AN EXPOUNDED READING

ON THE CONCEPTUALISATION

OF TSHWANE

BETWEEN 2000 AND 2004

by

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A TRAVELERS GUIDE OF THE CONCEPTUS EXPEDITION

A JOURNAL ON THE

TSHWANE 'CONCEPTUS EXPEDITION'

some **brief sketches** and **field notes** of an exploratory journey in search of the emerging perspectives on the conceptualisation of the City of Tshwane

by an (aspirant) urban explorer

ABSTRACT:

This study has its beginnings in the intriguing idea of how people think things are as opposed to the way things really are. This idea forms one of the central themes of the post-modern paradigm of knowledge that underlines the more inventive role of language in the constitution of knowledge. So much intrigued by this idea, I decided to plot my own expedition to gain more insight into two particular appearances of the conceptualisation of the Tshwane urban space, namely: the picturing of the **current urban condition** and the preferred concepts used by planners to **shape a better urban future**.

The expedition consists of two voyages. The **first voyage** (Part 3 of the travel journal), paraphrases the latest themes on the contemporary spatial scenery. In these sketches I tried to make sense of the s(t)imulating sites and sights by offering a personal localisation/contextualisation of these emerging spatialities. This part of the expedition highlighted the need for considerable modifications to the concepts we as planners currently use to describe the spatialities of our time. With this expectation, I commenced with my **second voyage** (Part 4 of the journal). By employing my refined mode of deconstructive reading, termed expansive scanning, I firstly (1) began to critically appraise how the current spatialities of Tshwane is observed, visualised and described and secondly (2) what shades of a better urban future are directed into position.

The travel journal concludes with a review that attempts to bring the multiple revelations/field notes together in a more meaningful whole as my answer to the query I staged at the start of the expedition. The reading is also ended with some reflections on **possible openings** for further readings and more pertinent descriptions and actions by planners.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

Lastly, my wonderful parents **Johan** and **Ann Serfontein** who have already progressed to the other side. I dedicate this journal to their lasting memory as my way to celebrate their inspiring life's and humble endeavours to shape my beginnings. Words seem to evade me, but perhaps by borrowing an excerpt from Josh Groban's lyrics: **You Raise Me Up**, I could attempt to commemorate their lasting impressions on my life.

When I am down and, oh my soul, so weary;

When troubles come and my heart burdened be;

Then, I am still and wait here in the silence,

Until you come and sit a while with me.

You raise me up so I can stand on mountains;

You raise me up to walk on stormy seas;

I am strong when I am on your shoulders;

You raise me up to more than I can be.

You Raise me Up: Josh Groban

Explorer's departing note:

In realising that my moment has come to cross a rubicon and (finally) leave behind the multiple castings that significantly shaped my beginnings, I decided to start a new phase of exploratory journeys. During my navigation of unexplored places and territories I focus on the extraction of images, ideas and concepts as a form of visual diary. With this process I try to forge an ironical dialogue between the places I come from and the new wor(l)ds I'm trying to discover. In this channel of discovery everything changes except the quintessence of my inner self, which acts as the axis around which the metamorphosis of the (new) outer self is taking shape. As also observed in the inspiring words of Italo Calvino "*Everything can change, but not the language that we carry inside us, like a world more exclusive and final than one's mother's womb*"[1].

In this in-between state, I have found new direction and gained much understanding in a shaman-like reading of the collected artefacts that often happens to be fraught with reference, irony, suggestion and possibility. From different and often unexpected vantage points, I discover/merge new meanings that re-energise and tactically position me to venture the new landscapes of endless forms and possibilities.

My '**conceptus expedition**' represents one of my recent explorations along these various channels of discovery. In this rather personal journey I draw readers into my inner domain of discovery, meaning, contemplation, learning, reflection and imagining. This compilation of sketches, notes, excerpts and re-assembled realities, offers an elaborated record of the discoveries and meanings found in my quest for some understanding of the **conceptualisation** of a contemporary urban landscape, vis-à-vis the City of Tshwane. In a rather experimental style I offer to the more attentive readers an imaginative routing through the layered textualities of the conceptualisation of Tshwane between 2000 and 2004.

The influences on this rather eccentric journey are varied, but perhaps a surprising twist of fate has left me (1968) with (perhaps) the same cosmic encoding as: the German philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche (1900); the Italian writer, Italo Calvino (1923); and the French philosopher, Michel Foucault (1926) which happens to be all mutual sharers of the same birth date, namely the 15th of October. In this journal I have therefore (un)consciously reawakened some of the traits we all (seem to) have in common for instance: the believe in and fabrication of open/surreal texts; the composing of imaginative, half poetic and playful narratives (Calvino); a general concern with the inadequacy of structuralist thought (Nietzsche & Foucault) and hence my similar tendency to instinctively take on the role of conceptual sceptic.

