6 December 2000 a number of municipalities around Pretoria were amalgamated and renamed the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, but

---

<sup>13</sup> Most of the prominent streets were named after Afrikaner males in the community, Voortrekker leaders and war heroes. Some streets named after British officials, such as Milner Street (Andrews & Ploeger 1989) serves as a reminder of British Imperialism.

<sup>14</sup> The names of 26 streets have been changed in 2012 (Pretoria news 14 May 2012:7).

the original name of Pretoria temporarily remained (Coetzee 2005:179). The recent change of 26 street names resulted in old names having been crossed out with a red line, while new names appeared next to the old. These attempts from the Tshwane Metro council to shift the identity of the city in this way has met with at least one attempted court order from concerned community groups bewildered by this re-mapping<sup>15</sup>. Not only does the city have two names, but many streets now feature two names.

As has been mentioned, renaming can be seen as a powerful act of erasing the past to bring forth a new reality (Tuan 1991:688). Debates often concern differences of opinion on the origin or validity of new names, as well as the costs involved in changing names (Labuschagne 2006: 49-61). Rather than focusing on cost or validity, discourse should revolve around the effectiveness of using signs as recourse to the past. Roger Lundin the author of *The responsibility of hermeneutics* (1985:32), explains that such a hermeneutic process triggers a “retrospective search for latent meaning, a self-conscious interpretation and a justification of human existence beyond the superficial”. Street name changes cause temporary disorientation in the use of space, but on a deeper level it is a powerful element in producing a space that may not have existed in quite the same way before. The remapping of urban space through the removal of familiar names and places was the subject of my exhibition *Pretoria: Past, present precarious* (2012). *What is left behind* (2011) (fig. 2) and *Incision*

---

<sup>15</sup> An interdict against the change of street names brought to court by the civil rights group Agriforum, has been turned down in the Pretoria high Court (Pretoria News, 1 May 2012:1).

(2011)(fig. 3) depicts the production of a space through a process of removal, cutting out, resulting in voidspace, that cannot be deciphered. It is both a structural and social process of producing space, since names are used as part of everyday life. The layering of the fragile grids invokes the passing of time and an amnesia, the removal of history, which is part of the post modern idiom. I concur with Lundin (1985:32) who further explains that the hermeneutic “reappraisal of the individual’s situation and his/her sense of perception of daily routines and perception triggers a very personal response that facilitates understanding, however erroneous or ambivalent it may be”.



Fig.2. Elsa van der Klashorst, *What is left behind* (2011).

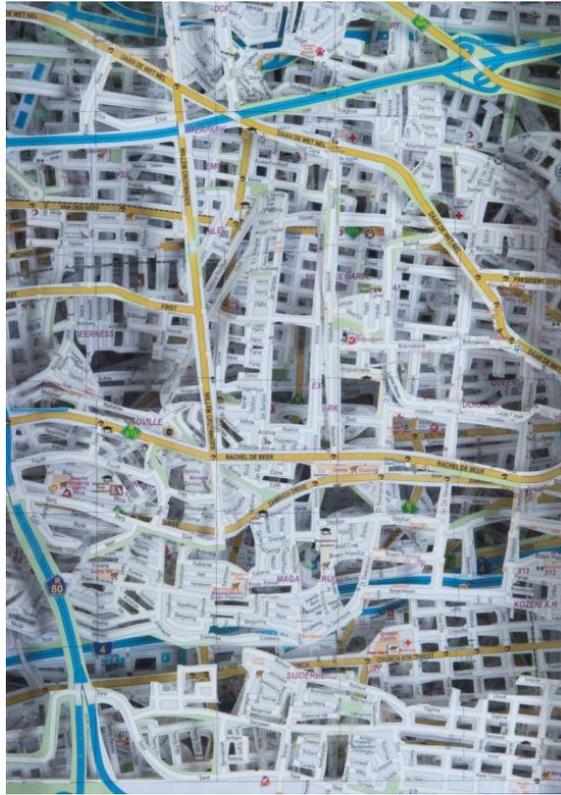


Fig. 3. E van der Klashorst, *Incision* (2011).

As a conclusion to this section on the establishment of Pretoria, I would like to offer the Jacaranda<sup>16</sup> trees of Pretoria as symbolic map. The nickname, 'Jacaranda city' should serve as a reminder of the imposition of a foreign culture, flora, and nationhood upon a landscape. These exotic trees with their distinctive purple blossoms line the streets of Pretoria, and have become a signifier of entitlement, a recurrent marking of the street grid with the culture of Europe's colonial empires.

---

<sup>16</sup> The planting of Jacaranda trees started when J. Clark, a citizen of Pretoria, imported Jacaranda seed from Australia, in 1903 and in 1906 presented 100 trees to the Municipality, who planted them on sidewalks. The city engineer, Walton James, then continued planting the trees on the sidewalks in the following years (Kraehmer 1978:19).

In this section, I have argued that the establishment of Pretoria was part of a colonisation process by Voortrekkers who became so identified with the city that it emerged as an emblematic space for them. Pretoria managed to remain the administrative capital through its existence, from where Afrikaner dominion could be administered until 1994. The city is also seen as an iconic *Apartheid* city, which will be explored in the next section.

### **2.3 APARTHEID CITY**

The urban landscape of South Africa was engineered into spatial segregation through racist *Apartheid* policies such as the Group Areas Act, Act No 69 of 1955. I concur with Sheperd & Murray (2007:5-7) that the spatial legacy of *Apartheid* can be expected to have a lasting effect on the identity of spaces, and continues to shape the daily lives of people. The history of *Apartheid* and the full force of its innumerable, ongoing effects is the subject of discourse in many academic disciplines. It cannot be adequately addressed in this dissertation, which focuses specifically on the urban space of the inner city of Pretoria. My purpose here is to acknowledge the role that *Apartheid* played in the structuring of Pretoria, of which a more detailed synopsis is available in Appendix 1. The following three sections will briefly mention three aspects relevant to the construction of the city: the spatial organisation of Pretoria to accommodate *Apartheid*, the growth and development of the city to accommodate the bureaucracy of *Apartheid*, and the spatial shaping and reshaping of the identity of the inner city during and after *Apartheid*.

### **2.3.1 Spatial organisation**

During the development of Pretoria in the nineteenth century, it was essentially a 'white' town with separate areas where 'non-whites' could build informal settlements. After British occupation, a commission of enquiry advised that those considered 'black' should live in separate areas, but should be able to own property. As a result of this, the mixed race area Lady Selbourne was established, where property could be bought (Mojapelo 2009: 25-26). In 1922, the Stallard Commission infamously found that: "the native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the White man's creation, when he is willing to enter and minister to the needs of the White man and should depart there from when he ceases so to minister" (Lemon 1991:4). After the passing of the Group Areas Act in 1955, along with a host of other laws that enabled constitutional *Apartheid*,<sup>17</sup> Pretoria became a typical *Apartheid* city. People were forcibly removed from areas that were declared white under the new laws, which included Lady Selbourne, whose inhabitants were resettled in townships on the outskirts of the city.

### **2.3.2 Spatial reshaping**

Not only was there a re-organisation of white and black areas within the city under the *Apartheid* laws, but patches of black independent areas, not unlike the 'homelands', were also developed around Pretoria<sup>18</sup>. As the greater Pretoria area became fully submerged in the intricacies of *Apartheid*, the urban landscape was

---

<sup>17</sup> Refer to Appendix 1 on the laws that were passed.

<sup>18</sup> Refer to Appendix 2

re-engineered into many separate areas, producing different spatial identities, such as black townships and white suburbs. These spatial identities have largely been retained, but recently some areas, like the inner city, have undergone a dramatic change.

### **2.3.3 Growth of the bureaucratic machinery**

Not only was Pretoria the iconic *Apartheid* city in a material sense, it was also the place from where all the intricate machinations and bureaucracies of *Apartheid* were administered. As administrative capital of the Nationalist government, the city was developed to accommodate and execute the huge bureaucracy of the *Apartheid* apparatus (Terreblanche, 2002: 303).

After the Nationalist Party victory at the polls in 1948 the state embarked on strategies to develop Afrikaner capitalism, by promoting Afrikaner business interests. It created a huge civil service, as well as a number of para-statal corporations, of which most had their national offices in Pretoria<sup>19</sup>. Pretoria provided many key state institutions the military and air force headquarters in Valhalla, which played a vital role in defending and furthering its 'Total onslaught' policies, like. The Military functions were vital in orchestration and organisation of compulsory military service for white men, and the ongoing war in the North of the then South-West Africa, now Namibia. By 1970. the public

---

<sup>19</sup> Many parastatal organisations existed such as ISCOR, CSIR, HSRC, a whole number of boards that regulated agricultural production, like the Landbank, the Meat Board, Maize Board, Wheat Board, Wool Board, Cotton Board, Oil Seed Board, as well as Volskas Bank, which started off as bank for Afrikaners. Pretoria also had two Universities, a Technicon and College of Education.

and semi-public sector employed 50% of economically active Afrikaners (Saff 1998:21). To service these ideological structures Pretoria rapidly developed and grew to provide an urban landscape of bureaucracy, where civil servants could live and work. This urban space thus became part of the utopian Afrikaner ideals (Hattingh & Horn 1991:146).

According to Sheperd and Murray (2007:6) the landscape of *Apartheid* was developed along international models of modern town planning, used locally to separate 'white' and 'black' people. Separate 'white and black' spaces and places were created. Public spaces in urban areas were mostly 'white'<sup>20</sup> spaces where 'blacks' could enter as labourers with pass documents as identification. The city centre of Pretoria, including Church Square, was therefore designated as a space for whites. All the urban structures like the streets, architecture, signs, names and public art were specifically produced for whites and for the organisation of their space. Although the transition to democracy in 1994 soon resulted in access to the city by African people from all over the continent, the structural space has remained mostly unchanged. Most of the changes in urban geography have been in the naming of places and streets, the organisation of taxi routes and ranks, as well as the informal traders on sidewalks.

After Pretoria was established as a centre and capital city for Afrikaner ideals in the nineteenth century, it grew in its political role in the twentieth century.

---

<sup>20</sup> The use of the terms 'white' and 'black' as racially denotative reflects the policies of the time and not my own views.

Materially it was a segregated city, surrounded by pockets of homelands as part of the *Apartheid* policies, but it also provided the bureaucratic structures and spaces for the execution of Nationalist *Apartheid* policies. It is therefore a city built on the rationalities of these policies and sprouted a population of civil servants that lived and worked in the city. Since 1994 a new generation of civil servants has occupied the city's spaces, and they are producing a new social space, but the legacy of old Pretoria lingers on.

## **2.4 ARCHITECTURE AND PUBLIC SCULPTURE**

### **2.4.1 Architecture**

So far in this chapter, it has been established that Pretoria was founded as religious, cultural and political centre for Afrikaners, and re-engineered into an iconic *Apartheid* city. In these production processes, architecture played a vital role in creating a sense of place that is essentially Eurocentric. According to Noëleen Murray (2007: 45-46), an architect based at the centre for African Studies (University of Cape Town), architecture in South Africa has been part of colonial modernity, which can only be understood in terms of its relation to Europe and America. In this context, local architecture, like modernism, emanates from the Western Metropolis or the centre, to the colonial periphery.

As administrative capital, Pretoria had the role of providing a physical home for the State machinery since its inception. The majority of Government department head offices are located in the city centre, as well as a host of semi-state institutions, universities, and colleges, resulting in a substantial body of

institutional architecture. Consequently, the urban landscape of Pretoria can be regarded as a geography of power and bureaucracy.

Architecture became an important form of manifestation of the aspirations of Afrikaners to form a modern nation. In this project Pretoria became a crucial repository of symbolic architecture. In general there have been four periods of influential architectural production. This includes the early establishment, with architecture dating mostly from the nineteenth century, the influence of British Imperialism (notably Herbert Baker), the Nationalist development project which favoured international modernism, and the post-*Apartheid* era under an ANC government. The symbolic use of architecture in the inner city will be briefly discussed now to establish the metaphorical content of the urban space, but a more expanded history of architecture in Pretoria is available in Addendum II.

As mentioned, in the early years of the ZAR the Government buildings were built around the central point of Church Square, for example: the Parliament building (Raadsaal finished in 1890), the Palace of Justice (finished in 1899), the Reserve Bank building, the Department of Public Works, and the Post Office.

Many of these buildings were designed by Dutch state architect, Sytze Wierda, who had a big impact on the early architecture. Wierda was familiar with the architecture of Paris and Berlin, and was influenced by late Renaissance and Baroque designs. As civic architect, Wierda interpreted Paul Kruger's intentions of orderliness and rule of law. According to Meiring (1952: 162-3), Wierda's

designs were modelled on French second Empire style and Wilhelmic Germany, rather than Victorian individualism as seen in Johannesburg, which was motivated by commercial factors.

One may wish to disagree with Holm & Viljoen (1993:64-71), who interpret the style of the Parliament building as an adaptation of a Victorian style. It was designed to reflect the autocratic, patriarchal style of government. Unlike typical Victorian buildings, it is asymmetrical and has less decorative elements, combined with a single tower, reflecting phallo-logocentric power and masculinity<sup>21</sup>. The building directly faces church square and many of the same elements are mirrored by the Palace of Justice (also designed by Wierda), that was erected on the opposite side of the square, although the latter has two towers. Wierda aimed for a monumentality that also incorporated a hierarchy (Holm & Viljoen 1993:35).

The monumental style of architecture in the buildings around Church Square creates a strong colonial and European character. Though they remain well preserved, and are still in use, they seem at odds with a contemporary African city. Hannah le Roux (2005: 45), senior lecturer in architecture at Wits University, argues that they can either be viewed as empty shells, a meaningless

---

<sup>21</sup> Initially the building was designed to be double-storey, but after president Kruger got wind of the proposed three story Grand Hotel building to be erected across from the parliament building, he ordered Wierda to add another story to the building which was then already in the building process. He could not allow a commercial building to outrank the state symbol (Holm & Viljoen 1993:64-71).

reminder of the colonial past, or they can be incorporated into a lively social space, as part of an interesting backdrop. The most convincing argument remains that the architecture has an overwhelming presence, but structures are rendered meaningless by present unease and lack of identification with the buildings. The meaning of architecture versus the social space is discussed further Chapter 3.

The next wave of architectural impact after the colonial period was the influence of Herbert Baker in the design of the Union Buildings. Probably the most important and prominent building in Pretoria, and office of the State President, it is situated on Meintjieskop, a little off-centre from the inner city. The Union Building represents the formation of the Union with Britain in 1910. By commissioning the British architect Herbert Baker to design a building of such monumental proportions and visibility on a hill overlooking Pretoria, the British imperialist character was stamped onto the small urban landscape of Pretoria. Baker scoffed at the idea of placing the building in the city in line with Church Square and the grid of streets, and preferred the site on a hill in order to maximise the potential dignity and nobility assigned to a building set upon a hill like the ancient Acropolis<sup>22</sup> (Vernon 2007:147-151).

As a monumental architectural symbol, the Union Buildings have been employed as background to many historic events to impart authority to the

---

<sup>22</sup> Baker was influenced by classical Grecian, Roman and Renaissance architecture. See Appendix 2.

occasion<sup>23</sup> and have endured as a symbol of power into democracy. The inauguration of Nelson Mandela as first democratically elected head of state, as well as all subsequent State Presidents, against the backdrop of the Union Buildings, can be interpreted in a variety of ways. Either the building has retained its position of power, or it has been used as an empty token of bygone power, or a kind of ‘payback’ to the masters of the past. What is evident is that the building no longer functions as an actual site of political power. The ruling ANC has its head office in Johannesburg and presents its important decision-making conferences on other sites.

Although the Voortrekker Monument is not situated in the inner city of Pretoria, it must be mentioned at this point among the city’s buildings of ideological significance. The Monument played a huge role in creating and situating identity in Pretoria, as well as in the psyche of the Afrikaner. With its immanent visibility and unique masculine shape, it is met at the Southern entrance to Pretoria as if standing guard, a stark reminder of colonial conquest and a celebration of Afrikaner domination<sup>24</sup>. It remains part of Pretoria's fingerprint, and has not been challenged by the Freedom Park (a post-*Apartheid* monument

---

<sup>23</sup> On 9 August 1956, 20 000 women marched to the Union Buildings to hand over a petition against pass laws to the prime Minister, JG Strijdom (BoddyEvans-2013) The funeral of prime ministers JG Strijdom (1958) and Hendrik Verwoerd (1966) the inauguration of presidents. (<http://.ancestry24.com/state-funerals>).

<sup>24</sup> The celebration that accompanied its inauguration consisted of a symbolic oxwagon trek through the country, conjuring a sense of nationalism.

built on a *koppie* opposite the monument) in terms of visibility, monumental impact or public interest.<sup>25</sup>

While many of the buildings above date to the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, during the National Party regime (1948-1994), architecture continued to play a crucial role in Pretoria to accommodate the growth of the state. Roger Fisher (1998:124-6), former Professor of Architecture at the University of Pretoria, argues that the project of Afrikaner domination and independence which included *Apartheid* set the scene for the development of a unique vernacular architecture, known as Pretoria Regionalism. The establishment of an architecture school at the University of Pretoria in 1943, meant that the graduation of the first architects in 1949 coincided very well with the newly elected National Party government. The components required for the emergence of a regional style were readily available: "funds for state commissions, materials of local manufacture, a patronage sympathetic to the aesthetic of the Modern, a rich diversity of indigenous building materials and a will to achieve a distinct cultural identity in all its manifestations" (Fisher 1998: 126). With its building projects in the city, the state sought to show that Afrikaners were part of an international modernism (Sheperd & Murray 2007:5). Around the core of colonial buildings in the inner city, Pretoria grew into a modernist space, expanding state and semi-state institutional structures as well as private enterprise.

---

<sup>25</sup> Refer to Appendix 2 for more on Freedom Park

After 1994, the civil service buildings were transferred to the ANC government, and a whole new generation of civil servants started to embody the urban space. New, contemporary style public buildings were recently completed in Pretoria, such as the National Library and the Department of Basic Education<sup>26</sup>. Some designs were chosen by design competitions, but new buildings seem to be playing a diminishing role in political agendas. These new public buildings are designed in a Western postmodern style, and aspire to be of international standard, rather than in an African vernacular. While intriguing, the current debates in architectural circles on the existence or relevance of an African style, and the design parameters for new state buildings and monuments, fall outside the focus of this dissertation.

It should be clear from the above discussion that throughout its establishment and growth, architecture has been employed in Pretoria by the state as an important form of expressing its ideologies and propaganda, as well as being a home for the execution of its policies. Through architecture Pretoria was produced as a symbolic space with a strong identity. This identity was also reflected in the aforementioned process of naming.

#### **2.4.2 Public sculpture**

The production of public sculpture has been an important part of imposing political ideology on public space in Pretoria. Most public sculpture in Pretoria has until recently been produced under the control and patronage of the state,

---

<sup>26</sup> Refer to Appendix 2 for more information.

and was employed to pay tribute to former political heroes. In addition, public sculpture has been placed in relation to formal state buildings and in line with the urban grid, emphasizing its ideological role within the social space, rather than contributing towards the open enjoyment of public space. Furthermore, public sculpture has confirmed the gendered nature of the space, as the sculptures mostly depict male figures, either on horseback, or splendidly attired with weaponry and/or uniforms of power, and produced by white male, Afrikaner Nationalist sculptors<sup>27</sup>. To demonstrate this, three examples will be mentioned here: Church Square, the City Hall, and Strijdom Square.



Fig.4. Paul Kruger statue (Photograph E van der Klashorst).

---

<sup>27</sup> I refer here to Anton van Wouw (1862-1945) and Coert Steynberg (1905-1982). They were both known for their close identification with Nationalist ideals and produced a number of sculptures of prominent political leaders. For example, Van Wouw made the Kruger sculpture with its 4 Boer commanders, as well as busts of Pres. M.W. Pretorius (1905), Pres. F.W. Reitz (1919), Genl. C.R. de Wet (1926), Genl. Koos de la Rey (1926), Piet Retief (1937), Pres. M.T. Steyn (1938), and Genl. Manie Maritz (1940). (Heinemann 2011: 1).

Steynberg produced many Afrikaner monuments and monumental sculptures such as the Bloedriver Monument (1942), Huguenot Monument (1942), and statues of Genl. Hertzog (1942), Rev. Dirk van der Hoff (1941), Pres. M.T. Steyn (1942), Pres. J.N. Boshoff (1942), Pres. J.H. Brand (1942), Pres. M.W. Pretorius (1942), Genl. J.C. Smuts (1945), Genl. De Wet (1954), Andries Pretorius (1955), Pres. M.W. Pretorius (1955), Dr. H.F. Verwoerd (1967) and two busts of Adv. J.G. Strijdom (1967), as well as the head of Adv. J.G. Strijdom (1968) (Bosman. 1968: 25-35).

