

Social control in the 20th century and its impact on households: A case study of disarticulation from Sophiatown to Meadowlands, Soweto.

By

THANDO MONICA SHIBA

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for
the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the subject

ANTHROPOLOGY

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROF. NOKUTHULA HLABANGANE

CO-SUPERVISOR: MR. STEPHAN VAN WYK

18 May 2021

DECLARATION

Name: Thando Monica Shiba
Student number: 61989444
Degree: Masters in Anthropology

Social control in the 20th century and its impact on households: A case study of disarticulation from Sophiatown to Meadowlands, Soweto

I declare that the above dissertation 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 I submitted the dissertation to originality checking software and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

Thando Monica Shiba

18 May 2021

Signature

Date

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	1
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	4
ILLUSTRATIONS	5
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	7
SUMMARY OF TOPIC	8
Key terms	8
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	9
Sophiatown, the multi-ethnic quilt with possibilities	9
Sophiatown, the overturned beehive	11
The advent of the model township, Soweto	14
City planning in Johannesburg	18
Uprooting social suffering: The research and my place in it	20
Conceptual Framework	20
Rationale	21
Outline of Chapters	22
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	24
Introduction	24
Uncovering the architecture of Apartheid and its impact on racialized spaces	24
The Union of South Africa 1910 in respect of segregation	25
The remodelling of segregation	28
Historical development of Johannesburg	29
Purity in the City	37
The birth of the Apartheid government	40
The ramifications of Apartheid policies	42
The Anatomy of Relocation	51
Forced removals in Sophiatown	52
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	62
Description of the Study Problem	63
Purpose of the Study	63
Research objective	64
The Research Question:	65
Study Design	65

Study Site: Meadowlands, Ndofaya	67
Study Population and Sample	69
Data Collection Method(S) and Procedures	76
Data Analysis	79
Limitations of the Study	80
Ethical Considerations	82
Reflections	83
CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION	84
Delving into the past and unearthing the present: Ethnography of Meadowlands, Soweto, SA	84
Introduction	84
Remembering the past through Nostalgic Trauma of imagined better times – displacement and dis-orientation	87
<i>Khwela sihambe</i> and the psychology of loss associated with forced removal	89
The process, the effects and continued disarticulation	95
Meadowlands as a place of suffering: space, place and possibility	97
Apartheid Residues: loss of possibilities	101
Alteration of the black culture	104
Disarticulation and the injured memory	105
Unrequited trauma, redress and coping	109
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION	112
What is the role of space and belonging in the creation of identity?	112
Variations of divide and rule – and the impact thereof	113
REFERENCES	118
APPENDICES	132
Ethical Clearance Certificate	132
Consent forms	133
Interview Schedule	137

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
GIS	Geographic Information System
JCC	Johannesburg City Council
NP	National Party
NRB	Native Resettlement Board
SA	South Africa
SANAC	South African Native Affairs Commission
SOWETO	South Western Townships

ILLUSTRATIONS

Diagrams

Diagram 1: Maslow's hierarchy of needs cited in www.simplypsychology.org by McLeod

Maps

Map 1: The rezoned Triomf suburb cited in the Chief Surveyor-Generals Office (see: General plan no. A5005/1903)

Map 2: The Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality cited in the CoJ GIS website

Map 3: Ariel view of Meadowlands in Region D cited in the CoJ GIS website

Photographs

Photograph 1: Ariel view of matchbox houses cited in *Class, Race and Residence in black Johannesburg, 1923–1970* (see: Crankshaw 2005:326)

Photograph 2: A depiction of a family watching as demolition workers tear down a row of neighbourhood homes in Sophiatown, 1955. Adapted from *The Guardian* (see Adler 2016)

Photograph 3: Captured at Mokata street zone 1 Meadowlands by Thando Shiba 2018

Photograph 4: Captured at Zimbini street zone 6 Meadowlands by Thando Shiba 2018

Photograph 5: Captured at Lefifi Street in zone 3 Meadowlands by Thando Shiba 2018

Photograph 6: Example of a double house with asbestos roof, 33 Lebo Street in Meadowlands Zone 2

Photograph 7: Aerial picture of Meadowlands in Region D cited in the CoJ GIS website

Photograph 8: Showing spatial differences between Primrose and Makause in Johannesburg. Cited in the 13 May 2019 *TIME International* cover, see (Pomerantz 2019)

Population samples

Figure 1: cited in City of Johannesburg. (1948). Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European and Native Affairs, December 1944 to 30 June 1948, see page 3

Figure 2: cited in Republic of South Africa Bureau of Statistics, the Population Census, September 1960, see page 34 & 35

Figure 3: cited in Republic of South Africa Bureau of Statistics, the Population Census, September 1960, see page 34 & 35

Figure 4: cited in City of Johannesburg. (1953). Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European and Native Affairs, 1 July 1952 to 30th June 1953, see page 4-5

Figure 5: cited in City of Johannesburg. (1950, 51, 52). Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European and Native Affairs

Figure 6: cited in City of Johannesburg. (1965). Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European and Native Affairs, see pg. 2 & 4

Figure 7: Cited in 2011 Census data -Statistics by gender

Figure 8: Cited in 2011 Census data – population break down for the respective zones in Meadowlands

Figure 9: Cited in 2011 Census data showing types of dwelling in Soweto

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- Thank you to the amazing Lord who has sustained me and my family to this day with his overwhelming love and presence in our life. It was only through your favour and grace that this moment was possible.
- I am forever grateful to Prof. Nokuthula Hlabangane and Mr. Stephan Van Wyk, my supervisors, for their frank moral support from the very beginning of this journey. Not only did you accommodate my work/school balance, you helped me develop my writing, speaking, and communication in a way that also reinforced my character. Thank you for your patience, encouragement and inspiration.
- To my late grandmother, Monica Makamu, you knew this day was coming before I could even imagine it. Thank you for investing in my first registration fee with your full month's pension. I am still so grateful; this dissertation is entirely for you.
- To my mother Priscilla Bombeleni Shiba, who until this day has made countless sacrifices, including selling her wedding ring to get me a school bus tag, thank you very much mom. Due to your deliberate encouragement, undying love and strong will, I am what I am today.
- I am also so grateful to God for my dad's survival from his ill health. Siphosenkosi Shiba, whom I asked to stay strong to see through this moment with me, is still alive today as I submit. This is a wonderful feeling for me.
- To my older brother Troy Makamu and little sister Buhle Shiba, thank you for being the fuel that kept the fire burning. I appreciate the mirror you are holding up to keep me honest. You inspire me, and I always want to make you proud.
- To Tumelo Sadiki, my friend that consistently pushed me to the ultimate edge and helped me make sense of things, we made it my friend.
- Finally, to my partner, Pontsho Mayisela, and to his mother, Keneilwe Mayisela, whom we laid to rest on December 23, 2020. Thank you for making this so fun. You were always optimistic that we could achieve this milestone, and here we are. Rest in eternal peace Banei

**** Forti nihil difficilium – Nothing is too difficult for the brave ****

SUMMARY OF TOPIC

In South Africa, racial discrimination was witnessed through renowned segregationist acts including the Group Areas Act (No:41) of 1950, which forcibly displaced families from their homes and triggered significant social upheavals and the callous disintegration of long-established communities such as Sophiatown. The removals were a political strategy to relocate so-called “non-white” people from the inner city to townships such as Meadowlands explicitly chosen for their hazardous impure land known as mine dumps (Rodgers 1980:76). These displacements had a paradox of intergenerational homelessness triggered by instrumental racism that influenced politics of space and in effect, the disarticulation of the lives of black South Africans (Milgroom and Ribotc 2019:184). Therefore, it is important to undertake a study investigating the circumstances that gave rise to these forced removals, the subsequent breakdown of social order, a typical consequence of population relocation, which merits an examination of the contemporary implications and ramifications of disarticulation and highlights, in this regard, some significant shortcomings in post-Apartheid governance.

Title of thesis/dissertation:

SOCIAL CONTROL IN THE 20TH CENTURY AND ITS IMPACT ON HOUSEHOLDS: A CASE STUDY OF DISARTICULATION FROM SOPHIATOWN TO MEADOWLANDS, SOWETO

Key terms

Apartheid, disarticulation, ethnicity, forced removals, Johannesburg, Meadowlands, overcrowding, race, Sophiatown.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Sophiatown, the multi-ethnic quilt with possibilities

“Lord Milner, in 1903”

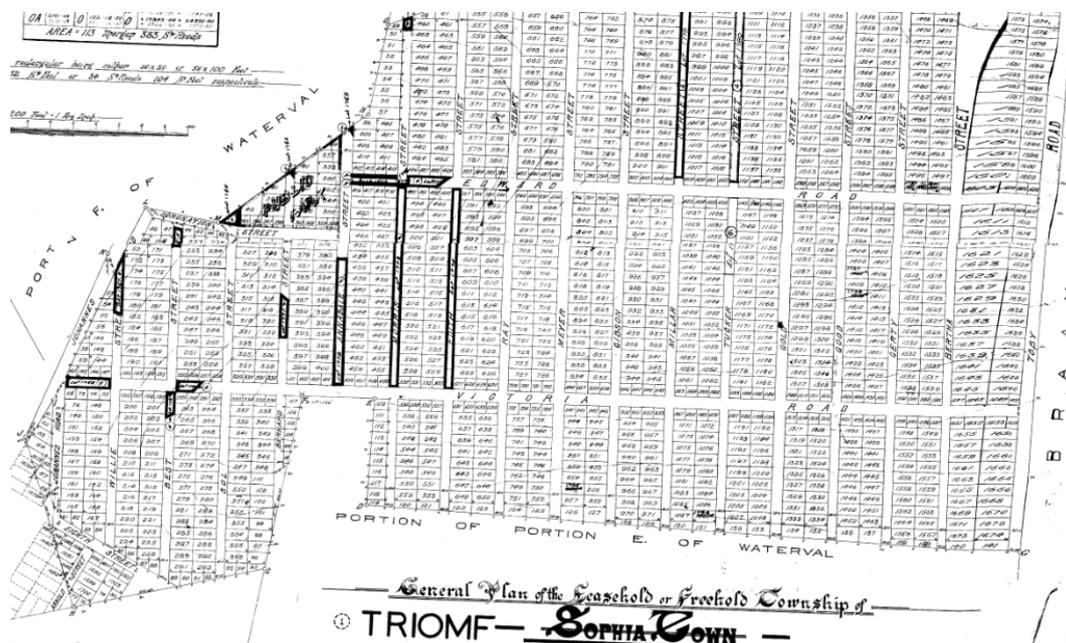
Our welfare depends upon increasing the quantity of our white population, but not at the expense of its quality. We do not want a white proletariat in this country. The position of the whites among the more numerous black populations requires that even their lowest ranks should be able to maintain a standard of living far above that of the poorest section of the population of a purely white country. However, you look at the matter, you always come back to the same root principle – the urgency of that development which alone can make this a white man’s country one in which a largely increased white population can live in decency and comfort. That development requires capital, but it also requires a large amount of rough labour and that labour cannot to any extent, be white (Marks & Trapido 1979:66 quoted in Seoka & Capel 2017:53).

It is never easy to delineate where to begin in the historical record when addressing the evolution of race relations in South Africa (SA). It is important to remember, however, that race relationships, based on dispossession and resistance, have always been contentious in what was to become the Republic of South Africa. For this study, it seems prudent to begin at a time when Apartheid ¹was conceived and congealed into a policy. This is notwithstanding the fact that there is a long, international history in the philosophy of separate development that influenced Apartheid (Adonis 2016:1). In a long history of similar considerations, the South African case is but a trivial one. The resulting trauma caused by temporary informal settlements, which eventually became permanent, leading to disorganized neighbourhoods, fractured families, and a lack of social cohesion, is what merits my academic attention (Cheng 2008:84; Freund 1984:57).

The Nationalist government began to legislate a series of ordinances in the 1950s, which would later become known as “Apartheid”. These laws reinforced the long prevailing practice

¹ Apartheid: In Afrikaans, meaning “apartness” is a term adopted by the National Party in its victorious effort to govern the country in the elections of 1948. Founded in a power hierarchy with whites at the top and blacks at the bottom as a basis for the physical separation of all races within South Africa (Clark and Worger 2011:10).

of racial segregation² and had dire consequences for “non- white” people in the country (Clark and Worger 2011:10). Urban areas were a particular target because the term denoted the development that sought to separate people according to their racial backgrounds. This led to economic adversity for the “non- white” people, which dispossessed them politically, economically, physically, culturally, socially, and financially (Goodhew 2000:244; Wizarat 1980:84-85). In support of this argument, I case studied a diverse urban community in the Waterval farm in the northwestern Johannesburg area named Kofifi, better known as Sophiatown. It was a multi-ethnic quilt made up of ordinary folk in search of the proverbial pot of gold, including gangsters and criminal elements. According to Thema (1999:5&13), Sophiatown was a place of vanity, spectacle, squalor, luxury, ecstasy and distress.



Map 1: The rezoned Triomf suburb cited in the Chief Surveyor-Generals Office (see: General plan no. A5005/1903)

The Waterval farm belonged to a Russia-born man by the name of Hermann Tobiansky who bought it in 1897 and renamed it after his wife Sophia Tobiansky. It was part of a group of three cosmopolitan areas generally known as the Western Areas (Sophiatown, Newclare and Martindale). They were near a site of sewage works which was turned into the Western Native

2 Racial segregation, as practiced from 1910 to 1948 in South Africa, legally divided races in favour of those of European descent and to the detriment of races of black descent. The right of blacks to own property, live or move where they want and to enjoy job security was affected by segregation policies (Clark and Worger 2011:18).

Township³ (now Westbury) after the region was declared a freehold area (Lewis 1966:46). The Western Native Township was later called Western Coloured Township, whilst Sophiatown was renamed Triomf after it was rezoned following the removals in the 1950s (Hart 1990:154). Sophiatown will be the main subject of this dissertation because its association with present-day Meadowlands will be examined in this review as a crucial part of the narrative being discussed (Tabane 1986:1 and Thema 1999:20).

Sophiatown was on a 237-acre land consisting of 1694 small plots estimated at 55 square meters (Goodhew 1993:449). The big stands were 50' X 100' in size while the smaller stands were 50' X 50' in size as shown in the geographic map in the previous (Gready 1990:140). The composition of some of the streets stayed the same, as they were named after the couple's children i.e. Toby, Gerty and Bertha. Miller Street, on the other hand, was named after Sophia's father Woolf Miller, in addition, close relative names such as Ray, Edith, Good and Gold were also used to name other streets (Mattera 1987:3; Tabane 1986:2-3).

Sophiatown, the overturned beehive

Originally, the area where Sophiatown was built was leased to the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek as a Coloured location. After the Second Anglo-Boer War between 1899-1902, the new British Transvaal government revoked the lease in 1903 and returned it to Tobiansky, who converted it into a private leasehold township. Subsequently, before the report of the South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC)⁴ that came out in 1905, Tobiansky signed a lease with the Johannesburg City Council (JCC) promising to open areas for occupation to other races, thus setting aside just under two and a half acres of land for private leasehold (Gready 1990:141; Tabane 1986:2). This contract with the JCC was terminated in 1913 following the implementation of the Natives Land Act (No. 27) on 19 June, which limited the areas where black people could own to approximately 9 million hectares in specific regions

³ In South Africa, traditionally, "township" referred to an urban residential area created for black migrant labour, typically outside the limits of the town or city. Often reference is made to "black township", "Coloured Township" and "Indian township", implying that for these demographic groups, these settlements were formed. The white people, on the other hand, settled in the suburbs (Census 2001: Concepts and Definitions, Statistics South Africa 2004:15- cited in Jones 2013:30).

⁴ The South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC) was appointed in 1905 to provide detailed answers to the "Native Question" by publishing a report proposing the geographical division of black and white land ownership by systematic urban segregation that developed black "locations" so that black "squatters" could be evicted from white farms and wage laborers could displace them and eventually lead to the segregation of blacks from Whites in the political sphere (Gready 1990:141).

which were later known as homelands (O'Malley n.d). During this critical time, the Western Areas became freehold purchasing areas (Seoka & Capel 2017:47; Gomora 2008:10).

The reason for making it a freehold purchase area was because it was not entirely desirable to white settlers as it was close to municipal sewage and deposit sites near Macauvel, commonly known as "Mathikithwane" meaning "a disorderly place" (Tabane 1986:3). Tellingly, however, other people from different racial backgrounds were encouraged to settle there, resulting in Sophiatown being a black, Coloured, Indian and Chinese community together with a handful of white people. Sophiatown was one of a few areas in the Transvaal where black people were able to buy land before the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 (No:21) (Lewis 1966:45) where local urban authorities were able to build separate black residential locations and exert power over black immigration to these areas (Maylam 1995:19; Lodge 1981:109).

On Friday afternoons, Sophiatown resembled an overturned beehive, the maddest, craziest, noisiest bloody stew of people in the whole of this world. A human volcano, a jostling, dusty, heaving mass (Thema 1999:37).

Once everybody was settled, Sophiatown was like an overcrowded commune where, due to its ethnic diversity, poverty unified people in a close-knit, colourful, lively and often active society with a strong civic spirit that helped to grow and raise families in a way that demonstrated a particular social value (Thema 1999:15; Gready 1990:139). The meagre income people brought home seemed to awaken their spirit, and the spectre of crime seemed stronger on Fridays, when gangsters flourished. For the same reason, some gang members helped curb violence by protecting innocent individuals (Thema 1999:37 & 41).

The above overview of the quality of life in Sophiatown provides a series of social indicators that made me curious about the Sophiatown-Meadowlands relationship. I want to understand why Sophiatown was completely razed, how Meadowlands was developed, when it was incorporated into the South Western Townships (Soweto), and why the displaced Sophiatown families had to be particularly relocated there. One policy on which this study is based is the Natives Land Act of 1913 (No:27), as it formally proclaimed that "non- white" people should

be separated from white urban areas by allocating small portions of land outside the cities to freehold purchases. This and many other Acts facilitated the development of townships like Langa in Cape Town in the 1920s, Lamontville in Durban in the 1930s, McNamee in Port Elizabeth in the 1940s and Dube in Soweto in the 1950s (Lodge 1983:9; Maylam 1995:30).

Many people from the homelands, however, were still migrating to the city for job opportunities rather than freehold housing out of the city. This brought about a rise in population density in and around Johannesburg and created a complex and spatialized social organization that became the root cause of legislation such as the Natives (Urban Areas) Act (No:21) of 1923, the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, the Group Areas Act (No:41) of 1950 and the Population Registration Act (No:30) of 1950 (Jones 2013:27; Mattera 1987:3 & 6). These Acts in conjunction with Sophiatown's historical narrative and how it relates to Meadowlands are a starting point in trying to understand measures of segregation, inequality, disarticulation, oppression and how they influence social suffering (2016).

The hypothesis for this study is therefore that overcrowding⁵ in households is a social disorder that compromises the quality of life as expressed by the density of households, which is possibly associated with racial privilege implanted by the forced removals (Abdulla 2017; Maylam 1995:24). Overcrowding in households is used as a heuristic device to understand overall disarticulation caused by forced removals. Disarticulation, for the purposes of this study, is a social phenomenon that occurs when people's lives are intentionally disrupted, if not entirely ruined and discontinued, as a result of inhumane treatment, coercion, and suffering. This can be seen in neighbourhoods like Sophiatown, which were once peacefully coexisting before being completely rearranged, divided, or demolished as a result of segregation and displacement intended to disenfranchise, disarray and degenerate them (Ross 2003:112; Meierhenrich 2008:117). It is also the manipulation of power used to restrict freedom of movement and access to opportunities, as well as to divide societies along lines of class, race, and sometimes gender. This leaves communities feeling helpless and

⁵ Overcrowding is a condition in which more individuals are present in a given space than is known to be tolerable from a health and safety perspective (Lewis 1966: 49).

oppressed, resulting in stagnation and confinement rather than progression (Denzin and Lincoln 2018:43; Motsemme 2002:648).

As mentioned in the various chapters, disarticulation can be seen in every aspect of life, including psychological, economic, and environmental aspects. Thus, the aim is to assess the effect of social disarticulation on the quality of life of previously displaced families by revisiting their traumatic experiences and exploring some of the ways to which they were affected, as well as how this resulted in an overall breakdown of the family, self, and community. In this way, to understand Meadowlands today, one must first understand the forced removals in Sophiatown in the late 1950s and early 1960s, because it is important to understand the reasoning behind such a violent uprooting of a population and their subsequent dumping in barrenness.

The advent of the model township, Soweto

Soweto is a township in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality situated in Gauteng, South Africa, covering an area of about 150 km² on the southern portion of the city's mining area. It originated in 1905 when the Newtown slum yards in central Johannesburg were demolished and black families were relocated to municipal land adjoining the sewage disposal works at Klipspruit belonging to the Johannesburg City Council (JCC) (Harrison 2014:296). The JCC built corrugated tin shelters "imikhukhu" as temporary shelters for the small and isolated community, but these ended up being used for close to thirty years and were only demolished in the late 1920s. Neither Johannesburg's geographic isolation, nor the proximity of the sewage plant encouraged the JCC to reconsider resettling these inhabitants out of this area (Lewis 1966:47-48).

Instead, in 1903-5, the Native Affairs Commission firmly condemned this existing social order, as did the 1908 Natives Commission. Therefore, the 1909 Municipal Commission recommended the establishment of appropriate locations for blacks and other "non-whites". As they were deliberating on the proposal, in March 1918, an international influenza pandemic broke out on the heels of the First World War, which was not the direct cause of its

occurrence, but it led to its rapid spread worldwide. The well-developed rail network of 10 000 miles in SA made it easier for the epidemic to penetrate the most remote areas, leading to its arrival in SA in September 1918, which resulted in numerous deaths for mostly the black population. This led the JCC to set up the Western Native Township to seclude “non- whites” because of fear of infiltration (Lewis 1966:48).

Between 1918 and 1921, 227 houses were constructed in Western Native Township. Meanwhile, the black population lived in the most unsatisfactory conditions in areas like Newclare, Sophiatown, Prospect Township, Malay Location and other parts of the city. Black people could live in various parts of the town during those years because there was no strategy to minimize land from being occupied unless there was a restrictive clause in the City Title Conditions (Lewis 1966:48).

Thereafter in 1923, Parliament passed the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, with a clause that had far-reaching effects for many black people. The Act placed the task of providing housing for black people living and working within the city firmly on the local authority, which was the Parks and Estates Committee at the time. This led to the expansion of the Western Native Township between 1924 and 1927, and the construction of a new location called the Eastern Native Township. Despite all these efforts, the city’s population continued to rise. By 1927, except those working and housed in the mines, the black population was predicted to be 96,000 persons. Consequently, early in 1930, the JCC bought 1,300 morgens of land on the Klipspruit No. 8 farm that was to the south-west of the city adjacent to Potchefstroom’s major highway (Lewis 1966:48-49).

In 1932, the JCC started building houses in a township they called Orlando (named after the City Councillor of Native Affairs Mr Edwin Orlando Leake) with the primary purpose of rehousing black families living in appalling slums at a place in the city called Prospect Township, in the east of Johannesburg. Not only was the dismantling of the Prospect Township the starting point of a connection between the collapse of Johannesburg’s inner-city slum yards, but this also made a significant contribution to the growth of the population of Sophiatown, since a substantial number of people and possibly a few families removed

from the inner-city slum yards decided to move to Sophiatown rather than Orlando due to the proximity to work opportunities (Lewis 1965:17).

By 1935, 3000 houses were constructed in Orlando to accommodate 18,000 inhabitants, which indicates that one house was meant to accommodate six people. Moreover, from 1936 to 1945, the population of Sophiatown grew in relation to the Second World War and the subsequent relaxation of the tight restrictions on influx control. Sophiatown, however, was an ideal environment for single male migrants mostly due to rapid industrialization, resulting in a halt for families requiring houses with up to three bedrooms available because they had to wait for the JCC to complete their construction in Orlando. This is how the infamous squatter⁶ camps of Shantytown/ Jabavu and Moroka were founded when people migrated to the surrounding areas of Orlando (SAHO 2019, Lewis 1966:49 and Lewis 1965:17).

Then, in the mid-1950s, the JCC introduced a strategy to pursue racial segregation within the limits of municipal law by developing Dube as a middle-class township, while the central government established Meadowlands and Diepkloof as a dormitory replacement for displaced households in Sophiatown and its surrounding areas (Harrison 2014:296; Crankshaw 1993:31). Then came the relocations to the townships of Emdeni, Senaone and Zola from the Eastern Native Township and George Goch, as well as the development of hostels built in the late 1950s to accommodate migrant workers banned from living in the city. This rapid expansion only came to an end in the late 1960s when the government put a ban on building new houses in the township until it was revived after the removal of influx regulations in the late 1980s (Harrison 2014:296).

In addition to the housing growth, ethnic zoning was introduced in Soweto with geographical spatialization of the various ethnic groups. For speakers of Sesotho and Setswana, Naledi, Mapetla, Tladi, Moletsane and Phiri were established. Then, for the Tsonga and Venda-speaking people, Chiawelo was developed. Finally, for isiXhosa and isiZulu speakers, Dlamini, Zola, Zondi, Jabulani and Emdeni were created (Harrison 2014:296). Benoni, which falls on the East of the Witwatersrand, is another re-settlement area that accepted the notion

⁶ Squatters: refers to people who unlawfully occupy land or buildings (Lewis 1965:17). In SA, the objective is often political, as the aim is usually to be transferred to the newly built houses near the land they occupy.

of ethnic zoning which did not just separate people by race but also by ethnicity. They voluntarily allowed amaZulu, baTsonga and baSotho ethnic groups to be separated in the Daveyton Township (Pirie 1984:291). Tribalism as a divide and rule mechanism was implemented through this forever-evolving and forever precarious arrangement of forceful segregation (Pirie 1984:291; Seoka & Capel 2017:58-59).

As if the ethnic divide was not enough, a class division started after an economic boom in the 1960s which made some black s become entrenched in poverty, while others described themselves as middle class (Milgroom and Ribotc 2019:187). This barrier became open to exploitation by PW Botha's administration in 1980 when he deliberately tried to intensify the black middle class as a buffer against the radical youth. His administration created housing and household policies which gave the rising middle class 99 year leasehold rights, which later became full freehold titles, as well as building upmarket townships such as Diepkloof and Dobsonville extensions as well as Orlando West renowned as "Beverley Hills" (Harrison 2014:296).

Although Soweto was originally established as an acronym for the South Western Bantu Townships, on the 4th of April 1963, the name Soweto became a single term for a collective of townships, commonly known now as one of the places where social differences were exacerbated by form of accommodation (Lewis 1966:45). In 2019, Soweto had an estimated population of 1,58 million people and an estimated density of around 8,667 people / km² compared to the 1,962 people / km² for the entire City area in 2011 (Statistics SA). It became an independent municipality after several local governments were established in 1983, in conjunction with the black Local Authorities Act (No:102), which offered autonomy for black residents to elect a councillor who would be responsible for the municipality's administration by using accrued local rent and levy budgets (Harrison 2014:293).

The rapidly evolving history of Soweto shows a change from widespread social upheaval, in which typical behavioural trends such as residential chaos, defined by the endless rows of 47 square meter houses without electricity or paved streets, become a spatial distinction between a new social code, characterized as class disparities in relation to unfavourable poor living conditions and a lack of amenities (Harrison 2014:295). It is apparent that the Native

Housing Scheme was a feature of racial subordination and prejudice (Demissie 2004:492). It aimed to displace, regulate and expel racially mixed people from urban areas and into deplorable conditions, since the integration of black and white people into racially constructed white spaces was prohibited due to fear of infiltration by blacks (Lipsitz 2007:6; Lewis 1959:3).

With the framework of racial subordination in place, the implementation of “Apartheid” as a subsistence mechanism became simpler for the National Party (NP) as their goal was to divide people based on their race through propaganda that benefited the white race by making them seem the best, whilst oppressing the other races (Du Toit 1983:370). This, with a series of other events, led to displacements of masses of families from the city and their own rural homelands (Wizarat 1980:84-85; Milgroom and Ribotc 2019:187).

Now, a question arises why most of the displaced families had to be relocated to Soweto. In particular, why black people were seen as the most threatening population and finally, who had the final say on what should happen in the City of Johannesburg (CoJ)? To answer this, the JCC’s role in accepting proposals for racial zoning and city planning needs to be considered. They contributed to requesting that the Transvaal government regulate land allocation and use, the size of land intended for use by black people and accommodation density in urban planning by municipalities. Therefore, it is important to unpack the objectives of the JCC when it comes to city planning (Maylam 1995:26-27).

City planning in Johannesburg

In the years 1936-1946, Johannesburg had a population consisting of 57% blacks. Thus, the JCC needed to be more involved in managing the way urban space was organised. This entailed demarcation for who can live where and on what basis. This arrangement was already in place by 1948 when the NP became the electoral successors (Wizarat 1980:85; Sapire 1994:100). As a result of this, the JCC needed to shift their approach and behaviour in the direction of meeting the requirements of the National government which led to the introduction of the Population Registration Act, (No:30) of 1950 and the Group Areas Act, (No:41) of 1950 (Abdulla 2017; Seoka & Capel 2017:9).

The significance of implementing these Acts in the areas governed by the municipality was “bottom-up” because the JCC was urged to start implementing large-scale removals [in 1955] (Wizarat 1980:84-85). These removals did not only aim at controlling who belongs in white South Africa, but they also destroyed the existing socio-economic organisation of many black people in Johannesburg. This served the function of encouraging prioritization of one culture and the under-development of another, which would have reverberating consequences for generations to come because black people eked out a living which had been precarious to begin with already (Turok 1994:243).

Racialisation of space is the process by which the residential location is taken as an index of the attitudes, values, behavioural inclinations and social norms of the kinds of people who are assumed to live there (Calmore 1995:1235-1236).

Black, Coloured and Indian South Africans were forcefully displaced from central metropolitan areas to the outskirts of cities and towns where they settled in government-run settlements or “townships” that provided the cities with low-cost labour, in accordance with the above-mentioned legislation. The Oxford dictionary defines township in a South African setting as “a suburb or city of predominantly black occupation, formerly made official by Apartheid legislation for black occupation” (Jones 2013:26-27). This indicates that one of the most significant effects of the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the Group Areas Act of 1950 was the allocation of urban space according to the register of racial categories (Mattera 1987:3).