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[1] Vide http://www.cybernation.com/quotationcenter/quoteshow.php?type=author&id=1526. Access 3 August 2005.

Readers guide:

Set-up of the journal

The text in this journal is divided into main text and side columns. The main text provides the core arguments of each part and the ensuing set of different voyages. The side column is my eclectic space of imagination that contains my visual/conceptual diary, i.e. some of the (dis/un)covered artefacts and personal visualisations, which provide examples and sighted observations that enliven the main text. In some cases it substantiates and elaborates the arguments in the main text and in other cases it is used as a means of juxtaposition to create tension and almost ironically demonstrate the disjuncture between the prevailing thought and the growing understanding of the new realities/commodities of the post-modern city.

> The insertions used in the side bars are: (blue) **information boxes** [🛈] that further add to a point in the main text; borrowed **quotations** as stand-alone examples of expressive elucidations; various **excerpts** from the scanned texts that contain some of the more surprising finds; and a collection of imagery in the form of **aerial photos** and **photographic images** as provocative postcards gathered along the journey.

Pauses of contemplation

Each significant part of the journal starts and ends with an indented snippet/stop. At the beginning of the section it appropriately sets the scene and introduces the next paths to be ventured and explored. At the closing stages of the section it endeavours to elevate the meanings by drawing together the key points examined. It also provides an appropriate interlude and preview of further points to be explored in the next part of the expedition.

Beyond and between the text

The text narrated into existence is principally open. By the abundant use of the 'journey' metaphor, I hope to provoke further re-imaginings and texturing of the emerging meanings and versions of reality. The text does not claim to provide final conclusions but rather opens-up and explode possibilities for creative dialogue around the emerging discourses.

SPATIAL CONTEXT:
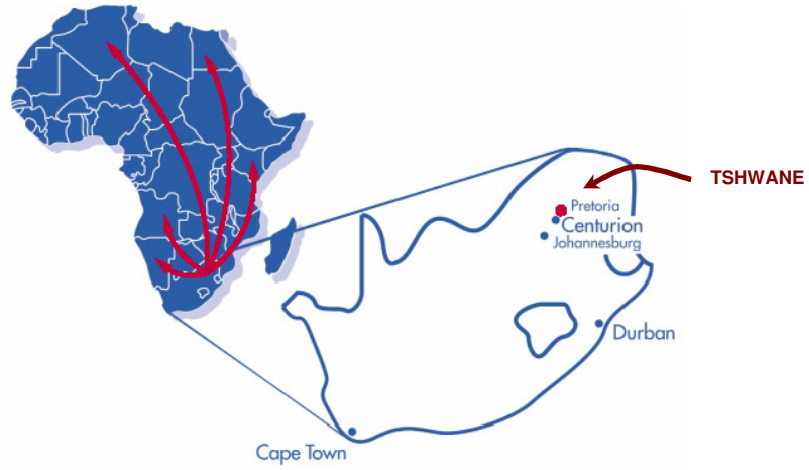
Tshwane's African context
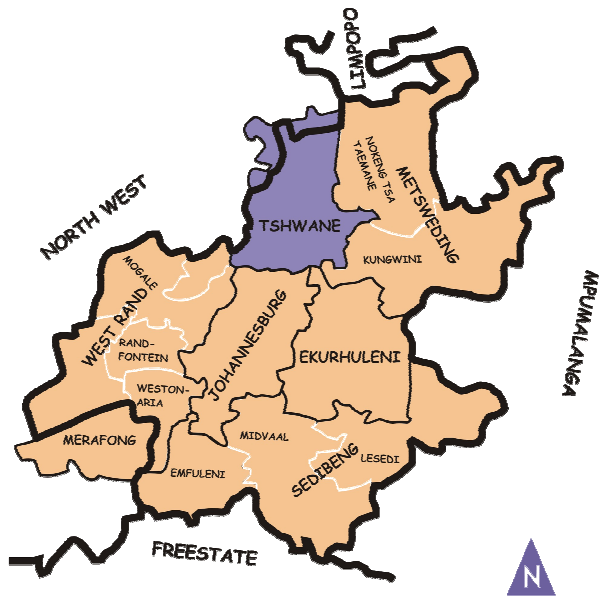
Tshwane's Provincial context (Gauteng)

Part 1: Prologue

The aperture – Some anticipatory impressions to get a move on

"Like all explorers we are drawn to discover what is waiting out there without knowing yet if we have the courage to face it."