### 2.4.2.1 Church Square

Church Square is the metaphoric and historical centre of Pretoria. It is a formal and sombre public space, featuring the statue of Paul Kruger<sup>28</sup> in the centre.

Kruger, the last President of the ZAR, was central in the early years of negotiating Afrikaner independence. A growing nationalism during the second half of the nineteenth century was driven by the romantic notion of freedom and independence from British rule (Tempelhoff 2005:139-148). As the 19<sup>th</sup> century drew to a close, President Paul Kruger's vision of a free and sovereign Republic, underpinned by a naive Calvinism, was crushed by the imperial force of Britain.

The vision of Afrikaner dominion and independence was taken up again during the next century, when Kruger, though a controversial leader, came to represent Afrikaner ideals. Kruger-day celebrations, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of October, were often

---

<sup>28</sup> The statue of Paul Kruger has a chequered history. It was sponsored by the wealthy Jewish entrepreneur, Sammy Marks (1844-1920), who was a prominent business man in Pretoria at the turn of the century. It was sculpted by local sculptor Anton van Wouw and cast in Rome. The finished statues arrived in the harbour of Delagoa Bay, Mozambique during the Anglo-Boer war and were not allowed to enter the country as it was a political symbol for Afrikaners. Marks, who had to pay a lot in storage costs apparently gave the 4 sculptures of the Boer commanders away to Lord Kitchener, who shipped them to England. He installed them in front of two military colleges. After the war, the British desire to crush Afrikaner Nationalism contributed to the delay of the sculpture of Paul Kruger in Mozambique. Only in 1913 was it brought to South Africa and erected at Prince's Park on the western outskirts of Pretoria, but without the 4 sculptures of the Boer commanders. All of the many requests to Lord Kitchener to hand back the sculptures failed. This only took place after his death. The Prime Minister genl. Jan Smuts was able to negotiate for the sculptures to be returned. On 10 October 1925, Kruger's 100 year birthday, the Kruger sculpture with the 4 commanders was unveiled in front of the Pretoria Station, marginally within the boundaries of the inner city. The growing nationalism reflected by the Voortrekker centenary and the erection of the Voortrekker monument, prompted a campaign to move the statue to Church Square. The original sculptor, Van Wouw, designed a new base and only on 10 October 1954, it was finally unveiled in Church Square, with the 4 surrounding sculptures. This coincided with the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism under dr. DF Malan after the victory of the Nationalist party in 1948 (Breytenbach 1954).

used as part of propaganda campaigns to promote national Afrikaner identity (Tempelhoff 2005:139-148).

The Kruger statue is surrounded by the most important buildings of the old ZAR, the Raadsaal (Old Parliament) to the southwest, the Palace of Justice and the old Reserve bank to the north. This colonial centre of the city was used for important political gatherings, such as the swearing in of the first State President of the Republic of South Africa, C.R. Swart, in 1961 (Labuschagne 2011:151).

#### **2.4.2.2 The City Hall**

In front of the City Hall of Pretoria, a public space has been created, featuring a rectangular fountain and three sculptures that are lined up with the entrance of the city hall. The imposing standing figure of Pres. M.W. Pretorius, and his brother Andries Pretorius (after whom the city was named), depicted on horseback, were both made by sculptor Coert Steynberg and installed in 1955 at the centenary of Pretoria. The third figure, Chief Tshwane<sup>29</sup>, was commissioned by the Tshwane Metropolitan Council as part of the renaming process of Pretoria and was unveiled on 6 July 2006. These statues, as part of an earlier and ongoing process of creating an urban identity, are a political play for power, as Pieter Labuschagne (2006:54) of the UNISA political sciences department

---

<sup>29</sup> The sculpture was made by the Pretoria sculptor, Angus Taylor, a.(Waldner 2006:27) Controversy surrounded the name Tshwane as the existence of chief Tshwane has been questioned and if he actually existed and whether he was an important person in the area of Pretoria (Labuschagne 2006: 59).

points out, and only reinforce the creation of odd and uncomfortable public spaces that do not relate to public life.

If the figure of Tshwane as symbol, in the tradition of pastiche, is aimed at altering the identity of the city to re-dress the injustices of the past, this may be a challenge to achieve. The mythical warrior figure can be understood as operating in the public space as form of colonial mimicry, where there is, to use the words of the Indian postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha, "a desire for a reformed recognizable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (Bhabha 1994:86). If the postcolonial master achieves symbolic authority, then this is achieved only by partially appropriating the recognisable guise of the old colonial masters.



Fig. 5. Angus Taylor, *Tshwane* (2006).



Fig. 6. Coert Steynberg, M.W. Pretorius (1955).



Fig. 7. Coert Steynberg, Andries Pretorius (1955).

### 2.4.2.3 Strijdom Square

Another example of the use of public art to create ideological space, is the infamous Strijdom Square, which, although it no longer exists, forms an important part of the history of Afrikaner Nationalism in Pretoria. The Square was built as part of a project that turned a whole city block into a – self-conscious cultural space. The block features the formal building of the State Theatre, erstwhile gathering space for cultured Afrikaners, as well as the 132m<sup>30</sup> Volkskas Bank building (now ABSA bank), which was founded and developed with Afrikaner capital (Hook 2005:691). To the north of the Volkskas building, a public square was built. It featured a semi-circular concrete dome which shielded a massive sculptured bust of adv. J.G. Strijdom, Prime Minister of South Africa (1954-1958), who was renowned for his outspoken *Apartheid* policies.

---

<sup>30</sup> When it was built in 1976 it was the tallest building in Pretoria, but it was surpassed by the Reserve Bank building, which was completed in 1988 is now the tallest at 150m.

Derek Hook (2005:292), lecturer at the Institute for Social Psychology at the London School of Economics, describes the massive sculpture as:

An ominous and foreboding monument, the floating head appeared as a concretization of the unbending authority of *Apartheid's* power, the unquestionable presence and "rights" of its supremacy and of the extreme warrants of surveillance and control that were its alone to operate.

The Square was ideologically charged by Barend Strijdom, a right-wing activist, who attempted to "start the third Boer war", by randomly firing on people of colour here on 15 November 1988, killing 8 and wounding 14 black South Africans (Hook 2005: 693). Hook suggests that that the ideological aura of the space may have provoked an affected response in such violent activists, though it cannot be seen as cause of the attack. In an ironic twist, the monument collapsed when the structural walls of the underground parking area beneath it gave way on the morning of 31 May 2001, exactly 40 years after the establishment of the Republic. The area remains cordoned off today and the surrounding streets are filled with markets.

From the above examples, it should be clear that public sculpture in Pretoria has followed a fundamental political agenda, and is part of the production of Pretoria as ideological and symbolic place. Lefebvre (1991:220-223) argues that monumental space offered members of society an image of their collective identity and membership, in which an element of exaltation was entangled with repression. When such sites and spaces are no longer appropriated by monuments they become irrelevant, unravel and may even generate violence. It would be fair to concede that the relation of Pretoria's current inhabitants to the sculpture and surrounding public space of the city, are apathetic and that the

space seems cheerless, formal and oppressive. This paper, informed by my artistic process, would like to propose that the development of public sculpture and the activation of space in the future ought to be more in tune with daily life in the city and offer interesting, playful, and contemporary approaches<sup>31</sup>.

## **2.5 WRITING PRETORIA**

The way that Pretoria has been written about has also produced its identity. As part of this argument, an overview of literature on Pretoria is discussed here. It also forms part of a literature review of this dissertation.

The role of cities as spatial embodiment of the South African society, especially since 1994, has been the subject of many books and articles, but surprisingly few have been written specifically about Pretoria. Although much of the literature and debates on urban development are also relevant to the metropolitan city of Tshwane and the inner city of Pretoria, there has been little focus is on the unique topography of Pretoria as capital city and its relation to power. In contrast, a number of new books on Johannesburg and Cape Town have been published. In their book, *Johannesburg the elusive metropolis*, Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttal (2008) describe Johannesburg as being the premier African

---

<sup>31</sup> Some private shopping centres seem to have taken the lead here, like Irene Village Mall, which has a number of cheerful sculptures, and Lynnwood Bridge, where the figure of a donkey has replaced the formal male sculptures.

metropolis for the last hundred years. Their attempt to write Johannesburg 'into the world' as African metropolis in a global context, reflects a general attitude of the marginalized role that Pretoria has come to play.

Most of the books on Pretoria consist of historical overviews written from within the hegemonic, colonial and *Apartheid* narrative. These sources provide some insight on the initial creation and development of the city, but remain biased. Books by Rex (1956), Vivien Allen (1971) and Lola Dunston (1975), give accounts of the early development of the town. Government and municipal publications providing propagandist views abound, like Ploeger & Botha's book (1968) on the fortification of Pretoria, Rencken's 1989 publication on the Union buildings and a book authored by Engelbrecht, Agar-Hamilton, Pelzer & Behrens, published by the Pretoria municipality to celebrate Pretoria's centenary in 1952. A visual documentation was published by the well-known architect, Hannes Meiring, which offered sketches and descriptions on the history of buildings (Meiring, 1980) and Eric Bolsman (2001) who compiled a book about artist's impressions of Pretoria (1857 to 2001), featuring an anecdotal history. All of these books have been written from a eurocentric, colonial perspective and are part of a linguistic production of place. Their extreme one-sided views do not offer any debates or alternatives and can therefore be seen as part of a hegemonic production of place.

Post-*Apartheid* trends have seen an attempt to use architecture as a mode of recourse to address atrocities of the past, mainly in the form of museums and

monuments, but also to define and embrace a new spirit of reconciliation and the new constitution. Many of these projects spawned the publication of books, like *Light on a hill: Building the constitutional court of South Africa* (Law-Viljoen, 2006). Some books showcase trendy contemporary architecture, like Peter Mathews's *Contemporary capital* (2011). These publications are invaluable sources that document architectural developments of the post-*Apartheid* society, but they do not enter into debates about the role of architecture and urban space in society.

*African identity in Post-Apartheid public architecture* (2011), written by Jonathan A. Noble, lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand features a chapter on the Freedom Park in Pretoria, read through the lens of the postcolonial theorist Frantz Fanon's (1986) classic study of colonized subjectivity in his book *Black skin, white masks*. This is a thorough contribution in the debate on producing identity in a post-*Apartheid* South Africa, especially with reference to public buildings and monuments.

The process of postcolonial re-adjustment is ongoing, as debates continue about the meaning and re-assignment of past urban and architectural developments, as well as new projects. In this debate there is a need for more publications on the meaning of cities like Pretoria, such as this dissertation.

## 2.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I presented the argument that Pretoria has been inexorably and consistently produced as a symbolic city. From its establishment during the colonisation of the interior Highveld of Southern Africa by Voortrekkers, it has been a material and symbolic centre for Afrikaner politics. Through the urban design, architecture, public art, signs, names and written literature the city has been created as structural expression of an ideology. As the epi-centre of Afrikaner nationalism, the political identity of Pretoria is inscribed in its buildings and structures and has become embedded into its very geography.

Though the structure of the city is in a process of changing, much of the labyrinth of history remains to be navigated. The identity and symbolism of the city remains deeply rooted in its divergent history and is still visible in the architecture and structures. My hermeneutic quest in this research is to “find in this very ambiguity new possibilities for thoughts and actions, which reminds us that it is possible to open up new discourses” (Lundin 1985:32). I now turn to the argument that identity is also created by everyday life practices of citizens as a response or resistance to the geopolitical order of the state (Kusno 2012:223-4). The inner city of Pretoria has turned into a richly layered palimpsest or assemblage of past and present symbols and signs. These are becoming increasingly illegible, as the city becomes embodied by an ever more heterogeneous group of people.

## CHAPTER 3:

### **The social production of space in the inner city of Pretoria**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

The production of Pretoria as a material reality which represents the ideologies of its Eurocentric builders has been discussed in Chapter 2. In this chapter alternative modes of space production and theories concerning space are reviewed. The relative importance and inherent symbolic content in the structures of the city, versus the socially produced, contemporary space in the city are evaluated in order to open the discourse on the identity of Pretoria. This paper argues that identity is currently produced by the people who live in a space, rather than the symbolic buildings or artefacts. Nonetheless, it also explores the argument that the unique historical character of Pretoria should not become completely meaningless. The international artists Julie Mehretu and Franz Ackermann evaluate and reproduce the instability of urban space in a globalising world. Their contrasting approaches, and the relevance of their work to the issues under discussion, is examined.

Lefebvre wrote on a variety of subjects like language, history, philosophy and sociology, but his key interest was to make urbanism an interdisciplinary field (Kofman & Lebas 1996:16). He developed a complex theory on the social production of space. Moving beyond the Cartesian view of space as objective container, the scientific view where spaces are classified and measured in mathematical language, or the epistemological mental space of philosophers,

Lefebvre defined space as a social product. His definition includes the physical, mental and social, a space "occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopia" (Lefebvre 1991:1-12). He aimed to construct a unitary theory between fields of knowledge which incorporates the dialectical interaction between form and content, thought and reality (Lefebvre 1991:11-13). Lefebvre produced a theory which he referred to as a three-dimensional or trialectic theory of space. This theory on the production of space as interactive and contradictory had a huge impact on various disciplines, such as human geography, sociology and economics, and remains highly relevant to current debates (Shields 2004:208). Lefebvre's theory on the production of space is explored in this chapter as a basis for the discussion of the post-colonial space in the inner city of Pretoria.

Before Lefebvre developed his theory on space he created a linguistic theory where he first applied his trialectic approach<sup>32</sup>. His interest in language theory led him to question the possibility of reading or decoding space as a language or a text (Lefebvre 1991:17). Lefebvre's view on urban space as language forms a relevant basis for a discussion on Pretoria's spatial identity, as a type of super-code, or a linguistic interpretation of a spatial language.

In the production of social space, Lefebvre emphasised the role of the body in everyday life practices. He wrote on everyday life from a Marxist perspective, and his work has played a significant role in establishing everyday life as a valid

---

<sup>32</sup>In 1966 Lefebvre published the book *Le Language et al société*, on the theory of language.

basis for knowledge and study. According to Lefebvre, everyday life encompasses time, connections and interactions between people, objects and structures and is never static. Accepting the premise that space is produced by people, two modes of production are explored, namely rhythms and performativity. Social space is produced through the daily rhythms of life in the city by people, animals and other mobilities such as cars, buses and trains, as well as cyclical climatic factors. Lefebvre theorised the concept 'rhythmanalysis' as a way of studying how rhythms produce the experience of space and identity. The idea of rhythmanalysis is introduced as a way of deciphering the practices through which space is produced and becomes meaningful. As part of the rhythms of a city, the habitual actions of individuals and groups become performative<sup>33</sup>, contributing to the sense of belonging in a space. The role of performative rituals in Pretoria is evaluated in this investigation to measure their importance in the production of space. These modes of production, everyday life, daily rhythms and performances, are examined with reference to the streets as marketplace and taxi ranks. The importance of these spatial production processes, versus the role of symbolic architecture and urban design is then discussed to arrive at a conclusion.

---

<sup>33</sup> Performativity – This expression is ascribed to John Langshaw Austin (J. L." Austin) who developed his particular philosophy of language in the mid twentieth century. Austin's theories relate to those of Lefebvre because it also centred on the ability of language to do other things than describe reality. Austin believed that all utterances must then be viewed as actions. In the process the boundaries among the philosophy of language, the philosophy of action, the philosophy of mind and even ethics have become less sharp (Green 2009).

## **3.2 THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE ACCORDING TO THE THEORIES OF LEFEBVRE**

### **3.2.1 Contextualising Lefebvre**

Although French philosopher Henri Lefebvre's book *The production of space* was written in 1974, it was only translated into English and published in 1991. At that time an awareness of the importance of space in various academic fields was growing. Subsequently spatial debates have become integral to postmodern theory and disciplines such as urban- and human geography, and sociology<sup>34</sup>.

Lefebvre was a twentieth century (1901-1991) Marxist philosopher and sociologist who had lifelong connections with French leftist politics<sup>35</sup>. He worked as a professor in urbanism at Nanterre (today known as Paris West University Nanterre La Défense) from 1965 until his retirement in 1973, where he attempted to make urbanism more interdisciplinary (Kofman & Lebas 1996:16). As a Marxist, Lefebvre saw daily life in the city as alienating and banal and as the result of capitalism, modernist life, and bureaucratically controlled consumerism. For him colonialism was an extension of the capitalist re-ordering of the world and its global domination (Highmore 2002b:117, Wander 1990:viii). It can be argued that as a Twentieth-century European Marxist theorist, Lefebvre's work is completely out of context in a post-colonial

---

<sup>34</sup> Some theorists like Kofman & Lebas, argue that he has become stereotyped and misrepresented by Anglo-American geographers like Edward Soja.

<sup>35</sup> Lefebvre was expelled from the Communist party in 1958 as he distanced himself from Stalinist Marxism and became a proponent of Hegelian Marxism

African city in the twenty-first century. However, his ground-breaking ideas on space and his dialectical approach have transformed the way that we understand space. The emphasis he placed on the importance of embodiment and everyday life as a basis for sociological knowledge have become central to postmodern theories and offer new insights into global phenomena such as migration (Shields 2004: 212). Recently there has been renewed interest in Lefebvre, showing that his work has not lost credibility and can still add value to debates on cities (Highmore 2002b & 2005, Crysler, Cairns & Heynen 2012).

One of the key ideas that Lefebvre brought to the understanding of urban space is his view that space is a product as well as a medium. This means that social space is not a material reality, but is produced by social reality and therefore is not an epistemological starting point, but a simultaneity or synchronic order. Space is also seen in relation to time, which represents the historic process of producing social space. Therefore time and space are more than material realities; they are social products, integral to the production of a society (Lefebvre 1991:110). In the next section some of Lefebvre's theories relating to the discussion of urban space in Pretoria will be examined.

### **3.2.2 The trialectics of space**

In *The production of space* Lefebvre (1991:4-7) argued that epistemological thought, which attempted to create a science and knowledge of space, has failed because it eliminated the 'collective subject', or people as creators of space and language. His purpose was to provide a lived theory of space. He finds an

analogy between space and language, which has to be read or decoded, and posits his theory as a code of codes or a meta-code. Key to his understanding of space is the dialectical interaction between subjects and their surroundings. The professor in urban sociology in Zurich, Christian Schmid (2008:30), notes that the dialectical thinking that underlies Lefebvre's theories refers to a "social reality that is marked by contradictions and can only be understood through the comprehension of these contradictions". Lefebvre (1991:21) criticised Hegel's dialectic or Hegelianism, where historical time leads to space that the state rules over, pointing out that in this view, history does not take account of individual lives, but only of institutions, groups or systems. Hegel's 'end of history theory' means that history as a concept disappears by being transformed from action to memory. Epistemological history is animated by knowledge and language. It gains self-sufficiency, becomes solidified, and is constructed as fixed in rationality. Therefore Hegel's theory on space cannot provide for lived space. Another criticism Lefebvre offered was the handling of time, which becomes meaningless in the establishment of an immobile space of reason.

Lefebvre's dialectic, although influenced by his critique of Hegelian dialectics, was highly original. In the Hegelian dialectic, a concept (*thesis*) can only be fully understood by the negation or overcoming of itself (*antithesis*), which places it on a higher level. A third concept then 'sublates' the negation (*synthesis*). The meaning of sublating<sup>36</sup> (to assimilate a smaller entity into a larger one) is described as preserving and ceasing at the same time, while

---

<sup>36</sup> The original German term: *Das Aufheben des Widerspruchs* offer a deeper insight and is translated as: sublation of contradiction (Schmid 2008:30).

moving to a higher level. The relationship or unity between the opposites forms the whole or moments of the whole (Schmid 2008:30-33).

Lefebvre developed a three-dimensional dialectic (named 'trialectic'), in which three moments are dialectically interconnected. These moments are: material social practise or *spatial practice* (derived from Marx), language, knowledge and thought or *representations of space* (derived from Hegel), and the creative, poetic act or *spaces of representation* (derived from Nietzsche). In this three-dimensional conception, the nature of the dialectic has been fundamentally altered, the three moments exist in interaction, in conflict or in alliance with each other. They have equal status and operate in relation to each other as a triadic (Schmid, 2008:33).<sup>37</sup> This dialectical approach is a valuable model for theorising post-colonial cities such as Pretoria, as they constantly present completely opposing ideas and structures within the same reality.