An example of the application of both Acts is the ethnic zoning that was implemented in Johannesburg in 1954 by the JCC in line with the ideology of separate living (Turok 1994: 244; Pirie 1984:291). Societies destroyed by these hierarchical systems of racial zoning were Sophiatown in Johannesburg, Cato Manor in Durban, and District Six in Cape Town. The segregation in these areas was accompanied by policies that restricted black urbanization such as curtailing the right to own property in cities, as well as being forced to live in peripheral townships owned by the state and furnished with rudimentary housing and services (Turok 1994:244-246; 2016).

As geographers have increasingly focused on the ways in which the social construction of race is related to the construction of particular places and spatial relations, a consensus has emerged that place and race are inextricably linked (Inwood & Yarbrough 2010:299).

Abdulla calls this Spatial Apartheid Geography, which is influenced by what George Lipsitz's calls the "racialization of space and spatialization of race" (2007:12). It suggests that the physical landscape, geographical location and culture or race were luxuries as they influenced the creation of services such as infrastructure, schooling, primary health care and socio-economic opportunities which were uncommon for most citizens living in townships (Pope and Shoultz 2012:489; Bond 2000:48-49). This was a limitation on capital accumulation for black people living in townships and their mobility for jobs in the region, as segregation under Apartheid was systematized and formalized to raise the "colour bar" by excluding black workers from the acquisition of better jobs because the CoJ because most skilled labour contracts were reserved for white workers (Bond 2000:6-7 & 33; Seoka & Capel 2017:54). Black people were subordinated to a position of inferiority as a result of the application of Apartheid laws and excluded from the opportunity to advance themselves.

Uprooting social suffering: The research and my place in it

Conceptual Framework

In this dissertation, the conceptual framework through which I understand the destruction of Sophiatown, and development of Meadowlands is based on the idea that Apartheid was the "pinnacle of artificial geographical confinement" (Bond 2000:4). Geographical confinement was achieved by creating spaces that became obstacles for the development of a sense of common citizenship and social cohesion as expressed by George Lipsitz's "racialization of space and spatialization of race" (2007:12). The uniqueness of space in the case of Spatial Apartheid Geography, as well as the accompanying processes of segregation, regulation, and forced removals, necessitates a theory capable of understanding the changes involved in creating space and place over time (Davids 2018).

Lefebvre's (1991) spatial theory for example, explains how human behaviour shapes space through representation. "Representations of space" refers to the space of everyday life. It is

unique to the person; it is contextual and is ever changing. Thus, residential areas such as Lady Selbourne, District Six, and Sophiatown, which all became cosmopolitan in their own way, are examples of generative spaces because they were created by processes such as education, place of origin and race which in turn created products such as place of employment, religion, language.

Sense of place on the other hand, encompasses more than just the lived experiences of daily life. It is the point at which the produced, experienced, and lived (practices) have reached a certain level of standardized cohesiveness (Merrifield 1993:525). As a result, the need to repurpose these areas by forcefully separating the multiplicity must have been motivated by economic, social, ideological, environmental, and political forces desperate to alienate, disenfranchise and racially socialize people based on “skin colour”.

In the subsequent chapters, I intend to delve deeper into Dr Verwoerd’s concept of “separate development” in order to establish how and why Spatial Apartheid was implemented and actioned (Meierhenrich 2008:116). I will show what the consequences for the residents of Meadowlands have been and how forced uprooting has affected their social and economic lives. I do this by employing a mixture of anthropological and historical methods. The approach is ethnographic in nature and I work “bottom-up” to illustrate how the experiences of my research participants fit into a larger story of the after-effects of forced removals. This fits into two bodies of research: those dealing with forced removals and those specifically related to the history of Johannesburg.

Rationale

My place in this story is not neutral. In 2016, I was employed as a field researcher in Meadowlands and we conducted research related to health and safety measures in households in the Diepkloof, Noordgesig and Meadowlands area. The experience of this had an immense impact on me because overcrowding was prevalent in the homes we visited. I saw poverty in the physical structures where backyards were cramped with shacks as well as the organisation of the homes consisted mostly of only one person working and the rest were earning grants and informal income. I also saw poor access to social services such as

wastage removal which proved that these families either dump their waste in the nearest veld or burn it which both contribute to air pollution in the area. The living conditions were so dire, I decided from this point of view to investigate forced removals.

As a result, I decided to look into Sophiatown's disintegration and the effects of relocating residents to Meadowlands in Soweto. Present-day Meadowlands is divided into smaller portions along the lines of ethnicity and access to services, emblematic of the traumatic past that shaped the creation of this section of Soweto (Okhamafe 1985:19). Mohammed Jameel Abdulla describes a phenomenon such as this as "structural ills", which denotes inadequate delivery of services, insufficient education, minimal resources in schools and inadequate police services, which were also not appropriately effective, leading to higher crime rates (Abdulla 2017). Therefore, my task in the unfolding chapters involves the study, deconstruction and explanation of the relationship between race and place in its historical and geographical context, so that historically developed ideas about race are not recreated, incorporated and mirrored in our continued everyday lives.

Outline of Chapters

The outline of my chapters is designed to explain how I performed the research into what the after-effects of forced displacement were for people who came to live in Meadowlands after being rooted out of Sophiatown. Chapter 2 is a summary of the literature applicable to my research of forced relocation to Meadowlands. I shall begin by providing an overview of the history of colonial expansion and land dispossession as the starting point for the development of racial systems, abuse of power and social exclusion. In addition, the discovery of gold was a significant event for the South African mining industry as it largely led to the development of what became the Union of South Africa in 1910, which remained the basic physical framework of the country. Johannesburg, the country's largest city, is an important place because the gold discovery there reconfigured the South African region's labour organization (Clark and Worger 2011:3; Du Toit 1983:375).

While the topics discussed in this chapter unpack the notions of overcrowding, sense of place, classism, social exceptionalism, racial prejudice and purity, the final section of the literature

review addresses studies relating to the development of Apartheid policy and governance. It takes a deeper look at literature to better understand the practices and ramifications of land dispossession in Johannesburg and its surrounding areas like Sophiatown. I do this by explaining that some of the continuities of the Apartheid legislature were by no means unique, since this is explicitly based on some of my quantitative findings, which are a compilation of municipal and census records that examine and seek to better understand the dynamics of Apartheid's intentions.

In Chapter 3, I outline the approach I have followed in carrying out this research. This will illustrate the thinking behind the research, how it materialized on a practical level and some of the shortcomings that I discovered during the data collection process. I will also discuss the importance of the report writing method and how difficult it was to master the appropriate writing style for the chapter. The most important part here is bringing the participants voice and experiences to life without influencing or revealing my own perception regarding their narratives. Therefore, I get to reimagine the good and tough times between Sophiatown and Meadowlands with them before I continue onto the next chapter that is my deliberation about all the data collected.

Chapter 4, which is based on the ethnographic research, is the discussion of my investigation into the after-effects of forced removals. In this chapter, I show that the story of "forced removals" is nuanced and cannot simply be read as an onerous process. I also show the way the environment shapes the social and material reality of the participants by unpacking what trauma means and how it could have possibly fed away at the hope and reflexivity of the people residing in Meadowlands due to its disarticulating nature. I communicate a story of both the dire consequences of forced removals on generations of people, but I also highlight that this is not only a story of doom-and-gloom.

In the concluding chapter, I draw together the different strands of thinking communicated in my writing. It is a chapter that highlights where we are today as a country and sums up what research proves to have gone wrong in history. It unveils the gaps I perceive possibly landed us here and hopes to share insights that inspire, encourage and build all those who come across this piece of work.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Normally a literature review is an exercise in illustrating a sound understanding of what has been written on the topic that informs the dissertation. As this dissertation is premised on understanding the long-term effects of forced removals in the economic heart of South Africa, Johannesburg, this literature review chapter goes one-step further. In this chapter, the literature covered is written in a narrative to give access to understanding the history of present-day South Africa and why it is important to understand the evolution of how black people were subjugated in the history of the country, as it exists now. This means three important historical periods will be covered in the literature review: (i) pre-Union South Africa after the discovery of gold, referring to the history related to the four colonies which formed the Union of South Africa (meaning the period up until 1910); (ii) the period covering what took place when the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 up until the establishment of Apartheid in 1948; and (iii) the early Apartheid period up until when forced removals started to take place (roughly 1948 until the early 1960s). The work presented here is aimed at understanding the nature of social and economic life post-Apartheid Meadowlands which will be discussed in the chapters following this one.

Uncovering the architecture of Apartheid and its impact on racialized spaces

The period of colonial expansion and land dispossession in Southern Africa started in the Cape when the white colonialist established political power over the new territories and government institutions, leading to the establishment of general rules governing “local” land ownership (Williams 2017:5). This is the root of the history and heritage of inequity in SA because it is deeply entrenched in the multiple tensions that continue to exist with the intention of possessing land (umhlaba) and disempowering people (abantu) today (Skinner 2009:400).

In legitimizing these systemic land dispossessions and in segregating SA by rules, proclamations and ordinances, legal structures became instrumental. Moreover, by passing

land ownership/communal land laws, the colonial authorities created tribal land, or what became known as native reserves. (Evans 1999:6-7). An example of this is the Native Reserve Location Act (No:40) passed in the Cape in 1902. It allowed the government to set up residential areas outside towns for blacks to be forcefully relocated to Uitvlugt outside Cape Town (later renamed Ndabeni) and encouraged police to expel blacks at the cost of intimidation (O'Malley n.d; Du Toit 1983:370). This was not just signs of conflict but a manifestation of a larger appetite for power and a centralized division and control of labour (Evans 1999:8).

In addition to the physical conflicts, other policies that facilitated colonial expansion include the introduction of city planning, the dissolution of the existing social frameworks and the development of the political system put in place to decimate indigenous cultures (Houston et al. 2013:121). This was important to note before concentrating on Sophiatown and its purpose for Meadowlands since it is the backdrop for understanding the origins of segregation, forced removals and social unrest in SA (2016).

The Union of South Africa 1910 in respect of segregation

In the Cape Colony, males who met certain educational and property requirements were exposed to a liberal tradition of colour-blindness until it was discovered that their electoral force was significant enough to surpass the outcome of their white counterparts. The Prime Minister of the Cape Colony Mr Cecil Rhodes was unhappy about this to an extent where he announced that: "*The native is to be treated as a child and denied the franchise. We must adopt a system of despotism, such as works in India, in our relations with the barbarism of South Africa*", which meant that whites should seek absolute power, particularly in an unforgiving and tyrannical way as shown in Erikson's quote below (Houston et al. 2013:98 and Bean 2019).

The colonial project: Entanglements of knowledge and power: 'Social speciation is the process by which one gathering of human beings who form a "people", or a kind come to view the members of another gathering as so unlike themselves that they can be treated as if they were another order of being (Erikson 2017).

Between 1901 and 1904, a bubonic plague spread across SA, starting Cape Town. It was associated with blacks perceived to have a prevalence of filth and squalor in the urban areas rather than with the rats carrying the disease (SAHO 2011). Therefore, the Native Reserve Location Act (No:40) was passed in 1902 allowing the government to create and manage residential areas for blacks outside cities. Under the Act, blacks were forcibly expelled from areas such as District Six to Uitvlugt (later renamed Ndabeni) just outside Cape Town because the Act was meant to restrict the new disease outbreak under the Public Health Act of 1883 (No:4) (O'Malley n.d). Other areas affected included sites in the inner city of Port Elizabeth. They were destroyed, contributing to the relocation of black people to a newly formed community named, New Brighton (Maylam 1995:25, Seoka & Capel 2017:9 and 11).

Preventive steps for the disease were very distinct in Johannesburg. The JCC destroyed the slum areas in Newtown before burning the rats and moved the residents to Klipspruit / Pimville in 1903. Residents were also relocated from the *Kaffir!* Locations such as Coolie and Newtown to Kliptown which became Lenasia and Klipspruit/ Pimville which became part of Soweto at a later stage (Lewis 1966:47; Seoka & Capel 2017:53).

In the same year (1903), the SANAC was given the task to respond to "The Native Question" by formulating an inclusive report that recognized the whys and wherefores behind segregation. One of the contributing factors was that white people were a minority while the majority of black people had a variety of classes. Thus, implementing a strategy that could suit all of them would not be easy because some were educated philosophers while others were peasants. Therefore, a control strategy known as divide and rule was to be introduced specifically for black people because they were not just one problem but a variety of problems that in turn would require them to be separated altogether (Cobbing et al 2017:15).

The SANAC subsequently published a report in 1905 supporting a national split between races, which showed that the commission supported segregation and that the British indirectly retained their control (Lucas 1931:1; Evans 1997:12). Later, in 1908, the National Convention gathered representatives of the four colonies that would form part of the future Union of South Africa. The purpose of the convention was to coordinate policy objectives on labour, education and equality, and the representatives included Boers who had been

defeated during the Second Anglo-Boer War. Black South Africans were not included in the negotiations – they did not have self-government and were barred from parliamentary representation. Britain did not need to maintain a relationship with them. This created numerous gatherings between blacks, coloureds’, and Indians who vowed to stand against the white-only constitutional debates that took place between 1908 and 1909 (Clark and Worger 2011:20; SAHO 2017).

The members of the National Convention asked Britain to at least allow all South Africans to vote if the colonies were to join and form a Union because they feared that if the colonies were not united, then “non-white” people would be excluded from any form of involvement in the decision-making of the Union (Bean 2019;Clark and Worger 2011:21). In February 1909, the British Parliament passed the Union of South Africa Act (South Africa Act) putting together four colonies, the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal into a single state, the Union of South African (O’Malley n.d). There was some disagreement between representatives from the four colonies over the right to vote. Cape delegates called for the expansion of their own system, which included representation of non-whites on a limited basis. The other three colonies were insistent that voting should only be for the whites. Further to that, they declared that Cape Town would be the seat of Parliament, Pretoria the seat of administration and Bloemfontein the judicial capital, meaning the seat of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court (Lodge 1983-9). This culminated in the establishment of a white minority policy in which black people were excluded from political involvement in the new dispensation and in the decision-making of governance and policies regulating the Union of South Africa (Clark and Worger 2011:21-22).

In 1911, laws that widened the racial divide were also enacted. These include the Natives Labour Regulation Act which determined the conditions in which blacks should be employed and the Mines and Works Act (No:12), which establishes the “colour bar” in employment (O’Malley n.d). The term “colour bar” typically refers to a group of labour practices, informal trade union procedures, government regulations and laws, all of which have been developed over time to discourage blacks from competing for certain types of jobs monopolized by whites (Clark and Worger 2011:22). This Act effectively made sure that skilled jobs were

restricted solely to the minority whites if not low-earning immigrants by strengthening whites' work reservation and reinforcing the blacks' position as cheap labour by placing several skilled jobs beyond their control on a "competence" basis (Darracq 2008:591; Houston et al. 2013:143).

The following year, the South African parliament enacted the Land Settlement Act (No:12) of 1912 to detail the rules for the selling of state land to whites. After the implementation of the Act, 210 farms covering a total area of 168,636 hectares were assigned to white farmers over 4 years (Lodge 1983:9). Thereafter, the Natives Land Act (No:27) was passed on 19 June 1913 officially separating land between black and white with a devastating clause which banned blacks from owning land in 93% of the South African territory (O'Malley n.d). This Act restricted black ownership to 7% and set out certain areas for exclusive black settlement. Section 1, Sub-Section A of the Act stated that "a black person shall not enter into any arrangement or contract to buy, employ or otherwise obtain from an individual other than another black person" which proved that the Union of South Africa was well invested in segregation which had the intention to entrench black people into an everlasting cycle of poverty (Lodge 1983:9; Clark and Worger 2011:21-23).

The remodelling of segregation

Residential segregation is a worldwide phenomenon that is typically based on the personal attributes such as race, class, ethnicity, and religion. It can occur for three various reasons, which include segregation by socioeconomic class; segregation by family status; and segregation by race and ethnicity (Rex, Campbell and Visser 2014:6). This study is focused on the repercussions of segregation by race and ethnicity. Historically racial segregation typically refers to regulations which do not allow people to live in the same residential areas on the basis of racial identification – for example Jim Crow laws in the United States of America and Apartheid laws in South Africa (Jones 2013: 27). In South Africa segregation was enforced by the 1923 and 1937 Native (Urban Areas) Acts, and later the 1950 Group Areas Act became the primary legal structure underpinning the near-absolute segregation of various racial groups spatially, transforming what was known as segregation into Apartheid (Rex, Campbell and Visser 2014:5-7).

Apartheid literally “apartness” in Afrikaans. A policy of racial segregation introduced by the National Party after its electoral victory in 1948. It created a highly stratified society in which whites dominated politically, economically, and socially at the expense of blacks (South African Short Stories: Apartheid, Civil rights and you quoted in Marshall 2015:2).

Apartheid hardly allowed black people to migrate freely to urban areas by enforcing policies that separated people based on personal attributes such as race, class, ethnicity, religion and/or other physical attributes such as sexual orientation or migration status (Rex, Campbell and Visser 2014:6). Ethnic segregation was a further extension of racial segregation and assigned residential separation based on ethnicity. In South Africa this meant that black people were separated into groups such as amaZulu, amaTsonga, etc. and prohibited them from living communally as per the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Jones 2013: 27).

To further expand on the evolution and implications of segregation, the next section will discuss the emergence of Johannesburg and the role played by the white-dominated Apartheid government in the creation of an unequal and exploitative society since advances in technology, education, housing and employment in such a state created a wealth disparity between rich and poor (Mills 1997:5).

Historical development of Johannesburg

Due to vast industrial development from colonialism to Apartheid, Johannesburg became a city. The description of it by Patrick Bond states, “The city is not a community, but a conglomerate of firms, institutions, organizations and individuals with contractual agreements among them” (2000:33). The establishment of Johannesburg can be traced back to 1886 when a temporary mining camp was set by whites who migrated to the region known as Northern Transvaal (north of the Vaal River) following the announcement that the Transvaal on the Witwatersrand had made a major gold discovery (Lewis 1966:46-47). This discovery significantly altered the economic and political system attached to Johannesburg as there was, for the first time, an immensely valuable resource attracting international capital and large-scale immigration.

The growth in the mining sector created an ever-growing rivalry between British and Boer, white and black, rich and poor, because there was a law enabling the government to acquire free land in the Zoutpansberg region (Clark and Worger 2011:14). This law is known as the 1886 Occupation Act (No:8) passed by the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) to control land distribution in the Transvaal region. This was followed by mining expansion when Mr Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, President of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, opened eight farms for public gold digging under Article 5 of Law No.8, 1885. His statement, in this regard, is as follows:

Whereas it appears to the Government of the South African Republic that it is advisable that the farms named Driefontein, Elandsfontein, southern portion Doornfontein, Turffontein, Government farm Randjeslaagte, Langlaagte, Paardekraal, Vogelstruisfontein and Roodepoort, all situate in the Witwatersrand, district Heidelberg, be declared a public digging (Seoka & Capel 2017:15).

Not only did these diggings develop into the world's largest gold mining operations, but they also created a large labour market for job seekers who facilitated significant and nearly unmanageable economic developments in the region. This was accompanied by rapidly increasing demands for the mining industry and rapidly expanding urban areas which brought higher demands for housing and consumer products which transformed the ZAR from an economy reliant on agriculture to one which was urban and had industries developing as a result of mining-related demands.. This expansion from the gold mining industry in the 1890s shifted migration patterns (Houston et al. 2013:141).

Significant numbers of black people had been drawn to work on the gold mines. 111 697 of them had been working on the Witwatersrand mines before the outbreak of war in 1899. The mines housed their black employees, but generally, the others had to find their own quarters, which is one of the contributions to population growth in areas like the Coolie and Prospect Townships (Lewis 1966:47; Du Toit 1983:368). Fortunately, for the British, they largely owned capital invested in the mines, therefore even though Transvaal as gold's discovery site was out of their rule, the ownership of the gold industry became theirs because they largely owned capital invested in the mines.

The Boers⁷ had no capital; thus, they were excluded from ownership, and from the income produced among them. When the Boers sought access to some of this wealth through taxation policies, they were scolded by the mine owners, their investors in Europe and, eventually by the British government itself, which escalated tensions between the British and the Boers and thus triggered the Second Anglo-Boer War. This resulted in most mining profits being reinvested in Europe and the Americas and not contributing as much as they could to the development of additional industries in SA (Clark and Worger 2011:15; Houston et al. 2013:136).

The black mine workers were reluctant to return to the mines after the war, resulting in only half of those employed in 1899 returning which by July 1903 was a headcount of 55,507 migrant workers (Lewis 1966:46). This made it difficult to obtain sufficient labour so that mines could work, so in 1904 the Chinese Labour Agreement was approved. By December of the same year, 20,918 Chinese people were employed in the mines. In 1907, the number of Chinese employees increased to 57,828, but the use of Chinese labour had significant ramifications for British politics because white gold workers in the Transvaal decided to strike against the plan to reduce their wages. Therefore, Prime Minister Louis Botha, Prime Minister of the Transvaal, suppressed this strike by ensuring all the Chinese employees become repatriated by December 1909 which increased the number of blacks working in the city mines to 154,0711 (Lewis 1966:47).

In 1913, white employees again went on strike, this time against both working conditions and black competition. They requested the right to join trade unions and to safeguard their privileged roles within the gold mines. This illustrated a contestation over the place of white labour and the development of capitalism in the region. The development of capitalism benefited from access to cheap black labour and white workers saw the employment of black workers as eroding their own marginal benefits from the mines. By organising themselves into trade unions they hoped to secure employment in the mining industry. The mining industry itself saw the employment of white workers as expensive because they expected

⁷ Boer, (Dutch: "husbandman," or "farmer"), a South African of Dutch, German, or Huguenot descent, especially one of the early settlers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Today, descendants of the Boers are commonly referred to as Afrikaners.

higher wages, compared to the lower wage which they could pay to black workers (Meierhenrich 2008:4).

The Rand Rebellion of 1922 was a case in point of the problems associated with employing white workers in the mining economy. The price of gold had fallen and soon assumed a racial tone as the colour bar on mines was going to be terminated to counter losses. However, due to loss of work by white workers, this was seen as an attack on white workers, in particular. The strike leaders accused the government of supporting an attack on white workers and called on workers to support opposition political parties so that the government of General Smuts could be overthrown and a government that would protect white South African interests could be given support. Ultimately, the Smuts government suppressed the rebellion, which was staged, in the Johannesburg area by making use of the army. 153 people were killed. The consequences of the strike were a reduction in wages and preference for cheaper black workers (CoJ Annual Report 1940:13; SAHO 2011). This culminated in a rise in employment for black workers in positions traditionally held by white miners at higher wages, resulting in Johannesburg and its surrounding cities becoming devastated by labour conflicts, racial violence, and rebellion (Lewis 1966:50).

Although the rebellion was suppressed by the Smuts government, it came at a cost. The South African Party, which had been the party government, was defeated in the 1924 general election and the Pact Government was voted in, with J.B.M. Hertzog as the new Prime Minister. The rising demand for labourers, however, also came with growing restrictions for labourers because the Pact Government adopted a fundamental regulation that ensured that urban residential rights were denied to people of different races, especially blacks, despite the need for their labour in the mines.

The effect of the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 was therefore felt even more when the Pact Government suggested that blacks were allowed to remain in urban areas only for as long as they served the needs of employers under the Act. Furthermore, the Act stated that blacks should return to their homeland in the reserves once they cease to perform their respective duties in the city (Freund 1984:54-57; SAHO 2019).

Therefore, in the second half of the 1920s, in places like the Prospect Township, east of Johannesburg, mentioned in the introductory chapter, the JCC began to enforce some of the regulations of the Act by facilitating massive slum clearances in the inner city. Slum areas in the city had developed in Doornfontein, Bertrams and other nearby suburbs. Thus, the JCC started issuing eviction notices to the inhabitants of these areas, pointing out that once residents were cleared, slum dwellings were to be burned to the ground. However, most of these eviction orders were considered unconstitutional because the municipality was responsible for supplying residents with alternative housing before evicting them. Fortunately, the JCC had no revenue to provide the slum residents with alternative accommodation, so the municipality was forced to suspend their plans (Lewis 1966:48; SAHO 2019).

When the stock market in the United States of America crashed in 1929, there were repercussions worldwide. South Africa relied on exporting gold and agricultural goods. Agricultural goods in particular were affected and many farms were no longer able to operate. This resulted in the world facing severe unemployment, famine and hardship, which unfortunately affected both the poor white and poor black because their challenges were inexorably intertwined due to the integrated economy in South Africa. However, the situation changed for the municipality in the early 1930s when South Africa's withdrawal from the Gold Standard preceded the end of the Great Depression of 1929-1932 causing an intensification of urbanisation to the major economic centres in the country (CoJ Annual Report 1941:2).

The end of the Great Depression in 1932 led to the revival of capitalism through manufacturing and mining industries, this resulted in the availability of land to business. The growth of the black population in the cities started to flow irredeemably, generating new housing demands, and contributing to an increase of informal settlement areas. Therefore, General Hertzog introduced the "Native Bills" as a response to the native problem. These bills included the Native Representation Act of 1936, which excluded black voters in the Cape from the common registers on which they had been enrolled since 1854. White senators substituted them and spoke on their behalf. Furthermore, in the same year, the Native Land and Trust Act was also passed with the intention of extending the reserves set aside for blacks from 7.3% to nearly 13%, but this target was evidently never achieved in 1936 because

betterment schemes were implemented with strict restrictions on ploughing, prohibitions on cutting trees, cattle pulling and grazing (Evans 1997:13).

After that, the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937 enforced “pass laws” again by significantly restricting and setting a cap on the mobility of the black population size working in urban areas to the bare number needed for reasonable work. Such laws set the stage for discourse on the topic of rationalized segregation and resettlement policies (O’Malley n.d). By the late 1930’s and early 1940’s the ramifications of the above-mentioned Acts shifted migration patterns to an extent where families were migrating in ever-increasing numbers, seeking spacious dwellings in Orlando, as opposed to single males, as pointed out earlier who preferred to rent single rooms in Sophiatown and the Alexandra Township (Lewis 1959:2; SAHO 2019).

Migration and the politics of space in an already precarious environment

Majority of the migration from the homelands took place during the vast industrial growth of Johannesburg. The city’s black migrant workers came from reserves where they faced high levels of poverty or from white commercial farms that quickly laid off black workers and labour tenants easily. Many who migrated as families from white commercial farms were mainly from the Orange Free State (now Free State Province) and the Natal Midlands (now kwaZulu-Natal). Single males, on the other hand, tended to come from the reserves in the Northern and Eastern Transvaal (today known as Limpopo and Mpumalanga) and Western Transvaal (Northwest) (Lewis 1959:2-4).

For the new urban migrants Johannesburg was the preferred destination. At this stage, the new migrants could be accommodated in one of three types of city settlements: (i) some of the unskilled arrivals were recruited directly from either the reserves by prospective employers, or the mining houses and finally, by the JCC who recruited their own labour; (ii) prospective employers kept their unskilled workers in their compounds whilst the JCC accommodated these migrants in their hostels; and (iii) single males who remained exclusive in the above list tended to be living in freehold townships like Sophiatown in Johannesburg (Lewis 1959:2; SAHO 2019).

As the city became immensely populated due to the employment opportunities for blacks, the JCC was encouraged to finance a housing scheme in Orlando from tax revenue. The scheme began building the new houses late in 1931 and then in 1932 the first batch of families eager to find larger dwellings moved to Orlando after being removed from the slums in the JHB city. Substantially, legislation such as the Slums Act of 1934 was introduced by the JCC, which allowed them to demolish slums in the inner city, so that the displaced families do not return to the city (O'Malley n.d). Not all slum dwellers removed from the slum yards of the inner city were relocated to Orlando. Many who could not be accommodated in Orlando found housing in Sophiatown, which culminated in a sharp rise in the population in Sophiatown in the 1930s (Lewis 1965:17).

During World War II, the next spurt of population growth in Sophiatown took place. When the war broke out, whites were conscripted into the army, generating immense demand for labour, particularly in the growing manufacturing industry. When the heavy engineering industry displayed an insatiable appetite for semi- to unskilled jobs, blacks could enter the city to fill the gap, but the pass laws were still in place limiting their movement. The new Prime Minister, General Smuts, proclaimed a few years later, in 1942, that pass laws created a state of dissatisfaction and discrimination against "non-white" citizens and that the idea was administratively and politically expensive because more people were employed, leading to a flock of migrants into urban areas. In 1942, the government passed the War Measures Act, suspending influx control laws and enabling black people to overflow into the cities in numbers (Crankshaw 1993:33, Sapire 1994:105).

The number of new migrants, sadly, exceeded the available homes in both areas, leading to the construction of backyard shacks in Orlando for subletting purposes. However, with density, there was a shortage of fundamental amenities such as water which causes a sanitation syndrome due to a lack of cleanliness in and around the slum areas offering opportunities for contamination and exposure to diseases such as pneumonia, enteritis diarrhoea or TB which were diseases affiliated with insufficient water, filthy environments, overcrowding, heat and inadequate shelter (Seoka & Capel 2017:55-57; Makhulu 2015:1103). The JCC paid little attention to this obvious breach of the rules they set in

Orlando because it would require them to intervene by re-accommodating these sub-tenants if they were to ever move them. Therefore, their attention remained in clearing the slums in Johannesburg until 1936 when the Prospect Township was completely cleared (Lewis 1965:17).

As circumstances deteriorated for sub-tenants in Orlando's backyards, the need for more houses became a topic of political conflicts in the Steering Committees or City Councils where people were represented by political parties. Various political parties took up the issue of housing scarcity and appealed to the JCC to provide accommodation for new migrants until a radical step was taken in this political contest by James Mpanza and his Sofasonke Party. Mpanza led angry inhabitants of the backyard settlements to an open veld outside of Orlando in 1944 where they constructed shift structures and dwellings that we recognize as Squatter camps (Goodhew 1930-62:451).

Consequently, the land claims for squatters became a vital fight because, while removals were an idea officially made by the city slum clearance authorities, removals had become attractive at this point to informal settlers because they needed to be re-accommodated. Makhulu described the intergenerational effect of squatting by stating that: informal settlements are "the result of "molecular" decisions and movements, conceived at the level of individuals and households" instead of realising that squatting split the gap so that children and families, siblings and older parents could live under one roof, destroying the ideal opposition between the expected, demarcated urban and the actual demarcated rural areas (2015:1102).

Due to limited state surveillance, squatter camps offered new possibilities for domestic life and even political activism, which explains why squatting in someone's backyard, was a preference instead of squatting in an overcrowded area as per Bishop Trevor Huddleston's description of the composition of some of the yards in Sophiatown below:

Some rooms in Sophiatown were a row of corrugated iron shacks built in the very restricted area behind someone else's house. It was not much of a home: hot in summer when the sun struck down on the

iron roof and there was no ceiling to protect you; cold in winter, because the wind penetrated the joints and angles and there were no walls to save the iron itself (Adler 2016).