Pema Chödrön

adventuring beyond: some OPENINGS to my odyssey of discovery

SINCE THE BEGINNING OF HUMANKIND, PEOPLE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO EXPLORE THE UNKNOWN. THE DESIRE FOR CONQUEST AND TO EXPLORE UNCHARTED TERRAIN HAS BEEN A MAIN THRUST IN OUR HISTORY. FROM THE EARLIEST DOCUMENTED ACCOUNTS EARLY VOYAGERS SET OUT AMONGST OTHER TO: FIND NEW TRADE ROUTES; NAVIGATE AND MAP THE OUTLINE/INTERIOR OF CONTINENTS; AND DISCOVER TREASURES.

THE FIRST RECORDED EXPEDITION DATES BACK AS MUCH AS 2750 B.C. AND ACCOUNTS THE EXPLORATION OF HANNU, AN EGYPTIAN THAT SAILED SOUTH ALONG THE RED SEA[2]. THESE INTREPID ENDEAVOURS AND CHANNELS OF INTERACTION ALSO REMARKABLY DEFINE THE BEGINNING OF THE PROCESS OF GLOBALISATION IN WHICH WE ALL LIVE TODAY.

↳ some **INSPIRATION** into action

With the rise of the sun and the dawning of yet another year, an enthusiastic and ecstatic mood settles over me as I prepare my virginal pursuit through the unknown territories of the conceptualisation of the contemporary city. Very much inspired by the pre-eminent explorers before me, my **'conceptus expedition'**, commences in a state of excitement and astounding anticipation, almost reminiscent of Odysseus' homecoming so mystically portrayed in Homer's epic poem: '*The Odyssey*'. After the end of the Trojan War, Odysseus set his sights on his mother country Ithaka and commenced with his epic journey back to his wife Penelope who he hadn't seen for ten years. Still, it was only after a further ten years of roaming the Mediterranean with extreme determination and miraculously braving severe storms and dangers that he reached his homeland. People are still today fascinated with the adventures of Odysseus in his untiring pursuit of uncharted territory,

> ⓘ **Odysseus (Ulysses in Latin) is one of the most famous characters in Greek mythology. As main character of Homer's timeless epic poem '*The Odyssey*', written almost 3000 years ago, he is admired for his persistence, coolness under pressure and has amongst other been called the '*raider of cities*' (Heseltine 2001:1); http://www.gradesaver.com/ClassicNotes/Titles/odyssey/about.html. Access 20 January 2003.**
>
> **His perseverance, courage, composure & imperturbability have been a constant pharos for my personal (somewhat more modest) quest.**

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[2] Vide http://www.mariner.org//educationalad/ageofex/timeline.php. Access 11 October 2004.

and some have even found in Odysseus the ethos of the wandering soul[3] (Sienkewicz 1999).

Like Odysseus after ten years of meandering the peaks and valleys of urban planning as a practicing town planner in local government, I found myself with a desire to **(ad)venture beyond**[4]. Without apprehension of what lurks beyond, I was drawn like all explorers by the enigma of distant horizons. My journey was much like Odysseus' a homecoming – a return to the same place from where I commenced my career 12 years ago. Though a bit older (and hopefully wiser), I chose the path of experimentation, learning, reading and understanding as the starting point for my odyssey of discovery.

➜ **the first conceiving of my enriching EXPEDITION**

All expeditions have a clear and focussed objective. My conceptus expedition is no different and hence began to crystallise around the intriguing question of just how a post-modern urban landscape (such as Tshwane) is (or could) actually (be) **conceptualised**. I therefore initiated an expedition that zoomed in on the customary spatial imaginings of the Tshwane planners' understanding of the city scenery and their ensuing shaping ploys put forward as the route to a better urban future. The chosen terrain for the expedition was the multiple conceptualisations amassed in the local planning texts as compiled between 2000 and 2004.

"The secret is here in the present. If you pay attention to the present, you may improve upon it"
Paulo Coelho (1992:19).