The three moments exist parallel to another series of three terms, and they are therefore doubly designated: *spatial practice*, *representations of space* and *spaces of representation* on the one hand, and *perceived*, *conceived* and *lived space* on the other. Schmid (2008:29-30) maintains that these parallel series

---

<sup>37</sup> It is important to note that Lefebvre has altered the original dialectics. As Schmid (2008:33) explains: " Whereas the Hegelian (and also the Marxian) dialectic rests on two terms in contradiction with each other that are sublated by the third term, Lefebvre's triadic dialectic posits three terms. Each of these can be understood as a thesis and each one refers to the other two and would remain a mere abstraction without the others. This triadic figure does not end in a synthesis as in Hegelian system. It links three moments that are left distinct from each other, without reconciling them in a synthesis- three moments that exist in interaction, in conflict or in alliance with each other. Thus the three terms or moments assume equal importance, and each takes up a similar position in relation to the others. In this way a new, three-dimensional or triadic version of the dialectic emerges."

represent a twofold approach to space, the first linguistic or semiotic, and the second phenomenological.

As mentioned above, Lefebvre's production of space has to be understood, not as a simple diagram, but rather as a contradictory, three-dimensional interaction through which social space is produced as product as well as a medium. It is this aspect of his work that has been misinterpreted by some Anglo American theorists<sup>38</sup> (Schmid 2008: 42). This trialectics of space according to Lefebvre can be explained in the following way.

### *3.2.2.1 Spatial practice*

According to Lefebvre (1991:38) the spatial practice of society "secretly that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it." He explains that "It is an interaction between daily reality and urban reality" but it is a dialectical or paradoxical association, because it includes separation between the places it binds together (Lefebvre, 1991:38).

The inner city of Pretoria is an example of such spatial practice, where the contradictions between urban structure and the daily life are evident. The

---

<sup>38</sup> Schmid (2008:42) argues that the postmodern interpretation of Lefebvre by Ed Soja, professor in urban planning at the University of California, whose books the Postmetropolis (Soja 2000) and Spaces of modernity (Soja 2002) have been very influential, also posed major problems. Soja developed his own theory of Third space, seemingly based on Lefebvre's dialectical theory, but it has in fact very little in common with Lefebvre. While Soja refers to three spaces to divide different approaches of urban research into three categories, Lefebvre did not refer to three spaces, but three dialectically interconnected processes of production (Schmid 2008:42).

architecture and urban grid has a narrative that refers to colonial history and a modernist *Apartheid* era, but the formality of the architecture forms a strong contrast to the informal and temporary character of life on the pavements. My investigation into Pretoria's urban geography draws heavily on Lefebvre's work. For instance, the dialectical, intertwined relationship between architecture and daily life is explored in the art work *Saturday Morning* (2012) (fig.8). There is a marked contrast between the people's colourful clothes, the informal stalls selling wares specifically for African customers, and the formal columns of the building, yet they are still caught up in the historical grid. This dialectical combination of postcolonial people, colonial architecture and modernist grid produce unique new realities.



Fig.8. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Saturday Morning*, detail (2012).

Lefebvre characterizes spatial practice as a *perceived space*, containing the interaction between institutional environment and daily routines. This space can

be perceived, analysed or deciphered to reveal the society's spatial practice and spatial competence, but can only be evaluated empirically (Lefebvre 1991:38). This description of perceived space is thus phenomenological and relates to the way this dissertation attempts to decipher the space in Pretoria.

#### 3.2.2.2 *Representations of space*

This is conceptualized as the planned and organised space, referring to the space used by scientists, planners, urban designers and engineers to conceptualise and structure a city. It is identified by Lefebvre (Lefebvre 1991: 38-39) as *conceived* space, and is the dominant mode of production in a society. These representations exist as discourse, speech, signs, and images, such as maps and plans, and are part of social science.

In Pretoria, conceived space is created by the rectangular urban grid, the architecture with its symbolisms (as discussed in the previous chapter), signs, names of buildings and streets, and public sculpture, such as the Paul Kruger statue. As a space that was strategic in planning and executing bureaucratic control of the hegemonic policies of *Apartheid*, Pretoria played a significant role in producing representations of space in South Africa, as demonstrated in the previous chapter. As administrative capital, Pretoria remains essential in producing conceived space, just like the space of Parliament in Cape Town. Conceived space is the mode of production examined in the art exhibition associated with this dissertation. Images, words, maps, and grids formed a physical part of the exhibition. This part refers to conceived space as symbolic.

Art exhibitions that are set up in official galleries like the UNISA gallery are inherently also conceived space. This aspect will be discussed further in the next chapter.

### *3.2.2.3 Spaces of representation*

Representational space can easily be confused with the previous category, representations of space. The latter refers to the representations, images and plans of spatial developments. As the third in the triad of *perceived* and *conceived* space, it is identified as *lived* space. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects (Lefebvre 1991:39). The resulting material reality has the ability to convey meaning, therefore it is a symbolic dimension of space, or a process of signification, rather than physical space itself. Lefebvre (1991:33) describes it as "complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life". It is alive, qualitative, fluid and dynamic, and incorporates time and history (Lefebvre 1991:44). Parts of the inner city of the capital can be seen as representational space. For instance, Church Square was built to represent power in the early stages of Pretoria and was originally conceived as a centre of power and religious gathering, and during *Apartheid* a space for the exclusive use of whites. Currently the square does not function as that specific conceived space any more. It has lost its representational function. This will be analysed in detail in Chapter 4, and constitutes the central argument of this dissertation, that the meaning of Pretoria is no longer produced by the legacy of Afrikaner domination, but by the city's inhabitants themselves.

Representational space is a concept which has been interpreted in various ways by different writers. Shields(1991:54) regards spaces of representation as complex re-coded and de-coded versions of lived space, or an over-coding, meta-concept which infiltrates symbolic systems and can refer to entire spatial ways of life, such as that practiced in informal settlements and slums. However, it is important to note that the definition of the term ‘spaces of representation’ is not limited to extremities such as informal settlements, but embraces the everyday life of places with all their symbolic values and contradictions, as argued by Simenson (2005:7). For Lefebvre (1991:44), conceived space denotes the spaces associated with ideology, such as churches, the altar, or sanctuaries. Although ideology per se consists primarily of discourse, it achieves stability by intervening in and producing a social or representational space, as is demonstrated by the following example.

Pretoria was produced and conceived as a living space and symbolic place for Afrikaners, but a new space is produced in the daily life of the city, giving it a different meaning. As part of the current production of conceived space, the street names of the city have been changed to represent another social reality. Through the act of re-naming, the current municipality is clearly adding another layer of representational space. In this it is producing its own spaces by overlaying and changing the previous spaces.

Another example of a representational space is the Voortrekker monument, although not situated in the inner city. It is a space created by and for ideology,

and used in the past as a space for the invocation of that ideology<sup>39</sup>. The Union Buildings would be another example. As the official office of the president, it represents the highest power in the country. The power is still invoked at times such as the inauguration of new presidents.

In all of these examples it is not merely the architecture which creates the representational space, but the space associated with it. As Lefebvre (1991:44) explains, a representational space is a place where ideology achieves consistency and stability as it intercepts with social space. In the clash of ideologies, such as is evident in the tensions caused by the change of road names in Pretoria, spaces of representation can also be lost. Lefebvre (1991: 131) set out to debate whether a space can be read as a text. This debate will be followed in the next section.

### **3.2.3 Urban space as a language**

Lefebvre (1991:131-137) asked to what extent a space can be conceived of as a language or discourse. His view was that every language is located in space and therefore every discourse is produced in, or emitted from a space. To an extent every discourse says something about space even if it is not a discourse about space. According to him there is an inevitable relationship between language and space, but a discourse or theory about space can be viewed as a 'supercode', a code of codes. He argued that instead of stressing the formal aspects of codes,

---

<sup>39</sup> The Voortrekker monument was built to commemorate the Great trek in which Afrikaners sought independence and freedom. It has often been used in the twentieth century as a gathering place for ideological celebrations, such as: the inauguration where thousands of people camped out to celebrate Afrikaner values. It is not the focus of this dissertation, which deals with the inner city, and is therefore not discussed further.

the dialectical character was imperative. This means that discourse emerges from the interaction between subjects and their space as well as the coming-into-being and disappearance of codes (Lefebvre 1991:17-18). For a clarification of his theory he referred to Surrealism, which sought to decode inner space and its relation to the outside world.

Lefebvre's ideas on language seem valid, though not very practical. He provides an ambiguous 'yes and no' answer to the question of whether space can be read as language (1991:131). Although it may not yet be clear at this point, following his paradoxical argument extends the discourse about space, opening greater access to reading the urban space of Pretoria. In his debate Lefebvre(1991:133) argued that language has been viewed in two ways; Language as science and language as signs.

#### 3.2.3.1. *Language as science*

One way that language has been viewed is as science, which contains a chain of signifiers with the purpose of attaining knowledge. The signifiers can be extended to images, sounds, architecture and other signifiers capable of carrying knowledge. This knowledge is fundamental and stable, producing an absolute knowledge, like epistemology, which refers to acquired knowledge and its language, or semiology, dealing with sets of non-verbal signs. According to this view, space, urban design, architecture and art are languages, reduced to a 'logic' of signs and knowledge, including all the objects in the space and its 'knowledges'. Fiercely critical of this view, Lefebvre claimed that it has created

a vacuum, which: "when not surrounded by silence is buried in a mass of meta-language, empty words and chit-chat about discourse" (1991:134). For him it ignores the phenomenology of lived experience.

The second chapter of this dissertation is constructed within the abovementioned epistemological framework, as it presents knowledge about architecture and urban structures as stable and absolute. It attempts to uncover the coming-into-being of space, which carried certain intentions. Subsequent chapters emphasise that though a level of knowledge is helpful, it is not absolute and changes over time as new social values emerge.

#### 3.2.3.2. *Language as sign*

The second view of language denotes signs as powerful hegemonic weapons, even harbingers of death. Words, images or sounds are seen as rigid, abstract, and menacing because they act as doubles for real experiences. There is a gap between the signified and the signal. The language or sign creates a new world separate from nature. In this view space is seen as locus for communication by means of signs, and communication risks the death of the 'real' meaning. The German meta-philosopher, Frederich Nietzsche claims that language, "always leads beyond presentness, towards an elsewhere and above all towards a hyper-visualisation which eventually destroys it" (Lefebvre1991:135). Nietzsche believes that it can be rescued only by poetry as the poet snatches words from the jaws of death, creating a metamorphosis of signs.

This chapter attends to the second view of space, yet because it is still a discourse written in language, it remains a substitute for the real experience. My art exhibition *Pretoria: Past, Present, Precarious* at the UNISA Gallery was another attempt to communicate the space through maps, images and an installation, though it can also be regarded as another meta language. In the two opposing views of language under discussion, which move from discourse as knowledge, to the science of discourse, space resembles discourse; it contains a systems of verbal and other signs, connections, articulations and functions. Lefebvre (1991:136) felt it was insufficient to theorise space as a language, as the signifying process happens in space, which cannot be reduced to a literary language. He argued that there is no need to reconcile the two theses on language because it is resolved by space, through the harmonisation of living bodies. His basis for dialectical thinking draws on social thought, sublated by social action, supplemented by the third factor, the creative or poetic act (Schmid 2008:33). For Lefebvre such spaces are alive, full of meaning and reflect a local temporality. The following quote is an example of this view: Architecture produces living bodies, each with its own distinctive traits. The animating principle of such a body, its presence, is neither visible nor legible as such, nor is it the object of any discourse, for it reproduces itself within those who use the space in question, within their lived experience. Of that lived experience the tourist, the passive spectator, can grasp but a pale shadow (Lefebvre 1991:137).

Lefebvre's view that all discourse happens in space and has an element of space to it has been outlined. This was followed by an overview of how space could be evaluated as a language or discourse, depending on how language is viewed.

Lefebvre's solution to the quandary was that a comprehensive understanding of space requires more than the narrow views of language, because it encompasses action. Taking the cue from Lefebvre, some of the difficulties of reading space as a language will now be examined.

### **3.3 READING, WRITING AND TRANSLATING SPACE**

The reading of an urban space presents many difficulties and many ways of reading. If space could be read, it has to be acknowledged that it is not produced to be read, but produced by bodies to be lived. Lefebvre (1991:143) insisted that the cataloguing, classifying and decoding of space does not move beyond description. My embodied experience of growing up in Pretoria, combined with this research through rhythm analysis and other approaches, leads me to agree that a reading of post-*Apartheid* city space requires multiple and complex strategies. Its proliferation of hybrid cultures, new signs and cultural products, would seem to confirm Bourriaud's (2009:49-55) view that signs are no longer linked to history and reality. A process of translation and ultimately displacement is required to decipher and decode new signs. The South African artist Dorothee Kreutzfeldt, who documented hand painted signs advertising products and services in the city of Johannesburg, regards these as a new visual language, produced by an array of migrants that reflect the constant flux in the city (Murinik 2004:77). Kreutzfeldt produced a series of site-specific paintings

on buildings in the inner city of Johannesburg, collaborating with sign writers (Greslé 2005: 51). This work serves to illustrate that the reading of new signs against old buildings is part of a new translation of urban space. This new understanding of urban space incorporates problems of ownership, long faced by graffiti artists. The same is true in Pretoria, where the re-appropriation of space by entrepreneurs is common. Fig. 10 illustrates an example of entrepreneurs setting up a photographic 'shop' against the old Raadsaal (Parliament building of the ZAR), effectively translating the reading of the architecture and space.



Fig. 9. Dorothee Kreutzfeldt, *Two men on a bench* (2010).



Fig. 10. Old Parliament (Photograph E van der Klashorst).

The reading of an urban space demands a reader as well as a speaker who translates the reading into discourse. This implies that there is a process or level of interpretation, depending on who the reader or speaker is. The interpretation and translation of space is the point where the meaning and identity is created. The French art curator Nicolas Bourriaud (2002:30-54) refers to the translation that migrants have experience in new communities as acts of displacement which involve the adaptation of meaning as it passes from one code to another, but remains incomplete. Lefebvre (1991:142) concurs when he argues that urban space as a language is over-subscribed, resembling rather a rough draft that is self-contradictory, which offers directions rather than signs. Added to that is the problem that once an attempt is made to read an urban space, it becomes apparent that there are actually many spaces that can be decoded in many ways (Lefebvre 1991:162-163).

Although Pretoria was not produced as a text, it represents a locus where influential ideologies emerged in South Africa. As Lefebvre (1991:110) noted, the past leaves its inscriptions on the writing tablet of space. The urban space can be read, but its interpretation depends on the reader and the speaker. This dissertation remains a translation, removed from real lived space of the inner city, as does the art exhibition, yet a reading is essential to foster the debates that allow for progressive thinking on the topic.

This section illuminated the theories of Lefebvre on the production of space as a three-dimensional dialectic, or trialectic, and looked into the possibilities and

problems of analysing space as a text or language to be read. Despite the complexities in attempting a reading, it is essentially the aim of this dissertation to show how space in Pretoria is produced considering both the past and the present, and how space can be understood as a social product. This process can now be extended by looking at specific modes of production such as daily life, rhythms and performance.

### **3.4 EVERYDAY LIFE AS A MODE OF PRODUCING AND EVALUATING SPACE IN PRETORIA**

The theories of Henri Lefebvre on the production of social space and the reading of that space have been attended to in the previous section. Modes of production of space can now be probed, as well as ways of reading and theorising space.

Lefebvre (1991:40) stressed that the perceived-conceived-lived triad cannot be grasped as abstract ideological model, but is concrete and produced by human presence. He felt so strongly about the role of the body in spaces that he claimed it was a base for philosophy and discourse. In the study of everyday life as mode of production, the spatial body has to be a point of departure and a destination.

Kirsten Simonsen (2005:2), professor in geography at the Roskilde University in Denmark, refers to Lefebvre's concept of the body in space as a phenomenological body<sup>40</sup>. Other theorists, such as the French philosopher Pierre

Bordieu, use the term embodiment as crucial to understanding the sense of

---

<sup>40</sup> She traces the influences that led to Lefebvre's concept of bodies in space. As aforementioned, Lefebvre was initially influenced by the socialist Karl Marx, who characterized bodies through work, which is how they transform nature and their own nature. The limit of his philosophy was that he reduced human reality to work. Lefebvre later embraced a broader phenomenological philosophy.

place. Anne-Marie Fortier (1999: 48), lecturer in sociology, Lancaster University, describes bodies as the raw material through which place is experienced, and how bodies in turn, become signifiers of particular notions of place. Human bodies are consequently the producers of everyday life.

### **3.4.1 Everyday life as a theory**

In recent years everyday life has developed into an academic field of study. Ben Highmore (2002a & b, 2005), a senior lecturer in cultural studies at the University of West England, has edited and written a number of books concerning everyday life. He argues that everyday life is so diverse, it includes almost everything, and therefore it lies outside most fields of knowledge. However, at the same time it impacts almost every discipline, and can be called a para- or meta- field. The usefulness of everyday life is that it is both illusory and real, revealing non-apparent structures of society (Highmore 2002a:8).

There are several complexities in studying everyday life. Firstly, it is about the lived experience, which makes it temporary, always changing, unstable and questionable. Yet it is precisely this temporality which is relevant to this discussion, as it provides a way of understanding the changes in the space of Pretoria. The second complexity is the difficulty of capturing everyday life in words. Lefebvre (1984:13-15) resisted the idea of the written word, despite the

fact that he wrote several books<sup>41</sup> on everyday life, regarding words as ‘killing’ the moment of live exchange and dialogue. He called it the use of philosophy for the study of the non-philosophical. The French philosopher and Jesuit theologian Michel De Certeau (in Highmore 2002b:163), also referred to the impossibility of ever registering the everyday, as it continually evokes possibility. Despite its elusiveness it reveals much about a society. Various authors have formulated theories on everyday life, including the concepts of performativity and rhythm to be discussed in Chapter 4.

### **3.4.2 Lefebvre and everyday life**

As aforementioned, Lefebvre made a considerable contribution in establishing the notion of everyday life as a subject of social study and method through which social space is produced. He was influenced by the German Philosopher Martin Heidegger (Haar 1993:21-28), who theorised the term everydayness as a part of *dasein*, being in the world, where work and everydayness are equated. Lefebvre (1991: 39-47, 1984:73) included every aspect of daily life in his theories, citing that the everyday often weighs heaviest on women in their private lives. Being a Marxist, Lefebvre (1984:65) considered modernisation as threatening, producing a technological and industrial world of meaningless consumerism, where the urban provides a programmed setting for humankind’s alienated existence. One may argue that an overly-politicised and pessimistic

---

<sup>41</sup> Lefebvre wrote three volumes on the critique of everyday life, and another book, on *Everyday life in the modern world* (Lefebvre 1990), making a huge contribution to the establishment of everyday life as a field of sociological exploration and philosophical reflection on social change.

attitude prevented Lefebvre from developing more practical and useful theories on everyday life. Nonetheless, to an extent the views of Lefebvre are visible in the everyday life in Pretoria, where the machinery of the bureaucratic civil services provides a large section of daily work and contributes to its identity. It must be pointed out, however, that it shares few features with the robotic technocratic machine that Lefebvre refers to. The work of Bourdieu, Bergson, de Certeau, Deleuze and Guattari also provides insights on everyday life and is briefly explored below.

### **3.4.3 Habitus, duration, assemblages**

The French sociologist, anthropologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu (2005:43-49) proposed the term *habitus*, as his theory about place. He defined it as a system of long-lasting dispositions or schemes that can also be referred to as a style or a practice, adhered to by a social group of people. *Habitus* can also be viewed as habits, which are internalised or embodied through the social order (Dovey 2005:284). Bourdieu refers to it as a sense of place that is also a sense of one's place in the world (Dovey 2010: 7). Going back in history, one can describe the early years of Pretoria as a habitus, because it functioned as a place of religious and cultural congregation. As discussed in Chapter two Pretoria was disrupted by the invasion of the British in 1900 during the war. Likewise other periods of development in the Afrikaner dominated *Apartheid* city could be seen as examples of *habitus*. Present day examples that could be described as *habitus* are privatised suburbs, where homogeneity is ensured through regulations in building styles, access control and social rules, or even some of the older

suburbs where behaviour is not that strictly regulated, but still conformed to. *Habitus* does not provide an adequate hypothesis for understanding the inner city, because there is such a diversity of people and styles which is in contrast to the architecture.