The residents in Sophiatown did not have basic amenities such as community taps, and waste management; however, they had the luxury of coming together as a community so they can live and work together.

Purity in the City

Racism is any set of beliefs that organic, genetically transmitted differences (whether real or imagined) between human groups are intrinsically associated with the presence or the absence of certain socially relevant abilities or characteristics, hence that such differences are a legitimate basis of invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races (Van den Berghe 1967 quoted in Bonilla-Silva 1996:465).

With a view of the impending National Party Apartheid government coming to power it is important to unpack the concept of race. When researching the concept, class is inevitably intertwined with it. Race, for example, is a phenotypical attribute shared by a group of people who have certain physical features that can be defined such as skin colour (Rex, Campbell and Visser 2014:6). Therefore, race is a constructed category that is used as a blanket to establish how race relations ought to be. It classifies blacks into a primitive group that does not accommodate any further reconstruction (Mamdani 1996:111). Therefore, the racialization of spaces becomes a process of creating unique geographical environments that help to establish and strengthen racialized social hierarchies which divide individuals into distinct classes and promote dominance and exploitation amongst people of different races and social classes through the inequitable distribution of opportunity (Inwood & Yarbrough 2010:300; Milgroom; Ribotc 2019:187).

*When white people say “Justice”, they mean **just us** (Black American folk aphorism quoted in Mills 1997).*

Cox who wrote “Race and Caste: A Distinction”, highlights that segregation functioned as a “businessmen’s society” which aggressively exploits something in order to make a profit from

it. This was implemented through a specific way of thinking which features class as a structure that follows the so-called Christo-centric, Eurocentric, linear/hierarchic structure. The white race has done this for years as a minority, in effect inheriting a well-sustained life from generation-to-generation, whereas the black population inherited the complete opposite (Cox 1945:360).

The intergenerational effects of a “businessman’s society” exist in SA when you compare places like Alexanderia vs Sandton or Dainfern vs Diepsloot, Joahnesburg. These are sophisticated residential areas built parallel to some of our most impoverished townships. This shows that the only time that black bodies are allowed in “white spaces” is when they are serving the interests of whiteness. Whiteness here means [explain]. Alexander and Diepsloot are reserves for cheap labour for Sandton and Dainfern. This is what forms social stratification that divides people into multiple groups (Cox 1945:360).

Differentiation occurs along various axes. These include variation in employment status; the households of workers, quality of housing, education and lifestyle; class identity and capacity to mobilise for change. Gender and age are also important – in relation to family conflicts, as well as to popular culture and political activity (Alexander et al.’s Class in Soweto 2013:235 quoted in Harrison 2014:298).

As it relates to South African history, purity is a fundamental characteristic of whiteness, where geographical spaces are often characterised by colour, since the dominant race identified pure spaces as areas away from municipal sewage and deposit sites, as well as areas that were not near active mines that could harm their population. An example of this is Sophiatown, which was known as “Mathikithwane” based on its proximity to the deposit sites, which made it a disorderly area. Another example is Meadowlands which is built close to the mine in Noordgesig, characterized by health hazards like mine dump pollution and accompanied by social ills related to the respiratory system i.e. Tuberculosis and asthma. These health complications develop based on the proximity to the mine that exposes people to contaminants such as arsenic, silica and uranium which mean that this area is not ideal for the future generations who will inherit it (Seoka & Capel 2017:39).

On the contrary, the value of the property in suburban areas usually appreciates as these areas mature over time due to the establishment of private and top-class schools, private hospitals, petrol stations and shopping centres that make this inheritance a privilege for successive generations. Lipsitz's notion of racializing spaces and spatializing race resonates with this segmented way of life. This was a spectrum where at the one end white people occupied "pure" spaces and at the other end, black people occupied "impure" spaces. Meadowlands is an example of how black people were assigned to an "impure" space (Lipsitz 2007:12).

It is also important to remember that while black people continue to associate their sense of blackness with the township or homeland, class interests do not erase ethnic identity. For some, this background gives them the chance to grow by breaking out of the norm and discarding their past, but for others it remains a place of deep nostalgia, family orientation and belonging that is an intergenerational cycle (Jones 2013:27). Thus, one of the races was easily removed or integrated by geographical spatialization into a historically shared framework created by the repression of European colonization. Whiteness on the other hand had a mechanism that feared racial contamination, to a degree of greed for control, over the management of policies and procedures. Hence, the development of Christian Calvinism in South Africa, particularly in the 20th century, closely resembles what Wynter refers to as the development of Man. For Wynter, Man represents an ethnoclass whose dignity must be protected at all costs, and it uses black people as a referent of what white people should not be (2003:266).

The general political feeling that influenced the ideology of separate growth was the need for the white settler community in SA to guarantee a safe and prosperous future only for themselves. On the contrary, the black population is stacked with adverse conditions. The consequences of this appear to be the unfair distribution of privilege and opportunities along racial lines (Bond 2000:8). Therefore, in summation, as Mills suggests, "what is needed, in other words, is a recognition that racism is itself a political system. It is also a power structure of formal or informal rule, socioeconomic privilege, and norms for the differential distribution

of material wealth and opportunities, benefits and burdens, rights and duties, which were all implemented through Apartheid government (Mills 1997:3; Du Toit 1983:369).

The birth of the Apartheid government

The general elections scheduled for May 26 in 1948 were mainly to be determined by the European (white) minority, which made up one-fourth of the population of South Africa and excluded all other races from the voter's roll (Tiryakian 1960:685). Bonilla-Silva states in his argument about racism, that "these elections were a combination of prejudice and power which enabled the dominant race to institutionalize its dominance at all levels in a society" (1996:466). In preparation for the elections, Dr Daniel Francois Malan gave a campaign speech on March 29 in which Apartheid was introduced as a race relations strategy for the first time (Tiryakian 1960:685). A part of his speech that appeals to this dissertation is as follows:

The Nationalist party, therefore, undertakes to protect the white race against any policy, doctrine or attack which might undermine or threaten its continued existence. At the same time, the party rejects any policy of oppression and exploitation of the non-Europeans by the Europeans, as being in conflict with the Christian basis of our national life and irreconcilable with our policy. The party believes that a definite policy of separation (Apartheid) between the white races and the "non-white" racial groups, and the application of the policy of separation also in the case of the non-white racial groups, is the only basis on which the character and the future of each race can be protected and safeguarded and in which each race can be guided so as to develop its own national character, aptitude and calling (Prime Minister DF Malan in Tiryakian 1960: 685-686).

With just over a month left in the campaign, in a speech given in the Cape Province in the Paarl constituency, Dr Malan outlined the Nationalists' general election agenda. The General Smuts Government was criticized for, among other things; a general neglect of the racial problem as witnessed in the Rand Rebellion, with particular focus on the issue of the ever-increasing influx of blacks and Indians into European regions areas, the neglect of South Africa's economic interests and a liberal immigration policy that threatened white South Africans. This was a form of racial separatism since it aspired for an Afrikaner Nationalist

ideology, which only embraces one-tenth of the South African population (Tiryakian 1960:686).

After the 1948 elections, the Malan government's racial policy was implemented in majority of South Africa. The changes included a registration system for both whites and non-whites, and then established reservations for black citizens, only granting permission to live in urban areas in accordance with the concept of residential segregation for those who were guaranteed employment. Moreover, since blacks were represented by whites in Parliament, they could not claim any political privileges in white areas and separate higher education provisions were made, as non-white were unable to attend universities intended for whites (Tiryakian 1960:687).

In 1950, the Population Registration Act (No:30) established the basic framework for Apartheid because it classified all individuals according to race. In some cases, parents could be classified as white while their children were classified as coloured. Thus, the government divided people on the basis of race by establishing separate public facilities for whites and "non-whites" in order to restrict interaction between racial groupings (Harrison 2014:296). Also, in the same year, the Group Areas Act was formally introduced, adopting its definition from the Population Registration Act, however being established for giving the government power to launch specific neighbourhoods as "group areas" where only individuals of a particular race could reside (Jones 2013:27).

The statutory implementation of the Group Areas Act meant that once an area had been declared a group area, the power conferred in the Act enabled the government to demolish all the houses there and to displace everyone who was not of the designated group. Thus, between 1950 and 1953, the Apartheid government headed by Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd of the National Party sought to compel the JCC to enforce a law naming the Western Areas of Johannesburg (Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare) as a "black spot" because of the black occupation present there so they could target the area for clearing and socio-spatial divisions (Freund 1984: 51; Lodge 1981:122).

Similar to Sophiatown is another razed-down community popularly known as District Six, so-named from having being the Sixth Municipal District of Cape Town in the late 1800s (Lefebvre, 1991). The spirit of cooperation kept the neighbourhood lively much like its unofficial name “Kanaladorp” which meant "please" in Malay (Muslim) conveying a never-say-no or help-each-other ethos (Davids 2018). The space was a place where people of different races and cultures coexisted, respecting each other's languages, places of origin, ethnicity, class, and religions (District Six Museum). This way of life came to an end on February 11, 1966, when the Group Areas Act of 1950 designated District Six as a whites-only area, forcing residents to relocate. By 1982, nearly all remnants of life in the area had been bulldozed to the ground, and more than 60 000 people had been forcefully relocated to the Cape Flats, a destitute and outlying area far from the city whose place in contemporary history is dominated by the violence that characterises it (Field 2001:23).

The ramifications of Apartheid policies

Apartheid became a holistic social policy because it impacted all aspects of South African society, including social and spatial organization, politics, law, land, environment, economics, and education, to name a few. Land has remained at the center of these political conspiracies, demonstrating the importance of land (Tiryakian 1960:682; Clark and Worger 2011:3). Apartheid was the “pinnacle of artificial geographical confinement” because it used social control as a barrier for the black people’s physical activity, household purchasing and economic growth (Bond 2000:4).

Lady Selbourne, founded in 1905 and located in the present-day suburb of Suiderberg, about 16 kilometres northwest of Pretoria’s city centre, shares a similar history with Sophiatown and District Six. Lady Selbourne was also a neighbourly and multiracial community made up of 400 plots with plenty of agricultural land where various cultural customs and practices could still be performed (Kgari-Masondo 2013:71; Carruthers 2000:26). Black people were only allowed to buy land there after the Minister of Native Affairs approved it in 1936. However, this was short-lived because Lady Selbourne was incorporated into the City of Pretoria by the Nationalist government in 1948, enabling the Pretoria City Council to determine how the area should be governed.

In 1961, forced removals started and people from Lady Selbourne were mostly relocated to Ga-Rankuwa, a Tswana settlement about 34 kilometres north-west of Pretoria. Under Apartheid legislation, this area would become an enclave of the Bophuthatswana homeland. Ga-Rankuwa was not only on the outskirts of town, but as stated by Maserole Kgari-Masondo “it also disrupted the Sotho-Tswana clan's entire cultural and social environment, as they believed land was their inheritance (lefa) from ancestors which needed to be protected for future generations”. The arrival of new inhabitants disrupted an order that had existed in Ga-Rankuwa and shows that the impact of such removals are not only on the people who were forcibly removed but also on host-communities to where these relocations took place. This is an example of environmental injustice because it creates a profound sense of loss, leaving people feeling neglected and silenced by an indifference to their plight (2013:74-75). The lack of acknowledgement of suffering occasioned by the state on people whose only crime is the colour of their skin adds to the tally that this dissertation characterises as “disarticulation”.

The examples above are evidence that the feasibility of Apartheid came from the systemic policies administered by the state which constantly attempted to enforce control through their pervasive presence in every facet of life (Evans 1997:11; Freund 1984:54). Through “separate development”, Apartheid became understood as a firm, organized and strong governance for urban policy in comparison to the governance from the segregation era, which was concerned with control over space, and residency for whites (Maylam 1995:29 & 34). In the 1950s, both forms of government placed South Africa in a dual government creating a “separation” that put South Africans in a divided development structure of various ethnic groups on their own roads, which had an economic framework that made it difficult for blacks to succeed (Seoka & Capel 2017:9; Darracq 2008:591). This “separate development” as coined by Dr Verwoerd was a grand design used to disguise the oppressive nature of Apartheid (Meierhenrich 2008:116).

The Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act

When people are segregated into smaller parts as the example in Sophiatown, animosity is created between communities, dismantling their place of belonging, threatening their basic security and identity, and eventually creating a suspicious and fearful social life (Cobbing et

al 2017:15). In 1952, this fearful social life was instilled when section 10 of the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (No:54) was passed as an amendment of the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911 and the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (No:25) of 1945 relating to the carrying of passbooks by black male working adults who were allowed to live in suburban areas where they work (CoJ Annual Report 1952:4; O'Malley n.d).

The amendment of the Act in 1952 worked in tandem to legislate forced removals because it greatly strengthened influx control (Sapire 1994:100). Single males sharing a dwelling in the city were required to register only one wife, probably the eldest, which became the start of a reform to the polygynous marriage practice for black families (Freund 1984:51; Turok 1994:244). Moreover, all black persons, not just black males, over the age of 16 in all provinces were required to carry a "pass/reference book" at all times which only allowed them in an urban area for up to 72 hours unless they were a part of Section 10 which only qualified males temporarily for employment. It prescribed that the passbook should include the individual's details such as a photograph, place of origin, employment record, tax payments as well as fingerprints based on the Influx permit required by the Urban Areas Act (Adler 2016; CoJ Annual Report 1952:4). It was an offence to come across a police official without this passbook, and one could not leave a rural area and visit an urban area without a permit from local authorities (Goodhew 1993:447-448; Gutkind 1960:130).

In response to Johannesburg's Western Areas, the Apartheid government created its own local authority. They named it the Native Resettlement Board (NRB), established in 1954. It instantly began with the process of eliminating blacks from Johannesburg's Western Areas by conducting a black Population survey in Sophiatown early in 1951. This survey was necessary to determine the number, size and patterns of families to be resettled. The only people who would be permitted to legally reside in Meadowlands were blacks who qualified under Section 10 (1) of the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952 (Freund 1984:50-51).

Those who were eligible to resettle in Meadowlands under section 10(1) (a) were either located in the city or worked for 10 years for the same employer. Those who had worked for various employers in the city for a period of fifteen years were eligible to be in Johannesburg under section 10(1) (b) (Freund 1984:50-51). According to the results of the survey, more

than 70% of Sophiatown's families were one or two-person households, suggesting that families with five or more members on average made up less than 10% of all households. This meant that two or more single males may have shared a room and the number of citizens did not meet the criteria for resettlement to Meadowlands. Despite this fact, the NRB began issuing eviction orders for all the residents in Sophiatown (Lewis 1959:3).

The impact the forced removals would have on single males in Sophiatown and their extended families in the reserves appears to have been yet another justifiable reason for the forced removals. As explained in a different section earlier, the majority of single males entering Sophiatown in the 1930s, 1940s and early 1950s were primarily, though not entirely, from the Northwest, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Free State and KwaZulu-Natal Provinces. These men may have been single males in the city; however, they were heads of families back home in their respective provinces. Many were usually in polygynous marriages, with multiple wives and children. Faced with the possibility of being displaced from Sophiatown, these men had to determine if their families could join them in the new area (Lewis 1959:2-4).

Therefore, many single males saw relocation to Meadowlands as providing access to a family-specific house with more rooms unlike in Sophiatown where it was only a single room. In addition, regulatory measures for influx control also recommended that only married men and their wives and biological children were permitted to inhabit the houses in Meadowlands together (Lewis 1959:3; CoJ Annual Report 1948:4). For men in polygynous unions whose wives were in other provinces, this marriage ruling created difficulties because the wives were used to taking turns visiting their husbands for prolonged periods. The NRB would only consider one wife to join her husband in Meadowlands, so men were forced to choose one woman, often the oldest, who would be their partner in Johannesburg. This meant that the other wives were not allowed to visit their husbands if they were not registered in the house license agreement (Lewis 1959:3-4).

The Native Affairs and their role in housing development in Soweto

The population expansion in Johannesburg took place alongside the development of areas such as the industrial suburb in eastern Johannesburg called the Eastern Native Township

in Denver, on the railway line to Germiston and Hoofrif Street. It fell under the Parks and Estates Committee with other Native Townships, which shows that native affairs shared animal spending as this is the same committee that dealt with zoo-related matters (Lewis 1959:2 and Lewis 1966:46). To divide the two and concentrate solely on Native Townships, in 1927, the JCC voted to create a Native Affairs Committee to deal with black local government concerns (SAHO 2016).

The Council appointed Mr. Graham Ballendon as the Native Affairs Director, who was a member of the First Native Affairs Committee established in 1928. It was during this phase that the construction of what was to become Soweto took off (Lewis 1966:46 & 49). At this stage, there were 117, 700 males and 19 000 females in the black population of Johannesburg, which means that the population was predominantly male migrant workers (Lewis 1959:2). As a result, the expulsion of blacks from white -only residential areas became a priority for the JCC in 1929 because of the influx of blacks seeking employment in Johannesburg (SAHO 2011).

A couple of years later, in 1938, Johannesburg was divided into thirteen inspection areas (CoJ Annual Report 1940:2). Unfortunately, as discovered by the Murray Thornton Commission in 1935, which investigated the two divisions, the work of the Department of Public Health did not grow as rapidly or as effectively as that of the new Department of Native Affairs. It criticized the Department of Health for failing to stop or remedy the fearsome and squalid conditions that prevailed in areas such as Prospect Township, the Malay Location, Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare as a result of overcrowding (Lewis 1966:49).

There was no municipal water in Newclare, because until 1933 the community had to rely on groundwater “borehole” only. By 1935, in Sophiatown the JCC installed 27 taps for the entire community to use, however the areas were not connected to something like a sewerage system, therefore the community became dependent on collecting buckets for sanitation three times a week (Lewis 1966:49). The JCC therefore tried to make a new start for these families in Orlando, but they encountered an over-population problem because some property owners in the above-mentioned neighbourhoods were exploiting their tenants by

making large families live in single rooms so they can charge high rents as shown in figure 1 below:

Location	Families: Registered Tenants	Total Families	Total Families for Housing	Estimated Population 30/06/48
Sophiatown/Martindale	12 273	1067	13 340	66 700

Figure 1: cited in City of Johannesburg. (1948). Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European and Native Affairs, December 1944 to 30 June 1948, see page 3

Further to the example above, some properties on a 50 X 100 stand accommodated as many as 300 people in 60 back-to-back rooms in Sophiatown, which is equivalent to 5 people per room, and the usual rental paid in this area was R4 per bed, hence the overpopulation. Another example is the extreme case in Prospect Township where on one stand 121 rooms were crowded, with one water tap and two bathrooms. Therefore, the plan to rehouse everyone in Orlando could clearly fit only a small portion of the black population in the city (Lewis 1966:49). Consequently, just before the beginning of World War II, the JCC approved a minimum standard for black housing. Each home had to have at least two bedrooms, a living room, proper food storage and sanitation facilities, as well as running water (CoJ Annual Report 1948:4).

The following year, 1939, World War II began (Lewis 1959:2), and the total number for the black population who lived or worked in Johannesburg in the same year was 244,000, of which 179,000 were males and 65,000 were females. This posed a challenge for Sophiatown as tensions began to grow because of issues such as the right to free rent, the race-class composition of tenants / workers and the coexistence of a mixed racial community considered to promote a deviant lifestyle. For a time in which war brought about a complete change in almost every aspect of black people's lives, this population was massive because inter-province travelling occurred in both the city, the townships as well as the backyards. However, as the population rose, employment for mineworkers decreased (Lewis 1966:49; Gready 1990:141).

By 1948, the overall population of black people living within and around the JCC caused resource depletion such as medical, transportation and housing, since accommodation alone required around £ 200/R3766.96 capital expenditure for each household (Lewis 1959:3; CoJ Annual Report 1940:5). At this juncture, efforts were made to keep rents below one-sixth of the family income, and then when most of the black population did not take it up, the JCC introduced the following rental schemes i.e. Zuurbekom Scheme and Dube Scheme (CoJ Annual Report 1948:4-5). This myopic foiling of potential disaster, however, discounts the very fact that the destabilization of rural economies and thus the broader social fabric was always going to lead to social issues one way or the other.

The housing shortage continued in 1950 because the influx into the city did not end. Therefore, the JCC committed itself to purchasing enough land for the next ten years to remove the majority of the black workers in the city (CoJ Annual Report 1948:5). Given the lack of capital money to fund traditional building schemes and the popularity of blacks building their own homes in Moroka, the Vukuzenzele Scheme was created to offer renting to the urban black population, which was licensed to purchase houses (CoJ Annual Report 1950:4). The NP later acknowledged that the “colour bar” was postponing a lot of work to build houses in places selected for black segregation thus the Native Building Workers Act was therefore accepted in 1951, enabling blacks to engage in brick layers and other skilled work in places and townships selected for black people (Parnell and Beavon 1996:13, Freund 1984:51).

In 1960, the Population Census of the Republic of South Africa Statistics Bureau specified the characteristics of the population by status in each magisterial district and economic area as shown in figure 2 below:

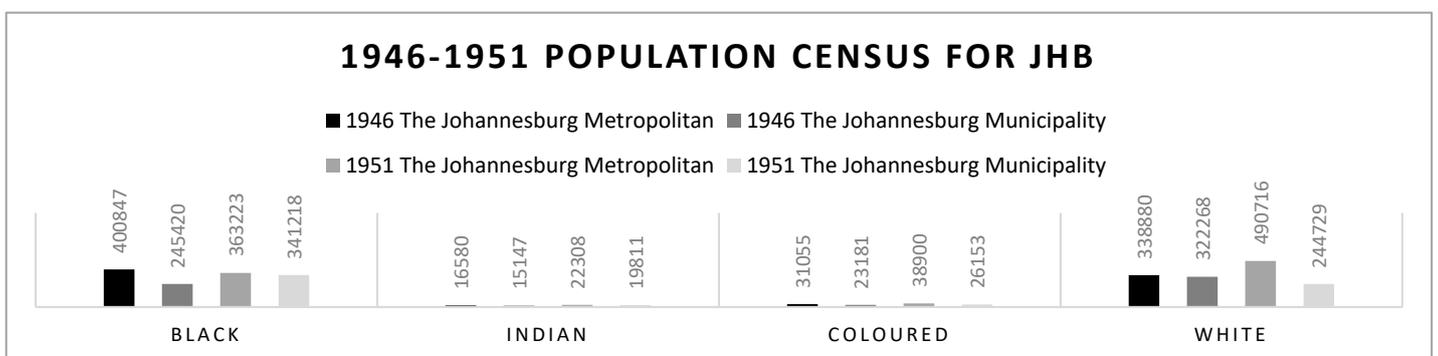


Figure 2: cited in Republic of South Africa Bureau of Statistics, the Population Census, September 1960, see page 34 & 35

The report on figure 2 shows a comparison of population growth from 1946-51 between the Metropolitan of Johannesburg, which is the nucleus of the city in relation to the Municipality of Johannesburg, which is several suburbs and townships comprising Johannesburg. The general population for the municipality of Johannesburg in 1951 was 631,911 persons with the male gender being the majority of the two from 1946 to 1951 as shown in figure 3 below. Black men outnumbered black women by more than two to one and the black population was the majority in the JHB Metropolitan in 1946 while the white population was the majority in the Municipality of JHB (The Population census 1960:34-35).

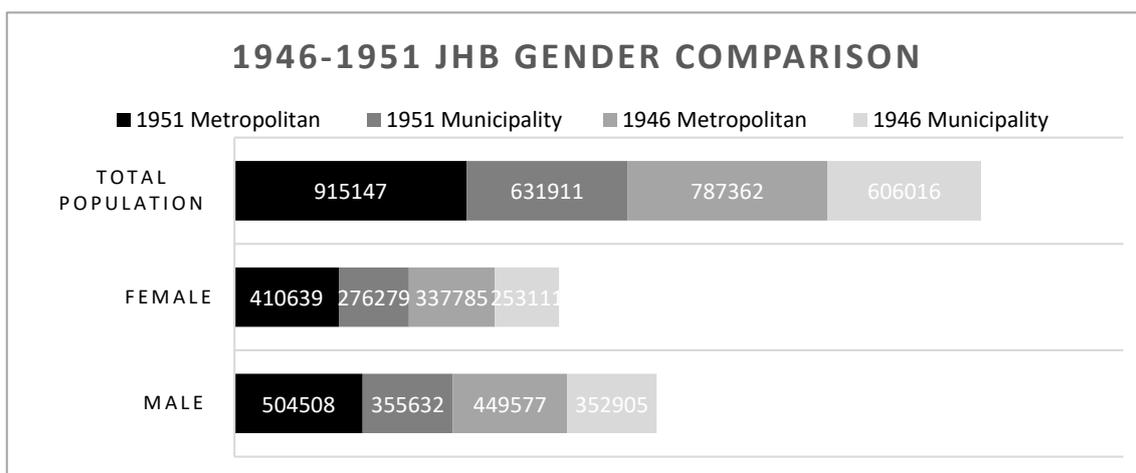


Figure 3: cited in Republic of South Africa Bureau of Statistics, the Population Census, September 1960, see page 34 & 35

Furthermore, much of the white population lived in the JHB metropolitan in 1951 whereas the majority of the black population lived in the JHB municipality. Overall, the increase between 1946 and 1951 was 86% with the largest population living in the Johannesburg metropolitan areas (The Population census 1960:34- 35). This helped the Minister of Native Affairs identify “black spots” and overwhelmed the JCC’s task to accommodate everyone they had removed from black spots because additional costs such as water, sanitation and roads came from building houses (CoJ Annual Report 1952:3).

In view of the above, it becomes easier to comprehend why the constant influx of people entering JHB became a pressure point for the CoJ considering that in 1951, 69% of this population was densely accommodated in the metropolitan area and not the greater municipality as shown in figure 3. Consequently, more and more people increasingly relied

on informal settlements as a means of temporary homes. The creator and conceptual leader of these informal settlement movements was James Mpanza who was mentioned a few subsections above, who in a campaign to occupy vacant land galvanized a group of homeless people by forming the Sofasonke party as an independent local government, collecting taxes and disbursing unused land for the homeless. This produced an appearance of an invasion of 20 000 squatters in Soweto, occupying land near Orlando East (Goodhew 1930-62:451).

Squatting was an illegal form of freehold housing, which, due to its lack of sanitation, collection of refuse or electricity, evoked violent images. It was and continues to be a lifestyle that is inherently at risk of re-location, homelessness, and temporary accommodation, even though it is also a way to take people off the streets and provide refuge for them (Stadler 1979:119). Squatting may also seem like an easy way out, but squatter camps often faced adversities of their own. The leaders were capitalistic, exploitative, and oppressive, transforming slums into prostitution places and a loosely living lifestyle. Tenants had protocols they followed, such as obtaining permits for their homes and businesses because trading was controlled, and camps were regulated by expelling or punishing non-members and offenders (Stadler 1979:104-105). This was a period of accommodation disparities between populations, which indicates that the governing state had not provided legitimate frameworks in their forced removals plan, allowing for a backlog of services such as adequate infrastructure to house these displaced families (Turok 1994:244-246; CoJ Annual Report 1948:2 & 6).

Therefore, despite the painstaking and minute planning that informed Apartheid, the centre could not hold resulting in further planning and implementation in an ever-evolving cycle of new pressure points and the resultant instability. My recounting of this detail of the considerations that went into this planning and the various players in this saga is to show the time and effort that went into effecting separate living and development of the races. Contemporary South Africa exhibits continuities and discontinuities in this regard. The reverberations of ill health still very much of the contemporary experience in the country.

As stated at the beginning of this dissertation, deciding where in history to begin when accounting for the state of SA today is not an easy feat. Moreover, deciding how much of this

history to recount, is just as difficult. My strategy was thus to recount the history related to the loss of land and autonomy for black people, which was the genesis of the disarticulation of the African nation in occupied South Africa. I did this with specific reference to Johannesburg to illustrate the implications under the various forms of government, which existed over the duration that I covered. The disarticulation progressed through various the other Acts and ordinances, which are not recounted here. The bigger point I wish to make is that to understand contemporary SA one needs to understand the wars, laws, concerns, and painstaking administration that got us here. This is how macro-policies inform micro-experiences, generations later.

The Anatomy of Relocation

Forced removals can be defined as one of the most significant social processes in South African history. The government alludes to them being voluntary in nature, but due to the opposition of those moving from urban to rural areas in the 1950s, coercion must have been exerted by the law enforcement, which is why they are called “forced removals”. This may be one example of the adage that one man’s meat is another’s poison. Forced removals were a form of “racial capitalism” that resonated with the United States, Brazil and the Philippines in an attempt to create urban segregation that split up pure spaces and races from impure spaces and races (Freund 1984:49; (CoJ Annual Report 1960:2-3).

Forced removals in South Africa also did not fully reflect the process of eliminating unwanted people from the labour market, as they did in the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (Freund 1984:55). Forced removals were carried out for different reasons; for Betterment Policies, Strategic or Infrastructural reasons, Urban Segregation (from rural to urban or vice versa) or Spatial Apartheid Geography (Abdulla 2017). The Betterment Schemes is right of entry to land and property rights such as the Bantustans, then the Strategic or Infrastructural reasons occurred when new borders were being built so the entire community would have to be moved. Another reason for removals is Urban Segregation, apparently due to moral and racial panic associating filth, disease, and crime with black people. Finally, Spatial Apartheid

Geography is consequent to the Group Areas Act of 1950, which builds and monitors towns suitably for specific races (Freund 1984:52).

Urban segregation is a strong point of departure for increased forced removals, as it is the basis for separate urban development. The JCC approved the evacuation of black families from the Western Areas in 1944, ten years prior to being carried out by the government of the National Party (Maylam 1995:28; Freund 1984:53). Thus, it is difficult, after all the suffering caused by forced removals, not to associate forced resettlement with the establishment of government-owned housing projects (Freund 1984:62). It is also important to understand that the policies of Urban Segregation were associated with Apartheid and not established by Apartheid (Parnell and Beavon 1996:13).

Sophiatown was subjected to removals because it was a place of mixed races, thus black peoples' activities in urban areas became controlled and land was still to be allocated to them for the construction sites in which they would reside, enabling the municipality to enforce more stringent laws (Hart and Pirie 1984:38). This is evidence that the feasibility of Apartheid came from the systemic policies administered by the state which constantly attempted to enforce control through their pervasive presence in every facet of life (Evans 1997:11; Freund 1984:54).