This query had its footing in a similar launching pad used by a few urban explorers as a means of conducting enquiries into the **thinking** and **acting** about/in space[5]. This cognitive paring

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[3] Vide http://www.naxosaudiobooks.com/pages/211412.htm. Access 20 January 2003. http://www.2020site.org/ulysses/fate.html. Access 21 January 2003. http://ok.essortment.com/whatareadventu_rifd.htm. Access 21 January 2003.
[4] '*Beyond*' in this context carries a much stronger meaning of simply coming/following '*after*'. Very similar to Soja's (1996:33) viewpoint, it is more related to the Latin prefix of '*post-*' and '*trans-*' that indicates a change of position, i.e. to transcend/surpass.
[5] My cloning tactic similarly echoes various other urban explorers' use of the same pairing for example: Body-Gendrot & Beauregard's reference to the study of the city as an object of '**thought**' and '**action**' (1999:30); Marcuse's call for greater efforts to '**understand**' and '**influence**' the patterns of space (1995:244); and Watson & Gibson's observation on '**imagining**' and '**constructing**' new spaces, buildings and cities, and ways of living (1995:255).

highlights two particular appearances to the conceptualisation of space that were specifically explored during the expedition, *viz*:

- the picturing and portrayal of the **current urban condition**, i.e. the thinking about space; and
- the re-imagining/shaping of a **better urban future**, i.e. the acting in/on space.

I chose this somewhat (ambitious) passageway to reassess the prevailing concepts, ideas and visualisations (ab)used by planners to portray/re-imagine our contemporary urban condition. By narrowing my scope to this cognitive twosome, *viz*: the act of **conceiving** and **envisioning** of Tshwane, I was able to explore what Harrison (2002b:80) calls '*more nuanced and contextually relevant ways*' to view, describe and engage our home-grown geographies.

Searching for any use and validation to this quest, led me to Harrison's (Ibid.79) observation that it "… *is increasingly clear that ways of thinking and acting inherited from the past are obstacles to compelling action in the present*"[6]. As similarly observed by Marcuse (2003:xiv) "… *this question of* [where we are and] *where we want to go needs to be addressed more squarely, before we can find out what policies will help us get there*" (Personal insertion added). The value of this pragmatic endeavour lies in the potential it has to appraise the appropriateness of the prevailing vocabularies and approaches for the current spatialities and challenges of the South (See also Harrison 2002b:79 for a similar view). Moreover, such an exploration from the '*edge*' is perhaps also needed to bring (new) insight, increase openness, realise potential and unlock innovation (See adjacent info box for some contextualisation and highlighting of the importance of the '*edge*' metaphor).

> '*Border*' and '*edge*' are some of the emerging metaphors for city and culture in the contemporary epoch supplanting the post-modern metaphors of '*collage*' and '*text*' (Ellin 1999:3, 4). It represents a general disillusionment with limits, margins and lines of delineation and rather celebrates a '*liminal*' position that is more '*betwixt and between*'. Harrison (2002b:79) describes the edge as "…*a place of movement and interchange, where difference provokes creativity and hybridity, and breaks down the dualisms of modern thought*".

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[6] The suggestion should not be construed to imply a total erroneous past from which we by default should be distancing ourselves. The above suggests a more pragmatic approach that simultaneously encourages the abandonment of narrow and absolute advances of planning's modernist roots, but also promotes new ways of thinking and acting that carry the reformist intentions of our roots over to the subsequent contemporary epoch in a recycled/renewed way.

What resulted from my four years of scrutinising the (textual) topography of Tshwane was a collection of fragmentary representations and interpretations**.** These field notes/visualisations are presented in the form of a **travel journal**. It serves as a diary of my discoveries as I tracked the trails left by some earlier explorers, strolled along some ill-explored pathways, stumbled over the astounding artefacts and stood perplexed by some incredible sightings. However, this journal does not only mirrors the details found, but also constructs a '*further version*' and interpretation of the re-assembled realities (See also Wetherell 2001b:396 for a backing of this ploy). Instead of documenting this interpretative reflection in full, I rather opted to present the final account as an eclectic selection of findings explained and justified in the form of an argument (For similar advances see for e.g. Taylor 2001:39, 42; Powers 2001:37, 54).

These reflections are necessarily ephemeral, contingent, partial, and therefore (con)textual. This stance, which I would like to refer to as **discursive intricacy**, is a central (dis)position under the post-modern condition. However, as correctly pointed out by some observers this should not be seen as some kind of inadequacy. Dear (2000:5) for example notes that: "*…the deliberate attempt to engage in multiple ways of seeing should result in a richer envisioning and representation of the world*" (For supplementary views on the 'openness' of text see adjacent info box).