As an alternative to *habitus*, the term *duration*, as proposed by Henri Bergson (Judson 2011:26), can be considered as a theory describing both place and everyday life. Bergson defined *duration* as a non-spatial, continuous multiplicity of conscious states, where past and present form the whole of our experience. This multiplicity of states is related to the temporality of existence and is qualitative and non-measurable, a spatialised time (Judson, 2011:19-21).

Although *duration* incorporates spatialised time, it remains a non-spatial non-material reality, and can therefore not explain the dialectical interaction between the material structure and social space of Pretoria. The inclusion of time and memory as states of consciousness is an interesting aspect of making a space. The presence and absence of memories connected to the space is important in the accompanying art exhibition and will be taken up again in the final chapter. Deleuze and Guattari (in Dovey 2010:16-20) re-interpreted duration as an ontology, the foundation of how we experience reality, but proposed a theory of assemblages as a more feasible way of theorising the totality of everyday life. Assemblages can be applied to ideas, words or places. In His book *Becoming places*, Kim Dovey (2010:16-17), professor in architecture at The University of Melbourne, uses the example of a street to apply the theory; the street may

contain buildings, sidewalks, cars, people, trees, signs and so on, which together form a loose assemblage. Dovey (2010:17) explains that it is "an assemblage of material things, flows and spatial connections that co-exist with representational narratives, urban design codes and intensities". Comparable to good artworks the concept of assemblage is therefore dynamic, but stable and interconnected. The important point that Dovey makes is that the meaning of place is not inherent in the material objects and urban form, or simply added on to it, it is an integral part of the assemblage. This description matches the inner city of Pretoria. It is an assemblage of colonial architecture, Eurocentric urban structure, and street markets. It is inhabited by a diversity of locals, immigrants, styles and languages, and they are connected through the flows of traffic, selling and buying of goods and musical performances.

These assemblages are identified as territories by Deleuze and Guattari (1987:310). Territories are not rigid, and may refer to social or spatial boundaries. When a territory is eroded or destabilised, it leads to a de-territorialisation. Once stability has been re-established there is a re-territorialisation. Boundaries are not always material but can be similarities in culture, which resembles Bourdieu's habitus. This process of forming and reforming territories aptly describes the processes through which Pretoria has evolved into its contemporary state. It is however a precarious territory that is easily destabilised. The changing of street names is an example of physical and symbolic de-territorialisation from a bureaucratic perspective. The changing of names followed rather than led the de-territorialisation, which started when the

new ANC government took residence in all the state and municipal offices. The cultural and legal changes led to a de-territorialisation, followed by a re-territorialisation of the city.

This flux in territories, which become layered with artefacts that partially move, fragment and recombine, is apparent in the large paintings of the Afro-American artist, Julie Mehretu.<sup>42</sup> Mehretu references urban planning grids, architectural imagery, graffiti and Japanese/Chinese calligraphy, to build compositions through a meticulous process of layering and stacking. Each layer gets embedded within a transparent film, onto which a new layer is painted, sometimes retracing previous marks, sometimes erasing areas as in *Black city* (fig.11) (2007). She produces mapped territories or assemblages in which viewers become archaeologists that try to make visual sense of the picture (Allen 2010:45). However, the constant irregular decomposition and recomposition between layers, present an elusive reality that shifts between past and present, conscious and unconscious. These territories resemble Deleuze and Guattari's (1987: 502) description of strata as mobile, serving as substrata for more layers. As a stratum collides with another, independent of an evolutionary order, interstratic movements and transcoding create more stratification. A new world is created from chaos through this stratification process, as well as its reverse, an erosion of layers (De Zegher 2007:31).

---

<sup>42</sup> Mehretu is an African-American painter, born in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 1970. Her family moved to the United States in 1977. She studied in Michigan, but also in Dakar Senegal (1990-91), and currently lives in New York.

If one applies this theory to Pretoria, from a social perspective there has been a major shift in the territory resulting in a precarious and transient space. The space is now produced by a heterogeneous mix of people who have no 'real' connection to the symbolic structures in the space. Bourriaud (2009: 104) refers to a general precariousness as: "a culture in which there is no longer any master narrative - historical or mythical - around which forms can be organized." Because connections have been severed to master narratives, there is a lack of grounding. The mix of cultures presently found in Pretoria also resembles the description of Deleuze & Guattari 's (1987:512) Abstract Machine:

... its pieces are the various assemblages and individuals, each of which groups together an infinity of particles entering into an infinity of more or less interconnected relations.

The post-colonial landscape of Pretoria can be regarded as an assemblage of symbolic structures and architecture that forms part of a territory, which is defined by a heterogeneous mix of people, who are mostly unconnected in the master narratives that produced Pretoria as described in the first chapter. A sense of grounding is created through the daily use of the space, by human actions such as informal trading, walking and talking.

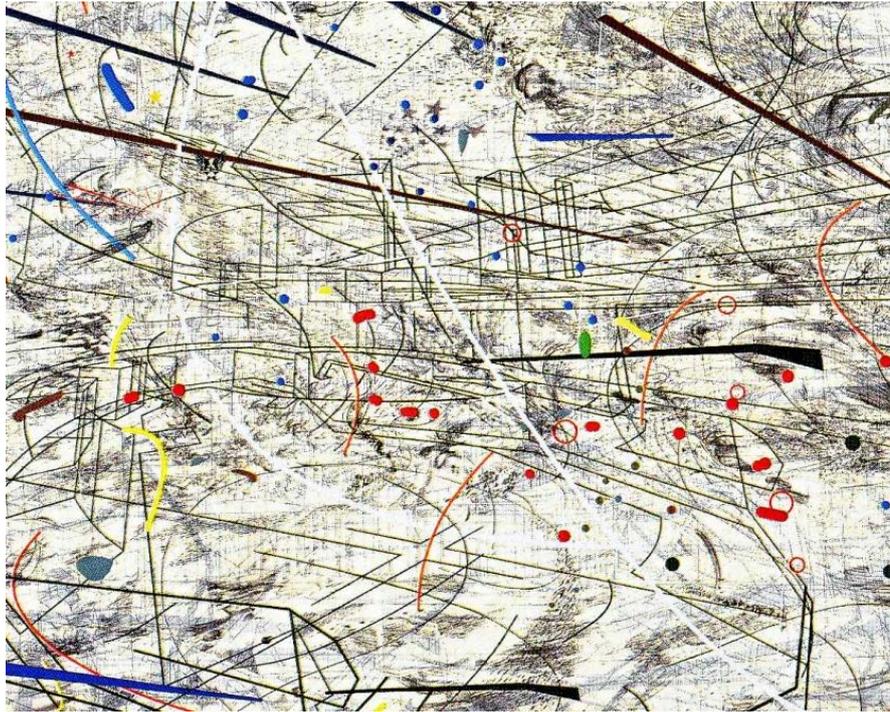


Fig.11. Julie Mehretu, *Black City* (2007).

### 3.3.4 Walking and talking the city

De Certeau, (1993: 151-159) presented a theory on how space is produced by people walking, talking and being in a place. Therefore, the street, which is geometrically defined by urban planning, is transformed into a space by walkers. There are obvious similarities with Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, but De Certeau (1993:153) takes the production of space to another, almost idyllic level, as he claims that people are the ordinary practitioners who write the text of the city, yet they cannot read the text. These practitioners make use of spaces that cannot be seen; their knowledge of them is as blind as that of lovers in each other's arms. The paths that correspond in this intertwining, unrecognized poems in which each body is an element signed by many others, elude legibility

De Certeau's claim that the text of the city cannot be read by those same people who write it, is meant in a philosophical way, but in Pretoria it has many literal applications. The text of Pretoria has become multi-layered and dense, with remnants of the different people who have played a part in the writing, but at the same time it has become illegible. There is a mix of nostalgia, amnesia, ignorance and indifference regarding the meaning of the space that comes from different people. Some like me, who have known the city since childhood, either experience the nostalgia of personal memories, or simply choose to forget possibly because the space is different now and they cannot relate to it anymore. Many people are unaware of the significance of the space and others, like migrants, are simply not interested because they have other priorities. The space has become illegible as codes and signs or street names and the purpose of certain buildings have changed and different languages are spoken. As De Certeau claims, the text has many stories but has neither author nor spectator, and it remains indefinitely *other*. De Certeau (Leach 2005: 299) contrasts the geometrical constructions and geographical space with the poetic, mythical, anthropological experience of space. He refers to a metaphorical city that "slips into the text of the planned and readable city". In my own work, *Pretoria: Spun city* (2012) (Fig.12), different layers of people walking through the city are interwoven and collide, demanding a constant transcoding between strata. As the three-dimensional images of people move through layers of history, they activate the space and produce new texts.

Perhaps because I am an artist it is precisely the fascinating dialectical relationship between the structure and the social space in Pretoria that I want to address. De Certeau adds another dimension to Deleuze and Guattari's concept of assemblages. To the performance and the experience of the space he adds a mythical and anthropological depth that is included in the everyday, but on a deeper, almost subconscious artistic level like painting, poetry or the writing of a text.

Highmore (2002b:164) proposes that De Certeau's work should be seen as a Freudian analysis of space, where the unconscious is always present, insinuating itself in Freudian slips or parapraxis, yet the unconscious can never be directly accessed as it never declares itself. It is present only as censorship, repression, revision and defence (Highmore 2002b:164). Likewise Lefebvre (1984:122) refers to everyday life that is visible everywhere, but also invisible: "Everyday life is always hiding behind folds and circumvolutions, for it cannot exist if it is not self-elusive." If a hidden structure exists, it is so integral to everyday life that it cannot be studied. The unconscious or hidden structure in the space of Pretoria, as in *Pretoria: Spun city* (2012) (fig12.) can therefore not be read directly, but it must be alluded to by parapraxis or small tell-tale signs. Cutting and layering produce glimpses and fragments of information, intermingled with a sense of daily life. To my mind, under analysis in this work, the inner city of Pretoria is a precarious assemblage, where well-preserved colonial and modernist structures mix with people, walking, talking, trading, eating, and so forth, as part of writing a text and producing a social space.



Fig.12. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Pretoria: Spun city*, detail (2012).

Julie Mehretu also refers to the movement of individuals by using swarms of marks that drift across and between layers and grids to create movement and fluidity (De Zegher 2007:18). Instead of architectural language delineating the space, the characters and swarms actually develop and create the space. The architectural language serves as a marker to the type and the history of the space, but the characters make the space and break it down (Meretu 2005: 29-30).

In relating to the impact of people that produce their own space against the urban structures, her work resonates with the arguments in this dissertation.

Architectural lecturer at WITS, Hannah Le Roux (2005: 52), argues that colonial modernist architecture has become an indelible part of Africa's geography, as old structures become re-inhabited and re-used according to the imagination of its users, rather than erased. She claims that: "Modernism at worst is a sort of

landscape of recyclable material and at best serves as scaffolding for the renewal of the city's social structures". The simple, repeated actions of daily life such as walking the streets and re-inhabiting the space produce meaning.

### **3.5 CONCLUSION**

The production of space as a medium and social activity, as described by Lefebvre, provides a better framework to understand the urban space of Pretoria, than the production of symbolic structures as set out in Chapter 2. Everyday life proves to be elusive, yet imperative in an attempt to establish a sense of place. Deleuze and Guattari's theory of assemblages and territorialisation further helps to illuminate the way space is produced and reproduced. In their effectiveness, De Certeau's poetic descriptions of how space is produced through simple activities like walking and talking confirm the need for alternative conceptions of space. It is clear that space is produced amidst shared material realities, by people, through direct actions, inherent attitudes, knowledge, memory and intentions. The next chapter examines practical ways of producing space, like daily rhythms and performances.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **Daily rhythms and performance as a mode of producing social space in Pretoria.**

#### **4.1 RHYTHMANALYSIS**

##### **4.1.1 The concept of rhythmanalysis**

Lefebvre (2004:15) claimed that: "Everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time, and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm". He developed a theory on rhythmanalysis in the third volume of his *Critique of everyday life*. These ideas were extended further in the book *Rhythmanalysis: Space time and everyday life* (Lefebvre 2004), which was published after his death and only translated into English in 2004. This thin volume contains an ambitious project: to found a new science, a new field of knowledge (Lefebvre, 2004:3). Lefebvre did not establish a new science, but his ideas stimulated discourse on time-space and everyday life. In his analysis, Tim Edensor (2010: 1), lecturer in cultural geography at Manchester Metropolitan University, notes that Lefebvre's ideas on rhythmanalysis are particularly useful in explaining the mechanics of the social production of space. Through these multiscale rhythms and cycles, the spatio-temporal patterns of life can be more accurately described and recorded. As with all of Lefebvre's work, the different modalities like rhythm, the body, time, space, and everyday life are tightly interconnected and based on his idea that "what we live are rhythms" (Lefebvre, 1991:206).

The concept of rhythmanalysis did not originate with Lefebvre. According to Edensor (2010:1) the Swedish geographer Hagerstrand's writings on time-

geography, showing how individuals' paths cross each other and connect with institutions, technologies and physical surroundings, grounding them in time-space and place, were the precursor to rhythmanalysis. The term rhythmanalysis is originally derived from the French philosopher Gaston Bachelard<sup>43</sup>, who wrote on duration and rhythmanalysis in his publications<sup>44</sup>. Lefebvre was also influenced by other writers, like Henri Bergson's concept of duration, described as a coexistence of the past and present (and the possibility of the future) in space, a multiplicity of states that relates to a continual process of change which underlies the reality of all things. It has a qualitative non-measurable sense of time (Judson 2011: 20). For Lefebvre the multiplicity of states was defined as a theory of moments. In his theory of moments, he was influenced by Nietzsche's idea of *Augenblick*, the blink of an eye, where past and future collide (Elden, 2004:x). According to Lefebvre (2004:15) "Every rhythm implies the relation of time with space, a localised time, or if one wishes, a temporalised place."

Rhythms can therefore be said to be an essential part of the production of space. The repetitive, temporality of regular and unexpected rhythms, and moments also help to create distinctive places as Edensor (2010:3) argues. It is not only localised places that are produced, but places as part of infinitely complex intercity spatial networks that stretches out social space (Massey 1995:54). This sense of place is always becoming, "seething with emergent properties" as Edensor (2010:3) described it, but is stabilised by daily patterns and rhythms.

---

<sup>43</sup> Gaston Bachelard 1884-1962 was one of Europe's leading philosophers

<sup>44</sup> The poetics of space. 1969, translated by Maria Jolas, Boston: Beacon, and Dialectic of duration. 2000, translated by Mary McAllester Jones. Manchester: Cinnamon Press.

There are several aspects to rhythm analysis that have a practical application in the city of Pretoria. These include the role of the body as creator and spectator who experience rhythms in everyday life, the way that power is wielded by authorities in the engineering of flows of rhythms, the role of mobilities like traffic, people and animals, as well as the role of sensual qualities such as aural, visual and haptic senses as experiential aesthetics. All of these elements contribute to the production of a temporal space. In the next section the way that space is produced by rhythms is discussed in two specific locations: taxi-ranks and side-walk trading in the centre of Pretoria.

#### **4.1.2 Informal trading on the pavements**

The designated areas for street trading, such as Church Street east of Church Square, which is closed to traffic, are a characteristic feature of the inner city of Pretoria. This is an area where street trading is formalised since only licensed stalls are allowed. There are other areas where stalls tend to appear and disappear on pavements at whim.

These markets sell a huge variety of wares, such as bags, sunglasses, hats, hairpieces, clothes hangers, mops and brooms, which forms a colourful display in the street as they spill out of the stalls onto the pavements. The stalls generally do not sell tourist mementoes. They offer merchandise and services, which are used by the people who frequent the city, and are part of the social space of everyday life. Their presence produces a rhythm of customers, acquainted with stall holders and merchandise, who stop by, talk, laugh, gesture,

buy things and go on their way again. They produce a scenery of repetitive images as most stalls seem to sell similar goods. As you walk down the street, a repetitive pattern of sounds, images and smells form a rhythm and a sense of place that is distinctly African.

The selling of street food is an important feature of pavement stalls. They provide cheap and easy sustenance to workers on the move. There are big vegetable and fruit stalls with wares informally packed out on boxes at very good prices. They offer packets to take home as well as single fruit to eat as snacks. Other street food on offer includes cooked whole mealies, boiled eggs, 'Bunny chows' (consisting of half loaves of bread, layered with various fillings), pap and meats, as well as battered, fried fish packed out on carton boxes and sold cold. Some food are cooked on the spot such as 'vetkoek' (dumplings). The fresh bread dumplings are fried in hot oil on gas stoves, surrounded by a piece of discarded carton box to shield it from the wind. Some of the food stalls seem to appear early mornings around rush hour and lunch times again and often close to taxi ranks. The rhythm of cooking, buying and eating food on the street creates a distinctive social space.

As people walk past or stop, talking, gesturing or eating they create an everyday aesthetic, and become both performers and spectators. The act of walking is part of experiencing the streets markets. Filipa Wunderlich (2008: 125-139), a research associate at the Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning, analysed the way place is sensed by walking through the city. She notes that the rhythm

of walking is influenced by interaction with other rhythms, objects and events like other bodily movements and the pace of other walkers (Wunderlich 2008:133). On a Saturday morning, the street and pavement markets are crowded with shoppers who slow down the pace and rhythm of walking. De Certeau (1993: 151-159) writes that the rhythms of people walking the streets are part of embodying and writing the text of the city, and part of discovering, creating and transforming the city (Wunderlich 2008:136). In this way people become: "immersed in temporal continuums of social everyday life activities fused with spatial and natural rhythmical events" (Wunderlich 2008: 126). The rhythms of walking are also connected with other mobilities, such as taxi ranks, as people walk through the streets to and from public transport hubs.



Fig. 13. Street market in Pretoria (photograph E van der Klashorst).



Fig. 14. Vegetable market on the sidewalk in the city centre of Pretoria (Photograph E van der Klashorst).

#### **4.1.3 Taxis and taxi ranks**

Rhythms of mobility refer to the flows of people walking, cars, buses, trains, etc driving and producing rhythms. As they move at a different speeds, they appropriate and transform spaces by producing sounds, sights and a sense of mobility (Jiron 2010: 131). These reiterative mobilities produce social space with characteristic patterns or rhythms, but the spaces remain incomplete, always coming into being. This section discusses the mobilities of minibus taxis and the way they produce space through their rhythms, as well as the taxi rank in particular as a place or space associated with the practices of taxis.

One of the distinguishing features of post-*Apartheid* cities like Pretoria is the constant movement of taxis. They are the most interactive of the modes of

transport in the city, which includes cars, busses and trains. It is readily accepted that Taxis have their own driving rules, as they criss-cross streets, double-park, run through red traffic lights and so on. In doing so, they are claiming the space as well as producing it. Though their erratic motion may seem chaotic, they create regular patterns of rhythms which are embedded within the social space<sup>45</sup>. This matrix of taxi activity is woven across the city, creating and connecting interactive social space and a stretched out sense of belonging as Edensor (2010:6) calls it. Taxis are part of a process of drawing daily disorderly maps across the geometric grid design of European origin. As disorderly lines become interwoven in the Cartesian grid, two modes of production of space merge to become a new space.

Interconnecting grids are an integral part of maps and city structures in the Ethiopian-born painter Julie Mehretu's work. The art historian and curator Catherine de Zegher (2007:18) argues that the modernist grid is a rigid model resisting further development, but Mehretu has overcome the grid's resistance to change by combining it with: "a revolving motion of flickering lines, exploding vectors and broken perspective, lifting its anti-narrative and anti-historical qualities while holding on to the surface of the painting itself." This reflects the constant mapping of taxis across the city, and the inability of the rigid city grid to keep the rhythms of the people in check. Art historian Meghan Dailey

---

<sup>45</sup> The system of commuting used by taxis appears chaotic, but is in fact very ordered and more efficient than Municipal or Gautrain buses. Taxis prefer to fill their vehicles to capacity at taxi ranks before setting off and will stop at any time to pick up more passengers. They regularly convene at certain road network nodes to exchange passengers, so that routes are more efficiently covered. In contrast to Municipal buses, which are very large and expensive to operate, and often travel with very few passengers, taxis are flexible and interactive ( personal experience)

(2002:214) concurs that Mehretu's work shows the impossibility to impose a rigid grid onto the instability of the citizens, for instance by her use of spontaneous, gestural marks across the grids, as evident in *Black City* (2005, fig.11).