Forced removals in Sophiatown

It is important to understand that the policies of Urban Segregation were associated with Apartheid and not established by Apartheid (Parnell and Beavon 1996:13). Therefore, events such as the amendment to the Consolidation Act of 1945 accompanied by meetings between the Department of Native Affairs and the Chairman of the Department of Non-European Affairs on a resettlement initiative and how to finance it (Parnell and Beavon 1996:13). Such removals aimed at monitoring who belongs to the "white areas" in SA and who is considered a *persona non-grata* in those areas, thereby translating the relocation to Meadowlands into a slum clearance of blacks who did not belong in urban areas (Maylam 1995:19).

It is estimated that as many as 392,600 black people living in the cities by the 30th of June 1952 were subjected to forced removals. The first case of displacement in the Western Areas was in the Newclare Township after intermittent protests over a period of several months resulting in the dispossession of 312 families who ended up squatting on Stand No. 99 and the Charles Phillips Park in Newclare. They were put in the open without proper water and sanitation and under conditions that would threaten the general public's health and safety. The Magistrate issued an order in relation to the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (No.52) of 1951 ordering the squatters to withdraw from the property, but an injunction from the Supreme Court prohibited the JCC from enforcing the order of the Magistrate until a hearing had the order of the Magistrate rescinded (CoJ Annual Report 1953:7).

The order of the magistrate was set aside for technical reasons and, on a new request, an order was issued allowing the JCC to forcefully remove all squatters who had not transferred to the Moroka Emergency Camp by midnight on 17 December 1952. 283 Families of squatters were brought to the camp and the two Newclare sites were cleared by 18 December. Another small squatter group in Martindale seemed to be underway in February 1953 and action was taken by the Medical Officer of Health against the squatters (CoJ Annual Report 1953:7; Harrison 2014:297).

When it came to the government of the NP, the population growth in the Western Areas created a number of political disadvantages for the JCC because it became their obligation under the black Resettlement Act to provide basic services to the areas created by the NRB, so the No.243 declaration was designated to the NRB as the Urban Local Authority for provisions made in Meadowlands East and Diepkloof. The JCC, however, did not have the sufficient capacity to attempt to resettle slum yards in the inner city and Sophiatown settlers with alternative black housing in Soweto because they did not have the resources to handle low-cost housing construction (CoJ Annual Report 1960:2).

The JCC then met and negotiated with the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr Verwoerd, who stepped in as a replacement to provide the budget and logistical support for eliminating all black people from the Western Areas including Martindale, Sophiatown and Newclare, subject to appropriate financial arrangements. A special Ad Hoc committee was formed to

work out details of a scheme to be submitted for approval to the JCC and the Minister of Native Affairs. This Ad Hoc Committee submitted a comprehensive report, and, on 27 January 1953, the JCC selected three councillors to implement the plan, together with two government officials named as liaison officers (Seoka & Capel 2017:39).

The Minister subsequently announced that he was proposing the introduction of special legislation and the establishment of an independent body with the requisite powers to bring the scheme to fruition. The Minister directed the Lands Department to buy other available land in Soweto, including the eastern part of Meadowlands owned by the JCC on behalf of the City and 250 morgens on the Diepkloof Farm near Orlando in zone 9. Subsequently the NP Government bought Meadowlands from the JCC in 1953 near the dams from Crown mines and Main Reef mines (Seoka & Capel 2017:58-59).

In contrast to the urban areas, the administration of the townships showed a significant increase in both the amount of administrative work and responsibility. This is an important point to highlight as it emphasizes how seriously the government took the responsibility of segregating races to promote the supremacy and purity of white privilege. Subsequently, a Site and Service scheme was also established, setting aside many sites in properly planned townships to which black people can be relocated. This was followed by the creation of the JCC's Housing Division, which trained and hired black labour to resolve the seemingly impossible challenge (Lewis 1959:4).

Thereafter the Government created the NRB that would replace the JCC's Non-European Affairs Department for the premise of being the constitutional body that oversees the Western Areas (Seoka & Capel 2017:38-39). The board became the urban local authority with effect from 1 December 1954 in order to extend certain sections of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act to the townships of Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare as well as to administer the black communities and settlements formed in the Meadowlands and the Diepkloof zone 9 area (CoJ Annual Report 1955:5).

Most of the black people who worked in Johannesburg lived as squatters, making it very difficult to estimate accurately the scale of the housing required to accommodate all those

legally entitled to reside in Johannesburg. Thus, a comprehensive survey of the City and the peri-urban areas was published, stating that the City's total non-European population was 454,200 as of June the 30th 1954 (CoJ Annual Report 1953:1) and the non-European population was 470,400 by the 30th of June 1955 as shown in figure 4. The Western Areas were combined with the Pageview numbers, comprising of 73,000 people, which is 16% of the total population as shown in figure (CoJ Annual Report 1955:2).

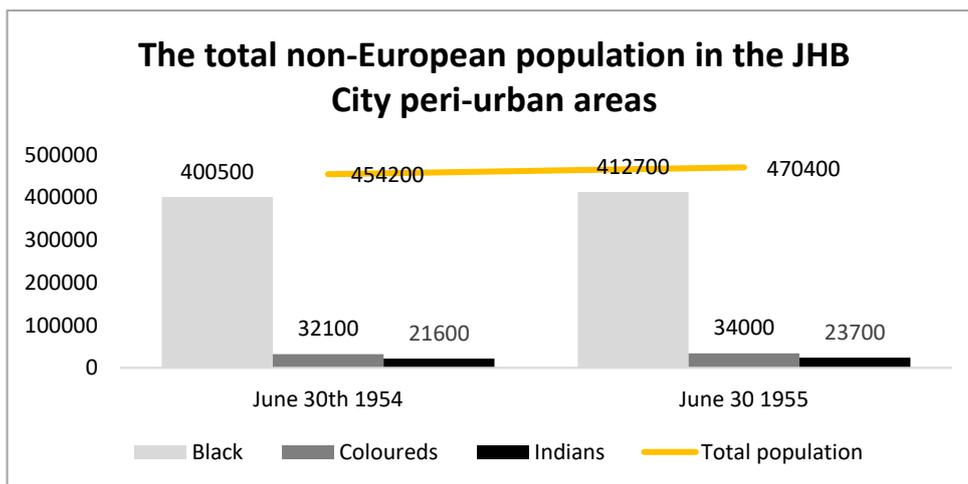


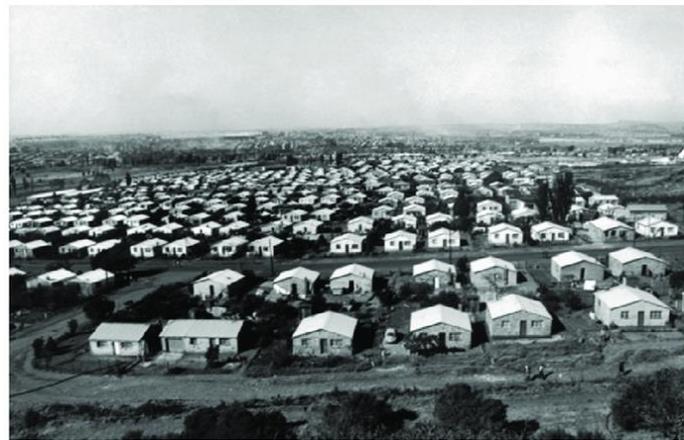
Figure 4: cited in City of Johannesburg. (1953). Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European and Native Affairs, 1 July 1952 to 30th June 1953, see page 4-5

The figures for the non-European population enabled the Natives Resettlement Bill to be passed during a parliamentary session in 1954, and Act No.19 of 1954 came into force on August 1. The objective of the Act was to provide for the removal of black people from any area of the Magisterial District of Johannesburg or any adjacent Magisterial District and their settlement elsewhere (CoJ Annual Report 1955:4-5). The Act also empowered the Governor-General to appoint a Board, consisting of not less than nine and not more than ten members, as the urban local authority, which shifted control to the local government even though the Department of bantu/native/black Administration was the regulator countrywide. This shifted control to the local government even though the Department of Bantu Administration was the regulator countrywide (CoJ Annual Report 1960:2).

On the date of the Natives Resettlement Act (No:19) in 1954 coming into force, the Western Areas Advisory Committee ceased to function upon 1 August 1954 and was replaced by the

Governor-General's Statutory Board under the chairmanship of Mr W. H. L. Heckroodt. On August 6, 1954, the Natives Resettlement Board held its first meeting in the municipal offices (CoJ Annual Report 1955:6). Thereafter, the NRB started sending notices to residents to inform them of the intention to resettle them. This was after the building program of low-cost housing in Meadowlands had started (Seoka & Capel 2017:39). The first batch of houses were built with police force watching over them so that the Moroka settlers would not invade the new houses. Due to the matching size and shape of the houses, people often referred to them as matchbox houses as shown in photograph 1 (Adler 2016; Lodge 1981:123).

The houses were small, bare and without any consideration for prosperity of the inhabitants. They were for non-Europeans within the minimum housing criteria, built in the outskirts of urban white areas, introduced as reserves, later known as townships. A township in this context would be Apartheid's modus operandi for urban dissolution and racial segregation because it is a racial space where society is politically, financially, and socially subjugated. It is an environment where abuse and power are enforced, leading to psychological decay and adaptability to cheap bureaucratic dependence and control (Ligo 1974:61; Krige 2015:5).



Photograph 1: Ariel view of matchbox houses. Cited in Class, Race and Residence in Black Johannesburg, 1923–1970 (see: Crankshaw 2005:326)

The following year, January 1955, 152 families were told about their new placement and had to vacate by the 12th of February. This year was the beginning of a hard-hitting time where we see removals of blacks and the resultant uproar against white supremacy (Goodhew 2000:241). Most black landlords were often claimed to be wholly dependent on rents obtained from tenants and sub tenants. Such landlords are known to have been particularly vocal in the resistance movement in the face of economic ruin once resettled in Soweto. Sophiatown is also remembered as a township known for its gangsters, musicians, artists and other social and “anti-social” activities which created some form of income for those involved. Thus, the impending forced removals threatened such social groups (Checker 2005: SAHO 2019).

More than that, the adaptation - no matter how precarious - of a large sector of society was to be undone by a system that did not seem to offer anything better for the community concerned.

Similarly, removals even targeted gangsters because there is no question that re-settlement in Soweto would be followed by increased levels of police. That is why gangsters were seen to be particularly active in the resistance movement in Sophiatown. Robert Resha, the township's prominent ANC leader, seems to have understood this resistance movement dynamic. He is reputed to have contributed against the imminent forced removals by uniting gangs (Checker 2005). This led to Sophiatown acquiring a reputation for belonging to gangsters and criminals, a somewhat short-sighted view of the culture there because other factors had shaped the lifestyle, i.e. American films, books, documents, newspapers, celebrity names in Hollywood, dress codes, attitudes, jargon and TV appearances had a tremendous influence on the lives of the Sophiatown residents (Thema 1996:6 & 13).

*Armed with bulldozers
they came
to do a job
nothing more
just hired killers.
We gave way
there was nothing we could do
although the bitterness stung in us
and in the earth around us.*
Don Mattera 1987: 5 ("The Day They Came for Our House")

"*We are not moving we are staying here*" was the mood that engulfed Sophiatown between 1953 (when the NRB initially triggered its resettlement scheme) and February 1955, when the first of the bulldozers rolled into the area. During this time, it is suggested that there were definite plans to escalate resistance, marking 1955 as the start of a hard-hit period for black exclusion (Goodhew 2000:241: SAHO 2019). Upon promulgation of the relocation scheme, some citizens of Sophiatown mobilized to oppose the compulsory removals by popularising the slogan "We're not going to move / *onsal nie dak nie / asihambi*", meaning "We are not moving, we are staying here", until the parliament was also made aware of this. The Minister of Justice said the ANC would firmly fight the removals, using machine guns, cars loaded with explosives, and tyres, packed with explosives and rolling toward the police (Checker 2005).

Thereafter, in 1955, to ensure the removals worked out accordingly with no meetings being gathered and violent marches taking place, a ban was placed on all public meetings as from the 7th of February. Then, two days before the removals were scheduled (9 February 1955), 2000 police officers, armed with automatic rifles, stormed into Sophiatown and began to move tenants to rehouse them in Meadowlands (Lodge 1981:129-130: SAHO 2019).

110 families were moved out of Sophiatown in the pouring rain to the new houses in the Meadowlands Township (Checker 2005). As of June 30, 1955, 1,064 families were re-housed in Meadowlands, comprising of 5,515 people (CoJ Annual Report 1955:6). Then in 1956 Sophiatown was renamed Triomf and rezoned to a white area only with a small portion on the south being used for colored entitlement or business (Hart 1990:154). Black tenants who rented from other black stand-owners continued moving to Meadowlands. The last group to move in 1957 was isolated black property owners. It took five years to move everyone, with colored households only culminating their move in 1960 (Stadler 1979:119). The extent of this type of mass controlling of people was undesirable, traumatic and it caused a stagnant growth to the educational, social and economic development for the families which were being resettled (Gutkind 1960:30).

According to the Benchmarks Foundation:

The removals were carried out with the precision of a military operation and left over a thousand 'unlawful' residents of Johannesburg homeless. The majority of the African population of South Africa lost all control over its lives in this period of seeming corporate largesse, charitable gestures and racist paternalism. They were deprived of having any choice of where they could live, were denied the right to own housing in urban areas (cities and towns, where they could only rent), had no say in the shape, size or colour of the houses, or the size of the stands on which the houses were constructed. They also had no say in the building materials used to construct the houses, which often included cement mixed with radioactive mine tailings sand and asbestos roofing. This would have significant health impacts on generations of Sowetans (Seoka & Capel 2017:58).

As the quote above illustrates, a downside to the houses built in Meadowlands are the roofs made of asbestos sheets, and the speculation that the houses were built from second-hand bricks, which meant that they would last for only a few years. Due to the obvious low-cost

building supplies that were used, low-cost housing became the epitome of black Township development, which is why it is not shocking that the Meadowlands placement was particularly in compromised land with swamps and flood plains which keep the houses damp (Seoka & Capel 2017:39-40). The consequences were not only health problems such as respiratory illnesses, but also a dampening of the morale of society due to congestion and insufficient possibilities for the growth of interpersonal relations. This produced the finest line of racially discriminatory practices deep within the status quo aimed at conceptualizing race as a naturalized hierarchical system of biologically distinctive human groups with measurable advantages in terms of inequitable wealth and power (Inwood & Yarbrough 2010:300).

After the removals

After the black population was re-settled from the Western Areas, the Natives Resettlement Board bought houses from the remaining black people who owned property so that they could demolish them to avoid unauthorised occupation as shown in photograph 2. By the 3rd of August 1956, a portion of Sophiatown was announced as European Areas. This was inclusive of the east of Good and West of Best Street. White people could purchase the property in 1956 and they could occupy the property in 1957 (Heckroodt 1960:4).



Photograph 2: A depiction of a family watching as demolition workers tear down a row of neighbourhood homes in Sophiatown, 1955. Adapted from *The Guardian* (see Adler 2016)

WESTERN AREAS POPULATION

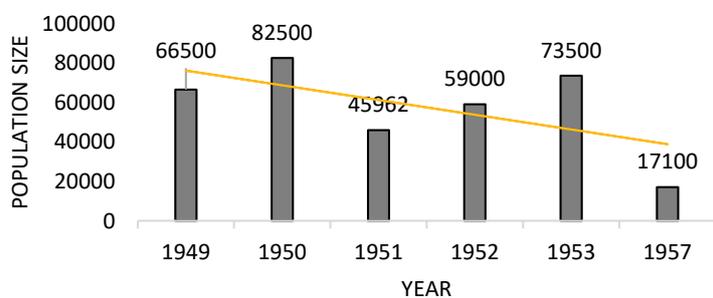


Figure 5: cited in *City of Johannesburg. (1950, 51, 52). Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European and Native Affairs*

As seen in figure 5, we see a decrease in the black population remaining in the Western Areas by 1957 as it drops from 73,500 to 17,100 after forced removals begin. The population of Meadowlands rose to 39,000 people whilst Diepkloof and the Hostel received an additional 17,400 people in relation to the migration from the Western Areas (CoJ Annual Report 1958:1-2).

To sustain the houses, rent in Meadowlands could be paid as sub-economical rent or economical rent. The first one is £15 (euros) paid by black people to the Natives Resettlement Board, whilst the latter was revised annually in case the increment of black wages changes drastically enough to move them to a different income group then, the rent was completely reassessed. In 1958, 55% of the population was paying economic rental and the remaining 45% was paying sub-economic rental (Heckroodt 1960:5-6).

Back in Sophiatown, in the same year (1958), the NRB added the areas that were west of Good and east of Gibson Street. Any black owner who refused to sell to the Natives Resettlement Board forced them to seize the property as per the terms in the Natives Resettlement Act, whilst it was confiscated from the non-natives based on the terms in the Group Areas Development Act. Any property that belonged to the NRB east of Gibson and west of Best Streets would be demolished as soon as it was registered. All the black families realised they would be rehoused in Meadowlands, whilst coloured families were moved deeper into Sophiatown in areas such as Newclare. This enabled the NRB to own 1314 properties in Sophiatown (Heckroodt 1960:4).

By October 9, 1959, Mr Heckroodt confirmed in his letter to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development that 2063 black families who were working in the Municipality were all transferred to Meadowlands and Diepkloof. These families were from the Western Areas and Townships like Alexander. Notice that Mr. Heckroodt reports the movements in groups of people (families) rather than individuals to convey the impression that forced removals did not eradicate and disarticulate that many people (CoJ Annual Report 1960; Heckroodt 1960:4).

The Johannesburg Municipal and Bantu Resettlement Board's total non-European population, but excluding the peri-urban areas outside the control of the JCC, was 742,179 by 1965, as seen in figure 6 on the right, which shows that the new issue in post-Apartheid South Africa was no longer the violence of Apartheid, with its blunt institutionalized racism, but the effects of Apartheid which include the re-emergence of informal shacks constructed at the backyards of formal houses in the black Townships in the 1970's (CoJ Annual Report 1965:2-4; Jones 2013:26-27).

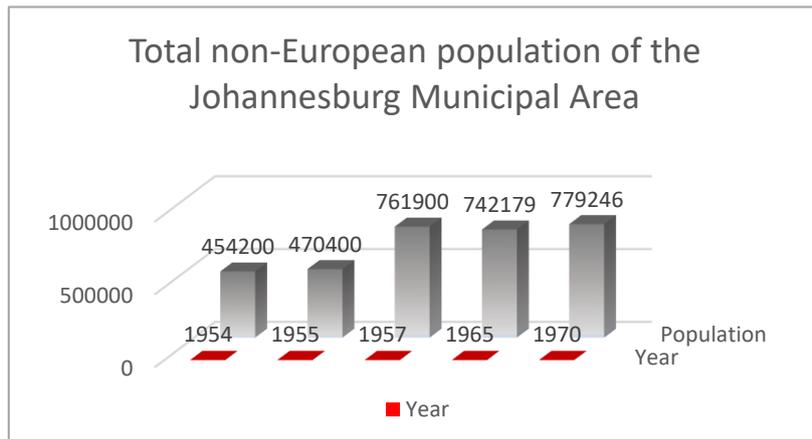


Figure 6: cited in *City of Johannesburg. (1965). Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European and Native Affairs*, see pg. 2 & 4

Such shacks housed black people in the Witwatersrand who had become homeless (Hlongwane 2013:10; CoJ Annual Report 1965:2-4). Such have been the broad strokes and minute details that begot Meadowlands by a government relentless in serving a nefarious white supremacist agenda that was a global phenomenon, in many respects. The South African case may have been graphic and blunt at the same time, the consequences similar for many Native populations around the world.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

The two preceding chapters examine, contextualize, and evaluate the historical background of the relationship between race and place in South Africa in its geographical sense (Henning 2004:14). I started by orienting the phenomenon of overcrowding in Sophiatown and motivating its relationship to displacement by examining the degree to which legislation such as the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act and the Racial Land Measures Act developed and enforced significant forced removals during the year 1950- 1960 (Seoka & Capel 2017:9; Kumar 2011:60).

In this dissertation, racial discrimination stands out because it reveals the massive systemic implementation of forced removals, since Apartheid strongly juxtaposed the need for black and cheap migrant labour with the mobility restrictions imposed on the influx of black migrants (Adonis 2016:1). Thus, the formation of a settlement such as Meadowlands is evidence that the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and 1950 Group Areas Act were enacted with a view to retain ownership of several properties in the CoJ where migrants resided, as it was difficult for authorities to implement legislation that retained racial segregation in communities close to reserves. This is because some regions, particularly those close to areas with job opportunities, were racially diverse despite attempts to curb this diversity (Maylam 1995:19 and Lodge 1981:109). Therefore, with this chapter, I seek to demonstrate methodological considerations in making visible the effect of disarticulation on the families who were forcefully displaced by Apartheid policies and found themselves in Meadowlands (Phuza 2019:39).

In comparison to other forced relocation studies conducted in the South African context, this research not only explores residential overcrowding and other social ills based on census data but also gives an understanding of the common experiences of some of the families who experienced the displacement using an ethnographic approach (Gobo 2008:2). I used this approach as it is the most appropriate to attend to the resettlement question (Kumar 2011:26). In the field, my objective was to explore what the short- and long-term consequences of displacement were using a synthesis of anthropological and historical data (Denzin and Lincoln 2018:43)

Description of the Study Problem

Displacements in the 1950s -1970s had a homelessness paradox that gave rise to the growth of residential overcrowding which is a social disorder that compromises the quality of life for the displaced (Wynter 2003:261). This study aims to establish what these social ills are by exploring the Meadowlands context and analysing this community's development through interpretive, material practices such as conversations with the participants who shared with me explanations of the area's original tales regarding how they left Sophiatown, what their perception of Meadowlands is, who brought them there, when the movements took place, and how they survived the turmoil (Kumar 2011:134). Furthermore, the geographical spacing of the houses and the quality of building materials reflects the isolative policymaking for town planning that was not only oppressive and distressing, but also ultimately led to physical ill health. All these factors will be made visible through my systematic interpretation and sense making of the interactions and observations that I made during my engagements with the participants (Denzin and Lincoln 2018:43).

Purpose of the Study

A key assumption of this study is that the displacement that comes with forced removal has intergenerational effects that manifest in an array of ways. Cyril Adonis calls this "transgenerational transmission of trauma" which means that traumatic memories of the past are not only experienced only by those who have personally witnessed the conflict and subsequent trauma, but also successive generations (2016:2). This study investigates the impact of social disarticulation on previously displaced families. I argue that overcrowding and other related social ills in Meadowlands today is a manifestation of forced removals from Sophiatown whose objective had nothing to do with the wellbeing of those it displaced.

Forced removal has been shown to be a determinant of social pathology because it stems from gross human rights violations, which result in extensive and ongoing social ills such as mass trauma which is a deliberate and systematic infliction of structural violence upon a target population by a dominant population. The degree of the traumatic experience persists over generations to the extent where it disrupts the society from its natural, anticipated historical

course, resulting in a residue of physical, social and economic disparities that are common manifestations of displacement in less optimal housing (Adonis 2016:2; Creswell 2007:74). Thus, the relationship between structural and social ills that pertain to Meadowlands is the lens through which the trauma of forced removals will be interpreted. The purpose of this study is, therefore, to explore the relationship between forced removals from Sophiatown in the 1950s and contemporary Meadowlands, the destination of those who were uprooted from Sophiatown. The intergenerational impact of forced removals will also be explored.

Research objective

As stated in the previous sub-theme, the primary research objective is to formally re-collect the experiences of being forcibly removed from Sophiatown, predominantly resulting in great social upheavals and the callous break-up of the long-established communities in Sophiatown who today re-articulate themselves in Meadowlands (Freund 1984:51; Turok 1994:244-246). The aim is to establish the impact of the forced removals on households and the quality of life in the broader community of Meadowlands by interrogating the structural and social ills that come with displacement such as the intra-household density present in number of persons per room, number of rooms per residential structure and number of housing units within a given yard. By recollecting the physical and psychological experiences of being forcibly removed, I am also able to assess the extent of the contemporary reverberations caused by the subjugation and loss encountered when geographical spacing was introduced, placing families in areas such as Meadowlands, which was deliberately near impure land such as mine dumps (Rodgers 1980:76).

The aims of the study are:

- to ascertain the relationship between Sophiatown and Meadowlands
- to understand and evaluate why forced removals occurred
- to explore the ramifications of historical displacement on contemporary households
- to show that separate development is an intergenerational problem created by Apartheid legislature with real-life effects

The Research Question:

What is the impact of the forced removals on households and the quality of life in the broader community of Meadowlands?

Sub-questions:

1. Does the history of the development of Meadowlands still influence the structural and social lives of the families living there today?
2. Can the material effects of forced removals, which are financially disempowering, gendered, racialised, and spatially designed, be rectified?

Study Design

I chose a qualitative approach because I wanted to use ethnography as a data collection method. This research is both an explanation of an event and an understanding of the unfolding circumstances thereafter (Gobo 2008:6 & 23), thus I used ethnographic methodology because it enabled me as the researcher to participate in the social life of the observed individuals in their natural environment (Abrahamson 1983:318) whilst at the same time ensuring adequate cognitive distance to allow this experimental work to be carried out comprehensively (Denzin and Lincoln 2018:43; Langdrige 2007: 80).

The ethnographic approach required me to study the participants by actively listening, questioning, observing and reflecting on the experiences they shared (Markee 2012:1; Kumar 2011:96). In order to do this effectively, I used a method known as participant observation as my ethnographic encounter with the participants so I could get a feel for the texture of Meadowlands. I adopted an *emic* approach to participant observation as part of my ethnographic experience because the participants were not the data themselves but rather resources to help me confirm my argument on overcrowding (Gobo 2008:8). According to Markee, an *emic* approach is developing empathy with, and giving voice to, participants. While an *etic* approach, on the other hand, is “talk-in-interaction”, meaning the researcher becomes a creator of the narrative because they explicate their observations instead of affirming the participants’ responses, behaviour or surroundings (2012:3). Therefore, to maintain objectivity, my observations combine both literature and real-life experiences in

order to produce a holistic report on how overcrowding is an integral part of the experience in South African townships (Henning 2004:3).

In doing the above, I was able to obtain the insider perspective as Malinowski did when he lived in the Trobriand Islands (Marshall and Rossman 1995:3; Goba 2008:8) through immersing myself in each participants world which sometimes required me to attend church before I visit their home which is something I do not do in my private life (Denzin and Lincoln 2018:43). Moreover, when introducing myself and recruiting the participants I had to speak their languages (seTswana, isiZulu and seSotho) which are all not my mother tongue. These social actions exposed me to a different worldview and enabled me to listen and engage in-depth and cautiously to an extent where the participant became more than an instrument of texture regarding Meadowlands to becoming an interlocutor whose data in the interview made me understand what forced removals truly meant to people (Creswell 2007:73).

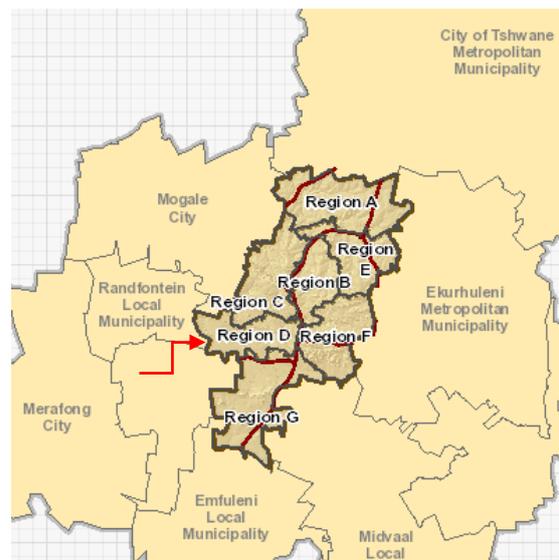
Engaging with different households offered me multiple descriptive narratives which were used to understand different interpretations regarding the forced removals and establish relativity between common themes regarding what contributes to evident overcrowding visible in Meadowlands today (Niemann 2005:184). Where there was lack of pure roundness in the knowledge of the participants, I accounted for it by examining other themes relating to the same phenomena i.e. homelessness, bare life, structural violence etc. to see the interdependencies and to decide how they combine to co-create credibility (Henning 2004:10; Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:42-43).

The feasibility of being “able to do” this study depended on the information available for forced removals such as access to families who once lived in Sophiatown, access to the correct age group hoping they are still alive and the willingness of the participants to take part in the study so that I could visit their homes. I felt I “should do” this study because real human beings were impacted, and continue to live in disadvantage, so it was crucial for me to understand how the Meadowlands community has functioned in this regard for the last 61 years since the last family was left there in 1959 (Marshall and Rossman 1995:4-5).

I produced insights using statistical data from census as well as the CoJ documents and ethnographic data from the interlocutors to illustrate how primary data relates to the depopulation of Sophiatown and populating process of Meadowlands. The statistical data was quantitative in nature but I used it for qualitative purposes so I could gain an understanding of the complexities uncovered and to support the ethnographic work which I did (Babbie and Mouton 2001:270). This approach included collecting narratives from individuals/households that formed a real-life link (*context*) between Meadowlands and the literature I discussed in chapters 1 and 2 (*text*), consequently leading to this becoming a context-specific research, since the human experience is the most crucial and relevant aspect of this dissertation (Marshall and Rossman 1995:2).

Study Site: Meadowlands, Ndonga

The Stats SA national survey for Local Municipalities of 2011, found that the CoJ has a population of 4, 434, 827 million inhabitants. It was estimated that 28.67% of this population resides in the municipality of Soweto, in region D, given that it had 1,271,628 inhabitants (Statistics SA). Soweto is South Africa’s largest black township that provided homes for roughly one in 30 of the country’s 50.6 million people (Alexander & Ceruti 2013:1). As seen in the table below, the female population was 9548 persons greater than the male population. However, the number of female-headed households (40.3%) was lower than the male counterparts, which reflects the gender ratio in the Soweto population (Statistics SA).