> ⓘ **This notion of discursive intricacy, is also related to Lefebvre's '*illusion of transparency*' (Soja 2000:94), and Dear's (1999:5) '*crises of representation*', which has been further elaborated in my '*plotting of the expedition*' (p.24) under the section: '*revamping hard epistemologies for soft sciences*'. Soja (1989a:182) also confirms the afore-mentioned by acknowledging that "*Not all can be understood, appearances as well as essences persistently deceive, and what is real cannot always be captured even in extraordinary language*". Southall (2000:10) similarly points out that "*No descriptive account can include more than a minute percentage of the multitudinous stream of acts, events, occurrences through which a phenomenon has been manifested*".**

➜ **joining a network of urban RE-ENVISIONARIES**

As a keen voyager, I was very fortunate to pick up a number of highly promising trails from a few former explorers such as Edward Soja and Michael Dear who carried out comparable excursions through the '*archaeologies*' and emerging geographies of the post-modern urban landscape (Dear 2000:2). Although their journeys at times emphasise the so-called '*generalizable particularities*' (Soja 2000:154) evident

> *"The catalogue of forms is endless: until every shape has found its city, new cities will continue to be born. When the forms exhaust their variety and come apart, the end of cities begins"*
> **Italo Calvino.**

across a range of localities, they do however also caution against the fixation of totalisation, i.e. the tendency to absorb the many urban specificities into singular homogenising views (Soja Ibid.; Simone 2001:105). Harrison (2003: 14) has likewise warned against globalising discourses that focus on the inevitable general effects rather than the particular. However, recent texts – albeit a small (somewhat rebellious) literature emerging in the interrelations of the South - have exhibited less generalisation and a greater sensitivity to the multiple/local outcomes (Harrison 2003:17). Some pioneers now on a regular basis encourage explorers to reveal the distinctiveness of local spatial forms and hence have made frequent calls for comparative analysis (See for e.g. Soja 2000:154; Dear 2000:318 for similar encouragements).

In this (re)collection of my journey along the contemporary trajectory of the City of Tshwane, I share with other **critical scholars**[7] a commitment to generate knowledge not for its own sake, but instead, for its practical usefulness in localising broader discourses and the possibility it holds for stimulating suitable action. As such I pursued this objective by taking on board a pragmatic mind-set most vividly found in the views advocated by the American neo-pragmatist Richard Rorty[8], the French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard (Sim 2001:13 & 340; Dear 2000:36) as well as Philip Harrison (2002) a local scholar, that all initiated excursions along these lines. The pragmatist stance operates on a case-by-case basis, it is sceptical of foundations and absolutes, it abandons the need to get to the real essence and regards knowledge as more (con)textual where ideas are continually revisited, nuanced and mutated (Sim 2001:9; Kuhn 2002:7). It steers away from a language game of abstractedness and focuses on use

In this journal Pretoria and Tshwane are often used interchangeably to denote the same place. In a recent survey conducted by the University of Pretoria, with regard to the identity of the metro, it was found that the name 'Pretoria' was voluntary chosen by 90% of the respondents to describe the city that they were living in. Only 4,5% of the respondents, indicated that they live in the '*City of Tshwane*' (Horn 2002:3), which indicate a very strong preference by the majority of residents to the name of Pretoria. Notwithstanding the evidence, the current political thought tends to favour the name Tshwane.

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[7] The reference here is to '*critical theory* - a term that emerged roughly in the 1960's in a variety of fields in the humanities and social sciences, which was mostly informed by post-structuralism, deconstruction and Marxist theory. Its major concern is with identity and specifically looks at the mechanics of the process of privilege and marginalisation. The term/style is generally associated with major thinkers such as: Friedrich Nietzsche; Karl Marx; Jaucques Derrida; and Michel Foucault.
Vide http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Critical_theory. Access 3 August 2005.
[8] Interesting to note that Rorty's doctoral dissertation entitled: '*The Concept of Potentiality*' very fittingly demonstrates one of the central concerns of pragmatism that the potential truth only emerges in the continuous practical engagement with our surrounding environment.
Vide http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Rorty. Access 3 August 2005.

and practicality as vital components of truth[9]. Moreover it encourages place-based vocabularies that relates/speaks more concretely to the lived experiences of how humans engage each other and the world around them (See also Harrison 2003:22 for a comparable observation).

Perhaps one mentor of note that mostly influenced my personal critical perspective, who I would like to mention upfront, is Edward Soja. His most recent memoirs of his journeys through the '*Postmetropolis*'[10] and his activism for challenging the intellectual hegemony of globalisation, strongly guided my personal expedition. His '*emancipatory objective*', i.e. to encourage "*…better ways of* **thinking** *and* **acting** *to resolve the major problems facing contemporary* [urban] *societies throughout the world*", was also carried forward into my quest (Soja 2000:352) [Personal insertion and emphasis added].