In my own work, *Inextricable* (fig.15) (2011), the uncontrolled movement of taxis and people is evident in the organic grid of 'desire lines' that weave through the format, drawing objects and formal grids into its space. Desire lines, as defined by Sheperd and Murray(2007:1) as: "an informal path that pedestrians prefer to take to get from one location to another rather than using a sidewalk or other official route", are extended in the installation, *Dialectical Interaction* (Fig.16)(2012), where colourful lines weave together to form a new social reality. These lines evoke the constant movement and interaction of taxis and people through the grids of interconnecting nodes in the city.



Fig.15. Elsa van der Klashorst *Inextricable*, detail (2011).

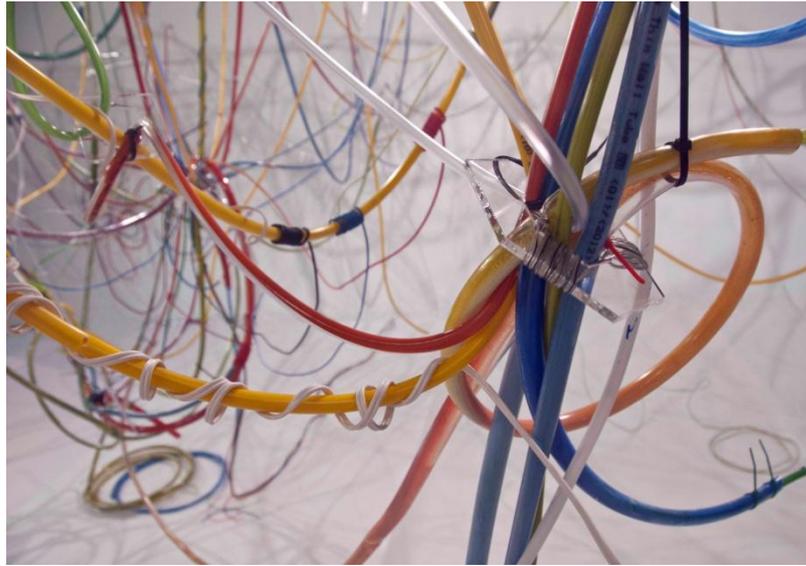


Fig.16. Elsa van der Klashorst *Dialectical Interaction, detail* (2012).

The distinct system of communication codes used by taxi drivers adds to the unique rhythms of the taxi operation. Drivers predominantly operate through hooting sounds, gestures and signs, which they use on the move to attract customers for specific destinations. Such characteristically repetitive hooting is a constant feature in certain areas of the city, creating soundscapes that reflect off buildings to resonate through the streets, which become part of the city's identity (Wunderlich 2010: 51-52). The 'taxi language' is yet another kind of temporal mapping which overlays the structures of the city and shifts its identity away from the Afrikaner space. These codes are mostly not understood by people of European origin, and are part of the production of an African space. Closely related to the moving vehicles are the transient spaces, where there is a high intensity of movement, like stations, markets or, in this case taxi ranks. These have also been understood as non-places, or realms of detachment (Creswell 2006: 31). Such spaces are the local context for certain practises, such

as the collection and departure of passengers, as well as constituting the practices in themselves. The relationship between the space and the daily practice produces meaning and urban life (Jiron 2010 : 131). Specific locations on the streets in the inner city of Pretoria become 'places' because it is known that taxis headed for a specific destinations stop there, even if there are no formal notices in the street. This mechanism of place-making happens through the daily rhythms of communal commuting. As taxis line up, taxi drivers or assistants try to hustle commuters into their vehicles to fill them to capacity before setting off. The taxi rank becomes a noisy, busy place, with people gesticulating, talking, laughing, and so on. Nearby pavement stalls sell food and other merchandise to commuters, while taxis weave in and out of parking spaces. This resulting flow of people and goods creates specific rhythms, sounds, sights and smells that produce the social space and become part of the sense of place. Audible rhythms are created by the sounds of taxis braking, pulling away, and the distinctive noise made by the sliding doors of the mini busses. These sounds mingle with the ordinary noise of the people talking, taxi operators negotiating and whistling, as well as loud music produced by taxi sound systems. The soundscape of a bustling African city is produced and becomes part of the production of space. A variety of spoken languages also contribute to this audible environment.

Another artist whose work reflects the chaotic experience of cities, and people on the move, is the German painter Franz Ackermann. His paintings are a personal response to the cities that he visits, from the point of view of a traveller

(Chambers 2001:45). Seeking out places where he'll feel least at home, like Beirut (Princenthal 2001:152), he then produces large-scale, colourful, abstract, maps of the urban landscape. His energetic paintings often seem to offer a view from above, where all the objects in the city chaotically spiral towards some cataclysmic event or point, like in *Farewell at the sea* (2000, fig.17). This spiral view embodies the rhythm and flux of cities, where grids can no longer contain the exuberant life. His paintings also offer the changing, mobile view of a city from a place of transit, like a bus or taxi.



Fig.17. Franz Ackermann, *Farewell at the sea, detail* (2000).

In conclusion, it can be said that rhythm analysis offers a unique point of entry into characterising and evaluating the production of space through everyday life. After examining the rhythms on the pavements and streets where markets provide a social space, as well as the distinctive rhythms of taxis and taxis ranks, a clearer understanding is gained of the way in which they create an African

space. This space can only be experienced in a bodily mode of understanding. In the following section, rhythms are evaluated as performances. The area in and around Church Square is used to evaluate how space is created by these performances.

## **4.2 PERFORMANCE AND PERFORMATIVITY AS SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF SPACE.**

### **4.2.1 The concept of performativity**

Various means of theorising the production of space in daily life have been discussed so far. Another way of interpreting the rhythms and actions of everyday life is to regard them as performances which evoke a sense of belonging. To enter the public space of a city implies an act of participation, a co-habitation with all other users of the city. These participatory performances can simply be routine activities, like walking, talking, gesturing, or they can be collective and organised performances, such as rituals or processions. When performances are repeated, the accumulative effect becomes performative. The feminist writer and professor in comparative literature at the University of California, Judith Butler (1990:3), introduced the concept of performativity as a collective agreement to perform, sustain and repeat certain behaviours that create gender identity. She regards the accumulative performances as normalising events which invoke and constructs identity.

Neil Leach (2005:301), professor of architecture at the University of South California, extrapolates Butler's theory to other fields, such as class, race and ethnicity, where identity can be also be performative. Territories are colonised and communities constructed through the 'performance' of often unconscious behaviour rituals to achieve an attachment to place and a sense of belonging (Leach, 2005:301-2). Anne-Marie Fortier (1999:42), senior lecturer in sociology from Lancaster University, argues that the practices of group identity help to manufacture cultural belonging in foreign locations. Therefore, if performativity is central to creating a sense of belonging and cultural territories of belonging (and non-belonging), it can explain the dualities in different people's experience in the city centre.

Julie Mehretu 's work *Mural* (2010 fig.18) which is installed in the foyer of the Goldman Sachs building in New York, mirrors the daily performances of people, and may also be related to Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis. The huge painting is visible through the glass at street level, and so becomes part of the space of the city. The gestural quality of the marks become performative (De Zegher 2007:24). As one walks by, the fragmented lines and forms seem to be rhythmically re-patterned, reflecting the experience of the city on different scales between the macro and micro realities. Through abstraction, the art becomes part of the psychogeography of the city, performing and reflecting an experience of the urban space. De Zegher (2007:24) argues that the gestural quality of Mehretu' s lines and marks remove them from the duties held by representational lines.



Fig. 18. Julie Mehretu, *Mural* (2010).

Performativity can also be employed as a way of viewing migrant cultures in cities. Since South Africa's borders opened in 1994, the country has become a refuge to many legal and illegal immigrants, many of whom reside in the inner cities. Such immigrants also create their own space through performative behavioural constructs. Bourriaud (2009:53) describes migrants that have invented ways of surviving in new and different circumstances as radicants. In coining the term, he uses the botanical metaphor of the radican root, which can "without injury, cut itself off from its first roots and reclimate itself. There is no single origin, rather successive simultaneous or alternating acts of enrooting" (Bourriaud 2009:53). Bourriaud's radican root differs from the rhizome metaphor used by Deleuze and Guattari. For Deleuze and Guattari (1987:7), the rhizome can endlessly make new and very diverse connections, with a non-hierarchical structure like the internet. Bourriaud's (2009: 55) rhizomic roots

have similar properties, but can detach, move and attach themselves in new places. Unlike the rhizome, they are not dependent on a central network. The radlicant can wander and form new identities, while the rhizome stays connected, subjected to its network. As the radlicant travels its path, a narrative develops between it and its path. The human radlicant installs himself in his milieu and forms a precarious identity through an act of translation in both directions. So the radlicant appears to be a construction, a montage, or in a state of endless negotiation, carrying culture with him and able to create identity in motion (Bouriaud 2009: 56-57). The radlicant therefore has a performative identity, which constantly adapts its behaviour to new situations.

This section has expanded the concept of the performative as a process to create social space and meaning, using the example of migrants or radlicants. I will now examine Church Square as a performative space in Pretoria.

#### **4.2.2 Church square as performative space**

As the public space in front of the old ZAR parliament, Church Square was a gathering place for public announcements, religious celebrations, or political meetings. It is also the symbolic centre or *umbilicus* of the city of Pretoria (Meiring 1955:148), which was central to Afrikaner power politics. The statue of Paul Kruger in the centre of Church square, president of the ZAR and symbol of Afrikaner Nationalism, remains a potent symbol of this. It has become an integral part of the square's identity, as was pointed out in Chapter 2. Currently

Church Square no longer functions as the main economic, religious, political or cultural centre.

The site was named Church Square because it was designed to house a church and did in fact feature a series of churches<sup>46</sup>. Therefore, it became a space for religious performance. Originally it operated as a camping site for citizens who attended communion in their ox-wagons for several days (Holm 1998:59). It is no longer an official place for rituals. However, I have often witnessed a preacher preaching on the raised platform around the Kruger statue, without being able to understand his language. There are often informal performances in the Square on weekends, for instance people performing traditional Zulu dances. Sometimes the Square is also used as a destination or starting point for protest marches. In an informal way Church Square still provides a space for performance of religious and political ritual, though there are no regular communal practices. As a performance space it has been translated, and old codes exchanged for new, as Bourriaud (2009:30) suggests, to enable a dialogue between the past and present.

No longer focused on the activities of church and state, everyday life and its rhythms have become the performance of the square. On the one hand, it is a busy space that has to be crossed to move between places. People can be

---

<sup>46</sup> The first church on Church Square, in Cape-Dutch style, was inaugurated in 1857, but burned down in 1882. A new church with a prominent tower was finished in 1883 on the same spot. A split in the church led to the sale of the church and square to the ZAR government. The church was demolished and the money from the sale used to build two different churches (Engelbrecht 1942:38-54; Meiring 1955:160).

observed constantly walking across the square purposefully in different directions, to and from shops and offices, creating a frenetic rhythm. On the other hand there is the more laid-back rhythm embodied by people sitting or lying on the grass. On Sundays, families come for picnics, and the children playing give rise to a more leisurely atmosphere. The abundance of pigeons, ubiquitous in many cities, adds to the rhythms and mobilities that characterise Church Square, often resting on the statue of Paul Kruger.

Church Square is home to a multitude of informal traders performing their activities or awaiting business opportunities. Some people crossing the square interrupt their trajectory at the stalls selling fruit, chips, sweets and whole cooked mealies in season. Car guards and car washers are always present on the outskirts of the square, wearing familiar yellow buff. Sales agents mill around, offering anything from funeral policies to home loans and hairstyles. Some photographers set up shop next to the Kruger statue, taking photos of people posing on the statue, and printing them out on mobile printers for customers to take home.

At present the social space of Church Square is performed by the behaviour of a diverse mix of city dwellers, who do not need to relate to the Square's *Apartheid*-era symbols of the past in order to utilize area. Bourriaud (2009:16) provides a critical context to this essentially postcolonial state, when he emphasises that we need to "question the solidity of things, to practice a generalised relativism, a critical comparison unsparing of the most tenacious

certainties, to perceive the institutional and ideological structures that surround us as circumstantial, historical, and changeable at will". Using Bourriaud's analysis, it becomes conceivable that the historical buildings and the statue of Paul Kruger are not as 'solid' and unchangeable as they seem. The statue is translated into a new space where a preacher can talk to his audience in an African language, where people will sit or climb on the statues of the Boer generals for photographs without knowing who they were, or the racist policies they represented. It is clear that there is a complete absence of performance in the space by Afrikaners and their religion.

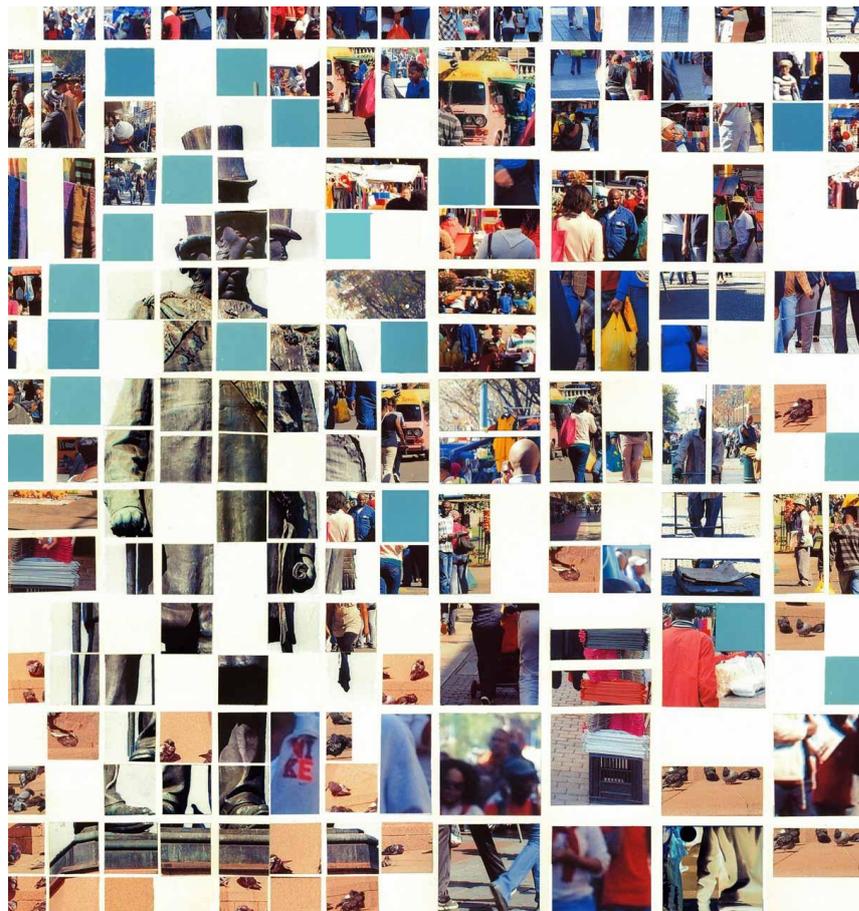


Fig.19. Elsa van der Klashorst, *On the Square, detail* (2012).

The art work *On the Square* (2012)(fig. 19) recontextualises the statue of Paul Kruger as just another fragment of the everyday life around him. He no longer performs the role of powerful president or Afrikaner icon, but has become part of the haphazard framework of the Modernist/Postcolonial city.

#### **4.3 CONCLUSION**

Rhythmanalysis establishes and evokes a sense of the city by tuning into its daily rhythms. The movement of people, taxis, and other vehicles create sensory characteristics, like smells, sights, and sound, that combine to produce a very specific sense of the place. In Pretoria, these daily patterns of life largely feature African languages, foods, clothes, and cultural habits, such as the constant hooting of taxis, or the hand signs for taxi destinations. These habits can be regarded as performative of an African space, and they help to create a sense of belonging in city dwellers.

As argued above, these performances tend to be unrelated to the symbolic buildings and public sculpture. By analysing the daily rhythms and performances of people in the centre of Pretoria, it can be concluded that it is no longer an 'Afrikaner' space. The social production of space is an undeniably reality and determining factor in producing a heterogeneous African space in the inner city of Pretoria.

## CHAPTER 5:

### **A personal mapping of urban space in Pretoria.**

#### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

The theorisation of urban space in this dissertation has produced various overlapping terminologies. In summary, urban space can be seen as an ideological manifestation and fetishisation of the state (Lefebvre 1991:393), as a social product with a multitude of intersections (Lefebvre 1991:21-33), as territorial assemblages (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:310), or as a conduit of everyday flux and rhythms, continuously produced and experienced by society (Lefebvre 1991:205-207, De Certeau 1993:153). Through these articulations of urban space I have attempted to trace, locate and pinpoint the inner city of Pretoria. I now turn to a more personal mapping, from the position of an artist and subjective citizen. My intention is to situate urban space as material signifier and metaphoric indicator of individual and collective identity in the city.

Some themes of the art exhibition *Pretoria: Past, Present, Precarious* will be used as basis for discussion on how artists work with and within space, narrating a personal view within a greater social space. The work of South Africa artists Stephen Hobbs and Dorothee Kreutzfeldt is briefly discussed, contextualising the aforementioned exhibition.

*Pretoria: Past, Present, Precarious* has two contrasting features; a series of two- and three-dimensional photo collages, maps and digital prints, all framed in white boxes. This section of the exhibition presents a contained, grid-like view of Pretoria, from a white Eurocentric perspective. In contrast to this, the second

part of the exhibition is an installation, *Dialectical Interaction* (2012)(fig.38), made of plastic tubes, electrical wires, cable ties and Perspex cut-outs. The installation is non prescriptive, but appears as a three-dimensional line-drawing, casting another drawing of shadows on the gallery walls. For me it represents the repatterning and reframing of space. Discussion of the work will centre around the following two corresponding themes: a disintegration of space and grids, and secondly, a repatterning and reframing of space. These two themes are synchronically present in space, and leave behind inscriptions, a writing tablet of its social production, as Lefebvre (1991:110) argued. The art exhibition represents a mapping that includes the inscriptions of the past with the activities of current daily life. Images and references in the exhibition therefore knit together personal memory, collective South African amnesia and a hybrid contemporary culture.

## **5.2 URBAN MAPPING IN THE WORK OF STEPHEN HOBBS AND DOROTHEE KREUTZFELDT**

The urban landscape of Johannesburg has been a constant theme in the work of Stephen Hobbs. As curator of the Market Theatre Gallery from 1994 to 2000, and founding member of the Johannesburg based art co-operative *The Trinity Session*, he has experienced the changing urban spaces of Johannesburg on a daily basis. Hobbs is known for obsessively documenting the city through photographs and also short videos.

In his 1999 exhibition, *Torque of the Town* (fig.20) he obscured street signs and road markings to create an 'abstract' city, featuring free-floating signifiers. In an interview with Sean 'O Toole (2010: 86), he explains his conviction that the grid goes against the natural tendency of walking, especially in an African city. We don't tend to walk along imposed grids, but along intuitive desire lines. This mapping of a city where signs have been wiped out resembles the work in my exhibition because the cutting up and layering of maps as seen in *What is left behind* (2011) (fig. 25) and *Incision* (2011) (fig. 26) renders them illegible. Spaces become abstract and disorienting, which reflects the emotions of most citizens experienced during the process of changing street names in Pretoria during 2012, when a red strip of adhesive was stuck over the old names and new names were added next to it (fig. 21).

Like my own work, Hobbs (2010: 87) investigates the identity of spaces in the city after *Apartheid*. He refers to the city as a "perpetual framing device" and argues that you can't experience the city without moving through it, which resonates with my own walking journeys through Pretoria.



Fig. 20. Stephen Hobbs, *Torque of the Town* (1999).



Fig. 21. Changed street names in Pretoria (Photograph: E van der Klashorst).



Fig. 22. Stephen Hobbs, *High voltage, Low Voltage* (2007).

In the installation, *High voltage, Low voltage* (2007) (fig. 22) at the Wits Sub Station Gallery, Hobbs employed the use of cheap materials such as lengths of wood and sheets of glass, to build make-shift structures, in which the shadows turn into projected cityscapes on the wall. From these everyday materials, he created the sense of a city, which became a metaphor for the way migrants often have to make do with whatever they can find, to build dwellings (Williamson 2009:208). The Installation, *Dialectical Interaction* (2012) (fig. 38) in my

exhibition also paints a shadowy cityscape on the walls and floor, invoking a ghostly and temporary space, reflecting forgotten histories.