Map 2: The Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality cited in the CoJ GIS website

Gender	No. of persons	%
Female	640,588	50.38%
Male	631,040	49.62%

Figure 7: Cited in 2011 Census data -Statistics by gender

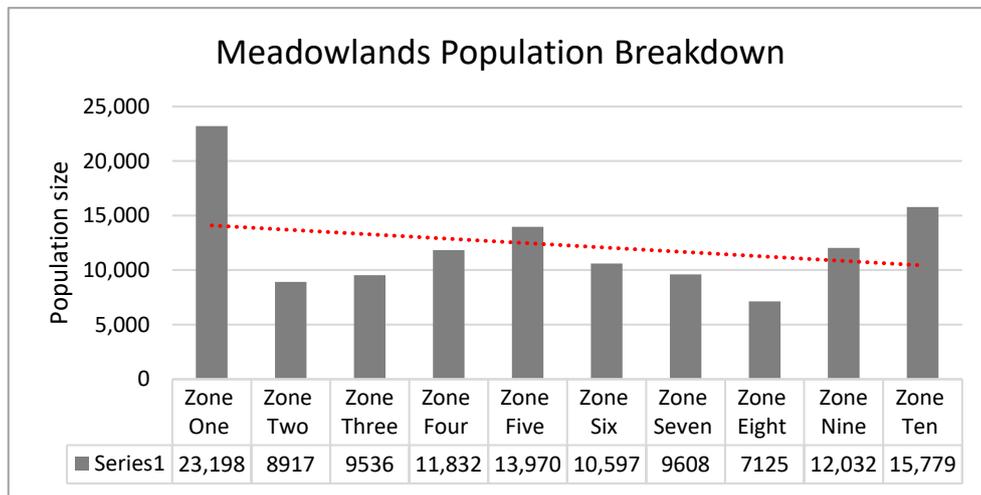


Figure 8: Cited in 2011 Census data – population break down for the respective zones in Meadowlands

Soweto is a cluster of 29 mini townships. One of them is Meadowlands, created in the 1950s as described in Chapter 2. It is located on the west side of Soweto and it is split into two regions, which have five mini zones in each. Meadowlands East comprises of zone one to zone five, with a population of 67, 453 persons in 2001. Meadowlands West includes zone six to zone ten and has a population of 55, 141. Of the two regions, Meadowlands zone one had the largest population sitting at 23, 198 persons, followed by zone five with 15,779 inhabitants slightly behind. Altogether, this population (122,594) is 10% of the overall population in Soweto (Statistics SA 2011).



Photograph 3: Captured at Mokata street zone 1 Meadowlands by Thando Shiba 2018

The existing Meadowlands houses were made up almost entirely from the structure of “matchbox” house, constructed during the Apartheid era to provide cheap housing for Joburg’s migrant workers. The first batch that was built were standalone houses in zone 1, meaning the entire yard belonged to one homeowner and the property was not attached to any other property.



Photograph 4: Captured at Zimbini street zone 6 Meadowlands by Thando Shiba 2018

Then from zone 2 upwards, I noticed that two standalone houses would be built in a space similar to that of a standalone house, however they would merge at the center as if they were built like mirror houses. They are commonly known as double houses as they share a house number but are differentiated by an alphabet i.e. 12A and 12B, which helps to distinguish the two properties.



Photograph 5: Captured at Lefifi street in zone 3 Meadowlands by Thando Shiba 2018

Lastly, I discovered train houses that were basically a string of houses tied together, using one number across, just differentiating the stands with an alphabet ranging from 12A to 12G. These houses were much smaller as the front and backyard structure was very tiny with no space to even fit a motor vehicle. These are three room houses, which have highlighted great service delivery complaints at the Integrated Development Programme for how small they are.

Study Population and Sample

Due to this being a human sciences research project, the typical element of examination is the person, or groups of people with common characteristics and experiences of events that I am interested in studying (Niemann 2005:194 and Kumar 2011:60). In this case, I was looking for elderly people over the age of 55-90 whose lives were disrupted by the forced removals. The removals represent the concept of disarticulation and disruption in people's lives, which is a qualitative issue. I chose a concept over a variable because concepts are subject impressions presented as perceptions that vary from individual to individual. In order to speak intelligently and comprehensively about the concepts, I had to convert experiences such as impact, self-esteem, loss, alienation, disruption, forceful removal etc. so I could formulate an understanding of the common experiences shared by each person (Kumar 2011:72).

Fieldwork for me was an immersive process influenced by the qualities of the participant such as gender, ethnicity, social status, race and personal experiences (Denzin and Lincoln 2018:45). Therefore, some support was needed for me to familiarize myself with the field and to select the appropriate study participants. Consequently, a gatekeeper became a key component for my introduction to Meadowlands, as they would assist in enabling me to formally gain entry into the field/households and introduce me to participants. A gatekeeper is a person who controls access to individuals or households because such spaces are usually privately owned or managed, thus as a researcher I needed to engage with one so I could be made aware of the boundaries of the access granted to me (Singh and Wassenaar 2016:42-43).

Obtaining gatekeeper participation in this research did not guarantee cooperation from all the suggested households, thus my first responsibility was to alert the gatekeeper of what the research process is, what their potential impact could be and if there were any foreseeable risks (emotional i.e. distress etc.). Thereafter, I had to remain mindful of the context of each household by understanding and respecting different types of attitudes and how they may impact the outcome of the interviews and the research overall (Singh and Wassenaar 2016:43).

The first gatekeeper was attained through convenience sampling, which is a non-probability sampling technique that involves attaining a participant with ease. Mr Ven. Fr. Sepadi W. Doupaki Moruthane the owner of the Church of the Resurrection, Parish of Meadowlands is the first person who alluded me to other participants who attend his church. This suggestion seemed feasible because every Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday, elderly women attended a service there. Therefore, I anticipated it would be easy to collect data at the church during those days because potential participants were guaranteed to be there, however in reality this was not the case as some participants were not comfortable with sharing their stories, others had cold feet when it was time to sit down and talk (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:170-171).

The second gatekeeper was referred to me. She helped me identify the majority of the participants by means of a purposeful sampling technique (also nonprobability) known as snowballing (chain sampling). This is a qualitative form of sampling where current participants refer us to other participants that they thought would also be interested in sharing their experiences as well (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:175). I initially used purposeful sampling, as it is a tool that selects participants with a particular problem in mind. I chose it with the understanding that it is not representative of the general public, since it is a technique intended only for informants deliberately chosen for the event of forced removals which was encountered by a small portion of the Meadowlands population (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:170).

How did I recruit participants?

I embarked on this field journey on the long weekend of the 9th of August 2018. The country was celebrating National Women's Day that Thursday and the wind was so harsh, it was encouraging to just stay home. In the beginning, I believed participant observation was thoroughly about the participants themselves. However, in retrospect, I learnt that fieldwork required inspection of the self on a consistent basis (Kumar 2011:125). 3 quarters into the month of August the 19th to be precise, is my first recollection of me actively going to Meadowlands? I started by looking for zone 1 because I heard that it was the first zone established and that most of Sophiatown was placed here. There was such a buzz in the air. Pro Kid, a hip-hop star born and bred in Soweto had passed on and his music was playing in every car that passed me. My perception of this occurrence was that mourning and celebration are tied to the hip, as people seem to indulge in the memory of your life more when you are no longer alive.

Nevertheless, this was also the day I discovered the big houses that were joined in the middle. This was interesting because I asked myself how big the backyards were and how loud the noise deflected between the two houses closely joined like that. As we (my mother and I) continued driving around, we stumbled on a face brick standalone house on Mokata Street. It was clean and clear in its old state, with veld grass surrounding it. This was a sign that these houses do indeed still exist, I just needed to find a way to get into one. At this stage, the nonexistence of a gatekeeper had become my first limitation because I was scared to come to Meadowlands alone.

The media had nothing positive to share about men at the time, so it was difficult to even imagine approaching one whilst the grown women were not so friendly either. Therefore, that was already my second limitation; the field and myself had constrictions that have nothing to do with the research project but involved my safety as a young female. Thus, I chose the easy way out, by looking for a family member who lives in the area. Luckily, I found my mother's cousin from her father's side of the family, but she had countless commitments so that did not work out. Then I began to ask friends if they knew anyone from Meadowlands, and one guy snowballed a young gentleman to me. His grandmother was from Sophiatown

and she was ideal for a starting point because she probably knows a handful of other grandparents around her area who attend church with her. Therefore, I felt fortunate for finding her because it gave me the impression that I found a pool of data.

However, I never had a chance to sit down with this family because the appointment revolved around her grandson who was quite busy for most of the time. Therefore, I parked this family and continued asking friends for references. Speaking about possibilities for my research project everywhere I went became a daily advertisement. I was constantly hoping to find someone who would buy in. Luckily, at a wedding that I attended on the 22nd of September, I met a young woman by the name Tebo (pseudonym) who heard me speaking to someone else and said she would love to have me visit her grandmother, as she liked sharing Meadowlands stories with them. We exchanged numbers, arranged a date to meet but when the day came, her phone was unattended to. This was a predicament because I did not know if I should go to Soweto and ask about where she stays or whether to wait for her response.

The Tebo dilemma was my third limitation because I felt frazzled and disheartened with how badly fieldwork was going. The lesson here was that I made the mistake of following someone blindly and at this point, we had both failed the process. I placed all my fate on her, and she did not meet my expectations as a gatekeeper. Thus, the element of access to Meadowlands households was clearly flawed, and I needed to find a more tangible solution.

Finding participants for the focus group discussion

As an alternative, on Saturday the 3rd of October 2018, I drove to Meadowlands with my mother looking for a church. This was the first time we practiced purposeful sampling because we selected a place knowing what we are looking for from it (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:170). We got to Meadowlands, and the first place my mum recognised was a red and white corner house that belongs to a famous priest called Modise. At his church, their uniform is red, blue, and white so the resemblance of the colours made sense. We drove past the house and took a right at the following robot, passing a school on our right, and then we took a left into Maseru Street, which had a few peculiar-looking humps.

Just as we were speaking about the humps, we saw a beautiful and neat church called “The Church of the Resurrection, Parish of Meadowlands” on stand number 450 in Maseru Street. It looked like an Anglican church, so my mum stopped and asked a woman that was sweeping the pavement if the priest was around. The woman carried a little baby girl on her back, wrapped with a pink and white towel whilst she was sweeping the back of the church. She softly directed us to the front entrance, stating the office for the priest is right there. We followed her instructions and saw more women cleaning the breath-taking multi-colour rose garden whilst the other cleaners carried buckets of dirty water coming out of the chapel. We asked the one woman who was approaching us where is the priest’s office and she directed us.

We went into the office and we found a young and plump man sitting with a light in complexion middle-aged woman who was taking notes. My mother introduced us and asked if we could sit, so he asked the note-taking woman to give us a moment. He introduced himself as The Ven. Fr. Sepadi W. Doupaki Moruthane and we did the same. My mother explained why we were there, and I had my consent form and interview questions with me, so I handed them over and explained in Setswana why I am conducting this study. The priest was delighted to have us choose his church for this cause, so he extended an invitation to us for the service the following day. He told us that there is a service at 7h00am and another one at 10am. He even mentioned that the earlier service has young people that want to get church over and done with, so we should rather attend the 10h00am service which has old people who stay till lunchtime.

The priest mentioned that Modise’s house was the place where people would be dropped off with their luggage and furniture. He said each family received a bottle of milk and a loaf of bread and mentioned that these people were fortunate because they were moving from a single room to an empty house to share. I was yet to verify this with the participants; however, this is something that I never picked up in the literature. I was grateful for this visit because it gave me hope about fieldwork. The following day we attended the second church service. It was pouring that morning and it was my first time in an Anglican church, so I mumbled throughout half the songs in that service due to not being familiar with them.

The priest made an announcement towards the end of his service about me and asked participants which were interested to stay behind. Thereafter, I made appointments with six elderly church members, five women and one man because I did not want to come across as if I am setting a trap for them at their church. Therefore, to ensure that they do not skip church to avoid me, I pre-arranged the appointments, so we could meet during the week on a formal basis. This did not go according to plan because some participants asked to just get the interview over and done with at the church after their elderly women's service on Thursday after 12h00pm. The rest of the participants were snowballed to me, thus I had to make a telephonic introduction and set up an interview or we walked to their house to make an appointment.

Individual Interviews

At a later stage I received an email from Tebo, the young woman I met at the wedding which was meant to introduce me to her grandmother. She was apologising for not picking up her phone. She also gave me her cousin's details who lives in Meadowlands with her grandmother that she had alluded to earlier. I called the cousin to make an appointment for the 16th and she said she is not working so I can pick her up and look for participants with her. This was the moment of truth for convenience sampling (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:175). I continued to call the other church participants who agreed to be seen from home. Mrs MM who lives in zone 6 opted out saying she moved from Alex to Meadowlands, so she was no longer comfortable with me coming to her house. Then my second scheduled appointment was on the 16th of October as well with Mrs GZ from zone 5. The number she put down on the phone was incorrect, so I could not get hold of her. One of the ladies from the focus group lives a few blocks from her, so after our interview I offered to drop her off so she could show me Mrs GZ's house.

Tuesday morning on the 16th of October, I met with Tebo's cousin sister Ntebogeng (pseudonym) at her grandmother's house. The house was stand number 18Z on Khulula Road (pseudonym), zone 1. I got lost but I was not too far, because the house is on the same street as the Modise house, so she was able to walk to where I parked. She seemed like a young woman due to her tiny structure, but I discovered much later that she was old. Luckily,

she prearranged three appointments for us so now all we had to do is go to the houses. We found an exceptionally old woman there who had agreed to talk to me but once I was physically there with a consent form, she said she lived at Westbury, which is a street opposite Sophiatown, so she has nothing to say.

Ntebogeng tried to make her recall that her husband was from Sophiatown, but the old woman said, “Well he has passed on now, so she cannot speak on his behalf”. All that she was willing to share is that in Sophiatown, people of all types of races (Indian, black, Chinese and Coloured) lived together in the same yard. As far as she was concerned, people were unhappy with the move because that great life ended in a blink of an eye, which was another interesting point for me. Her house is directly opposite to the Modise household, so it would have been good to hear how they got the house and what their experience was especially due to living opposite the office where all relocated families must get their new house keys. However, as per the request, we had to leave her house in peace.

I recount these experiences in detail to show that “doing fieldwork” is not a straightforward and seamless endeavour. To be sure, such authentic experiences seldom make it into the research report. It was important for me to recount these experiences to also account for the quality of the data I was able to gather. So many mediating factors such as those recounted above as well as the retrospective nature of the question stood in the way. However, as I said earlier, for me this remains a worthwhile undertaking given the human cost that Apartheid extracted that needs to be remembered and kept alive, as part of the redress that is so necessary yet remains so elusive.

Overall, the sample size is 13 participants, which included seven households and one church in Meadowlands. Of the 13 participants, 60% moved to Meadowlands with their parents and the remaining 40% came with their partners to whom they were married. They all had the background of forced removals from Sophiatown, which is the quality that I am looking for. Out of the 10 zones that Meadowlands is divided into, the focus group feedback has brought me to the assumption that the participants that were moved from 1955 to 1958 lived in the first three zones.

Data Collection Method(S) and Procedures

Data collection for this dissertation began with collecting multiple sources of data i.e. (literature) library books, journals, geographic and demographic/statistical publications, old newspapers, the internet then later observing and conversing with the selected participants (empirical) in the field in order to strengthen the trustworthiness and validity of the study (Gobo 2008:28). I suspected resettlement in Sophiatown was a racially based motive for driving black people out of the CoJ thus; I tried to prove this suspicion by gathering and reading data for a literature review that would reveal other people's previous views and topics related to this paper. Thereafter, I found additional areas within this subject like Diepkloof and Alexandra to further attest to my point before I could go into the field of study (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:41-42).

The above was a significant starting point because I did not want to replicate other research; instead, I wanted to recognize what the literature lacks and try to fill the gap. The local historical records were the best sources as they offered common information for aspects such as interrelated topics, surroundings, communities, and relationships. Before I could observe and document the participants' knowledge, I sensitized myself to the need to embrace the lives of the participants without enforcing my interpretation of what the literature informed me and my own thoughts (Singh and Wassenaar 2016:43). The journey before data gathering informed the data gathered and my ultimate interpretation of them (the data).

Data-gathering Method 1

The primary method of data collection was in-depth interviews because the dialogue enabled me to directly engage with the participants on a personal level, resulting in a detailed response/description of the personal experiences which gives a rich and textured perspective (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:35). I spent approximately nine months of my study period to select households, recruit participants and conduct interviews with key participants. During this period, I had face-to-face interviews as well as one focus group discussion consisting of five participants. The behaviour of the participants before they were recruited, whilst they were being interviewed and later when I was transcribing the recordings contributed greatly

in the creation of case studies (Creswell 2007:68). The responses to the questions asked during the interviews carry significant meaning because there are gestures, sounds and body language that I needed to be aware of, explore and establish meaning from as field notes. This transcended the role of the participant into one of an interlocutor, who becomes the sense maker, the originator and the deep-rooted figure of what the past feels and smells like (Barrett 2009:16-17; Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:42-43).

The above-required attention to detail of emotional expressions, which indicated spontaneity in the flow of how the participant responds to the questions. In addition, when I did not have to probe, this was due to some participants being demonstrative when they speak. This was also a symbol of reliability for me, even though some moments led to either tears or laughter. This aspect required me to evaluate the distance between the participant and myself and how this may lead to me touching them for comfort or celebration. This reflection always helped me gauge whether I am being distant and cold on that day and how this may reflect in the questions I am asking, thus I tried often to always be warm, not touchy but be receptive to information through my body language as well (Barrett 2009:16-17).

Data-gathering Method 2

Participant observation was the second data collection tool. During this period, I observed the behaviour of the participants before they were recruited, whilst they were being interviewed and later when I was transcribing the recordings (Kumar 2011:135). Each household was a different experience because various family members joined and set the tone of the interview. If the participant was sitting with their child that they trusted, the interview would be jolly then if they sat with a cousin or sister then it was hard to get information out of them. I did not have any specific observation guidelines – I noted gestures that I thought were significant, the state of the house, the occupants of the house and any pauses or points of hesitation on certain questions. I made sure to follow up on these with other participants. Through making use of the above, I was able to conduct eight interviews, one focus group and four case studies.

Moreover, I realised during my observations that the human interaction created a person-centred approach rather than a subject-centred one, which comes with the bonus of being able to observe the surroundings and use non-verbal communication such as reactions and visual aids (Kaufman 1994:123). All observations were conducted in the households where the interviews took place because that was the familiar/natural setting to them. These interviews were semi-structured because they took the form of conversation and the questions posed were open-ended so that the participant can lead the conversation as this is about their personal experiences and the format of the questions did not suggest the terms in which participants should answer a question (Abrahamson 1983:318).

The face-to-face element enabled me to observe the participant reactions and emotion evoked by the question; this enabled me to gain deeper understanding of the context (Babbie and Mouton 2001:270). However, I also tried at best to keep the interview light-hearted instead of traumatic. I kept an interview schedule, to avoid the risk of deviating from the research objectives (Kaufman 1994:125). All the interviews were recorded with my phone then I would transfer the recordings to a laptop. They were used to supplement the sparse field notes that I made during the interview and so that I would not need to stop the participant when they are explaining their answer (Kumar 2011:126 and 135-136). An example of how I asked the question is as follows: Can you please tell me about your stay in Sophiatown? Then in conversation, I would ask when did you move there? Where did you move from? Who comprised your household? What was the source of your livelihood? What was your primary preoccupation when you were there?

I found that when it was time to write an overview of this data, what I gathered seemed to be thin because each participant somewhat shared a similar narrative of the overall experience of the forced removals and the subsequent afterlife. I then went back to the field and visited the same households again in order to have open-ended chitchats and/or unstructured and informal conversations that would give me more than what I had initially generated. The second time around, I gathered chronological historical details to the sum of a life history for the participants whose family members were generous with details during the interviews (Abrahamson 1983:318).

Then, for the participants who were uncomfortable with inviting me into their homes, I conducted group interviews in an atmosphere that would be familiar to them. This is known as a focus group (Kumar 2011:125) and it occurred on a Thursday after the Church Service of Elderly Women, which ended at 12:00 at the Church of the Resurrection, Parish of Meadowlands on stand number 450 in Maseru Street. The responses to the questions asked during the interviews carried significant meaning because there were emotions, gestures, sounds and body language that I observed and documented as field notes (Kumar 2011:126).

Therefore, this study became inductive by nature because further exploration came from the data that was emerging whilst I was in the field (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:26-27). This resulted in new ideas or viewpoints influencing my experience of data collection and analysis (Henning 2004:10 and Creswell 2007:36-37). A final technique that I embraced when I realized that overcrowding was present spatially rather than physically in Meadowlands was geographical mapping. I utilized the “maps” from the CoJ’s GIS (Geographical Information System) website, in conjunction with site visits to better understand the social and spatial similarities and discrepancies between the two communities.

Data Analysis

The above methods allowed me to make use of complementing data collection techniques such as photos (historical and captured by myself in the field), responses to open ended questions (interviews), transcripts (researcher notes) and census data etc. In order to integrate the data collected, I used triangulation to analyse the meaning and correlation between the described events so that I could convert (transformation) it into a narrative which will help me draw a firm conclusion about the question of forced removals and its overall effects (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:27). This is where reflexivity as a researcher comes in because I needed to constantly interpret the participants concerns whilst being aware of my impact on the research/writing process (Gobo 2008:50).

I tried to remain methodically objective by writing persuasively so that the reader can experience the field as well as the speech of the participant as if they were there and be able to distinguish between the participants’ feelings / behaviour and mine. This was done through

open-ended questioning which enabled each participant to speak freely, whilst I listened for suggestions regarding the question at hand. However, I must admit that it was not entirely possible to be 100% objective (Barrett 2009:16-17; Kumar 2011:73).

The difficult aspect was transcribing a language that is not my mother tongue (Kumar 2011:135). I was afraid that some concepts may be lost in translation or be diluted during this process. Thus, I verified the information received from the participants by looking up the events they mentioned which in turn led me to reading up on countless records of legislature, which influenced geographical segregation, population control and the forced removals. This helped me to preserve inferential consistency, a mixture of internal validity and trustworthiness between the participants' narrative and the statistical data I use to explain the magnitude of the impact of the question at hand (Kumar 2011:26).

How the questions were asked changed from time-to-time because the reception I received in each home either encouraged us to converse seamlessly from one topic to another or led me to believing I was not welcome. These dynamics in the field brought about a different response to key issues such as social control, structural ills, Apartheid, and social health to name a few. I used coding (Langdrige 2007:123) as the instrument to dissect, combine and reduce the data collected. This included extensive reading, deleting, searching for what I deleted and writing nearly everything that I felt resonated with this study. Once the writing process became complex, I printed out the main themes and opted for a mind map on the wall of my bedroom. This process helped me map the route that I aim to take with this study, thus providing me with some clarity, direction and intention.

Limitations of the Study

A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods was utilized to close the gaps in both the literature and empirical gaps which my subjectivity could have exposed me to. Having said this, convenience sampling for starters was limiting in the sense that not everyone who was keen to participate had the right information to share for this study (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:171). Another limitation which I could not avoid, is ethnocentrism which is obstacles that confronted me on a personal / cultural perspective as well as intended and

unintended consequences (Barrett 2009:22-23). I am a black female living in post-Apartheid SA. It is seemingly easy to be subjective about the definition of race and its impact on black people today.

The sample size of 13 participants was too small for me to generalize the data beyond the selected sample, thus, this is a study produced to provoke new ideas for what forced removals were and how they still have ramifications for the Meadowlands families till today. Additionally, a slight loss of objectivity is the consequent of me being in close contact with the participants. This impacts the reliability of the data as I am providing feedback from a single observer's perspective. I identified that the copies of the consent form which I carried around scared people off sometimes. People have been robbed so much with regards to this Sophiatown issue, they do not trust anyone. Therefore, I would print two copies, one for me and the other for them to keep. For the participants who did not trust me, the consent form helped a lot with getting their children to convince them to call me back. Most of the interviews lasted 30 minutes each, hence I had to go back an additional time to engage a bit more on the topics which were not clear or covered in depth (Creswell 2007:37-39 and Abrahamson 1983:318).

The study was properly planned when it was proposed. However, the reality of life in the field came with some disappointments which required me to continuously recreate my emergence there. The convenience sampling technique for example was limiting as the participants were readily available at the church, however their interest in participating was not guaranteed (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:171). Thus, heavy reliance came from snowballing additional participants from the participants who had just been interviewed. Interviewer bias is also greatest in face-to-face interviews because my appearance, mood on that day, tone of my voice, language used to ask the questions, and so forth may have affected the participants' responses (Bernard 2000:230). Moreover, my desperation in the first two writing attempts reflected that my understanding of the crucial methodologies was very limited (Babbie and Mouton 2001:270).

Ethical Considerations

Ethics for me are a “principle of right and wrong” as critical ethnographer Soyini Madison (2005: 80) states. Therefore, my responsibility was to not cause any participant and the community any harm by ensuring that I use the information shared with me in an honourable, and responsible manner, and only for the purposes of this study without threatening their confidentiality and anonymity (Barrett 2009:30). It is important to have integrity, honesty and truth in my work because the impacts of the questions asked during interviews and the assessment thereafter may contribute to new knowledge for all of us thus it should not be deceitful or with any deception (Langdridge 2007:130). All recordings were kept secure for the duration of this study and will be later safely discarded after the study has been completed.

I used pseudonyms instead of actual names in my reporting to maintain confidentiality and anonymity. I understood that my role in the community required me to be competent, committed and transparent. How I communicated to each participant was with respect and dignity to ensure that they did not feel exploited or vulnerable. Each information sheet and consent form were read and interpreted in the preferred language before being signed. Finally, my details as well as the details of my supervisors were included for anyone that wants to validate my presence or the scope of the research.

A consent form was handed out to the research participant to read and sign before any interview took place. This was to ensure that each person understands the purpose of the study and that they are comfortable with taking part without expecting anything in return. It was also to ensure that participants understand their rights and obligations. These were broken down to simple language for easier access. Questions were invited at the end so I could clarify specific concerns. Participants did not incur financial costs by participating in the proposed study, as there was no direct benefit, incentive or payment for any information provided. This is a student report which was done for fulfilling requirements towards the attainment of a degree. Thus, there was no indemnity provided.

Reflections

Writing the methods chapter was quite a challenge for me because it took me a while to grasp the intention of the process. However, the more I struggled was the more detailed and aligned my objective and intent for this research became. This became a truly good foundation for writing the discussion chapter, as that is a process which required me to unpack the concepts gathered from the experiences shared by the interlocutors and the literature. The discussion chapter seems to have stretched my thinking capacity beyond what I imagined because I started to embody the thoughts and feelings which I was reading about and those that were shared.

Trauma, for a typical example, is a concept which brought me great pain, as it was an experience which came with triggers of loss, discomfort and isolation. Overcrowding is another concept which evoked emotion because it seems to be intergenerational because it existed in our past and continues to exist now. It has a limiting factor which eats away at prosperity, opportunity and growth which relates to why people suppress such terrible memories. Memory was also a concept which brought anguish because it represented oblivious behavior by pretending as though our history does not exist or continue to affect us. These concepts are what the big themes became as they represent life as it stands for me.

All of the above came with a mental shift. I appreciate the opportunities I have today, but I am also hollow from how much of ourselves we have lost and do not even know as black people. I question why I have the job I have, and whether I do enough with my life to shift the needle physically or at least mentally. I am at a place where I want more, not just for myself but for the younger people who sit in a history class and learn about Hitler as well as those who sit in an English Literature class and learn about the Animal Farm or Othello. There is a lot to change in the system and it requires us to reintroduce ourselves to one another once again. This will have an impact on the movements which matter such as the future of the government, economy, and transformation of the country. Embarking on this study yielded more than I had bargained for.

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION

Delving into the past and unearthing the present: Ethnography of Meadowlands, Soweto, SA

Introduction

The Sophiatown forced removals were a structured plan to unsettle and resettle black people with the intention to strip them of privacy, individual spirit and fundamental humanity through the violent, destruction of their homes (Williams 2017:1). In the previous chapters, I showed the minute planning that was entailed, informed by the need to preserve whites-only enclaves amidst fears of polluting so-called white purity. The destruction of places thought to pose a threat to white purity and thus taint the falsehood of white supremacy was as sudden as it was brutal. There was no warning, or time to try to contest or halt the moment when each home belonging to black South Africans was demolished as the bulldozers destroyed communities such as District Six in Cape Town and Johannesburg's Sophiatown (Meierhenrich 2008:117). Such violence against human dignity affects the state and capability in which the individual lives (Fernandez Gomora 2008:10).

The erasure of personal and public histories achieved during the forced removals resonate with Milner's vision shared at the beginning of the introduction chapter stating that the black population did not exist to be an autonomous, self-determining nation, but rather to serve the white settler minority (Greenstein 2006:2) because the welfare of white people depended on increasing its quantity without taking away their quality of being the purest race (Freund 1984:49; Wynter 2003:266). Thus, it was vital for Apartheid to concurrently reduce the home and humanity of a black person to dust (Williams 2017:2), a stark reminder of their purported inferiority which consequently created racial privilege based on the fact that even the poor white persons still maintained a living standard far above that of the poorest race.

Most white families made use of black domestic labour, and most white children grew up and lived with black people around them, serving their families as domestic workers, nannies, gardeners and so on ... The counterpart of that was the break-up of many black families in which parents frequently were forced to live separately from one another and from their children (quoted in Greenstein 2006:3).

The standard of living shared in the above snippet from the essay by Greenstein indicates that life was made simpler for white families, while disintegration into South Africa had long-term implications for black families that resulted in negative ramifications for future social cohesion and prosperity for black families (Motsemme 2007:63). Thus, forced removals incorporated and normalised the disarticulation of the individual and family structure by controlling who belongs in “white South Africa” and who does not. This was done through the 1910 Union of South Africa and laws such as the Native Land Act of 1913 (Greenstein 2006:5; Motsemme 2007:67). The former was established to define political and ethnic boundaries which were either guides or barriers that could debar people and completely exclude or include them in a manner which makes the two incompatible in “ordinary” logic but quite understandable in the “separate and unequal” logic of Apartheid. Furthermore, boundaries could be further broken down into lines that may be crossed and lines that were impenetrable (Du Toit 1983:369).

The boundaries listed above are what we know as the rules of engagement for the Native Land Act of 1913, which was modified in 1936 to create “reserves” that further separated black and white South Africans by providing a dumping ground for all black people who were not considered economically valuable, such as women, children and elderly people (Greenstein 2006:3). This led to millions of black people being dispossessed of their ancestral lands and resettled in what quickly became over-crowded and environmentally degraded reserves (Williams 2017:13).

In 1950, the Population Registration Amendment Act was passed to ensure descent became the main factor in determining race classification. It sought to obliterate any genetic connection between whites and blacks to an extent where their interaction, especially sexual, was penalized by the 1957 Immorality Amendment Act (Mattera 1987:5). Thus, the Population Registration Act of 1950 was genealogical and the Group Areas Act of 1950, amended from the Native Urban Areas Act 1923, was geographical. This demarcation and classification of people resulted in the allocation of urban space according to the register of racial categories (Pirie 1984:291; Greenstein 2006:6).