� **decorative WRITING**

I have itentionally improvised a different way of writing. These freely structured imaginative bits of writing, referred to by Taylor (2001:45) as '*messy texts*', have been generously narrated into presence through troping, pastiche, fragmentation, short-circuiting[11] and borrowing from other commentators. In this journal the specific collection of post-modernist writing techniques[12] was composed by: the figurative use of words (metaphor); the fabrication of a patchwork of multiple voices borrowed and woven together; the inclusion and shading together of a mosaic of excerpts and snippets to advance my own argument; the disrupting and cutting-up of the very fabric of the text with multiple typefaces, fonts, footnotes and miscellaneous arrangements; the facilitation of dialogue and interactivity; the choreography of a playful mood and at times, affording myself the opportunity to personally step into the text; and the (unique) branding of the travel

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[9] Vide http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pragmatism. Access 3 August 2005.
[10] This is the term used by Soja (1997 & 2000) to describe the dramatically restructured metropolis at the beginning of the 21st century.
[11] This notion refers to the (personal) interjection of the author into the text (Sim 2001:131).
[12] See Lewis (2001:125, 126 & 131) for a description of some of these techniques.

journal's visual appearance through the use of colours, repetition and a coherent master document set-up.

In piecing together the various fragments and techniques a montage-like effect was created. It fittingly emulated the process of knitting together a new composite whole from the multiple imagery found along the journey. At times it was necessary to indulge in the exaggerated articulation and invention of textualities. This somewhat **tautologising effect** was intentionally used to express my despise with the persistent use of meagre and archaic vocabulary. Although this has been done somewhat at the expense of general perceptibility, the esoteric quality was essential to be more informative, enhance imageability and improve memorability.

"… views of the world cannot be fully and adequately stated in the language of conventional prose" **Throgmorton (1992:19).**

In addition to the above, this somewhat unconventional style serves various other purposes. It for example (1) practically demonstrates the fabrication and use of a more decorative style of writing; (2) it purposefully draws readers into the text and makes them active companions to the journey[13]; (3) the abundant use of metaphor provokes alternative meanings and brings about a lasting emancipation in rethinking the post-modern urban landscape; (4) it voices a critique of formal/modernist writing techniques by providing a channel for a more contextual/hybridised sketching of complex (urban) actualities; (5) it appropriately mirrors the multi-texturedness of the post-modern urban scenery and my perplexity in navigating its contours; and (6) lastly it "…*generate*[s] *a disturbing pleasure and encourage*[s] *openness to otherness"* (Gibson & Watson 1995:2).

With this more vivid objective in mind, I commenced with the planning of my voyage through the textual scenery of the City of Tshwane.

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[13] This is an example of the fabrication of '*writerly text*' that invites readers to participate in the production of textual meaning (Sim 2001:124, 382).

Part 2: the Route map

An exploratory scheme – the assembled atlas for steering the expedition

"We must not cease from exploration. And the end of all exploring will be to arrive where we began and to know the place for the first time."

T.S. Eliot

FRAMING my excursion of discovery

THE PREAMBLE SO FAR HAS OUTLINED THE NEED TO ENCOURAGE BETTER WAYS OF THINKING ABOUT THE POST-MODERN CITY AND MORE RESPONSIVE WAYS OF ACTING IN SPACE. AGAINST THIS BACKDROP I CONJURED MY OWN EXPEDITION AIMED TO UNCOVER THE PREVAILING DISCOURSES ON THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE TSHWANE URBAN SCENERY. WHAT STILL NEEDS TO BE DONE IS TO NARROW MY SCOPE AND POINT THE DIRECTION ACROSS THE TEXTUAL REALITIES.

➜ **directing the MISSION**

Waking up on the Ides of March with a more clear understanding of what the objective of my expedition was, I then started to direct my mission. For this purpose I narrowed down my intention by outlining a potential path through the mental pictures of/on Tshwane. This was done in the form of a route map to guide the expedition towards finding answers on the following question:

"…Adventure is a way of travel not a destination"
Unknown

How is the City of Tshwane conceived and envisioned in the 'contemporary moment'?

The various elements encapsulated in the query can be portrayed as follows:

> ⓘ **Qualitative research is concerned with questions that begin with: how?, why?, in what way? Quantitative research conversely, is more concerned with questions about: how much? how many?, how often? and to what extent Hancock (1998:2)**

- The '**City of Tshwane**' denotes my heuristic grounding, i.e. the delineation of my spatial/textual setting.

- '**Conceiving**' is my first attribute that denotes the thinking in/of space, i.e. how the existing urban fabric is imaged, described, observed, visualised, patterned and mapped. By zooming into these representations/interpretations, I intended to discover the favoured nuances in picturing the perceptual space.

- '**Envisioning**' is the second attribute that denotes the acting, i.e. how a better future is profiled. By putting the spotlight on these imaginations, I have aimed to discover the different shades portrayed of a better future.