Dorothee Kreutzfeldt has been involved in art projects in the urban environment of cities since 1996.<sup>47</sup> Her paintings reflect a sensory, bodily experience of urban space as experienced through the eyes of the artist. Working with sign writers, she produced a series of site-specific paintings on buildings in the inner city of Johannesburg (Greslé 2005: 51). These paintings were inspired by her documentation of hand painted signs, which advertise products and services. She is interested in the new visual language that is being produced by an array of migrants who settle in the inner city of Johannesburg, and produce a fluid mix of new cultures (Murinik 2004: 77). Similarly, the work in my exhibition relates to the multifarious social production of space, resulting in different materiality and visual language.

Kreutzfeldt's paintings appear densely layered with collage-like references to signs, logos and images of the city. In *The Immanent inauguration of the 5th corner* (2010) (fig. 23) she uses references of cement cherubs and palm trees referring to the contrast of the inner city with lush suburbia. The painting reflects the growing complexities of urban development, the fracturing of old grids and structures and the contrasts in the production of space between different realities.

---

<sup>47</sup> She was part of the Sluice group in Cape Town (1996 -1998), the district Six Sculptural festival (1997) and co-founder of the Joubert Park Project (2000), which collaborated on many public art projects and workshops (Greslé 2005: 51).



Fig.23. Dorothee Kreutzfeldt, *The Immanent Inauguration of the 5th corner*, detail (2010).

### 5.3 DISINTEGRATION OF SPACE AND GRID

Bourriaud (2009:16) asks us to question the solidity of ideological structures and histories. Lefebvre (1991:1-8) steers us away from mathematical, Cartesian views of space, and the abstract space of the historical and religio-political spheres (Lefebvre1991:50). Globally there is a disintegration of the notions of space and grids as stable. The work of artist Julie Mehretu represents this fracturing and disintegration of space and grids as discussed earlier. Her work *Berliner Plätze* (2008-2009, fig. 24)<sup>48</sup> combines architectural drawings of Berlin with lines of erasure. The sense of something that once existed but has only a ghostlike reference within the artwork is also a theme in my work. In the works *Incision* (2011) (fig. 26) and *What is left behind?* (2011) (fig. 25) old maps of Pretoria have been meticulously cut out and layered, leaving a fragile grid with

---

<sup>48</sup> Mehretu was commissioned to do a series of paintings for the Deutsche Guggenheim Museum in Berlin. She created a seven part series of paintings, *Grey Area* for the Deutsche Guggenheim in Berlin during 2007-2009, where she lived for two and a half years. *Berliner Plätze* (2007-2009) (fig24) is part of this series, in which she drew a kaleidoscope of architecture from Berlin(Young 2012:1)

original street names still visible. The restructuring of the city through the forced removal of 'black' areas from the city during *Apartheid* permanently altered the character of the city. Lately, the destruction of the conceptual and social spaces of Afrikaners, through the changing of names, alludes to the fact that the past masters of the city have been rendered 'impotent' through a process of cutting and excising their power. The maps in my work have become illegible, abstract and non-functional, especially when viewed from the back. In *What is left behind* (fig. 27, detail), the illegible flip side of the maps creates a disorientated view, which appears like an archaeological site. The white flip-side of *Incision* (2011 fig. 28, detail) has become a delicate, ghost-like remainder, a metaphor for hidden facts and occurrences. In the paintings *Topography 1 & 2* (2012) (fig. 29 & 30), maps are bleached out, abstract and illegible.



Fig.24. Julie Mehretu, *Berliner Plätze* (2007-2009).



Fig. 25. Elsa van der Klashorst, *What is left behind* (2011)

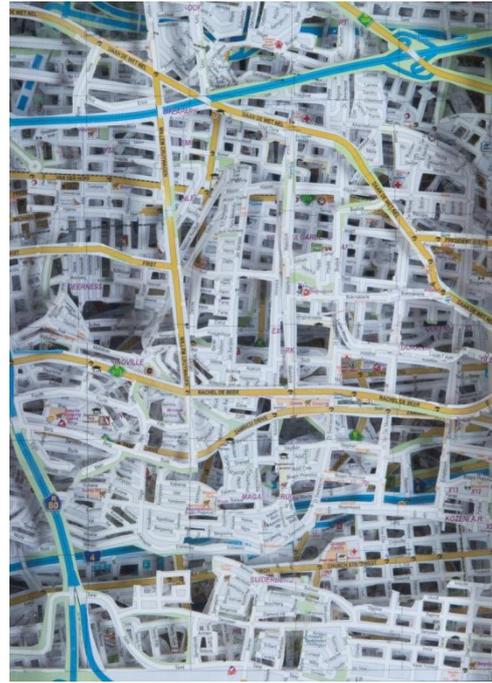


Fig. 26. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Incision* (2011).



Fig. 27. Elsa van der Klashorst, *What is left behind*, detail back (2011).



Fig. 28. Esa van der Klashorst, *Incision*, detail back (2012).

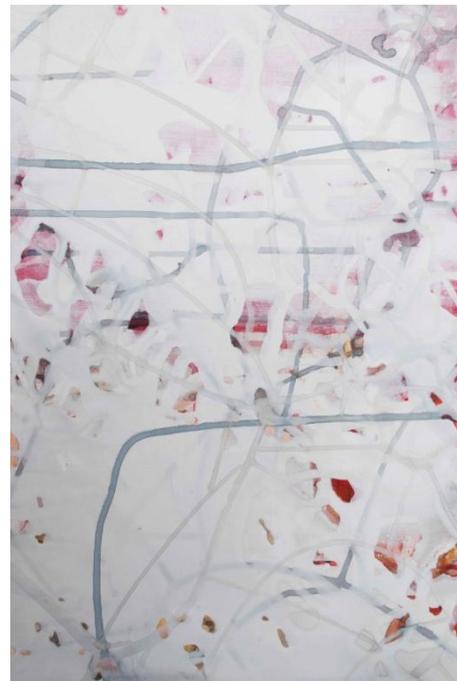


Fig. 29 & 30. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Topography 1 & 2* (2012).

The disintegration of the maps reflects the instability of territories, coupled with the inaccuracy of memory. In the series: *En route to the Voortrekker Monument* (2011) (fig. 32), *Just off the N1* (2011) (fig. 33) and *Inextricable* (2011) (fig.31), fragments of images, photographs and grids are layered to create a palimpsest of

urban space. I agree with Crysler (2012: 300) that memory and forgetting are: "inseparable, paradoxically bound together through their intrinsic lack of closure". These boxes contain assemblages of collective symbols and personal memories like the Voortrekker monument and the statue of Paul Kruger. As Lefebvre (Lefebvre1991:110) tells us, the memorials of history are overlaid by new grids and new information that follow different rules, as they produce new social spaces.

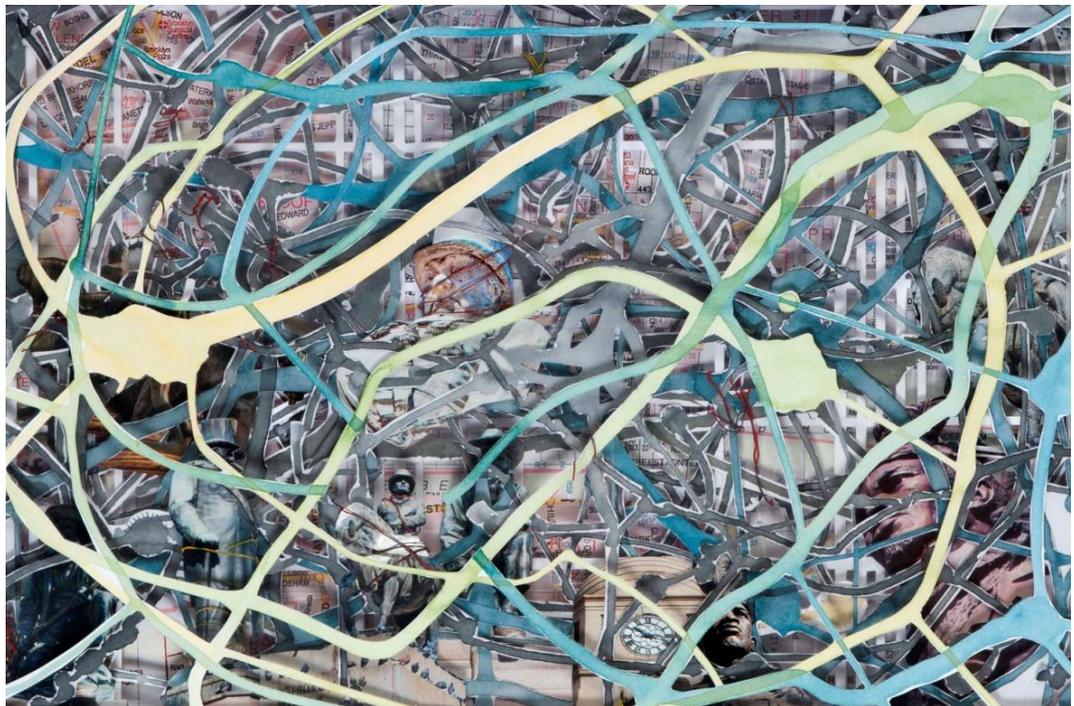


Fig. 31. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Inextricable* (2011).



Fig. 32. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Enroute to the Voortrekker Monument* (2011).

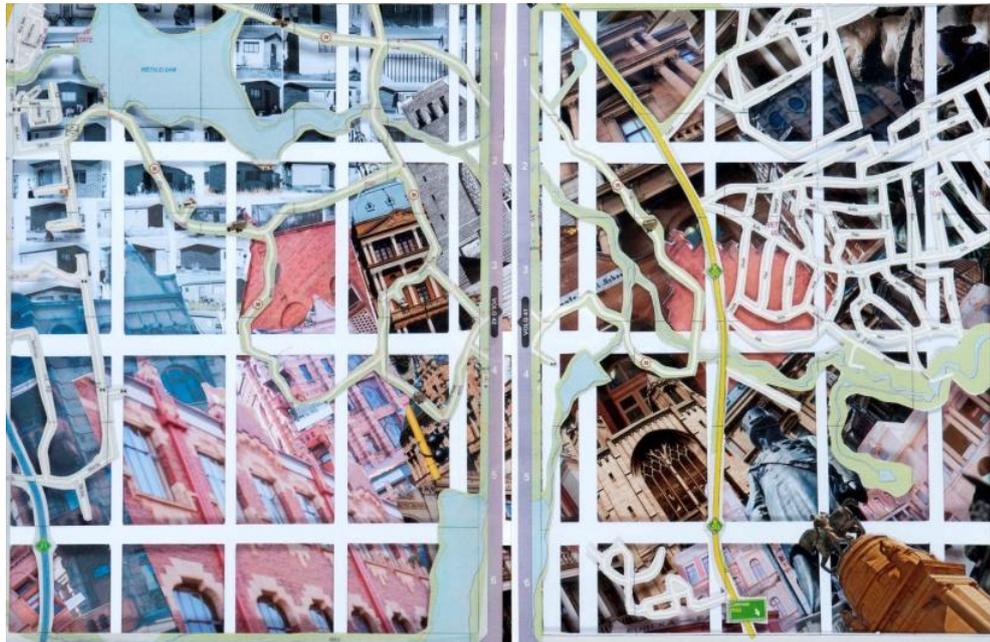


Fig. 33. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Just off the N 1* (2011).

As the past disintegrates, the rhythms and performances of everyday life create a re-patterning of urban space, as can be seen in the work, *Old places, new Spaces*

(2012) (fig. 34), where the old Netherland Bank building dissolves into everyday scenes.

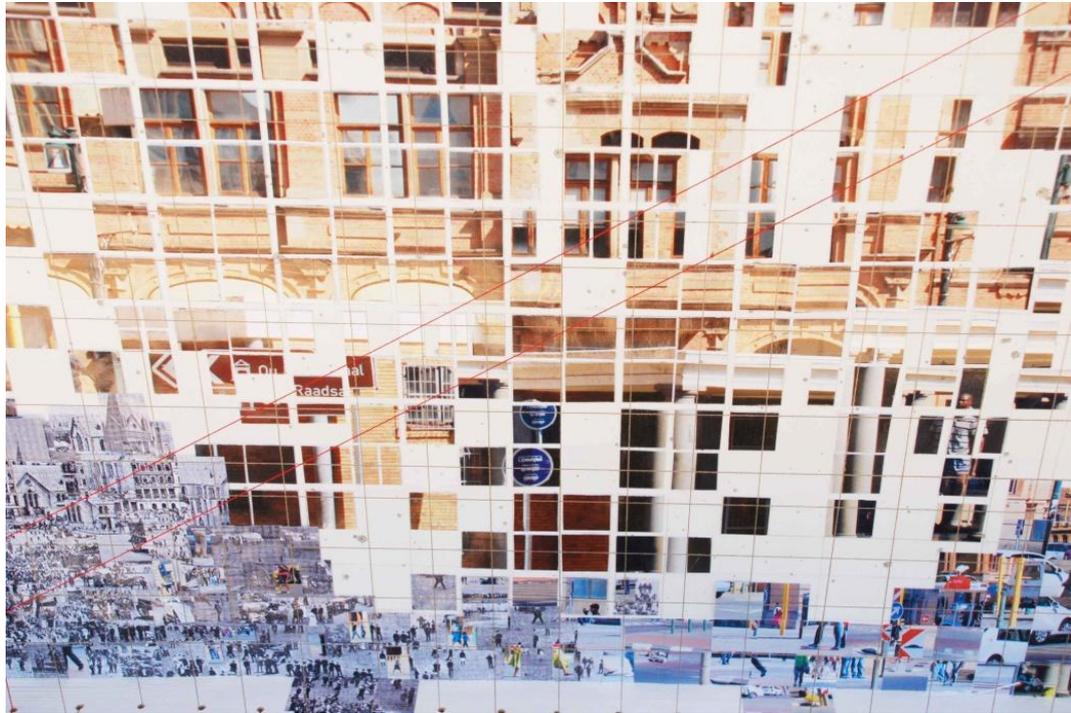


Fig. 34. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Old Places, new Spaces*, detail (2012).

#### **5.4 REPATTERNING AND REFRAMING OF SPACE AND LINE**

A repatterning of city space happens constantly and often gradually, but in Pretoria, the bureaucratic capital, there was a swift and major change when the ANC government came to power in 1994. It resulted in a re-territorialisation and an ongoing process of translation that resonates with Bourriaud (2009:54)'s idea that translation is an act of displacement. In the work, *Pretoria: Spun city* (2012) (fig. 35) a dense new space is created by people who move through the city in daily rhythms. The three-dimensional lines of images that criss-cross the city now incorporate all the layers of history, drawing it into the synchronic present. There are similarities to the work of Julie Mehretu, as mentioned in the previous

chapter, where lines also seem to move across layers. The lines morph into a drawing to create, but also operate as text, like the poetry of walking the city that De Certeau (1993:153) describes: "intertwining, unrecognized 'poems' in which each body is an element signed by many others". However this text eludes legibility. The work may resemble an intricate text about Pretoria, but it remains elusive. The scene also invokes the territorial assemblages mentioned earlier by Deleuze and Guattari (1987:310).



Fig 35. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Pretoria: Spun City* (2012).

The digital prints *Saturday Morning* (2012) (fig. 36) and *On the Square* (2012) (fig. 37) are still within white frames and within a grid form, but there is a repatterning of old spaces. The repatterning incorporates the old structures, like the columns of the colonial building and the statue of Paul Kruger, into new assemblages of street life. The old is therefore reframed, or seen from a different viewpoint, which gives it new meaning. Franz Ackermann likewise produces

paintings of cities from a different viewpoint as in *Farewell at sea* (2000) (fig. 17), in which the urban space is completely repatterned. In this new space the artist has to: “invent pathways among the signs” like 'semionauts', in Bourriaud’s (2009:53) words.



Fig. 36. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Saturday Morning* (2012).

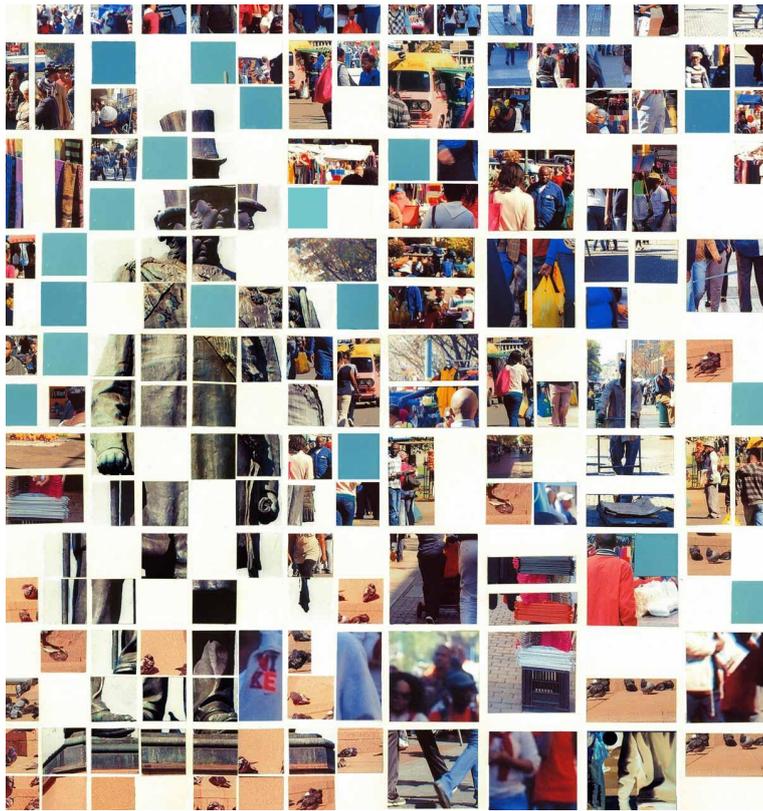


Fig. 37. Elsa van der Klashorst *On The Square* (2012).

The new pathways among illegible signs are depicted in the paintings *Topography 1 & 2* (2012) (fig. 29 & 30). These paintings have morphed into abstract maps and vague signs in a process of repatterning. A complete organic repatterning only becomes possible when the grid is left behind and lines are drawn into three-dimensional space, as in *Dialectical Interaction* (2012) (fig. 38 & 39). It becomes a new, abstract map, without the constraints of the old structures. The interpretation remains open-ended, but it has acquired spatial qualities. As art historian Julie Reiss (2001: xiii) points out, installations involve the spectator, who may walk around or inside the artwork, therefore become a participant in the production of space like Lefebvre (1991:68) suggested. This

makes it an appropriate format, since this discussion focuses on experiencing space.

The free and temporal patterns in the work relate to the repatterning that happens in daily life, for instance when taxis drive their own patterns, ignoring the road rules, or as 'illegal' temporary stalls are set up on pavements to sell food. The abstract, organic shapes of the lines in the installation suggest movements and connections as people daily create new patterns.

The shadows cast on the floor and walls of the gallery evoke a shadowy underworld of hidden agendas, perhaps referring to underground municipal services, which have become notoriously dysfunctional. It also plays on the inaccessibility of the subconscious, and the constant presence of history that casts shadows on the present. As the colourful materiality of the lines evokes the cliché of a rainbow nation, the intricate shadow patterns created by the lines depict another reality.

As the title of the installation *Dialectical Interaction* (fig.38)(2012) suggests, the theme of connection and simultaneous disconnection is recurrent. Although the lines in the work are almost obsessively connected with different devices such as cable-ties and wire, many connections seem to lead nowhere, ending in mid-air. Such disconnections between the past and present are characteristic of the urban space within the city. The words of Bourriaud (2009:55-56) provide an appropriate context for this work, when he regards the presence of the radican

in cities as: "a dialogical or inter-subjective narrative that unfolds between the subject and the surfaces it traverses, to which it attaches its roots to produce what might be termed an installation: one "installs oneself" in a place or situation in a makeshift or precarious way, and the subject's identity is nothing but a temporary result of this encampment, during which acts of translation are performed."(Bourriaud 2009: 55-56).



Fig.38. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Dialectical Interaction* (2012).