According to the circular logic enshrined in the racially exclusivist principles of Apartheid, “non-white” peoples had no right to claim a legitimate role in the founding of the nation, and hence had no place in its destiny, because their historical roots and hence their destinies lay elsewhere, tied to Bantustans, or fake homelands, non-contiguous pieces of barren landscape carved out of the inhospitable veld (Murray 2013 quoted in Williams 2017:14).

The racial categories drew impetus from the physical landscape of the supposed “two cultures” of “white SA” and its black counterpart. This distinction nourished the ideology of “separate living” which further indoctrinated separate and unequal development. The results were rare if not poor distribution of amenities such as housing infrastructure, education, primary health care and socio-economic opportunities (Pope & Shoultz 2012:489; Bond 2000:48-49).

To maintain control of race relations characterised by inequality, it was seen as urgent to drive black people out of the privilege of belonging in South Africa and owning property that was within the vicinity of urban areas. The aim was to distinguish between one of two things: the possessor (white) or the dispossessed (black) who had no say about where and why they were being removed (Mandell 1985:7-8). This form of segregation was at the expense of black people because it made them invisible and objectified them to only being valuable for maintaining the comfort and decent livelihoods of white families (Seoka & Capel 2017:53).

I argue that the stakes go back to the very question of who is human and by virtue of this understanding then assert that “to have a voice is to be human”. To have something to say is to be a person. But speaking depends on listening and being heard; it is an intensely relational act (Gilligan quoted in Wasserman 2013:78).

The relationality purported above from Gilligan’s quote cited in “listening and being heard” was missing in this transaction of dispossession. With this chapter, I intend to illustrate the relationship and aftereffects of forced removals effected during Apartheid in the 1950s-1970s and its impacts on overcrowding and human integrity in present-day Meadowlands. In this chapter, I attempt to better understand the resultant trauma in present-day Meadowlands by examining the social ills borne of structural destruction that are found in everyday living. In my analysis, I try to account for the brokenness of individuals, families, and community. I

argue that this brokenness manifest in downhearted social cohesion that characterises the place today (Cheng 2008:84; Freund 1984:57). Thus, in this segment of the dissertation, I will discuss what the structural and social ills that pertain to Meadowlands are by focusing on the narratives shared by the interlocutors referring to their intergenerational trauma caused by the forced removals.

The event is not what happens. The event is that which can be narrated (Feldman 1991:14, quoted in Ross 2003:77).

Taking cue from the implied multi-layered impacts wrought by a traumatic experience such as forced removal, I will focus, in particular, on the sense of loss for the interlocutors and how it hinders recovery through exploring traumatic responses to earlier subjection and life thereafter. The interlocutors represent subjects who were previously referred to as “participants”, whose quality of life is undermined and dissolved by their traumatic experiences that psychologically disorient them to an extent where they not only lose their homes, but they also lose their sense of self and relation to others overtime (Lester 2013:754). This is what is meant by disarticulation as can be seen from manifest in survivors of traumatic experiences (Hamber and Wilson 1999; Motsemme 2007:63).

Remembering the past through Nostalgic Trauma of imagined better times – displacement and dis-orientation

The case studies from the field research provide a snapshot into how the forced removals took place and how families reorganized themselves within 6 decades in and out of the sub-standard housing that they were forcefully relocated into.

The story of forced removal and re-location evokes both remembered trauma and nostalgia in the face of unyielding challenges for the interlocutors, who are, in many cases, descendants of the first generation who actually experienced the trauma of forced relocation. In this sense, we note an intergenerational influence in the trauma experienced because the subjects struggle to recount the harm they experienced since the acknowledgement of it is not straightforward (Motsemme 2007:63); its grammar illusive. This prohibits the process of

rehabilitation of their painful experiences which would make them whole again, resulting in a ripple effect for those born and continue to give life under such circumstances (Greslé 2015:28-29; Ross 2003:78). Therefore, moments of highs and lows, success and failure, destruction and vulnerability are of importance as they provide a basis of how the concept of nostalgia comes about after untold trauma.

Attention is paid to individual experiences and how their memory must have been influenced by their encounter with both the authoritarian Apartheid government and the democratic government of the post- Apartheid era to affirm the impacts of trauma (Raber 2016/2017:11-12). This is particularly the case with regard to a lack of accountability from the architects of segregation and Apartheid which is an experience that thrusts out an excessive amount of unanswered questions regarding the intention behind the forced removals (Hamber and Wilson 1999). The release of iconic peacemakers such as Nelson Mandela destined an end to a period of extreme suffering, injustice, strife and conflict without recounting the amount of damage already caused (Ross 2003:8 & 75; Motsemme 2007:63).

Therefore, human dignity still needs to be accounted for by unpacking the impairment caused by the forced removals and the bare minimum housing that were used as instruments of absolute annihilation and exclusion. Moreover, the allocation and restriction to only 13% of the South African land is an additional example of extreme segregation and violation of human dignity (Evans 1997:13; Fernandez Gomora 2008:10). This insult of affording 13% of land to the majority and indigenous population is instrumental in the continued, unending cycle of poverty and disarticulation. This was the beginning of a cycle that continues to manifest its ugly repercussions which seemingly can no longer be accounted for at a macro-level as solutions are being sought at a micro-level.

I also found that some recollections described by the interlocutors are fractured, but then again this goes hand-in-hand with the irreversibility of time that has brought some of these interlocutors' extreme poverty, lack of social inclusion and meltdowns of racially diverse communities in Meadowlands, which are all a consequence of the forced removals (Hamber and Wilson 1999). Thus, research in this regard can only promise an incomplete snapshot of otherwise complex and multi-layered phenomena. The idea of disarticulation that is the core

of this study hints towards this and broadly entails accounts of cruel treatment, intimidation, suffering, torture, as well as deliberate and calculated motives to terrify which manifests as fear, insecurity and a culture of subjection (Ross 2003:112 ; Meierhenrich 2008:117). In this way, we see discontinuity and continuity in the plight of the residents of Meadowlands.

***Khwela sihambe* and the psychology of loss associated with forced removal**

The chronicles surrounding life in Sophiatown before the displacement to Meadowlands had become very familiar with most of the families I met, who argued that the move was a sudden “climb let’s go!” (*khwela sihambe*) moment which changed their lives forever. The psychological intention for this abrupt disruption of people’s lives was a tool for authoritarian Apartheid government to divide and rule. Legislation was set in place to divide the population into black and white categories, and the latter were further divided into sub-groups by ethnicity to ensure that the black majority became a number of minorities with their own separate land, language, culture, political rights and social needs (Greenstein 2006:2 and 6).

Phalafala from University of Stellenbosch terms the above the “retribalisation of the black population” (News24: 2018). The different zones were created to ensure a divide of ethnicities by isolating people such as baTswana to zone 5 and 3 whilst vhaVenda and xiTsonga speakers were placed in Zone 9 and 10 (News24: 2018). This kind of dislocation for the black race results in damage to the cultural, social and emotional ecosystem of the community because the alienation and trauma caused erected a barrier of memory and set in place the ongoing destruction of traces of the past in the present (Gutkind 1960:30; Williams 2017:13). This is analogous to the segregated societies found in Latin America, such as Lima, Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro, which are often marked by high levels of ethnic / racial segregation, leaving the lower class in congested and unpleasant housing conditions that traumatise them (Gilbert and Crankshaw 2017:2376).

‘... Like a man with a stick breaking spider webs in the forest. The spider may survive the fall, but he can’t survive without his web’ (Pinnock 1984).

From an anthropological perspective, trauma is like radical transformation because of how it stems from an event that pushes one to the very brink of one's existence as illustrated by Don Pinnock in his book titled "The Brotherhoods: Street Gangs and State Control in Cape Town" (1984). Trauma drives one to the very edge of physical and psychological collapse, sometimes leaving families strained, broken, and even torn to an irreparable position. Such a state of existential separation is deeply disheartening and tends to leave very small room for recognising ways to re-establish oneself (Lester 2013:754). This process of existential separation began with the forced removal from the lands that provided identity, belonging, earthing, shelter, education, and a sense of self-determination. Living in places like Sophiatown, with the glitter and the unmet promise of gold reflected this existential separation, through the beginning of disarticulation on the social, political, cultural, economic, spiritual and all other levels (Williams 2017:3).

Meadowlands, popularly known as N dofaya, with its bare existence of liberation echoed the memory of the "homes turned to dust" in Sophiatown. It fostered feelings of destruction and unhomeliness for the interlocutor by underpinning a feeling of abandonment due to its incapacitated historic identity (Williams 2017:3). The common traumatic incident for these families is the moment when the houses in Sophiatown would be demolished whilst they watched the *ganda-ganda's*/bulldozer's destructive might:

*'Cruel
Even screams don't come in a dream like this
Why
This bloody bulldozer has done a good job and its teeth
Dripped blood:
Bricks-pillars-hunks-of-concrete-zincs-broken-steps-doors-
Broken-glasses-cracked window-panes-broken flower-
Pots-planks-twisted-shoes
Lay all over the show
Like a complete story'*

Death Survey by Mongane Wally Serote quoted in Williams (2017:2-3).

As expressed in the *Death Survey* above, bulldozers were trucks that stomped homes into rubble as the interlocutors watched:

The whites would demolish it as soon as you moved so that you do not come back. Then they rebuild but we do not know for who, perhaps coloureds or whites [Ms. R.M].

This obliteration of their homes was also a devastation to their intimate livelihoods as expressed by the phrase “broken flower-pots” which were demolished by this “blood dripping” bulldozer (Williams 2017:2). These removals were a matter of expropriation of land, the suspension of rights, as well as life and death:

The words “clearance of black spots” is understood as the suspension of property rights vested in Bantu in land situated in white areas, that is part of the larger policy of the creation of Bantu homelands that has to be speeded up (Laurine Platzky and Cherryl Walker quoted in Meierhenrich 2008:118).

The extinction to a life in Sophiatown also disarticulated by the paradoxical synthesis of inter-racial engagements, the mixture of ethnic populations and the meaning of a home apart from many other things (Meierhenrich 2008:118). It was a time to dispossess, detach and deprive black families from their (sweet) memories of Sophiatown by moving them to an unknown destination that would disorient them further. The lives they built over a long period of time were left in dust, thus rendering them no sense of self (Ross 2003:75). For many of the interlocutors whom I spoke to, the removals caused great suffering because they were impersonal and very sudden:

There were so many problems when we came to Meadowlands. We were forcefully removed when we did not want or even know. They would just say, “(kwela) climb lets go”, without a notice. Then they took the few things we had and threw them in the car, and we moved with my one child. We could not take our furniture and we lost many of our belongings when they destroyed our houses. They just dropped us off in Meadowlands and left us there [Ms. R.M].

Ms. R.M recounted the experience of having been forcibly removed. She sighed with what seemed like defeat when she said most of their belongings were lost when they were brought to Meadowlands. They had to start anew, since their hopes and dreams were crushed to the

ground. Any light of success had turned into failure with no place in one's spirit to rekindle a plan or determination for a promising future. Ms. R.M was by no means the only person to have experienced this kind of sudden break from the life that had been established in Sophiatown. Miss D.M is another interlocutor who was 73 years old when we met; she was relocated with her parents and seven siblings in 1958 after living at 50 Annerdale Street in Sophiatown for years:

Meadowlands is in an awkward place; I still do not like it because it is expensive. We cannot regularly travel to town or move around from here [Miss D.M].

For her, Meadowlands is a place that they were dumped in to face extreme poverty in overcrowded houses without the support structures they had established in Sophiatown due to families being allocated spaces randomly without consideration of who their neighbours would be. This narrative shares a similar tone to that of families who have been evicted by the Red Ant Security Relocation and Eviction Services who are often accused of land dispossession and constitutional/human rights violations because they randomly move people without any prior notice to the occupants. Also, they abuse and humiliate the victims during evictions by damaging personal belongings as well as using force to move people out of the homes that they are dismantling (Dlamini 2019, Fernandez Gomora 2008:14).

When I agreed for an interview with you, I thought you are the people from Sophiatown who are giving us money for what our parents lost. In the past, the people who came into our houses said they were coming for that. Then once the house was obvious it was a scam, we were invited to the Bapedi Hall, where they still asked us to give R500 for admin and ID copies for ourselves and the relatives we currently live with. Moreover, we heard that we could directly go to Pretoria at an office where they do the payouts; I was going to ask you for the address because I thought you are from there [Miss D.M].

Miss D.M does not like Meadowlands Zone 1 as she feels it is full of petty criminals who rob people with stories relating to housing because they are aware of the situation of overcrowding in the households and that majority of these families come from Sophiatown. She recalls travelling to Pretoria countless times with her ID documents as well as family supporting documents for schemes that promised to pay back families that were relocated

from Sophiatown. This is the oldest trick in the book as far as she is concerned as it is based on people's desperation to inherit money that belonged to their deceased parents.

Christopher Colvin calls these types of narratives "traumatic storytelling" because it is a singular experience about a traumatic event (2019). These experiences are extreme, and they cause psychological trauma that stays with a person for the rest of their lives (Hamber and Wilson 1999; Lester 2013:754). In terms of Sophiatown, it is not merely trauma associated with the actual event of having been removed; it is the material, personal, social and cultural consequences that remain as a result. For Ms. R.M and Miss D.M there were long lasting consequences as a result of the trauma caused by having been removed from Sophiatown:

At the time when we were removed, I was pregnant, and I did not have a job. When we came here, I had to look for a hospital because I had to give birth. I gave birth to a girl at Baragwaneth Hospital in Diepkloof. Thereafter, I could not find work and I was stuck at home. Our house was a four-roomed house. It was empty, and it was cold. My husband was abusive, but I could not go anywhere. It was very bad [Ms. R.M]

When I interviewed Ms. R.M she was still staying in the same house which she moved into when she was relocated to Meadowlands. Interlocutors like her revealed glimpses into their past lives to me. When I tried to probe about life today in Meadowlands, many were more interested in the fact that part of my research had to do with the destruction of Sophiatown. They were keen to share memories of Sophiatown with me, often seeming to find joy in being able to do that as an alternative to my gentle probes about having been resettled in Meadowlands. Two interlocutors recalled the following:

Things were worth 5 cents in Sophiatown, it was nice. We always had money and dressed so elegantly. If they could say we must go back, we would go. Even now, I still recognise it Sophiatown. When you pass Coronation and Phillips, you can still make out that it was a nice place [Miss D.M]

We could buy fish and chips with (*zuka*) 6 pens (then she demonstrates the size of the chips and fish). Life was easy; however, we do not know how life was for our parents, but for us the kids' things were simple [Ms. R.M]

The narratives regarding the removals carried a completely different tone. It seems as though they were a traumatic experience that tarnished the sense of security for the interlocutors:

Therefore, our departure was not nice. We arrived here hungry and we had nowhere to cook. The stove had to be patched and the way they were so harsh, they did not care what breaks or not when they moved us here. The men in the *ganda-ganda* did not care [Mrs. G.Z]

We packed our things with guns on our backs [Mrs. J.K]

Think of it as an interpersonal injury because the sense of self is destroyed, which in turn damages sense of relation to others. Forced removals demonstrate that face-to-face encounters were disrupted to the point that simple human communication and relationships were disarticulated (Lester 2013:754-55). This is what triggers psychological distress, which is not only the incident itself, but also the complex collection of reactions a person, has to an incident including memories, inability to sleep, alcohol dependency and drug addiction. These responses evolve into a sense of oneself, your relationships, and the world in which you believe you live (Raber 2016/2017:12).

Trauma and violence shatter individual cognitive assumptions about the self and the world. Severe forms of trauma shatter the cognitive assumptions of personal invulnerability, viewing oneself positively and that the world is a meaningful and comprehensible place (Janoff-Bulman 1985 quoted in Hamber and Wilson 1999).

The outcome of Sophiatown's dispossession into Meadowlands offered a tale of structural social change, in which traditional behavioural patterns evolved over a long period of time and created a collective culture of psychological self-defence as a result of being dispersed and alienated (Jones 2013:28). Moreover, the social support structures and relationships with others which are meant to provide our basic sense of security were also disarticulated when the geographical and physical structure of the houses further entrenched dispossession (Greenstein 2006:3). Allocation of minimal housing structures became a social process meant to spatialize both social and physical power that orchestrated the transition from a rural-urban nexus to a township-suburb one. The social group from Sophiatown moved through time and space, conceptualizing lifestyle changes which assert them into a lower

class with possibilities limited to that class due to the area they live which in this case is Meadowlands, a township (Krige 2015:5; Hlongwane 2013:10).

The process, the effects and continued disarticulation

The size of the houses and space of the yards in Meadowlands differed extensively due to which zone a person was placed. Some families were placed in stand-alone houses, whilst others had to share a yard in double/mirror houses if not train houses. This created a further division that produced a tendency for families to be scorned due to what type of house they live in and their means to upgrade that home. The image below is an illustration of the houses that are present in Soweto today. Meadowlands consists of mostly brick houses, house/flat room in the backyard and informal shacks in the backyard as well.

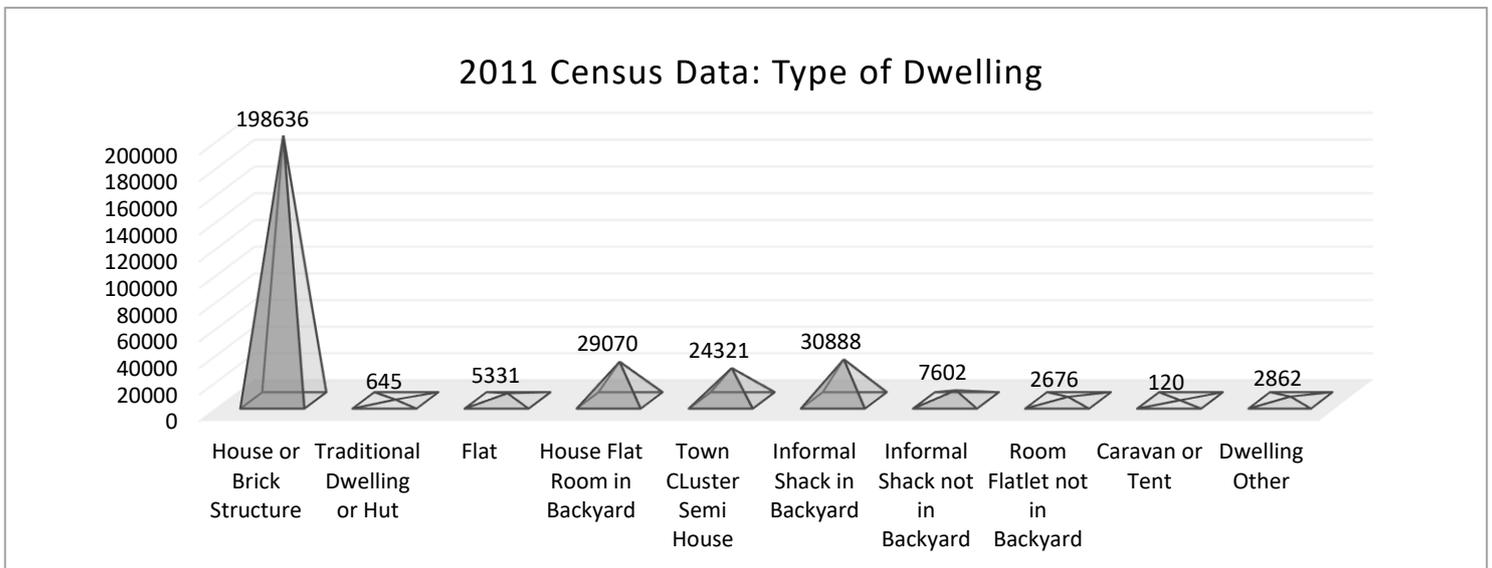


Figure 9: Cited in 2011 Census data showing types of dwelling in Soweto

Ms. R.M is an example of an interlocutor whose spatial placement came with some limitations for her. She lives in Zone 1, on the side with double houses, which are mirror houses, built in what would seem like one yard as shown in figure 6 below. The stand number is 33 however the house numbers are 22233 and 22234 (pseudonym) which shows that the title deed is a freehold ownership – meaning each house belongs to an individual owner. As illustrated below, these houses were built close together and the neighbouring houses were built less

than 2 meters away as per the regulations of the Native Housing Scheme (Demissie 2004:492).



Photograph 6: Example of a double house with asbestos roof, 33 Lebo Street in Meadowlands Zone 2

According to her, they built a fence “stop nonsense” to cap the dynamics between each other as neighbours, which enabled some privacy as well. The result of this is that each household only has access to half of the yard despite having to share the thin wall in the centre of both structures, which does not eliminate the noise between the houses. A European nuclear family structure was imposed on the design of the houses as they were built with four-room structures (Lawton 1968:19). Two rooms would be used as bedrooms, one for the parents and one for the children which was already a limiting factor for the number of children a household should have (Demissie 2004:489).

The other two rooms were a small kitchen and medium size sitting room. A toilet in most cases was built outside, thus the element of privacy was invaded (Meierhenrich 2008:118) once again because a toilet is a structure a person finds themselves in for personal circumstances. Thus, the intention to extend a house of this nature is met by limiting factors. The house inside requires a bathroom, which cancels out the possibility to build an additional room due to the limited space. This leads to rooms being built outside, which is how the issue of overcrowding and cramped spaces arises due to very low horizons for growth in these yards (Ligo 1974:37-38).

The lack of possibility for growth manifests in ways such as poverty in Meadowlands. It is a historical problem, which stems from majority of the families being displaced from the city, resulting in the loss of jobs and income. There are not any sustainable economic development

plans established to deal with unemployment in this area, thus resulting in a dependence for subletting back rooms and shacks. This financial burden goes hand in hand with the housing backlog caused by the displacements, which have somehow contributed, to overpopulation in Meadowlands yards.

Meadowlands as a place of suffering: space, place and possibility

In 1951, Sophiatown could accommodate more than eight families per stand, which means that the stands were relatively huge (Gready 1990:142). The same tenant and subtenant ethics are preserved in Meadowlands today, but the total house and backyard composition cannot completely accommodate the same lifestyle. The yards in Meadowlands are approximately 165-230 sq. meters per stand for combined houses and 256 sq. meters for standalone houses in comparison to those in Sophiatown, which were approximately 497 sq. meters for a standard yard (CoJ - GIS 2019 and Gready 1990:142).

Therefore, spaces in Meadowlands are easy to overpopulate, as they are much smaller in size. Miss D.M and her six siblings who she shared her parents' home with is a good example of this. Their home had three generations living in it at some point since the children for the parents who were removed from Sophiatown also had their own children in this house. Delving into the living arrangements would have been an invasion of privacy and a further erosion of dignity. At this point, I decided that it suffices to know this much, the detail of which I should ethically leave to the imagination. Writing against the wanton freedom that research appropriates to itself to the detriment of human dignity. Nhemachena and Kaundjua (2016:20-21) argue that research should be carried out with the knowledge and consent of the interlocutors because if we only treat them as mere participants, we continue to disinherit and exploit their history like colonisers who extracted and expropriated indigenous knowledge.

By the same token, the imperative “not to do harm” is one that should check and bind our curiosity as researchers. It is a call to tread with consideration all the time. As a black child, researching black issues, my upbringing also plays a role in how I conduct myself in the “field”. As such, the nature of this research brought all these issues to the fore. Overcrowding as a social phenomenon has the detrimental effect of limiting possibilities. It is my summation

that the kind of overcrowding such as I witnessed above could have the impacts on internal affairs such as possibilities for attending good schools, growth such as starting your own family, moving out and wellbeing, which came from psychological and economical influences in the house. The space to grow is effectively edged out of possibility (Krige 2015:5-6).

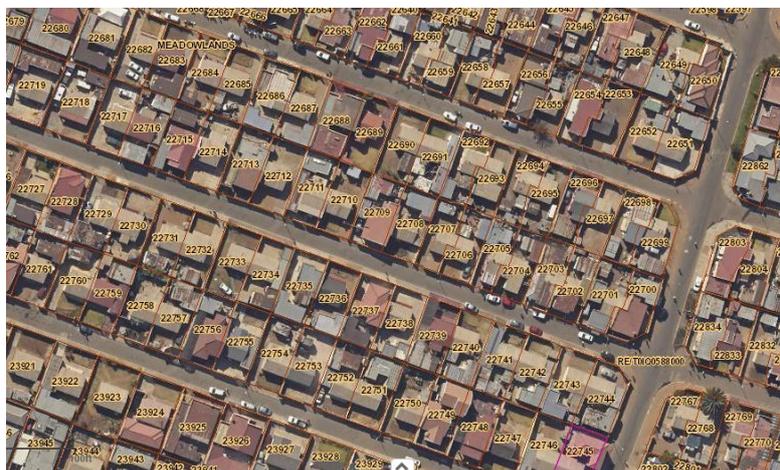
The Meadowlands plan (see Photograph 5 below) shows great densification and that town planning regulations in townships are not regulated like those of suburbs. The houses have zero building lines, no ample distance between the gate and the street, no space for a garden or to extend the house because the yard is small (CoJ - GIS 2019). Children were given fewer opportunities to play, which meant that there was little room to manoeuvre and re-establish oneself. This uncertain childhood becomes an insecure adult life perceived as lost and disintegrated (Ross 2003:112; Milgroom and Ribotc 2019:187).

Israel has a Meadowlands-like township called the Gaza Strip. In contrast to the Apartheid assignment for Meadowlands, Gaza is a refugee camp for displaced persons characterized by military occupation. Both areas were viewed by colonial settlement as ghetto regions created as a result of a land dispute. They mirror a lifestyle of segregation in residence, employment, politics, education, and law. They also share similar terminology such as passbooks for Meadowlands and an identity card for Gaza. Whereas displacements were termed as removals for, Meadowlands and they were termed deportations for Gaza (Mandell 1985:7-8).

Similarly, Brazil, a Latin American country, has *favelas* which are isolated slums or shantytowns built within or on the outskirts of big cities like Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (Silva:314) that, like Johannesburg, offer better employment, education and social coherence opportunities. Similar to Meadowlands, the *favelas* were also a housing shortage problem since their origin in the Brazilian communities were generated by the great wave of migration from the countryside to the cities from the 1940s to the 1970s. The poor wanted to take advantage of the economic growth of the country; however, they were faced with massive costs for scarce land and housing, leaving them no choice but to become squatters, which usually led to the development of slum areas. This is known as structural violence, a term Paul Farmer defines as an act of violent operations imposed by various economic and political

systems, resulting in poverty becoming a great limiting factor for freedom (2004:307), whilst Fiona Ross defines it as gross violations of human rights stemming from deep divisions, strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice (2003:11).

Meadowlands offered such a bare life; one would have to cut down important resources such as trees in order to make space to expand a house. Once this was done, most of the houses were extended to maximum capacity of the yard, which at times did not meet the needs of the size of the family. This fosters suffering for the family because at some point there is no tree to cut and there are no rooms available for any additional people, thus dynamics start to form amongst family members who eventually feel a need to push each other out (Lipsitz 2007:16).



Photograph 7: Aerial picture of Meadowlands in Region D cited in the CoJ GIS website

From a psychological perspective, the house is like the skeleton, which then dictates the frame of one's life and ability to live. Thus, the impacts of the architecture of the houses in Meadowlands is not solely, from how they were constructed, but rather the theory and history behind the design of the houses. The houses represent Apartheid and the "dis-placed/dis-joined" inhabitants whose lives were physically disarticulated through suffering perpetuated by mental and institutional violence (Ross 2003:5) that is nonlinear, destructive, and reproductive (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004:1). Violence is perceived as reproductive because the disruption it brings to people's lives is multidimensional. In Meadowlands for example, spatial violence is not only inflicted by the architecture of the matchbox houses, but it becomes institutional through forms of social, political and economic order present in the area (Herscher and Siddiqi 2014:272).

Furthermore, violence is destructive as well because it can always transcend and translate into something else. In Meadowlands, families were placed in homes built from low cost material such as cement mixed with radioactive mine tailings sand and asbestos roofing.

Families found these houses with walls, which were neither plastered nor painted internally, while the exterior was plastered and painted in white. On arrival, it was cold, rudimentary and empty inside, which is a resemblance of their emotions after being forcefully relocated (Ligo 1974: 61).

Our first night in Meadowlands was tough because the house was humongous. It had no electricity and required many candles. The house was hollow, you felt like it speaks back at you [Ms. R.M].

We were allocated a house close to a mine that affects my respiratory health. Everything falls on us and starts by affecting us first. Any bad situation from the mine starts here in Zone 1 [Miss D.M].

There were no ceilings in these houses, it was also not insulated, therefore when it rained or hailed, the noise became increasingly disturbing since there was no sound absorption to keep all the noises from being heard. There was no room to expand figuratively and literally, because the houses were spatial concepts of segregation, exclusion, banishment, and incarceration that was the overall potential hazard meant to derail them (Ligo 1974:61). This feeling can be translated into both structural violence which offers a bare life that fosters exclusion and domestication of the poor and social violence which eats away at dignity, personhood and sense of worth (Farmer 2004:307; Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois 2004:1).

When the original owner of the house passes away, the house gets transferred to an executor of estate (usually husband/wife or first born nominated in the will) and if there is no one like this, all the children qualify to stay there so that the house can be an inheritance for all the intergenerational descendants (Lipsitz 2007:19). This factor usually causes chaos in families because some of them are married and have already moved out, but they want a share of their inheritance because they have children as well who they feel deserve a share in what stands as an honour passed down the family. This is one of the reasons for overcrowding in such spaces. The phenomenon of a “family house” provides roots, identity, security, a sense of belonging and a place of emotional wellbeing. Thus, when a family house is disarticulated through conflict, strife and violence, the inhabitants become socially disintegrated (Cobbing et al 2017:15).

Social disintegration stems from demographic, economic and human development that is arrested and foiled. The first occurs from the conquest between blacks and whites, leaving scars of subordination and repression. Steve Biko in his seminal book - *I write what I like* (1978:130-131) says:

The black man has become a shell, a shadow of man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity....

In this way, macro-systems of colonialism and Apartheid are borne at the individual level of complete and utter loss of the self. The sheepish timidity has become a state of safety in the midst of an all-pervading anti-black system. The second comes from misdistribution of wealth and income, which leads to high unemployment and poor education because it is a process of absorption rather than transcending, which marginalises black people further. This exposes black people to exploitation and an eroded morale in the community. The family as a living organism takes strain, due to being weakened by poverty, overcrowding, and feeling unworthy due to the little opportunity to break free from this impoverished life (Motsemme 2002:649).

In all then, Meadowlands, an offshoot of Sophiatown, bears a lot that contributes to the state that Biko laments above. The losses structural and deep reverberate societal tendencies present in Giorgio Agamben's thought-provoking work on Homo Sacer and the state of exception. He asserts that sovereign violence systematically abandons life until it becomes bare, increasingly precarious, and subjective to death as seen in the Brazilian favela slums, Gaza Strip camps and precarious spaces like Meadowlands (Svirsky 2016:3-4).