- The '**contemporary moment**' denotes the present time window that started December 2000 following the local government elections. This period is characteristic of planning/planners' very first mental picturing in the post-transitional phase. This episode also immediately follows the passage of the (deconstructive) reading of Riette Oosthuizen (1999) of the planning text in Tshwane for the period 1970 – 1998. Since this informative reading, no further textual readings were conducted, which primarily motivated me to do a further comparative reading.

> *This epoch generally referred to in the exploration as the 'contemporary moment', concurs with the final phase of the transition of local government in South Africa. It is an important period that heralded the introduction of the so-called new '(post-transitional) system of municipal government' (Harrison 2002c:7), which culminated in the newly demarcated municipalities replacing the previous transitional councils.*

The period also marks the end of the internal transformation process in the City Planning Division, of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality that resulted in the appointment on 1 January 2004 of a (new) permanent management team[14]. Hence, for the purposes of this expedition, the 'contemporary moment' appropriately ends December 2003, i.e. the period that concludes the transitional phase of the Division.

WITH A MORE THOROUGH UNDERSTANDING OF THE DIRECTION OF MY MISSION, I INITIATED THE PLOTTING OF MY EXPEDITION. THIS ASSIGNMENT CONTEXTUALISED THE MISSION AND DETAILED THE MEANS OF ENQUIRY IN ORDER TO BE RECEPTIVE TO THE SCENERY.

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[14] The particular delineation of the time window also correlates with my inclusion in the new management team, as Manager Metropolitan Planning of the City Planning Division. This mark-out also afforded the opportunity perhaps for another exploration to distinguish between the progress made on planning matters during the interim phase and the ensuing post-transformation phase.

MY PROGRESSION SO FAR HAS POINTED OUT THE OBJECTIVE OF THE EXPEDITION AND HENCE HAS ALSO OUTLINED A POSSIBLE COURSE THROUGH THE TEXTUALITIES ON TSHWANE. WHAT STILL REMAINS TO BE DONE IS THE CON(TEXTUALISATION) AND DETAILING OF THE EXPEDITION.

Before I proceed with my somewhat elaborated expedition (on a day appropriately set aside in honour of working people), I felt it fit to briefly question how appropriate and responsive our researching methods are. As similarly asked by Rajchman (2000:7)**:** "*what is it today to think or to imagine,* [to probe or to enquire] *to construct or to design, in relation not to "things made" but to "things in the making"*"? [Personal insertion added]. Distilling this somewhat further and paraphrasing it more attuned to my particular investigation, one could ask: what range of methods and techniques are required to make practical sense of the textual passages on an urban-work-in-progress?

"What really exists is not things made but things in the making"
William James Cited by Lapoujade 2000:54)

In search for some '*new ways of seeing*', I decided to divert temporarily on a **reconnaissance trip**. This informative trip through the array of post-modern research methodologies, unlocked numerous suggestions and potential entry points to my specific mode of enquiry. It commenced with a review and patching up of positivist modes of inquiry as a logical consequence to the rising post-modernist thought. This instinctively informed my preferred range of (useful) methods for a situated reading of the discursive/textual surfaces on/of the Tshwane.

"As these geographies of the twenty first century are being born, the rise of post-modern thought has encouraged, even insisted on new ways of seeing"
Dear 2000:1)

What follows from here is some of the identified markers I found useful for making practical sense of the post-modern discourse on research methodologies. This is then followed by a detailing of my expedition. I immediately start with the post-modern outlook as the way in to the plotting of my expedition.

In recent years there has been a growing awareness that planning text is much more than a straightforward conduit of objective realities. Since the 1960's onwards a contrasting belief system has picked up momentum around the realisation of multiple understandings. This has been the gist of an epistemological transition from the positivist to the more post-modernist approach where greater emphasis has been placed on intuitive understanding as appose to confirmation methods backed by scientific principles (Wabash College 2004). In reality though we have not witnessed a total displacement but rather a parting with what has gone before. It has been a period of break(ing)-(out/up) and fading away, which still allowed for certain overlapping, co-existence and continuation of the previous paradigms (Chambers 1990:2; Dear 2000:32; Harrison 1996:31).

> *ⓘ* **Although the detection of historical epochs, i.e. periodisation, and the installing of a new era in place of the former remains a disputed zone (See for example Flusty & Dear 1999:25; Amin & Thrift cited by Harrison 1996:31), most would agree that the post-modern condition has already firmly settled in.**

In the portrait that follows, I did not attempt to provide a full account of the genealogy and etymology of the post-modernist discourse, nor did I try to offer a complete taxonomy of its latitude. In a somewhat modest (re)collection, I limited my scope to the **post-modern paradigm of knowledge**. I explored the muddling of positivist epistemologies of enquiry and hence the opening-up to multiple/ alternative channels of enquiry.