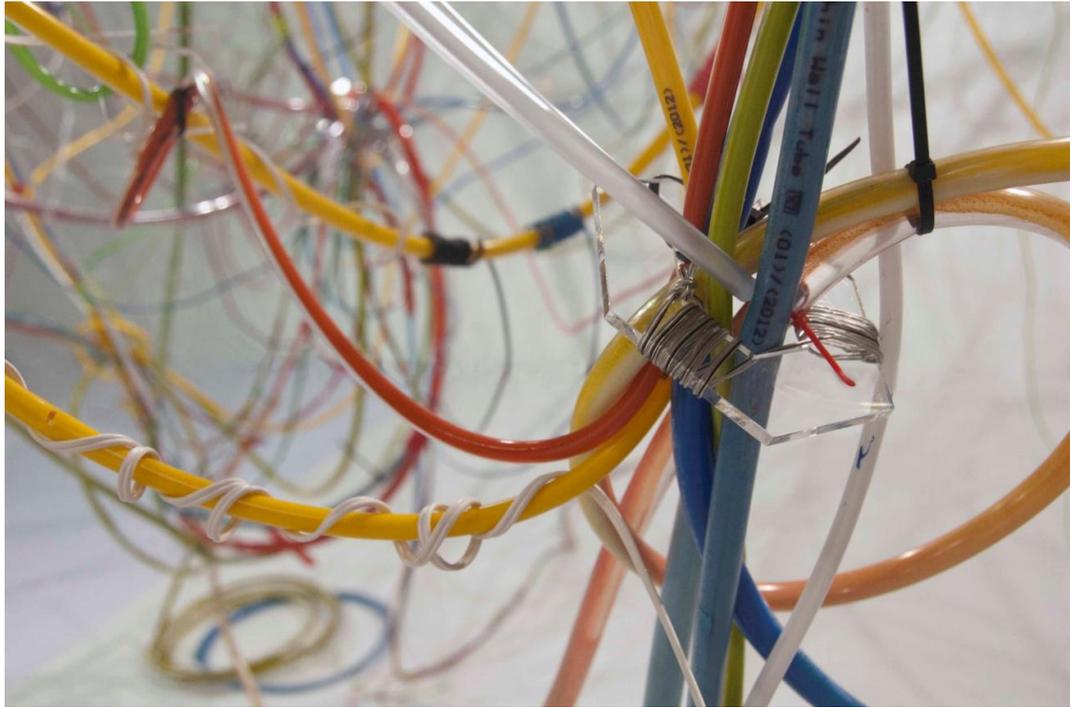


Fig.39. Elsa van der Klashorst, *Dialectical Interaction* (2012).

## 5.5 CONCLUSION

In this exhibition, the urban landscapes of Pretoria are presented as chaotic, multi coloured and lively maps, which have become bleached in certain areas. The old structures are dissolving and falling apart, old maps have become meaningless, and new lines are drawn. The works have a dual nature and the reading of them will be completed by the viewer's own hermeneutic articulation. In the new social spaces under discussion, history has either been integrated, gained new functions, or has been disregarded. The contemporary space has gained new meaning, but it is a precarious dialectical space full of contradictions and contrasts.

## CONCLUSION

In this dissertation I have engaged in a discourse on the urban space of Pretoria from the viewpoint of an artist. Chapter two has demonstrated how Pretoria was exclusively built as a centre and capital city for Afrikaner independence.

Throughout the twentieth century, Pretoria became a locus for the planning, organisation and material construction of Afrikaner Nationalism. The city was materially and socially produced as a space for Afrikaners, excluding other races and groups in the process. It was concluded that the city structures and spaces can be regarded as ideologically, religiously and culturally loaded, until it was handed over to a new government after the 1994 democratic elections. As the Afrikaner civil servants were replaced, a different mix of people started to frequent the city spaces, the 'sense of place' in the inner city changed.

In the next two chapters, I examined a number of different modes of theorising space. The basis for my arguments rest on the views of Lefebvre, who argued that space is socially produced by its own society. It is produced by the body's daily actions and rhythms and experienced through sensory perception. Through the phenomenological experience and actions of embodiment, people become part of space while they also produce it. This insightful novel way of regarding space as product and medium, led to an analysis of a few spatial practices in the city, for instance the taxi ranks. I have come to the conclusion that space is indeed produced by its society in daily life. The relevant artworks of Julie

Mehretu, Franz Ackermann and myself were also evaluated to contextualise the understanding of space through the language of art.

An art exhibition, *Pretoria: Past, Present, Precarious* (2012) was part of this research, in which I examined my personal experience of the urban space in Pretoria, from the point of view of an artist and lifelong citizen in the city. It was helpful to debate the issues from an artist perspective as visual articulation and understanding could be reached on certain aspects. I realised that we are part of global processes of deconstructing our histories and many of us are attempting to find new ways of obtaining insight into our spaces. I concur with the view of Bourriaud (2009: 14), on postmodern deconstruction: "Through a kind of double negation or reverse deafness, the postmodern scene endlessly re-enacts the rift between colonizer and colonized, master and slave, keeping to the frontier- its object of study- and thereby preserving it as such". We should move beyond narrow debates in South Africa, accepting the disintegration of histories and ideologies and the re-patterning of city spaces, as is evident from the exhibition accompanying this research.

The two opposing elements of the argument that we face, can be summarised as follow: The architecture, structures and public art in Pretoria is undeniably symbolic and meaningful through their historical significance. However, the question arises that if space is socially produced, and the people who produce it are not aware, interested, or even averse to the ideological content of the space, does meaning still exist, and for whom? It is worthwhile considering some

postulations on the inherent meaningfulness of architecture and art to answer this question?

Leach (2005:304-305) regards the environment as a kind of 'screen' onto which we project our own meaning, and into which we would 'read' ourselves. He concludes that intentionality and content in buildings are merely projection. Literary critic, Frederic Jameson (1996:258-9), is of the opinion that art is in itself an inert object that has to be interpreted or appropriated to obtain its meaning.

Dovey (2005:291 ) disagrees with the above when he argues that architecture will always be political, and refers to it as a form of discourse which constructs the narratives of place. I have to concur with Dovey and agree that architecture and urban space is always political, since it is controlled and managed by political groups. The inherent political qualities in Pretoria's architecture and public structures can never be dismissed, and have the potential to become even more politicized when things are changed, for example the changing of street names and the function of iconic buildings. This is supported by the argument of French philosopher, Jacques Derrida (1997:324), who says that: "we appear to ourselves only through an experience of spacing which is already marked by architecture. What happens through architecture both constructs and instructs this 'us'." Because architecture is a construction, as opposed to a natural element, it is historical, is an artifact or a monument, as well as a spatialisation of time. Therefore events are cast in the very structure and material of the

architecture as narrative, drama and hierarchy. Derrida (1997:324 -328) concludes that: “there is no architecture without interpretation, or even economic, religious, political, aesthetic or philosophical decree.” Accordingly, Pretoria as a post-colonial, post-*Apartheid*, capital city will always be a political. Whatever happens in the future it will always be seen in relation to, or as reaction to the original character of the city. We cannot eradicate history, as China is doing in Shanghai, rebuilding a whole city (Bourriaud 2009:48). History simply moves from grand narratives to individual stories. The territorial assemblages still contains the old structures, which frame daily life as the people of the city produce social space.

I have to conclude that in the end it comes down to an individual experience of the space, and memories connected to the space. Crysler (2012:300) argues that physical spaces and their voids become the point at which memory is gathered or anchored, the intersecting points for competing recollections. Individual and collective memory in Pretoria remain anchored in old buildings for some, but for others it may be fading as new experiences and memories (unrelated to initial intentions) are produced. Migrants may not have any memories or connection as they bring with them their mobile cultures. It is a dialectical truth; the structures will always remain political, and at the same time the space is socially produced, with or without memory and knowledge of the past, as new territories are slowly formed and reformed. It is no longer the space of Afrikaner dominion, but rather an African city of diversity, with its post-colonial, modernist footprint, which inevitably remains part of its character.

## **APPENDIX 1:**

### **Brief synopsis on segregated development in Pretoria**

Pretoria was established as a town for Afrikaners and whites in 1855. Spatial separation along racial lines has been a feature in Pretoria from the very early days of the ZAR. One of the ways that blacks could find a place to live in Pretoria was to take up residency at the Berlin Missionary Society, where they had to submit to paternalist, disciplinarian Christian ethics (Friedman 1994:25). The Berlin Mission society, established in 1867, was the first black urban residential area and was allocated 12 erven in an area named Schoolplaats, situated near the Pretoria Zoological Gardens. There were other areas around the town where people who worked in town could find shelter, like the kraal of a local chief, Kgoshi Maraba, later becoming Marabastad, Mooiplaats, Derdepoort and Lady Selbourne. These areas were mostly informal, with ghetto-like characteristics. Lady Selbourne however, became a freehold township where property could be bought (Mojapelo 2009:25-26; Hattingh & Horn 1991:147).

In the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War, a commission of enquiry, the South African Native Commission rejected political equality between races and advised territorial segregation. It recommended that Africans be allowed to buy property, which would improve living standards. As a result Lady Selbourne was established in 1906 on a portion of the farm Zandfontein, eight kilometers from Church Square. The land was surveyed and 330 stands were sold. It was a

completely mixed race area with Afrikaners, Scots, Englishmen, Chinese immigrants, Indians and Jews, but the majority were Africans from different groups (Mojapelo 2009:30).

By 1943 most of the black people in Pretoria lived in the official black locations around the city: Marabastad, Schoolplaats, Bantule and Atteridgeville; the freehold Lady Selbourne or squatter camps Mooiplaats, Kilnerton, Newlands, Eastwood, Eersterus and Riverside. Many also lived in rooms of their employers in white areas.

By 1970 the following townships had been demolished: Mooiplaats, Schoolplaats, Bantule, Lady Selbourne, Kilnerton, Eastwood, Newlands and Riverside. People were moved to Atteridgeville (established in 1939), Mamelodi (established in 1952). Eersterus was developed next to Mamelodi as a township for coloured people and Laudium was built for Indians in the southwest.

Locations were developed close to industrial sites, with the industrial zones as buffers between black and white areas, as in the case of Mamelodi in the east, next to Waltloo industrial area, and Atteridgeville and Laudium in the west, close to Mitchell Street (Hatting & Horn 1991:149).

The previously black residential areas were redeveloped into white areas. The City Council built a bus depot on the site where Schoolplaats had been, and the Pretoria Technicon was developed on the site that was previously Bantule location.

As part of the Nationalist Government's policy of separate development which it implemented after 1948, new 'independent' states were established for various ethnic groups. Some of these new 'homelands' were small patches of land close to big cities to accommodate labour requirements, and also included new industrial zones where factories and industries could operate. A number were developed around Pretoria. An industrial area, Rosslyn was established northwest of the city, around which a number of townships were developed: Temba, Ga-Rankuwa, Mabopane, and a part of Winterveld were incorporated into Bophuthatswana, a state for Tswana people. A separate township was created for a mostly non-Tswana people in the area and named Soshanguve, which accommodated people from different groups: Sotho, Shangaan, Nguni and Venda, as the name indicates. Northeast of Pretoria, Kwanabele was established as a homeland for the North Sothos. In this way the urban development in Pretoria, like other cities and towns in South Africa, became part of the *Apartheid* legacy which shaped the lives of people, and continues to be a structural and material reality that is still part of the production of space. The consequences of these *Apartheid* cities remains key in many areas of daily life, like the transportation systems needed for people to travel to work, the lack of access to good quality schools, community services and bad service delivery.

The following laws were promulgated to systematically enable the segregationist development of the country:

Laws that changed the urbanisation process

- i The Native Land Acts of 1913 prevented blacks from owning land outside scheduled reserves. This forced laborers into becoming migrant mine workers to survive.
- ii The Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 was created to empower local authorities to proclaim locations or black areas on the urban fringes and provide formal housing within these areas.
- iii 1937 Native Laws Amendment Act which tightened influx control.
- iv 1944 Housing Amendment Act empowered the National Housing and Planning Commission to intervene in local housing policy.
- v 1946 Asiatics Land Tenure Act, the so-called Ghetto Act, providing stricter control over coloured and Indian settlements.
- vi 1950 Group Areas Act, which became the basis for social engineering of *Apartheid* and led to the demolition of many residential areas and the forcible removal of residents.
- vii 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act which prohibited marriage between different races.
- viii 1950 Population Registration Act which led to compulsory race classification.
- ix 1953 Separate Amenities Act, which classified amenities for the exclusive use by specific race groups.

(Saff 1998:45-50)

xxx

## **APPENDIX 2:**

### **Brief reference to some architecture in the inner city in Pretoria**

The architecture of the early years of Pretoria consisted of basic rectangular buildings parallel to the street, with thatched roofs and a veranda in front, inspired by the architecture of Graaf-Reinet in the Eastern Cape from where many of the Voortrekkers originated (Meiring 1955:151-160). Some of the first architecture in Pretoria was designed by British architects. Tom Claridge and Leslie Simmonds were already active in Pretoria from 1883 onwards (Clarke 2011:21).

For the design of official state buildings, the Dutch immigrant Sytze Wierda was appointed in 1887 to head the Department of Public Works as architect and chief engineer. He had a huge impact on the development of Pretoria. Wierda designed many of the important buildings and houses that set the trend for the ZAR. Under his tenure, Pretoria rapidly grew from 'nachtmaaldorp' to capital of the Republic (Holm 1998:64). He designed the Raadsaal, or Parliament of the ZAR as well as the Palace of Justice, which face each other across Church Square. While the Raadsaal had one tower, a male element, the Palace of Justice has two. Wierda was familiar with the architecture of Paris and Berlin, and was influenced by late Renaissance and Baroque designs. As civic architect, Wierda interpreted Paul Kruger's intentions of orderliness and rule of law. The urban and architectural design was modelled on French Second Empire style and

Wilhelmic Germany, rather than Victorian individualism, motivated by commercial factors, as seen in Johannesburg (Meiring 1955: 162-3).

Other Dutch architects who designed prominent buildings include Klaas van Rijssen, who designed the old Doppe Church in Church Street West; Wim de Zwaan, who designed the red brick Nederlandsche Bank on Church Square; Frans Soff designed the Café Riche building while John Ibler and John Beardwood were responsible for the Synagogue in Paul Kruger Street (Clarke 2011:21).

Sir Herbert Baker had an enormous influence on South African architecture, in all the major cities as well as in small towns throughout the country. He arrived in Cape Town in 1892 and left in 1913, leaving a legacy known as the Baker School of Architecture which had a lasting impact on local architecture for decades afterwards (Keath 1998:79). The Union Buildings are regarded as one of his major achievements as an architect. During 1900, Cecil John Rhodes sponsored Baker's visit to the Mediterranean, enabling him to study ancient classical architecture. As a result, he chose Meintjieskop as a site for the Union Buildings, visible from afar, overlooking the city like a classical Greek temple. This generated some criticism as the site was outside the city centre, unlike other capital city designs where (like Washington DC); the important state buildings were placed in a specific visual order to other buildings and streets. He compensated for it by developing ornate and symmetrical landscaping on the koppie in front of the building. It required extensive excavation and the building

of stone walls to create terraces and stairways. The resulting formal gardens are reminiscent of the famous Villa d' Este at Tivoli and represent the Imperialist civilising role in Africa (Vernon 2007:146-163).

Gerard Moerdijk, designer of the Voortrekker Monument, is another architect who made a prominent contribution to Pretoria architecture. Whereas Baker's designs promoted Imperialist values, Moerdijk had a Nationalist agenda and was well-known for his church designs. The Voortrekker monument is an overtly political, cultural and religious monument, perched on top of a koppie so that is visible from afar. The Voortrekker monument played an important role in confirming the urban identity of Pretoria as an Afrikaner power geography with its inauguration in December 1949. Its inauguration came just a year after the Nationalist Party was elected, amid growing Afrikaner Nationalism as the structures of *Apartheid* policies were gaining momentum.

Inspired by Biblical references, the monument was conceived as an altar<sup>1</sup>. symbolising the sacrifice that the Voortrekkers had to make in the establishment of their own land. The whole of the monument is designed around the premise that the Voortrekkers were on an almost Biblical journey to find their 'promised' land, and depicts how bravely the Voortrekker heroes fought against the brutal indigenous people along the way. A deeper analysis of the monument falls outside the scope of this dissertation which focuses on the inner city; hence no further discussion is required.

Pretoria architects developed a style that became known as Pretoria Regionalism, which is a third vernacular emergence in South Africa. Vernacular architecture can be described as an architecture that responds in a place-specific way to climate, materials, economic considerations, religion and cultural expression to develop a regional style. In South Africa, the Cape Dutch style is regarded as first vernacular, while an adaptation of Georgian architecture in the Eastern Cape early in the nineteenth century, is considered second vernacular. “Afrikaner origins seem to have been pivotal in the emergence of a Pretoria Regionalism, or third vernacular” (Fisher 1998:124). Roger Fisher, previously a Professor of Architecture at the University of Pretoria, finds a connection between the Afrikaner and the third vernacular, of which Moerdijk was foremost. Pretoria was the home of patriotic and propagandist Afrikaners. It was also a place where many State and Afrikaner commercial enterprises required buildings, like Volkshuis and Uniewinkels and numerous churches. The establishment of a Department of Architecture at the University of Pretoria under Professor AL Meiring, was important in producing young architects “to rise to the challenges posed by the requirements of church, state and commerce for an emergent Afrikaner identity on the brink of political power” (Fisher 1998:126).

During the twentieth century, architects in Pretoria were inspired by various modernist styles such as the rationalist Bauhaus tradition and Brazilian modernism, resulting in many modernist buildings in the city centre. In some cases architects included African influences, such as the Norman Eaton design

for the Netherlands building in Church Street, with its Benin-inspired door handle statues (Clarke 2011:25). The influence of Brazilian modernism is evident after architect Norman Eaton visited well known Brazilian architect, Oscar Niemeyer in Brazil. The former Meat Board building and former Transvaal Provincial Administration building are examples of Brazilian influence (Clarke 2011:26). The Nationalist Government's move towards international modernist architecture supported their view of creating the *Apartheid* state as part of rationalism and modernity (Sheperd & Murray 2007:5).

Post-*Apartheid* state architecture has moved to post-modern styles, characterised by more human proportions, clean, geometric functionality and the investigation of space and light, as influenced by international trends such as the teachings of Louis Khan (Clarke 2011:26). Many new public buildings, including a range of new monuments and museums are more open to public participation, often via design competitions (Noble 2011:2). A number of new Government buildings have been built in the greater Tshwane municipality, such as the Department of Science and Technology building on the CSIR campus, and the Department of International Relations in Soutpansberg Road. The new National Library is situated in the CBD on the corner of Thabo Sehume (formerly Andries) and Struben Streets, and the Department of Basic Education is located in Struben Street. These new public buildings are designed in an international style of postmodern design, and tend to have no specific political content or relationship with the diversity of the South African community. These buildings are firmly in

the Western style of architecture, aspiring to an international standard, rather than attempting an African vernacular.

In contrast with these buildings, Freedom Park, a new monument on the outskirts of Pretoria, is a project that aspires to the reconciliation and reconstruction of the nation. It is situated on a koppie, directly across from the Voortrekker Monument, a deliberate and somewhat controversial choice of site. According to Labuschagne (2010:117-119), there is a strong visual and symbolic line between the Voortrekker Monument and the Union Buildings, symbolising Afrikaner domination and nationhood. Placing the Freedom Monument directly on this line between the two buildings has caused a “visual amputation of the historic link between the cultural dimension (Voortrekker Monument) and Afrikaner control of political power” (Union Buildings). While I disagree with this interpretation as the Freedom Monument does not have a strong visual presence, and actually aspires to achieve the opposite, namely reconciliation, it is clear that there are many interpretations of its role in Pretoria. As a monument of reconciliation, it has on the one hand attempted to be too inclusive, retrogressing some 3.6 billion years, and at the same time not inclusive enough.

White skin refers to the contemporary modern designs that are dressed with black masks; aspects of African life such as patterns, handcrafts and metaphoric symbolizations of landscape and African dwelling referring to pre-colonial ways of life (Noble 2011:9). Jonathan Noble (2011:213-261) has written a detailed analysis of the Freedom Monument and concludes that it is a truly contemporary

and original design that cannot be described as a building with a white skin and black mask like other new monuments in South Africa, as it is has the authenticity of an old skin. In the final analysis, it has to be questioned whether Freedom Park has any impact on reconciliation and nationhood: at this stage it seems to fail miserably.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adjaye, D. 2010. Phenomenology of cities. *Art South Africa* 9 (2), Summer: 32-35.

Allen, S. 2010. Deconstruction/construction. *Art South Africa* 8 (3), Autumn: 44-47.

Allen, V. 1971. *Kruger's Pretoria. Buildings and personalities of the city in the nineteenth century*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.

Andrews, T & Ploeger, J. 1989. *Straat en plekname van ou Pretoria*. Pretoria: JL van Schaik.

Bachelard, G. 1969. *The poetics of space*, translated by Maria Jolas, Boston: Beacon Press.