Apartheid Residues: loss of possibilities

The aerial image on the right shows just how cramped the Meadowlands region is. It also illustrates how the town planning under Apartheid formalized and systemized segregation and social control (Jones 2013: 27).



Map 3: Aerial view of Meadowlands in Region D cited in the CoJ GIS website

The Apartheid laws succeeded in their concerted effort to make black people transient residents in the foremost urban areas of South Africa so that they had no ties, no roots and no sense of permanent planning in such spaces. They moved them to areas like Meadowlands near Mine Dumps, which offered them a fragile and ephemeral life. This private construction of these homes by the Apartheid government in remote townships created a process of poverty for those who had the incapacity to break free from the imposed social and geographical barriers (Greenstein 2006:3). This is evident today in the distress seen in the attitudes toward housing in Meadowlands, due to how clustered they are, leading to the unlikelihood of people taking care of these homes (Jones 2013:2).

This is why movement and mobility are some of the most important themes for discussing social change because they reveal patterns of inter-generational histories of migration, employment and political transformation both liberating and oppressive (Krige 2015:3). The image below is a depiction of how rich and poor people can live in spaces right next to each other, but so different from one another. This view of injustice is alluded to by photographer Johnny Miller as “Unequal Scenes” and is a stark reminder that South Africa is the most unequal country in the world (Abdulla 2017 and Pomerantz 2019).



Sophiatown had this exact lifestyle of geography of class because one could not determine ones’ neighbours as the affluent coexisted side by side with the impoverished and miserable which made it possible to create the illusion of living in every tier of society at once. This fantasy world of inflated aspirations established slum and community pluralism, which provided possibilities of moving upwards based on spatialization (Gready 1990:141) as shared by Mattera’s vision below:

Double-storey mansions and quaint cottages stood side by side with rusty wood and- iron shacks, locked in a fraternal embrace of filth and felony...The rich and the poor, the exploiters and the exploited, all knitted together in a colourful fabric that ignored race or class structures...it was

Photograph 8: Showing spatial differences between Primrose and Makause in Johannesburg. Cited in the 13 May 2019 TIME International cover, see (Pomerantz 2019)

a dog-eat-dog world, harsh and yet tender in a strange, paradoxical way (Gone with the Twilight: A Story of Sophiatown, Mattera 1987 quoted in Williams 2017:4).

Meadowlands, on the other hand, does not offer this life as it is a physical manifestation of Apartheid on spaces which affects the social function of the people. It is living proof that townships were designed in a way that materializes inequality and lack of possibility in a physical manner (Greenstein 2006:3). Such townships were created to disarticulate, disjoint and put asunder the lives of black people. The mine dumps are a symbol of being laid to waste and to be without wealth since life in Meadowlands was separated from everything that articulates life (Lester 2013:755).

After the forced removals were concluded, the Benchmarks Foundation found that:

The geographical distribution of the population by race and class coincided with the distribution of wealth and waste. The two groups were separated by Main Reef Road. Poverty and waste flowed south of Main Reef Road, while opulence and leafy urban and suburban development flowed north of Main Reef Road. The indigenous African population found itself trapped in the polluted south against its will, located in between mine waste dumps by legislative force and physical removal from the north (Seoka & Capel 2017:60).

The historical context behind the architecture of these said spaces is an example of how “development” has been the enemy of the people because it brings about institutional suffering, alienation and structural violence, which depreciate the properties and the land over time (Ligo 1975:61). There is no nexus between the slums and the community because they are stuck in maelstrom conditions that threaten their existence, security, relatedness and sense of community which are all fundamental basic needs which the interlocutors had in Sophiatown as depicted in Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs shared below (Ross 2003:72, Scheper-Hughes and

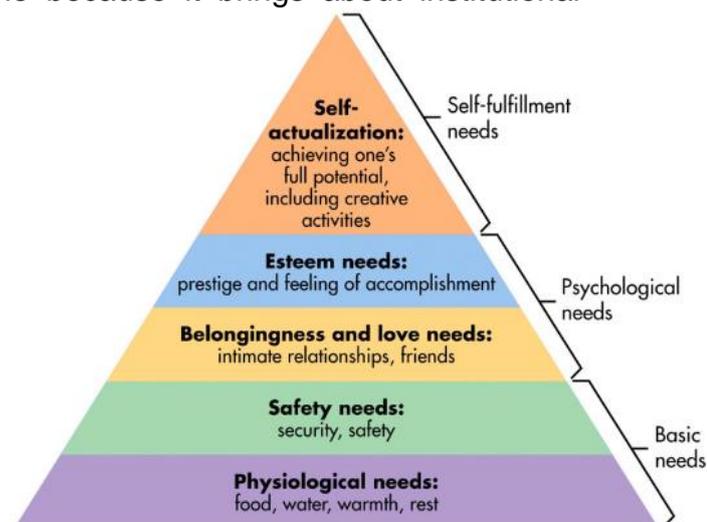


Diagram 1: Maslow's hierarchy of needs cited in www.simplypsychology.org by McLeod

Bourgois 2004:2). The question of whether these needs are, indeed, hierarchical is another matter altogether.

The social and structural violence experienced by the interlocutors and their families after the forced removals illustrate that Apartheid was an assault on free will, rendering the community repulsive to the lack of possibilities due to them feeling locked up and uncertain of what more to gain from life (Milgroom and Ribotc 2019:187). Being dumped in Meadowlands felt like being dumped in a polluted and perplexing wilderness, which is completely detrimental to social and other needs. It positioned families on the barest minimum, an edge of the unequal part of the country, without food, recourse, employment, health, intimacy, respect or the desire to become more (Abdulla 2017). All they had was the memory of watching their homes be demolished and just a loaf of bread and a pint of milk to start anew:

We were moved here with a lorry and given a litre of milk and a loaf of bread as if our lives have not just been disrupted [Miss D.M].

Alteration of the black culture

People not only suffer; they endure, and sometimes even transcend. People find ways to go on living—not just by resolving deep psychological conflicts or by reorganizing their experience to meet existing categories, but through ongoing, iterative, continuous processes of meaning-making that emerge in relationship with others, across a variety of levels and contexts, and through time (Lester 2013:754).

In the conversations I had with many of the elderly interlocutors it was evident that they still struggled to understand having been forcibly removed from Sophiatown in their younger lives and that this left unresolved trauma, often expressed in the form of nostalgia for a “better past” (Jones 2013:28). However, I often ask myself, was the past better at all due to its patriarchal structure which required single males to be married if they desired to relocate to the family-specific houses in Meadowlands. In addition, regulatory measures for influx control also recommended that only married men and their wives and biological children were permitted to inhabit the houses in Meadowlands together. The NRB would consider only one wife to join her husband. Therefore, men were forced to select one female, always the eldest, who would be their Johannesburg partner (Lewis 1959:2-4).

This did not only fracture their families since the additional wives and children were not allowed to move but it also indefinitely resettled the men. This is the domino effect of disarticulation which goes hand-in-hand with Native Nostalgia because as (black) people are compelled into one constraint, they psychologically detach or contest what they initially knew so they can embrace new processes of cohabitation where forms of sociality can be recreated within the constraints of the new space (Jones 2013:28 and Raber 2016/2017:23).

The rural and urban migration overlap where the migrant labour system compelled black men into urban areas while denying them citizenship created an obliviousness to their self-awareness of their patriarchal principles as black rural men. They did not realise how being forced out, violated and excluded was an effort to indoctrinate them according to European standards deemed as civilisation (Greenstein 2006:6). The change in behaviour and lifestyle became inspired by American movies and Designer labels such as Florsheim shoes, Cashmere jerseys and Hagar Slack suits from Wings Outfitters, which exemplify “following without realizing” that also takes away from the sense of self (Thema 1999:13). The question of the “self” reaches dizzying heights in this maelstrom of structural violence that is the backbone of the place called the Republic of South Africa today.

Disarticulation and the injured memory

An ear for this, an ear for that. Who to believe? ... The struggle for truth continues ever afterwards. Because afterwards is where we live ... Afterwards is where stories begin (Nicol 1995:1 quoted Ross 2003:1).

It is important to reiterate that black people were obligated into constraints which required them to physically and psychologically detach from what they initially knew so they can embrace new and foreign processes of sociality (Raber 2016/2017:23). This was the beginning of our social disarticulation. Examples of sociality include survival in a place that stood to be the most awful as much as it could be the finest such as Sophiatown (Gready 139-140:1990). It was endurance in a cluster of townships such as the zones in Meadowlands, a space and lifestyle structured to meet the needs of the individual as well as the group. In Sophiatown tenants paid their dues to their landlords, who, in turn, paid the

homeowners which symbolises a variety of arrangements which created an economical network (Gutkind 1960:131). This economic network is what Leslie Bank defines as “Spatial Circuits”, the partnership between public and private spaces such as the backrooms, the home, the veranda and the street (2002:164).

Unfortunately, the sociality created in Sophiatown could not be sustained wholesale in Meadowlands because each yard accommodates one family and the intergenerational lineage when pushed to the maximum (Motsemme 2007:63). In Meadowlands, it is not a string of tenants renting space from a landlord who has an objective relationship with the homeowner. Rather, it is siblings, if not children of the original owner, who qualify for equal space to share of the stand. However, it is not everyone who is willing or able to pay for the expenses to sustain the yard, especially with resources scarce as they are.

Water and electricity, for instance, have been converted to prepaid use now. Due to the large numbers of people living in these yards, with no one directly accountable, the electricity bills were not being paid. Thus, when the meters were converted to prepaid use, the families would have to take accountability of keeping the lights on and the water running. This has caused some family feuds, as the privilege of employment is not available to all family members present in the house. Therefore, overcrowding resulting from lack of upward and thus outward mobility exacerbates the growing problem of poverty and suffering for future generations who are growing up under these conditions today. The cycle of lack of property ownership begun with land dispossession takes a turn that seemingly has little, if anything, to do with this original disarticulation of family assets.

Thus, it became understandable why some interlocutors describe Meadowlands as a place of suffering, whilst conversely remembering Sophiatown as a place of possibilities. Today, the area where the houses were demolished is known as Sophiatown yet again, regaining its original title from the newly re-zoned and renamed area *Triomf* meaning Triumph (Meierhenrich 2008:118; Hart 1990:154). This symbolises mindfulness of the intricate and delicate past, but it also silences the continuums of memory’s relationship to historical trauma, which complicates the boundaries of past and present. A return of the name for the area did not offer an opportunity for all the original inhabitants to receive reparation for their loss.

Instead it negates the deeply ensconced psychic and power-laden disconnections present in South African social, political, cultural, and economic life (Greslé 2015:9).

Interlocutors such as Ms D can only return to Sophiatown to attend church service, which is an individual choice that indicates how the memory of a place is not only the physical features but the people and possessions who you affiliate it with.

I still visit Sophiatown to attend Reverend Huddleston's Anglican Church, because it was my church before the forced removals. It was reopened in 1998, at the same place that is number 49 Ray Street. I enjoy being there because it makes me feel good [Ms D].

"Christ the King" is a church, which reminds her of when she was young and reminds her of the owner Reverend Huddleston who was a white man who actively supported black people when they were oppressed by Apartheid policies. This illustrates that when people intend to recuperate their stability, they frequently resort to culturally available practices, symbols, and structures in order to reorient themselves with the world. The one place which offers some kind of 'healing'/'closure' is also one which carries with it so much baggage (Lester 2013:753):

Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people. The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is required for their real happiness. The demand to give up the illusion about its condition is the demand to give up a condition, which needs illusions (Karl Marx in Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right 1843-4)

Therefore, institutions such as the church became the enabler for them to exhume the buried issues of the past, even though it may not 100% bring closure due to the lack of a platform that allows people to reveal their grievances. This would be part and parcel of the culture of religion and how it indoctrinates people to think that a different saviour has already suffered and conquered their grief, thus all is well as per the quote by Karl Marx above. This indoctrination has shortfalls as you begin to see staunch churchgoers such as Ms D for example struggle with a drinking problem because religion gives her an illusory fantasy about true happiness in the next life. This shows that church is a coping mechanism for dealing with

suffering; however it is not a solution. This is why desperation from poverty can lead to crime, whilst anguish and emptiness creates an audience for alcohol and drug abuse (Lester 2013:753).

Attending church while harbouring such trauma was meant to be a way of mending what is broken and knitting together what remains of the brokenness. Religion became one way to “heal” those forcefully removed as evidenced by these visits to Christ the King. It was a space for support systems to people who share the same values. As such, church became both a balm for souls in need but also a place for practical help. It stands in the gap between total disarticulation and possibilities for revolutionary thinking. Religion continues to play this palliative role in the midst of untold justice. The church, for example, remains mum on the issues of land whose resolution promises a structural overhaul of the status quo that sees South Africa bear the brunt of being the most unequal society on earth.

There is also a continuing feeling of powerlessness from these interlocutors because they do not understand that they did nothing to encourage what has transpired for them. A coping mechanism I see them developing is what Jacob Dlamini has referred to as Native Nostalgia (Jones 2013:28). This is selective memory of destructive experiences. I notice them fostering selective hatred for the forced removals which caused the disarticulation of Sophiatown. This selective memory which excludes the church, as if removing it from Sophiatown, makes the families oblivious to change because the four roomed houses in Meadowlands stand out as the manifestation of a traumatic experience whilst the memory of the small, cramped one room stands in Sophiatown is greatly missed (Rader 2016/2017:23). Thus, no symbolic closure can be found due to the continued longingness to return to life as it was in Sophiatown without accepting life as it is in Meadowlands (Lester 2013:756 and Jones 2013:28).

This memory is a societal struggle that I affiliate with the Stockholm syndrome, as the area (Sophiatown) is a physical marker of the ramifications of Apartheid; however, interlocutors always show affection towards it, whilst treating the forced removals as a distinct event that is more aligned with Meadowlands, creating hatred for the area. They no longer own anything tangible in Sophiatown despite the memories of their youth, but the love for the area continues to overrule the possibility of a better life in Meadowlands. From this I cannot decide whether

they are experiencing trauma-as-moment-of-injury or trauma as an ongoing lived experience (Lester 2013:755). Either way, signs of trauma and disarticulation are indicated. A further foray into the psychology of trauma as it traverses generations is beyond the scope of this short dissertation in the discipline of anthropology.

Unrequited trauma, redress and coping

I joined ANC back in the days of Mashinini. We were old by then, so the Soweto uprising was not orchestrated by us. The youth of 1976 was running around and fighting the rules of learning in Afrikaans. We tried to reprimand them, but we also had to try protecting the boys by making them wear dresses, so the cops would not see them and take them away from us [Ms D]

The confusion and bafflement following a trauma, and the shattering of cognitive assumptions about the world, are exacerbated when the markers of the past that give it its coherence are destroyed or rendered invisible by an introduction of a new way of life. This is particularly the case with regard to lack of accountability for the consequences of Apartheid due to political reconciliation such as that of F.W De Klerk and Nelson Mandela which came with a somewhat a disappearance of an inordinate amount of unanswered questions and knowledge regarding the matter, but rather introduced us to “rainbowism” which censored the need to externalise grief for situations such as the one mentioned above by Ms D (Gqola 2001:94-106). This created individual, family and social suffering due to personal and interpersonal perplexity and incoherence in the recognition and acknowledgement of the psychological damage caused (Hamber and Wilson 1999).

For non-church goers, there seems to have been few public spaces that enabled debates and discussions regarding the removals. In Sophiatown, poets and photographers such as Don Mattera, Can Themba and David Goldblatt externalised their grief by writing poems and taking photographs to capture and document their life histories there. Moreover, a synthesis called *tsaba-tsaba*, which stems from African traditional music and Afro-American jazz was also produced and propelled by Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and others (Mattera 1987:2) who sang about the oppression they faced. The shebeen is thus also such a space to reminisce and make sense of the removals.

Music in Sophiatown encouraged celebration but also grew as a resource for communicating grievances because it expressed the struggle for freedom. Consequently, in Meadowlands, kwaito was born as an expression of the struggle with freedom. It historicized and contextualized social movements as and when they happened (Vilakazi 2012:6). It was a mood of the newly liberated youth, a mind-set, a resistance, a defiance, and a culture for black people living in a Township. Kwaito was a new look which reframed the township from being a place of incarceration, suffering and segregation to a place with its own pleasures and its own possibilities that offered healing and hope especially for the black man in the township (Vilakazi 2012:10). Thus, it is impossible to separate kwaito from the political history of SA because it boomed when black people desperately needed to call something their own (Tema 2020).

Unfortunately, kwaito was demonised by being defined as nonsensical and materialistic behaviour contributing to crime and violence due to it being influenced by young black males (Tema 2020). This limited opportunity to prosper violated the human rights of black men because it insisted in portraying them as criminals who are present in society mainly to cause harm. There were families from Meadowlands who were relocated from Sophiatown who submitted human rights violation notices to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in Soweto in 1996. An example is the family of Matthews Marwale Mabelane born in 1954, arrested at the age of 23 under the Terrorism Act for being politically active in Soweto against Apartheid policies. His family attended the Truth and Reconciliation Commission because he died shortly after being detained at the John Vorster Square prison. In order to heal, the family wanted to know how he died. This is a way of unpacking past events and their present conjuration (Ross 2003:5).

The examples shared above about the young man who died mysteriously in detention illustrate loss of possibility to grow due to living in cramped spaces that limit one's expansion, much like the congestion found in the Meadowlands houses. Therefore, trauma in Meadowlands does not only stem from the forced removals, it also stems from continued loss. The loss of life, both physical and psychological. Struggle as a way of life, as part of life.

The SA townships harbour this pain which may tend to feed a self-destructive streak (Lester 2013:754; Motsemme 2007:67).

...even if there is evidence of physiological changes in the brain because of severe shocks, trauma becomes a form of subjective non-experience that nevertheless, like a virus, becomes a structural part of the subject in ways which by inhabiting the psyche in unrecognizable ways, de-in-habit the subject (Greslé 2015:33).

The sub-standard houses were double-binding conditions that were intended to signify resolution and final acknowledgement of loss, but they also created difficulties for interlocutors because the socio-structural impact of the violence resulted in relatives returning back to their rural areas, residents losing jobs, disruption of the education system, time being wasted and losing lives which were all impossible to get back (Motsemme 2011:11). Moreover, trauma in Meadowlands continues in the loss of gender sensitive accounts especially for women who were faced with the struggle to stitch together a disentangling social fabric. Men are accounted for in history for a variety of socio-political and socio-economic conceptual frameworks whilst women such as the interlocutors I spoke to, are silenced as if the breakdown in the community did not result in a breakdown in their livelihoods and family structures (Motsemme 2011:9).

Our future as a country depends critically on the method and intention for uncovering the interiority of where our intimacies and violence meet against the backdrop of a nation that is transitioning. It is an obligation to continue to expose the layers of the reverberations of the forced removals by evaluating the textures of people's lives influenced by their memory, identity and emotional landscapes (Gqola 2009:62). By considering the structural violence seen in this paper, including its manifestation in sexual identity, gender hierarchies, socio-political and socio-economic systems, as well as unequal opportunities in society, we can expose the daily issues that define human life (Motsemme 2011:10).

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

“The persistent legacy of apartheid has left our country with extreme structural problems – both economic and social.”

— President Cyril Ramaphosa delivers Sona 2019 on 20 June.



Eyewitness News 20 June 2019 at 19:22 · 🌐

QUOTE: Ramaphosa on apartheid's legacy.
#Sona2019. <https://ewn.co.za/24h5r>

What is the role of space and belonging in the creation of identity?

The previous chapters suggest that South Africa's historical experience, cultural constructs, sexual orientation, socio-economic and socio-political life and the apparently innocuous encounters of daily experience continue to be inhabited and circumscribed by Apartheid (Motsemme 2002:647). Psychic trauma related to the Apartheid discourse of white supremacy is visible, accessible and opaque in South African public discourse. Dynamics of outrage, guilt, embarrassment, rejection, anger, and culpability are infused with public existence (Greslé 2015:8).

My research illustrates that there are shortcomings under the post-apartheid democratic dispensation. As evidenced by my ethnographic fieldwork, legacies associated with race continue to characterise the lives of black people like my interlocutors living in Meadowlands, Johannesburg. While it might be the case that some black people have managed to enter into a more meaningful relationship with the larger state in post-Apartheid South Africa, my interlocutors continue to grapple with the traumas of forced removal and the way in which the apartheid regime created a racial division of space in urban centres like Johannesburg. The privileges associated with being “post-apartheid” remains out of bounds and off limits for most black people like my interlocutors who are still faced with the consequences of dislocation and displacement over time and space (Motsemme 2002:647). Forced displacement of autochthonous Africans, first by the formation of reserves and homelands, followed by forced removals, and then by the renaming and rezoning of urban spaces, established a barrier of memory that set up the lasting devastation of traces of the past in the present (Williams 2017:13; Du Toit 1983:370).

I conclude with this final section of the dissertation why the crimes of Apartheid and the prospect of reconciliation are connected to the land and the contradictory, impossible urge of South Africa to be “at home”. By “at home”, I mean having a sense of unquestionable identity, mutuality and common ground with possible opportunities for all. South Africa is not unique in the challenges faced to establish a more equitable order, but democratic principles, which turn on justice, equality and residence, are complicated by the distinct colonial and Apartheid histories of the country. Land, the economy and “feeling at home” survive in the hands of privileged minorities as a result of the depredation act of imperialism, often characterised by a culture of power where racial and ethnic identities are still meaningful resources with which to accrue undue advantage (Milgroom and Ribotc 2019:184). This mirrors older disparities found both the pre-Apartheid and Apartheid social orders of South Africa since the establishment of the Union in 1910, albeit reformulated under a new guise in the present order.

Variations of divide and rule – and the impact thereof

There is now shaping a policy which may have far reaching effects... we have realised that political ideas which apply to our white civilisation largely do not apply to the administration of native affairs... and so a practice has grown up in South Africa of creating parallel institutions... giving the natives their own separate institutions on parallel lines with institutions for whites... In land ownership, settlement and forms of government, we are trying to keep them apart, and in that way laying down a policy which may take a hundred years to work out, but which in the end may be the solutions of our native problem (Stats SA 2011: A history of Soweto. General Jan Christiaan Smuts at the Imperial Institute on 22 May 1917).

The term Apartheid may have been recent, but its implementation was historically exercised by legal instruments that legitimized systematic land dispossession and segregated South Africans through resolutions, proclamations and ordinances (Evans 1999:6-7). Ordinances such as the Native Reserve Location Act (No:40) passed in the Cape in 1902 allowed the government to set up residential areas outside towns for Blacks so that they could be forcibly removed. The second example is the introduction of the 1920 Native Affairs Act (No:23) into the black reserves which came into play with a marginalizing position for black people as it

succeeded in displacing, expelling and regulating them racially from urban areas and into deplorable conditions (Lipsitz 2007:6; Lewis 1959:3).

The above examples are illustrations of when residential segregation is forced since, as in the case of Apartheid in SA, disarticulation occurs in the form of legislation-based exclusion. This exclusion becomes implemented forcefully through explicit racial prejudice which categorizes race as a symbol of identity to a level where it overlapped all other elements of actual or potential affiliation (Rex, Campbell and Visser 2014:5-7). Imafedia Okhamafe argues that; “Apartheid, for black South Africans or “non-whites”, was a terminal cancer which needed to be terminated” (1985:18) as the white-dominated Apartheid government created an unequal and exploitative society, since advances in technology, education, housing and employment in such a state created a wealth disparity between rich and poor (Mills 1997:5). Today, it is unfortunate to see that this remains South Africa's reality, since the networks of stability and security are disrupted, and national wealth is lost at the hands of this avaricious learned behaviour (Milgroom and Ribotc 2019:187).

The creation of reserves and homelands continues to capture physical possession of the land, and a deep-seated hold on the nation because the physical act of “taking away” and “forcefully removing” people helped the white minority establish an unconstitutional spiritual homeland, by leaving the “non-white” South African as explicitly dehumanized and silenced to repression without an explanation or understanding of the new ways-of-being (Williams 2017:13; Motsemme 2002:647).

For centuries, “the home” has become physically and psychologically inaccessible for the black majority of the population. The Meadowlands case of dispossession and the destruction of physical and spiritual homes illustrates this because citizenship and belonging for the Sophiatown residents who were forcibly removed were conditions determined by nearly half a century of state-sanctioned segregation based on ethnicity (Williams 2017:5).

Moreover, the action of renaming and rezoning Sophiatown to *Triomf* meaning Triumph became the action of claiming because renaming often makes the landscape familiar to the colonizer and unfamiliar to the colonized individual (Hart 1990:154). It was a way to claim

property and land as if the ownership of it was influenced by success and love (Williams 2017:11; Meierhenrich 2008:118). This was an act of imperialism, implying that the Apartheid government followed a pattern of exploitation from the British colonizers who thought about and decided to control land that they did not own (Williams 2017:8). In addition, the act revealed an extraordinary lack of attention to the importance of the cultural traditions and religions of the displaced inhabitants, whose losses, such as relationships, ancestral connections and non-codified rights, as well as claims to land and resources were uprooted and made invisible to them (Milgroom and Ribotc 2019:187). This form of resettlement has destabilized authority structures; communities have temporarily lost their ability to control themselves, identities are reshaped in response to threats to material wellbeing and societies become less capable of dealing with uncertainty (Milgroom and Ribotc 2019:188).

Disarticulation fostered deeply disheartening existential separation from the home, the self and the community. It was an overall collapse, which eventually razed down a person's entire life (Lester 2013:754). Democracy did not account for this extreme loss. Democracy is still expected to realise that blacks need to be assisted not as a favour but as a duty to South Africa as stated by Mangosuthu Buthelezi in 1975, at his address in the Free University in Amsterdam:

When thinking about the word liberation, I think of it not only as a process whereby we in South Africa gain freedom to involve ourselves in the reconstruction of our society. Liberation means "freedom from" and "freedom to". Freedom from injustice and freedom to enact justice and enshrine it in the institutions of our country. We will not be truly liberated until such time as social justice is expressed in day-to-day activity. For us liberation is not merely the destruction of the Apartheid system in South Africa. It is more than this. It is the creation of a new society (Du Toit 1983:385).

If the above were done, we would not have communities that do not yet have access to basic facilities such as sanitation, or opportunities such as jobs and adequate health care. However, it is important to also note that in order to survive in zones of oppression, such as Apartheid, one needed to master how to hide and not be seen. The downfall of this ability was the blind sight and denial of present experiences of rage, victimization, humiliation, and general oppression which all caused a sense of voicelessness among Black people. Therefore, to

speak becomes imperative so that people are no longer marginalised, invisible and silenced by authoritative government (Motsemme 2002:648).

Meadowlands today is inextricably linked to land dispossession and the destruction of Sophiatown. Whereas people exercised *some* choice in residing in Sophiatown and had begun to make a life and livelihood in ways that grew organically, their ending up in Meadowlands was wholly forced. Whereas Sophiatown represented opportunity for both individual/families but the whole SA society, the doctrine of Apartheid could not countenance this. The state had other pressing concerns and obligations that begot Meadowlands and such other places of barrenness.

Housing as a direct platform upon which state control manifested tells tales larger than its ordinary understanding as mere habitation. In this dissertation, I argue that housing was sub-standard, and it brought absolute exclusion that nurtured a bare minimum life. In these houses, you find overcrowding which brings about extreme poverty, lack of social inclusion and meltdowns due to lack of space and place to expand and grow. The politics of space as shown through the lack of yard space that infringes on the potential to grow dismantles their place of belonging. Issues of privacy strip them of individual spirit and fundamental humanity whilst the lack of horizons and recreation materializes inequality and lack of possibility in a physical manner and shows the lack of regard for the wellbeing of those who were forcefully relocated.

The question remains who then will account for the disrepair then and today? Is it too late to even ask these questions as SA plunges deeper into an abyss of the past manifesting in the present? This dissertation argued that Apartheid has carried out reforms that segregationists have never even contemplated for instance, the conversion of racial segregation into a spiritual project inspired by the Bible; the division of blacks into “independent tribal states”; the disenfranchisement of “coloureds”; the categorical refusal that blacks would ever qualify for citizenship and the eager attempts to impose adherence to a highly regulated state and attempts to effect racial segregation in all spheres. All of this led to the forceful removal of

more than 3.5 million people from their homes from 1951 to 1994 and resettlement in the Bantustans where they were plunged into poverty, despair, and disrepair (Evans 1997:15).

As such race continues to be accepted as an “independent variable” whose oppression is not inscribed and constituted by other identities such as class, or gender (Motsemme 2002:648). It continues to be a barrier for a variety of socio-cultural expressions because it still determines political minority or majority status which democracy failed to realise and revoke (Du Toit 1983:369). I am grateful to have been welcomed into the homes of the smiling and welcoming interlocutors however; I am saddened by how lost and hopeless I feel in this country at this juncture of my dissertation. The government is incoherent and lacklustre in its policy articulations, bare life is apparent in our overcrowded housing, health and education systems, the city is full of squalor accommodation again and the justice system is removed from these issues. Disarticulation has become the “new normal”. Such textualities are all a fabric of this country called SA to be bequeathed to future generations.

REFERENCES

- Abdulla, M., J. (2017). What exactly is Spatial Apartheid and why is it still relevant in 2017. *The daily Vox*. Viewed 18 May 2019, <https://www.thedailyvox.co.za/what-exactly-is-spatial-apartheid-and-why-is-it-still-relevant-in-2017-mohammed-jameel-abdulla/>
- Abrahamson, M. (1983). *Social Research Methods*. Englewood Cliffs: NJ, Prentice Hall.
- Adler, D. (2016). Story of cities #19: Johannesburg's Apartheid purge of vibrant Sophiatown. *The Guardian*. Viewed 22 August 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/apr/11/story-cities-19-johannesburg-south-africa-apartheid-purge-sophiatown>
- Adonis, C., K. (2016). Exploring the Saliency of Intergenerational Trauma among Children and Grandchildren of Victims of Apartheid-Era Gross Human Rights Violations. *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology*, 16(1-2), 163-179.
- Alexander, P., Ceruti, C., et al. (2013). *Class in Soweto*. University of Kwa-Zulu Natal Press, South Africa.
- Barrett, R., S. (2009). *Anthropology: A Students Guide to Theory and Method*. University of Toronto Press, Canada.
- Bean, L. (2019). The History of South African currency. *South Cape Coins*. Viewed 2 February 2019, <http://www.southcapecoins.co.za/news/the-history-of-south-african-currency/>
- Biko, S. (1978). *I Write What I Like*. Ravan Press, Randburg.
- Bond, P. (2000). *Cities of Gold, Townships of Coal: Essays on South Africa's New Urban Crisis*. Trenton and Asmara: Africa World Press.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (1997). Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation. *American Sociological Review*, 62(3), 465-480.
- Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. (2014). *Boer*. Encyclopedia Britannica. Viewed 23 November 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Boer-people>

Calmore, J., O. (1995). Racialised Space and the Culture of Segregation: Hewing a Stone of Hope from a Mountain of Despair. University of Pennsylvania. *Law Review*, 143, 1233-1273.

Carruthers, J. (2000). Urban land claims in South Africa: The case of Lady Selborne Township, Pretoria, Gauteng. *Kleio*, 32(1), 23-41.

Checker, M. (2005). *Polluted promises: Environmental racism and the search for justice in a southern town*. New York University Press.

Cheng, E., W. (2008). City Slums as a Recognition of Migrants' Rights: A Proposal from Qin Hui. *China Perspectives*, 4(76), 84-89.

City of Johannesburg. (1940). *Annual Report of The Manager of Non-European Affairs Department, 1st July 1938 to 30th June 1939*. Non-European affairs department. Radford Adlington LTD, Marshall and Rissik Street.

City of Johannesburg. (1941). *Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European Affairs Department, 1st July 1939 to 30th June 1940*. Non-European affairs department. Radford Adlington LTD, Marshall and Rissik Street.

City of Johannesburg. (1948). *Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European Affairs Department, December 1944 to 30th June 1948*. Non-European affairs department. Radford Adlington LTD, Marshall and Rissik Street.

City of Johannesburg. (1950). *Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European Affairs Department, 1st July 1949 to 30th June 1950*. Radford Adlington LTD, Marshall and Rissik Street.

City of Johannesburg. (1951). *Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European Affairs Department, 1st July 1950 to 30th June 1951*. Radford Adlington LTD, Marshall and Rissik Street.

City of Johannesburg. (1952). *Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European Affairs Department, 1st July 1951 to 30th June 1952*. Radford Adlington LTD, Marshall and Rissik Street.

City of Johannesburg. (1953). *Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European Affairs Department, 1st July 1952 to 30th June 1953*. Radford Adlington LTD, Marshall and Rissik Street.

City of Johannesburg. (1955). *Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European Affairs Department, 1st July 1953 to 30th June 1955*. Radford Adlington LTD, Marshall and Rissik Street.

City of Johannesburg. (1958). *Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European Affairs Department, 1st July 1957 to 30th June 1958*. Radford Adlington LTD, Marshall and Rissik Street.

City of Johannesburg. (1959). *Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European Affairs Department, 1st July 1958 to 30th June 1960*. Radford Adlington LTD, Marshall and Rissik Street.

City of Johannesburg. (1960). *Annual Report of the Manager of Non-European Affairs Department, For the Year Ended 30th June 1960*. Radford Adlington LTD, Marshall and Rissik Street.

Clark, N., L. and Worger, W., H. (2011). *South Africa: The Rise and fall of Apartheid (Seminar Studies)*. 2nd edition. Routledge, Great Britain.

Cline, A. (2019). *Karl Marx on Religion as the Opium of the People*. Learn Religions. Viewed 07 December 2020, <https://www.learnreligions.com/karl-marx-on-religion-251019>

Crankshaw, O. (1993). Squatting, Apartheid and Urbanisation on the Southern Witwatersrand. *African Affairs*, 92(366), 31-51.

Cobbing, J., R., D. et al. (2017). South Africa. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Viewed 8 March 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/place/South-Africa>

Colvin, C., J. (2019). *Traumatic Storytelling and Memory in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Performing Signs of Injury*. Routledge, New York.

- Cox. O., C. (1945). Race and Caste: A Distinction. *American Journal of Sociology*, 50(5), 360-368.
- Darracq, V. (2008). The African National Congress (ANC) Organization at the Grassroots. *African Affairs*, 107(429), 589-609.
- Dauids. M., N. (2018). Ideology critique as decolonising pedagogy: Urban forced removals as a case study. *Educational Research for Social Change*, Port Elizabeth (7).
- Demissie, F. (2004). Controlling and Civilising Natives through Architecture and Town Planning in South Africa. *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 10(4), 483-507.
- Denzin, N., K and Lincoln, Y., S. (2018). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 3rd edition. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.
- District Six Museum. (2003). Recalling District Six. Brand South Africa. Viewed 16/05/2021, <https://www.brandsouthafrica.com/people-culture/history-heritage/recalling-district-six> (accessed 13 May 2021)
- Dlamini, P. (2019). Wings of Red Ants clipped after Alexandra demolitions. *Sowetan Live*. Viewed 18 September 2020, <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2019-07-02-red-ants-business-licence-suspended-after-alexandra-demolitions/>
- Du Toit, B., M. (1983). Consciousness, Identification and Resistance in South Africa. *The Journal of Modern African studies*, 21(3), 365-395.
- Evans, I. (1997). *Bureaucracy and Race: Native Administration in South Africa*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Farmer, P. (2004). An anthropology of structural violence. *Current Anthropology*, 45(3), 305–317.
- Fernandez Gomora, D., Y. (2008). *The Concept of Violence and the Contentious Politics of Legitimacy: Implications for International Relations Theory and Practice*. Bachelor Thesis,

Department of International Relations and Political Science, University of the Americas Puebla, http://catarina.udlap.mx/u_dl_a/tales/documentos/lri/fernandez_g_dy/capitulo1.pdf

Freund, B. (1984). Forced Resettlement and the Political Economy of South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*, 11(29), 49-63.

Field, S. (2001). *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town*. Centre for Popular Memory, University of Cape Town.

Geographic Information System. *City of Johannesburg data*, <https://ags.joburg.org.za/cqis/index.aspx>

Gobo, G. (2008). *Doing Ethnography: Introducing Qualitative Methods Series*. Sage Publications, Los Angeles.

Goodhew, D. (1993). The People's Police-Force: Communal Policing Initiatives in the Western Areas of Johannesburg, circa 1930-62. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19(3), 447-470.

Goodhew, D. (2000). Working-Class Respectability: The Example of the Western Areas of Johannesburg, 1930-55. *The Journal of African History*, 41(2), 241-266.

Gqola, P. (2001a). Analysing Power, Language and Representation in Metaphors of the New South Africa. *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, 47, 97-106.

Gqola, P. (2009). "The Difficult Task of Normalizing Freedom": Spectacular Masculinities, Ndebele's Literary/Cultural Commentary and Post-Apartheid Life. *English in Africa*, 36(1), 61-76.

Gready, P. (1990). The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties: The Unreal Reality of Their World. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 16(1), 139-164.

Greenstein, R. (2006). Citizenship and political integration: can we draw lessons from the rise and demise of Apartheid? *Mishpat Umimshal (Law and Government)*, Faculty of Law, Haifa University, 10(1), 1-24.

- Greslé, Y., M. (2015). *Precarious video: historical events, trauma and memory in South African video art (JO Ractliffe, Penny Siopis, Berni Searle, Minnette Vári)*. PhD Dissertation – History of Art, University College London.
- Gutkind, P. (1960). Congestion and Overcrowding: An African Urban Problem. *Human Organization*, 19(3), 129-134.
- Hamber, B., & Wilson, R. (1999). Symbolic closure through Memory, Reparation and Revenge in Post-conflict Societies. *Paper presented at the Traumatic Stress in South Africa Conference*. Parktonian Hotel, Johannesburg.
- Harrison, P., & Harrison, K. (2014). Soweto: A study in socio-spatial differentiation. In HARRISON P., Gotz G., Todes A., & Wray C. (Eds.), *Changing Space, Changing City: Johannesburg after apartheid - Johannesburg: Wits University Press*, 293-318.
- Hart, D., & Pirie, G. (1984). The Sight and Soul of Sophiatown. *Geographical Review*, 74(1), 38-47.
- Hart, D. M. (1990). *Master plans: The South African Government's razing of Sophiatown, Cato Manor and District Six* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Syracuse University, USA.
- Heckroodt, W., H., L. (1960). *Annual Report 1958/59*. Natives Resettlement Board. The Government Printer, Pretoria.
- Henning, E. (2004). *Finding Your Way in Qualitative Research*. Van Schaik Publishers, Pretoria.
- Herscher, A and Sidiqqi, A., I. (2014). Spatial Violence. *Architectural Theory Review*, (19)3 269-277.
- Hlongwane, G. (2013). In Every Classroom Children Are Dying: Race, Power and Nervous Conditions in Kopano Matlwa's Coconut. Race, Power and Indigenous Knowledge Systems. *Alternation, Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of the Arts and Humanities in Southern Africa*, 20(1), 9-25.

- Houston, G., Mati, S., Dineo Seabe, S. Et al. (2013). The Liberation Struggle and Liberation Heritage Sites in South Africa Report. Democracy, Governance, and Service Delivery (DGSD). *Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC)*.
- Inwood, J., F & Yarbrough, R., A. (2010). Racialized places, racialized bodies: the impacts of racialization on individual and place identities. *Geo Journal*, 75, 299-301.
- Jones, M. (2013). Township Textualities. Race, Power and Indigenous Knowledge Systems. *Alternation, Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of the Arts and Humanities in Southern Africa*, 20(1), 26-51.
- Kaufman, S.R. (1994). In-depth interviewing (In Sankar, A. & Gubrium, J.F. eds). *Qualitative Methods in Aging Research*. Sage Publications, Los Angeles.
- Kgari-Masondo, M. C. (2013). The usable past and socio-environmental justice: From Lady Selborne to Ga-Rankuwa. *New Contree*, 66, 71-96.
- Krige, D. (2015). 'Growing up' and 'moving up': Metaphors that legitimise upward social mobility in Soweto. Department of Anthropology & Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities. University of Pretoria, Hatfield.
- Kumar, R. (2011). *Research Methodology: A Step-By-Step Guide for Beginners*. 3rd edition. Sage Publications, Los Angeles.
- Langdrige, D. (2007). *Phenomenological Psychology Theory, Research and Method*. Harlow Pearson, Prentice Hall.
- Lawton, R. (1968). A Map of Overcrowding in the British Isles. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, (43), 19-23.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Lewis, P., R., B. (1959). Statement to the members of the council. *Historical Papers Research Archive*. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

- Lewis, P., R., B. (1965). A Sketch of Life in Soweto - Munisipale Aangeleenthede. *Historical Papers Research Archive*. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Lewis P, R., B. (1966). A 'City' within a City—the Creation of Soweto. *The South African Geographical Journal*. Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Ligo, L. (1974). *The Concept of Function in Twentieth-Century Architectural Criticism*. UMI Research Press, Michigan.
- Lipsitz, G. (2007). The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race. *Landscape Journal*, 26(1), 10-23.
- Lodge, T. (1981). The Destruction of Sophiatown. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 19(1), 107-132.
- Lodge, T. (1983). *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945*. Longman Publishing Group (Pearson Education Limited), London.
- Lucas, F., A., W. (1931). An objective survey of The Native Question. *Native Economic Commission*, Lucas Papers. Historical Papers Research Archive, Johannesburg.
- Makhulu, A., M. (2015). *Making Freedom: Apartheid, Squatter Politics, and the Struggle for Home*. Duke University Press, Durham, N.C.
- Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of late Colonialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Mandell, J. (1985). Gaza: Israel's Soweto. *MERIP Reports*, (136/137), 7-58.
- Markee, N. (2012). Emic and Etic in Qualitative Research. *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*. ResearchGate.
- Marshall, C. (2015). *South African Short Stories: Apartheid, Civil Rights, and You*. Prepared for Primary Source Summer Institute: Modern African History: Colonialism, Independence, and Legacies. Hingham Public Schools.

Marshall, C. & Rossman, G., B. (1995). *Designing qualitative research*. Sage Publications, London.

Mattera, D., F. (1987). *Memory Is the Weapon*. Ravan Press, Johannesburg

Maylam, P. (1995). Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography. *Journal of Southern African Studies, Special Issue: Urban Studies and Urban Change in Southern Africa*, 21(1), 19-38.

McLeod, S. (2020). *Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs*. Simply Psychology. Viewed 01 December 2020, <https://www.simplypsychology.org/maslow.html>

Meierhenrich, J. (2008). *The Legacies of Law. Long-Run Consequences of Legal Development in South Africa, 1652–2000*. Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom.

Merrifield, A. (1993). Place and space: A Lefebvrian reconciliation. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 18(4), 516-531.

Milgroom, J. and Ribot, J. (2019). Children of another Land: Social Disarticulation, Access to Natural Resources and the Reconfiguration of Authority in Post Resettlement. *Society & Natural Resources, an International Journal*. Taylor & Francis Group, London, 33(2), 184-204.

Mills, C., W. (1997). *The Racial Contract*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London.

Motsemme, N. (2002). Gendered Experiences of Blackness in Post- Apartheid South Africa. *Social Identities, Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*. Carfax publishing, Taylor and Francis Group, London, 8(4), 647-673.

Motsemme, N. (2011). Lived and embodied suffering and healing amongst mothers and daughters in Chesterville Township, KwaZulu-Natal. Doctor of Literature in Philosophy in the subject Sociology. University of South Africa, Pretoria

News 24. (2018). Tribalism continues to detract from progress and unity. News 24. Viewed 03 June 2020, <https://www.news24.com/news24/mynews24/tribalism-continues-to-detract-from-progress-and-unity-20180122>

Nhemachena, A and Kaundjua, M., B. (2016). The Notion of the “Field” and the Practices of Researching and Writing Africa: Towards Decolonial Praxis. *University of Namibia, Windhoek, Namibia*. ResearchGate

Niemann, I. (2005). Strategic Integrated Communication Implementation: Towards a South African Conceptual Model. Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences. PhD, Communication Management, University of Pretoria. Accessed on <https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/28463/Complete.pdf?sequence=12&isAllowed=y>

Okhamafe, E. (1985). South Africa: A story in black and white. *The black Scholar*, 16(6): 18-23

O'Malley, P. 1883 Public Health Act No 4. Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory. Viewed 06 August 2020, [1883. Public Health Act No 4 - The O'Malley Archives \(nelsonmandela.org\)](https://www.nelsonmandela.org/our-work/education-and-research/1883-public-health-act-no-4)

O'Malley, P. 1894 Glen Grey Act. Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory. Viewed 07 November 2019, [1894. Glen Grey Act - The O'Malley Archives \(nelsonmandela.org\)](https://www.nelsonmandela.org/our-work/education-and-research/1894-glen-grey-act)

O'Malley, P. 1909 [Union Of] South Africa Act. Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory. Viewed 07 November 2019, [1909. \[Union of\] South Africa Act - The O'Malley Archives \(nelsonmandela.org\)](https://www.nelsonmandela.org/our-work/education-and-research/1909-union-of-south-africa-act)

O'Malley, P. 1911 Mines & Works Act No 12. Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory. Viewed 18 April 2020, <https://omalley.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv01538/04lv01646/05lv01736.htm>

O'Malley, P. 1911 Native Labour Regulation Act. Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory. Viewed 07 November 2019, [1911. Native Labour Regulation Act - The O'Malley Archives \(nelsonmandela.org\)](https://www.nelsonmandela.org/our-work/education-and-research/1911-native-labour-regulation-act)

O'Malley, P. 1913 Natives Land Act No 27. Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory. Viewed 18 April 2020, [1913. Natives Land Act No 27 - The O'Malley Archives \(nelsonmandela.org\)](https://www.nelsonmandela.org/our-work/education-and-research/1913-natives-land-act-no-27)

O'Malley, P. 1920 Native Affairs Act No 23. Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory. Viewed 10 June 2020, [1920. Native Affairs Act No 23 - The O'Malley Archives \(nelsonmandela.org\)](https://www.nelsonmandela.org/our-work/education-and-research/1920-native-affairs-act-no-23)

O'Malley, P. 1934 Slums Act. Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory. Viewed 02 July 2020, [1934. Slums Act - The O'Malley Archives \(nelsonmandela.org\)](#)

O'Malley, P. 1936 Representation of Natives Act No 12. Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory. Viewed 08 February 2020, [1936. Representation of Natives Act No 12 - The O'Malley Archives \(nelsonmandela.org\)](#)

O'Malley, P. 1936 Native Trust & Land Act No 18. Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory. Viewed 21 April 2019, [1936. Native Trust & Land Act No 18 - The O'Malley Archives \(nelsonmandela.org\)](#)

Parnell, S. Beavon, K. (1996). Urban land restitution in post- Apartheid South Africa: Questions from the Johannesburg inner city. *South Africa: Reconstruction and Change. Geo Journal*, 39(1), 13-19.

Phuza, N. (2019). An exploration of the (Re) Production of femininity in netball spaces: The case of Nelson Mandela Bay, Eastern Cape. Faculty of Arts, Master of Arts in Sociology, Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth.

Pirie, G., H. (1984). Ethno-Linguistic Zoning in South African black Townships. *The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers)*, 16(4), 291-298.

Pomerantz, K. (2019). The Story behind TIME's Cover on Inequality in South Africa. *Time*. Viewed 11 June 2020, <https://time.com/5581483/time-cover-south-africa/>

Pope, C., K. and Shoultz, G. (2012). An interdisciplinary approach to HIV/AIDS stigma and discrimination in Belize: the roles of geography and ethnicity. *Geo Journal, Special Issue: International Geographies of HIV/AIDS*, 77(4), 489-503.

Population census. (1960). Characteristics of the population in each magisterial district and economic region income by status. *Republic of South Africa Bureau of Statistics*.

Raber, R. (2016/2017). Staking Out a Place amidst Shifting Soils: Understanding Contemporary South Africa through Social Memory. *The European Master's Programme in Human Rights and Democratisation*.

- Rex, R., Campbell, M and Visser, G. (2014). The on-going desegregation of residential property ownership in South Africa: The case of Bloemfontein. Addressing South Africa's Urban Challenges. *Urbanistični inštitut Republike Slovenije*, 25, 5-23.
- Ross, F., C. (2003). *Bearing Witness, Women and The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa*. Pluto Press, London.
- Sapire, H. (1994). Apartheid's "Testing Ground": Urban 'Native Policy' and African Politics in Brakpan, South Africa, 1943-1948. *The Journal of African History*, 35(1), 99-123.
- Scheper-Hughes, N. and Bourgois, P. (2004). *Violence in War and Peace*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Seoka, J., O. and Capel, J. (2017). Soweto Report: "Waiting to Inhale", a survey of household health in four mine-affected communities. *The Benchmarks Foundation, Policy Gap*, 12, 1-164.
- Singh, S., Wassenaar, D., R. (2016). Contextualising the role of the gatekeeper in social science research. Department of Dentistry, College of Health Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa, 9(1), 42-46.
- Skinner, R. (2009). The Moral Foundations of British Anti-Apartheid Activism, 1946-1960. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35(2), 399-416.
- South African History Online. (2011). *Rand Rebellion 1922*. Viewed 05 June 2019, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/rand-rebellion-1922>
- South African History Online. (2011). *The Union of South Africa 1910*. Viewed 10 December 2019, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/union-south-africa-1910>
- South African History Online. (2015). *Glen Grey Act (The Native Issue) by Cecil John Rhodes, July 30, 1894, Cape House Parliament*. Viewed 04 July 2019, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/glen-grey-act-native-issue-cecil-john-rhodes-july-30-1894-cape-house-parliament>
- South African History Online. (2016). *Segregationist Legislation Timeline 1930-1939*. Viewed 08 June 2019, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/segregationist-legislation-timeline-1930-1939>

South African History Online. (2019). *The Destruction of Sophiatown*. Viewed 04 July 2019, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/urban-removals-destruction-sophiatown-2019>

Stadler, A., W. (1979). Birds in the Cornfield: Squatter Movements in Johannesburg, 1944-1947. *Journal of Southern African Studies, Special Issue on Urban Social History*, 6(1), 93-123.

Statistics SA. Census 2011. Soweto. Viewed, 16 September 2020, [Main Place | Statistics South Africa \(statssa.gov.za\)](https://www.statssa.gov.za)

Svirsky, M. (2016). Giorgio Agamben on Violence. *University of Wollongong*. ResearchGate

Tiryakian, E., A. (1960). Apartheid and Politics in South Africa. The University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Southern Political Science Association. *The Journal of Politics*, 22(4), 682-697.

Tabane, G., J. (1986). *The Origins and Development of African Education in Sophiatown, Martindale, Newclare and Western Native Township from Their Inception to Their Disestablishment (1905-1963)*. University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Teddlie, C and Tashakkori, A. (2009). *Foundations of Mixed Methods Research: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches in the Social and Behavioural Sciences*. Sage Publications, Los Angeles.

Thema, D. (1999). *Kortboy, a Sophiatown Legend*. Kwela Books, Cape Town.

Tema, E. (2020). My story of Kwaito. Documentary. *SABC 1*.

Turok, I. (1994). Urban Planning in the Transition from Apartheid: Part 1: The Legacy of Social Control. *The Town Planning Review*, 65(3), 243-259.

Vilakazi, S. (2012). The representation of kwaito in the Sunday Times between 1994 and 2001. Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Wizarat, T. (1980). Apartheid and Racial Discrimination in South Africa— an Overview of the Control Network. *Pakistan Horizon*, 33(4), 84-87.

Wynter, S. (2003). Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, it's Overrepresentation—An Argument. *CR: The New Centennial Review*, 3(3), 257-337.

Williams, H., P. (2017). South African Homes: The Spatial Politics of Belonging in Post-Apartheid Novels. A Dissertation Presented for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree, the University of Tennessee, Knoxville

APPENDICES

Ethical Clearance Certificate



COLLEGE OF HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

5 July 2018

Dear Thando Monica Shiba

Decision:
Ethics Approval from 5 July 2018 to
4 July 2019

NHREC Registration # : Rec-
240816-052
CREC Reference # : 2018-
CHS-0038
Name : Thando Monica Shiba
Student # : 61999444

Researcher(s): Thando Monica Shiba

Supervisor(s): Dr N Hlabangane
Department of Anthropology and Archaeology
hlabani@unisa.ac.za

Mr S van Wyk
Department of Anthropology and Archaeology
vawykis@unisa.ac.za

Social control in the 20th century and its impact on overcrowding of households in Meadowlands, Soweto

Qualifications: MA (Anthropology)

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance by the Unisa College of Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee for the above mentioned research. Ethics approval is granted for one year.

The *medium risk application* was reviewed and expedited by the Chair of College of Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee on the 5th July 2018 in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics and the Standard Operating Procedure on Research Ethics Risk Assessment.

The proposed research may now commence with the provisions that:

1. The researcher(s) will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.
2. Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study should be communicated in writing to the Department of Psychology Ethics Review Committee.
3. The researcher(s) will conduct the study according to the methods and procedures set out in the approved application.
4. Any changes that can affect the study-related risks for the research participants, particularly in terms of assurances made with regards to the protection of participants' privacy and the confidentiality of the data, should be reported to the Committee in writing, accompanied by a progress report.
5. The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study. Adherence to the following South African legislation is important, if applicable: Protection of Personal Information Act, no 4 of 2013; Children's act no 38 of 2005 and the National Health Act, no 61 of 2003.
6. Only de-identified research data may be used for secondary research purposes in future on condition that the research objectives are similar to those of the original research. Secondary use of identifiable human research data require additional ethics clearance.
7. No field work activities may continue after the expiry date (4 July 2019). Submission of a completed research ethics progress report will constitute an application for renewal of Ethics Research Committee approval.

Note:

The reference number 2018-CHS-0038 should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication with the intended research participants, as well as with the Committee.

Yours sincerely,

Signature : SURYA CAETTY

Prof AH Mavhandu-Mudzusi
Chair : CHS Research Ethics Committee
E-mail: mmudza@unisa.ac.za
Tel: (012) 429-2055

Signature : PHILLIP
Professor A Phillips
Executive Dean : CHS
E-mail: Phillap@unisa.ac.za
Tel: (012) 429-6825



University of South Africa
Pretorius Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Johannesburg
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
www.unisa.ac.za



University of South Africa
Pretorius Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Johannesburg
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
www.unisa.ac.za

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Ethics clearance reference number: Rec – 240816- 052

Research permission reference number: 2018 – CHS - 0038

04/06/2018

Dear Prospective Participant

My name is **Thando Monica Shiba**. I am a master's student in the Department of Anthropology and Archeology, Unisa, under the supervision of Dr Nokuthula Hlabangane and Mr Stephan van Wyk. The supervisors oversee my work. I am inviting you to participate in a study entitled "Social control in the 20th century and its impacts on overcrowding of households in Meadowlands, Soweto". This research is done for fulfilling requirements towards the attainment of my degree.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

The purpose of this research is to explore a possible relationship between displacement in Sophiatown during the 1950s-1960s and the development of overcrowding in Meadowlands. This study therefore aims to reflect on the impact of overcrowding on environmental health by exploring the influence of structural and social problems which are found in households. Structural problems would entail replacing a hole in an asbestos roof with a zinc sheet whilst social problems would be a communicable disease such as a rat plague. Extensive use of building material in one place counts as an indicator of overcrowding as much as lack of waste management contributes to the spread of lifestyle diseases to multiple people living in and around the same area. Hopefully by examining a variety of households, I would be able to narrow the most extreme type and cause of overcrowding and come to a conducive conclusion.

WHY AM I BEING INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?

I am looking for 15 individuals/households from Meadowlands to participate in this research because it is one of the areas which were created as a new location to place people that were being displaced from Sophiatown. For this reason, the issues that concern this study concern this community. It is hoped that your participation may begin to shed light on the issues this research is interested in.



WHAT IS THE NATURE OF THE PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY?

Your insight on how the removals took place and your experience of a new life in Meadowlands are of key importance to this study. Your role is to take me through your life from then till now, focusing largely on how the environment has influenced your lifestyle and health. Conversation will take place through what are called semi-structured interviews i.e. I will have prepared questions that I will ask and which you are encouraged to expand on, adding your insights. With your permission, the interview will be recorded, and pictures taken. Together, these data-collecting methods, will help me reach a conclusion on whether the houses in this area are, in fact, overcrowded or not or whether, also drawing from the literature, overcrowding may have an adverse effect on the health of the occupants or not.

Each visit is expected to last approximately 90 minutes per day. If the information provided has a shortfall, with your permission, a new date can be arranged to continue. I will formally ask for permission for you to participate in the study at each visit much like I do during the first visit. This is to make sure that you have the opportunity to give or deny consent with each visit.

CAN I WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY EVEN AFTER HAVING AGREED TO PARTICIPATE?

Your participation is completely voluntary. There is no penalty, no loss of benefits or negative consequences for choosing to no longer participate. You also do not have to give a reason for or explain why you are choosing to terminate your participation.

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

There are no benefits for participating in this research.

ARE THERE ANY NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR ME IF I PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT?

There is no harm intended and no indemnity offered. We all just need to remain cautious of the pain that the recollections of the past may bring.

WILL THE INFORMATION THAT I CONVEY TO THE RESEARCHER AND MY IDENTITY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

The ethical code of conduct of the American Anthropology Association which governs all Anthropological research practice will always be followed ensuring that I am transparent as a researcher with the purpose and context of my study. I have the responsibility to do all that is in my power not to cause you as an individual participant and as a community any harm. I will use the information that you share with me in an ethical and responsible manner, and only for the purposes of this study.



University of South Africa
Preller Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
www.unisa.ac.za

Any recordings that I do will be kept secure for the duration of this study and later safely discarded after the study has been completed. I will not use your name in the stored and recorded data. I will use pseudonyms in my reporting as well. In this way, your confidentiality and anonymity will be observed. All the findings will be documented and shared with my supervisors as part of the supervision process. The supervisors are also bound by ethics in how they deal with this information.

HOW WILL THE RESEARCHER(S) PROTECT THE SECURITY OF DATA?

All the information that you provide me with on hard copies will be shredded and the soft copies will be permanently deleted from devices such as the computer and the recorder.

WILL I RECEIVE PAYMENT OR ANY INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY?

There is no direct benefit, incentive or payment for any information provided.

HAS THE STUDY RECEIVED ETHICS APPROVAL?

This study has received written approval from the Research Ethics Review Committee of Unisa. A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from me if you so wish.

HOW WILL I BE INFORMED OF THE FINDINGS/RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH?

Should you require any further information such as research finding or want to contact the researcher about any aspect of this study, please contact thandoshiba12@gmail.com or 076 093 0649. Finally, if you have concerns about the way in which the research has been conducted or need more information about the study, you may contact Dr Nokuthula Hlabangane on 012 429 6557 (office hours).

Do you have any questions?

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for considering participating in this study.

Thank you.

<insert signature>

<type your name>



University of South Africa
Preller Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
www.unisa.ac.za

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

I, _____ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet.

I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty (if applicable).

I am aware that the findings of this study will be processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings, but that my participation will be kept confidential unless otherwise specified.

I agree to the recording of the in-depth interviews.

I have received a signed copy of the informed consent agreement.

Participant Name & Surname: _____ (please print)

Participant Signature: _____ Date _____

Researcher's Name & Surname: _____ (please print)

Researcher's signature: _____ Date _____



University of South Africa
Preller Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
www.unisa.ac.za

Interview Schedule

1. Can you please tell me about your stay in Sophiatown: when did you move there? Where did you move from? Who comprised your household? What was the source of your livelihood? What was your primary preoccupation when you were there?
2. Why were you evicted from Sophiatown? Can you please take me through anything you recollect about your eviction? How were you evicted? Who decided that this was going to be your new home? Do you know what prompted this decision?
3. How were you moved to wherever you were evicted to? How many families/households would you say you were evicted with? What possessions were you able to take with?
4. How would you say your life was disrupted by the eviction? How many of you who were in the same household ended up together after the eviction?
5. What is your general feeling about the eviction? Has this always been the case, or has it changed over time?
6. How do the houses in Sophiatown and this one compare – in relation to size, quality of building, sense of ownership etc.?
7. Can you share what your neighbours with whom you were evicted generally say about the eviction? Do you share the same sentiment – why/why not?
8. Where were you moved to after being displaced from Sophiatown? Would you characterize the move as a displacement? Why?
9. When did you move to Meadowlands?
10. How would you describe this area from when you moved here to now? – Probe for sense of community, quality of housing, quality of life, the wellbeing of elderly people, the wellbeing of youth, availability of recreation etc.
11. Tell me about the composition of your household in the past 5 years – who has been staying here, who moved out, who was born and who passed on? What is/was the primary preoccupation of these people? How they all are related to you?
12. Why are you still living here? Are you happy to be still living here?
13. Any other thoughts you want to share about the resettlement. What changes to Meadowlands has government made to improve the quality of life? What has been the impact of these improvements? Are you satisfied with them?