Bachelard, G .2000. *Dialectic of duration*, translated by Mary Mcallester Jones. Manchester: Cinnamon Press.

Bell, V. 1999. Performativity and belonging: An introduction. *Theory, Culture and society* 16 (1) 1-10.

Bhabha, HK. 1994. *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.

Boddy-Evans, A. 2013. Womens anti- pass law campaigns in South Africa [Online]. Available at <http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheid/a/WomensAntiPass.htm>. (Accessed on 5/02/2013).

Bolsman, E. 2001. *Pretoria: Artists' impressions 1857–2001*. Pretoria: Protea Bookhouse.

Bosman, ECL. 1968. *Coert Steynberg*. Pretoria: J.L. Van Schaik, bpk.

Bourdieu, P. 2005. Habitus, in *Habitus: A sense of place*, edited by J Hillier & E Rooksby. Aldershot: Ashgate: 43-49.

Bourriaud, N. 2009. *The radican*. New York: Lukas & Sternberg.

Bremner, L. 2008. Recovering from apartheid, in *The endless city. The Urban Age Project by the London school of economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen society*, edited by R Burdett & D Sudjic. London: Phaidon: 203-213.

Breytenbach, JH.1954. *Die geskiedenis van die Krugerstandbeeld*. Pretoria: Krugergenootskap.

Brink, B. 2012. A survey of buildings designed by Brian Sandrock architects for the University of Pretoria and the University of South Africa. Research article, Unisa Institutional repository, available at [www.uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/5806?/show=full](http://www.uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/5806?/show=full). (Accessed on 2/02/2013).

Burdett, R & Sudjic, D. 2008. *The endless city. The Urban Age Project by the London school of economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen society*. London: Phaidon.

Butler, J. 1990. *Gender trouble*. London: Routledge.

Chambers, K. 2001. Franz Ackermann, in *Comfort. Reclaiming place in a virtual world*, edited by K Chambers & L Gilman. Cleveland: Cleveland Centre for contemporary art: 44-49.

Chambers, K & Gilman, L. 2001. *Comfort. Reclaiming place in a virtual world*. Cleveland: Cleveland Centre for contemporary art.

Clarke, N. 2011. Architectural history of the capital, in *Contemporary capital. An architectural journal* edited by P Mathews. Pretoria: Visual Books.

Coetzee, NJ. 1992. *Pierneef, land and landscape. The Johannesburg Station panels in context*. Johannesburg: CBM Publishing.

Coetzee, PJ van V. 2005. *A reading of power relations in the transformation of urban planning in the municipalities of the greater Pretoria region (now Tshwane): 1992- 2002*. Dissertation for the degree Doctor Philisophiae. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

Cresswell, T. 2006. *On the move. Mobility in the modern Western world*. London: Routledge.

Crysler, G. 2012. Introduction: Time's arrows: Spaces of the past, in *The Sage handbook of architectural theory*, edited by CG Chrysler, S Cairns & H Heynen. London: Sage.

Crysler, CG, Cairns, S & Heynen, H (eds). 2012. *The Sage handbook of architectural theory*. London: Sage.

Dailey, M. 2002. Julie Mehretu, in *Vitamin P. New perspectives in painting*, edited by B Schwabsky. London: Phaidon.

Dear, MJ & Flusty, S.1999. The postmodern urban condition, in *Spaces of culture. City, Nation, World*, edited by M Featherstone & S Lash. London: SAGE.

De Certeau, M. 1984. The practice of everyday life, in *The everyday life reader*, edited by B Highmore. London: Routledge: 63-72.

De Certeau, M. 1993. Walking in the city, in *The cultural studies reader* edited by S During. London: Routledge: 151-159.

Deitch, J. 2001. *Form follows fiction*. Milan: Charta.

Deleuze, G. 1988. *Bergsonism*. New York: Zone.

Deleuze, G & Guattari, F. 1987. *A Thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*. Trans. B Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Derrida, J. 1997. Point de Folie- maintenant l'architecture, in *Rethinking architecture. A reader in cultural theory*, edited by N Leach. London: Routledge: 317-336.

De Zegher, C. 2007. *Julie Mehretu: Drawings*. New York: Rizzoli.

Dovey, K. 2005. The silent complicity of architecture, in *Habitus: A sense of place*, 2nd edition, edited by J Hillier & E Rooksby. Aldershot: Ashgate: 281-295.

Dovey, K. 2010. *Becoming places. Urbanism/ architecture/ identity/ power*. New York: Routledge.

- Dunston, L. 1975. *Young Pretoria 1889 –1913*. Pretoria: Lola Dunston.
- Edensor, T(ed). 2010. *Geographies of rhythm. Nature, place, mobilities and bodies*. Surrey: Ashgate: 1-20.
- Elden, S. 2004. Rhythmanalysis: An introduction, in *Rhythmanalysis. Space, time and everyday life*, written by H Lefebvre, edited and translated by S Elden and G Moore. London: Continuum.
- Eleey, P. 2006. Julie Mehretu' s' perfect' pictures. *Afterall: A journal of art, context and enquiry* [Online], 14 Autumn/Winter: 98-106. Available at [www.jstor.org/stable/20711628](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20711628). (Accessed on 14/01/2013).
- Engelbrecht, SP. 1942. *Eeufeesalbum. Nederduitsch Hervormde kerk van Afrika. 1842-1942*. Pretoria: NDH kerk.
- Engelbrecht, SP. Agar-Hamilton, JAI, Pelzer, AN & Behrens, HPH (eds). 1955. *History of the city of Pretoria*. Pretoria: City council of Pretoria.
- Etherington, N. (ed.) 2007. *Mapping Colonial conquest. Australia and Southern Africa*. Crawley: University of Western Australia.
- Fanon, F. 1986. *Black skin, White masks*. London: Pluto press.

Featherstone, M & Lash, S (eds). 1999. *Spaces of culture. City, Nation, World.*  
London: SAGE.

Fisher, RC. 1998. The third vernacular. Pretoria regionalism- Aspects of  
emergence, in *Architecture of the Transvaal*, edited by RC Fisher, S Le Roux &  
E Mare. Pretoria: University of South Africa: 122-147.

Fisher, RC, Le Roux, S & Maré, E (eds). 1998. *Architecture of the Transvaal.*  
Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Fogle, D. 2001. *Painting at the edge of the world.* Minneapolis: Walker Art  
Centre.

Fortier, A.1999. Re-memembering places and the performance of belonging(s).  
*Theory, culture and society* 16(1): 41-64.

Friedman, M. 1994. *A History of Africans in Pretoria with special reference to  
Marabastad.* Masters degree in History. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Gadamer, H. 2007. *The Gadamer reader*, edited by R Palmer. Seattle:  
Northwestern University Press.

Goonewardena, K, Kipfer, S, Milgrom, R & Schmid, C(eds). 2008. *Space,  
difference, everyday life. Reading Henri Lefebvre.* New York: Routledge.

Green, M. 2009. *Speech acts*. [Online]. The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy, available at <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2009/entries/speech-acts/> (Accessed on 12/10/2012).

Greslé, Y. 2005. Things left unsaid. *Art South Africa* 4 (2), Summer: 51.

Haar, M. 1993. The enigma of everydayness, in *Reading Heidegger*, edited by J Sallis. Bloomington: Indiana University Press: 20-28.

Hall, M. 2007. Afterword: Lines of desire, in *Desire lines. Space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city* edited by N Murray, N Shepherd & M Hall. New York: Routledge: 287-298.

Hattingh, PS & Horn, AC. 1991. Pretoria, in *Homes apart. South Africa's segregated cities*, edited by A Lemon. London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.

Heinemann, J. 2011. Anton van Wouw. (1862-1945). [Online]. Anton van Wouw Collection UP Arts. Available at <http://web.up.ac.za/default.asp?ipkCategoryID=10465&sub=1&parentid=5885&subid=10318&ipklookid=14>. (Accessed on 5/01/2013).

Highmore, B (ed). 2002a. *The everyday life reader*. London: Routledge.

Highmore, B. 2002b. *Everyday life and cultural theory. An Introduction.*

London: Routledge.

Highmore, B. 2005. *Cityscapes. Cultural readings in the material and symbolic city.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hillier, J & Rooksby, E. 2005. *Habitus: A sense of place.* 2nd edition. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Holleman, R. 2011. Dorothee Kreutzfeldt. Blank projects. *Art South Africa* 9 (3), Autumn: 68.

Holm, A & Viljoen, D. 1993. *Mure wat praat. Die verhaal van die ou Raadsaal en sy mense.* Johannesburg: Chris van Rensburg Publikasies.

Holm, D.1998. Kerkplaats and capitalists. The first architecture in context, in *Architecture of the Transvaal* edited by RC Fisher, S Le Roux & E Maré.

Pretoria: University of South Africa: 55-77.

Hook, D. 2005. Monumental space and the uncanny. *Geoforum* 36: 688-704.

Jacobs, J. 1996. *Edge of the empire.* Routledge: London.

Jameson, F. 1996. Is space political? in *Rethinking architecture. A reader in cultural theory* edited by N. Leach. London: Routledge.

Jiron, P. 2010. Repetition and difference: Rhythms and mobile place-making in Santiago de Chile, in *Geographies of rhythm. Nature, place, mobilities and bodies*. Edited by T Edensor. Surrey: Ashgate: 129-143.

Judson, DR. 2011. *Beyond space? Exploring the temporality of architecture*. [Online] Thesis for a Master of architecture. Ottawa: Carleton University.

Joo, E & Keehn II, J. 2011. *Rethinking contemporary art and multicultural education. New museum of contemporary art*. Routledge: New York.

Keath, M. 1998. The Baker School. A continuing tradition 1902-1940, in *Architecture of the Transvaal* edited by RC Fisher, S Le Roux & E Maré. Pretoria: University of South Africa: 79-97.

King, G. 1996. *Mapping reality. An exploration of cultural cartographies*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Kofman, E & Lebas, E (translated and edited).1996. *Writings on cities. Henri Lefebvre*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kraehmer, FP. 1978. *An assessment of the visual environment of Pretoria as capital city*. Msc. Thesis. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

Labuschagne, P. 2006. Pretoria or Tshwane? The politics of name changes. *Journal for Contemporary History* 31 (1): 49-61.

Labuschagne, P. 2010. Monument(al) meaning making in the "new" South Africa: Freedom Park as a symbol of a new identity and freedom? *South African Journal of Art History* 25 (2):112-124.

Labuschagne, P. 2011. Memorial complexity and political change: Paul Kruger's statue's political travels through space and time. *South African Journal of Art History* 26 (3): 142-154.

Laga, BE. 1997. Posthistory: negating and negotiating representations of history.[Online] Theses for doctoral of philosophy. Anne Arbor: Purdue University. Available at <http://proquest.umi.com/pqdlink?did=736653161&Fmt=7&clientId=79356&RQT=309&VName=PQD>. (Accessed on 18/02/2013).

Law-Viljoen, B. 2006. *Light on a hill. Building the constitutional court of South Africa*. Johannesburg: David Krut Publishing.

Leach, N (ed). 1997. *Rethinking architecture. A reader in cultural theory*.  
London: Routledge.

Leach, N. 1999. *The anaesthetics of architecture*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Leach, N. 2005. Belonging: Towards a theory of identification with space, in  
*Habitus: A sense of place*. 2nd edition, edited by J Hillier & E Rooksby.  
Aldershot: Ashgate: 297-314.

Lefebvre, H. 1966. *Le language et al société*. Paris: Gallimard.

Lefebvre, H. 1984. *Everyday life in the modern world*, trans. S. Rabinovitch.  
New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The production of space*, trans. D Nicholson-Smith. Oxford:  
Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The critique of everyday life vol.I*, trans. J Moore. London:  
Verso.

Lefebvre, H. 1996. *Writings on cities*, trans. & edited by E Kofman & E Lebas.  
Oxford: Blackwell.

Lefebvre, H. 2002. *The critique of everyday life vol.2. Foundations of the sociology of the everyday*, trans. J Moore. London: Verso.

Lefebvre, H. 2004. *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, trans. S Elden and G Moore. London: Continuum.

Lefebvre, H. 2006. *The critique of everyday life vol.3. From modernity to modernism. Towards a meta-philosophy of daily life*, trans. G Elliot. London: Verso.

Lemon, A (ed). 1991. *Homes apart. South Africa's segregated cities*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd.

Le Roux, H. 2005. Foreign parts, keynote address, in *Modern architecture in East Africa around independence*, published conference proceedings, available from [http://archnet.org/library/document/one-document.jsp?\\_document\\_id=9947](http://archnet.org/library/document/one-document.jsp?_document_id=9947) (Accessed on 22/12/2012).

Liebenberg, EC. 1973. *Die Topografiese kartering van Suid-Afrika, 1879-1972. 'n Histories-geografiese ontleding*. MA verhandeling. Pretoria: Universiteit van Suid-Afrika.

Louw, M J. 1959. *'n Geografiese studie van funksionele differensiasie in die metropolitaanse gebied van Pretoria*. Doctor litterarum et Pilosophiae. Pretoria: Universiteit van Suid-Afrika.

Lundin, R, Thistelton, A & Walhout, C. 1985. *The responsibility of hermeneutics*. Michigan: Paternoster.

Massey, D. 1994. *Space, place and gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Massey, D. 1995. The conceptualisation of place, in *A place in the world? Places, cultures and globalization* edited by D Massey & P Jess. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 45-85.

Massey, D & Jess, J (eds). 1995. *A place in the world? Places, cultures and globalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mathews, P. 2011. *Contemporary capital. An architectural journal*. Pretoria: Visual Books.

Mbembe, A & Nuttal, S (eds). 2008. *Johannesburg. The elusive metropolis*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Mehretu, J. 2003. Ethiopian passages. Dialogues in the diaspora. An interview with D Blinkley on 28 March 2003, available at [www.nmafa.si.edu/exhibits/passages/mehretu-conversation.html](http://www.nmafa.si.edu/exhibits/passages/mehretu-conversation.html) (Accessed on 5/01/2013).

Mehretu, J. 2005. Julie Mehretu: An interview with L Chua, in *BOMB* [Online] 91, Spring: 24-31. Available at [www.jstor.org/stable/40427192](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40427192). (Accessed on 5/01/2013).

Meiring, AL. 1955. Stadsbeplanning en boukuns in Pretoria: 'n terugblik, in *Geskiedenis van die stad Pretoria*, edited by SP Engelbrecht, JAI Agar-Hamilton, AN Pelzer & HPH Behrens. Pretoria: City council of Pretoria.

Meiring, H. 1980. *Pretoria125*. Kaapstad: Human & Rousseau.

Meskel, L. 2007. Living in the past, in *Desire lines. Space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city*, edited by N Murray, N Shepherd & M Hall. New York: Routledge: 165-180.

Mojapelo, JS. 2009. *The corner people of Lady Selbourne*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Murini, T. 2004. Dorothee Kreutzfeldt/ Mandy Lee Jandrell. *Art South Africa* 2 (3), Autumn: 77.

Murray, N. 2007. Remaking modernism, in *Desire lines. Space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city*, edited by N Murray, N Shepherd & M Hall. New York: Routledge: 43-66.

Murray, N, Shepherd, N & Hall, M (eds). 2007. *Desire lines. Space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city*. New York: Routledge.

Noble, JA. 2011. *African identity in post-apartheid public architecture. White skins, black masks*. Surrey: Ashgate.

Nuttall, S & Mbembe, A (eds). 2008. *Johannesburg. The elusive metropolis*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

O' Toole, S. 2010. Under construction. *Art South Africa* 8 (4), Winter: 82-89.

Palmer, H (ed.) 2007. *The Gadamer reader*. Seattle: Northwestern University Press.

Pelzer, AN. 1957. The historical background to the Voortrekker Monument, in *The Voortrekker Monument Pretoria. Official guide*. Pretoria: Compiled and published by the board of control of the Voortrekker Monument.

Ploeger, J & Botha, HJ. 1968. *The fortification of Pretoria. Fort Klapperkop-yesterday and today*. Pretoria: Gov. Printer.

Princenthal, N. 2001. Franz Ackermann. *Art in America* 89 (9): 152.

Punt, WHJ. 1955. Die oord-, wyk- en straatname van Pretoria, in *History of the city of Pretoria*, edited by SP Engelbrecht, JAI Agar-Hamilton, AN Pelzer & HPH Behrens. Pretoria: City council of Pretoria: 244-267.

Ramberg, B & Gjesdal, K. 2009. Hermeneutics. Available at <http://plato.standard.edu/entries/hermeneutics/>.

Reiss, JH. 2001. *From margin to center. The spaces of installation art*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Rencken, CRE. 1989. *Union Buildings. The first 75 years*. Pretoria: Bureau of Information, on behalf of the office of the State President.

Rex, HM. 1956. *Pretoria van kerkplaas tot regeringstelsel*. Kaapstad: HAUM.

Saff, GR. 1998. *Changing Cape Town. Urban dynamics, policy and planning during the political transition in South Africa*. Lanham: University Press of America, Inc.

Schmid, C. 2008. Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space. Towards a three-dimensional dialectic, in *Space, difference, everyday life. Reading Henri Lefebvre*, edited by K Goonewardena, S Kipfer, R Milgrom & C Schmid. New York: Routledge: 27-45.

Schwabsky, B. 2002. *Vitamin P. New perspectives in painting*. London: Phaidon.

Sheperd, N & Murray, N. 2007. Introduction, in *Desire lines. Space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city* edited by N Murray, N Sheperd & M Hall. London: Routledge:1-18.

Shields, R. 1991. *Places on the margin. Alternative geographies of modernity*. London: Routledge.

Shields, R. 2004. Henri Lefebvre, in *Key Thinkers on Space and Place* edited by P Hubbard, R Kitchin & G Valentine. Los Angeles: Sage Publications: 208-213.

Simonsen, K. 2005. Bodies, sensations, space and time: the contribution from Henri Lefebvre. *Swedish society for Anthropology and Geography, Geografiska Annaler* 87 B (1): 1-14.

Soja, E. 2002. *Spaces of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Sontag, S.1977. On Photography, available at [www.susansontag.com/SusanSontag/.../onPhotographyExerpt.shtml](http://www.susansontag.com/SusanSontag/.../onPhotographyExerpt.shtml) (Accessed on 25/11/2012).

Terreblanche, S. 2002. *A history of inequality in South Africa.1652-2002*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Tempelhoff, JWN. 2005. Paul Kruger en die toekoms: Romantiek en verligting in die verstaan van die Suid- Afrikaanse verlede. *Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedenis* 30(1): 137-155.

Trebitsch, M. 2005. Preface in *Critique of everyday life, vol.3*, by H Lefebvre. London: Verso.

Tuan, Y.1991. Language and the making of place: A narrative- descriptive approach. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81(4): 684-696.

Van Rensburg, RJ & Da Costa, MA. 2008b. Space as ritual: rethinking spatial strategies in the African city. *South African Journal of Art History* 23(3): 43-55.

Vernon, C. 2007. Projecting power on conquered landscapes: Canberra and Pretoria, in *Mapping Colonial conquest. Australia and Southern Africa* edited by N Etherington. Crawley: University of Western Australia: 146-177.

Waldner, M, 2006. Chief Tshwane resurrected. [Online]. *City Press* 12 February:27. Available at <http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/citypress/2006/02/12/C1/27/01.html>. (Accessed on 05/12/2012).

Wander, P. 1990. Introduction to the Transaction edition, in *Everyday life in the modern world* by H Lefebvre. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Wheeler, M. 2013. Heidegger. Available at <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/heidegger/>.

Williamson, S. 2009. *South African art now*. New York: Collins Design.

Wunderlich, FM. 2008. Walking and rhythmicity: Sensing urban space. *Journal of Urban design* 13(1): 125-139.

Wunderlich, FM. 2010. The aesthetics of place-temporality in everyday urban space: the case of Fitzroy square, in *Geographies of rhythm. Nature, place, mobilities and bodies*, edited by T Edensor. Surrey: Ashgate: 45-56.

Young, J. *Tracing the city. Julie Mehretus Grey area for the Deutsche Guggenheim*. [Online]. Available at [www.db-artmag.com/en/57/on-view/grey-](http://www.db-artmag.com/en/57/on-view/grey-)

area---julie-mehretus -commissioned-work-for-the-deutsche-gu/ (accessed on 5/01/ 2013).

---

<sup>i</sup> Theart -Peddle, 2007. Die Voortrekkermonument. Besoekershandleiding en aandenking. Pretoria: Voortrekkermonument en natuurreservaat