As observed by many commentators, the essence of the modern worldview had its genesis in the Enlightenment, empiricism and the natural sciences (E.g. Dear 2000:29; Harrison 1996:26; Munslow 1997:182 and Wabash College 2004). This original outlook significantly shaped the preferred lenses through which we observed and interpreted the world. The main premises of this initial angle of enquiry were objectivism, empiricism, rationalism, a mechanistic worldview, reductionism and scientism (Dear 2000:29). This combination of epistemological filters drove a clear divide between those kinds of

knowledge and type of methods that qualified for the status of truth(full), and those that supposedly did not. Particularly in the physical sciences, this modus operandi was over time elevated as the (only) infallible, genuine, accurate and truthful method for obtaining knowledge of the world, its inner-workings and the causality of relationships that existed between its ('orderly') parts (Taylor 2001:11). The only permissible methods to acquire knowledge were by means of objective testing using the scientific method. Under this tradition, knowledge became that which could be **empirically verified** by an objective scientist (See also Wabash College 2004 for corresponding observations). Anchored by these ('sound') foundations, researchers regarded the discovered knowledge as universal and enduring and further strongly believed that there was an objective/single reality that (somehow) did not depend on human interpretation (For similar affirmations see also Taylor 2001:11; Dear 2000:28)[15].

Being situated in the social sciences though, and with a tendency to explore my surrounds with a similar inclination towards the post-modern standpoint, tended to make me also sceptic towards these afore-mentioned '*scientific pretensions*' (Dear 2000:31). (Fortunately) since the 1960's we have witnessed an uneasiness with the so-called '*implausible doctrines of objectivity*' (Dear 2000:32), and consequently also observed the steady crumbling of the theoretical, universalising and empirical conventions of scientism and its dominance in research methodologies (Jenkins 1997:4; Dear 2000:28; Capra 1983:11, 37 & 38 and Wabash College 2004).

Overtime a more sensible understanding of reality began to emerge. This understanding took shape around a greater emphasis of the inherent complexity, randomness, potential chaotic and innumerable nature, unpredictability and less comprehensibility of reality (See abutting text box for a apt illustration of a more post-modern image of reality). The view that transpired actually reflected a more sincere understanding of

> *i* **Warf (1993:163) perhaps best exposes the post-modern picture of reality, in depicting it as "…*a puzzle of infinite complexity, an eclectic kaleidoscope, a collage so multitextured that it can never be adequately captured by a single theory*".**

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[15] Vide also http://www.edb.utexas.edu/faculty/scheurich/proj1/inquiry.html. Access 28 July 2005.

knowledge/truth as typically depicted in Nietzshe's '**figurative image of truth**', Lefebvre's suggestion about the '*illusion of transparency*' (Soya 2000:94), and Dear's (2000:5) reference to the '*crises of representation*'. These notions all signify a general disillusionment with the idea that language is an authentic, unsoiled and innocent representation of reality (Dear 2000:179; Ermarth 1999:47). The (modernist) nothing-beneath-the-surface outlook, i.e. the logocentric view of text (Munslow 1997:185; Dear 2000:179), has therefore been fundamentally questioned by the realisation that some '*slippage*' of meaning always occurs between the signifier and signified (Sim 2001:5). To sum up, it has increasingly become evident that phenomena can be explored but can hardly be fully explained.

"What, then, is truth? A mobile host of metaphors, metonymies and anthropomorphisms … Truths are illusions which we have forgotten are illusions" **Nietzsche cited by Sim (2001:325)**

This recognition has sparked the so-called 'linguistic turn', *viz:* the turn to '*language, discourse and rhetoric*' (Throgmorton 1992:17). It is an alternative quest in support of the opacity, multiplicity, figurative, and constructive function of language (For similar comments see also: Munslow 1997:185; Throgmorton 1992:17; Dear 2000:36 & 179; Kirk 1999:318; Ericksson & Lehtimäki 2001:203; Himmelfarb 1997:158; Spiegel 1997:181; Goatly 1997:155). It acknowledges the **ambivalent nature of text** and understands that knowledge is not just a found object that accurately represents the reality, but is instead generative, inventive, interpretative, ambiguous and hardly neutral (For more complementary views on the ambivalent nature of text see adjoining text box).

> *ℹ* **The ambivalent nature of text is personified in many shapes, forms and appearances, for example: Wittgenstein's notion of '*language games*' (Sim 2001:309); Barthes' ideas of the '*death of the author*', '*writerly text*' and '*ideological/imaginary elaboration*' (Sim 2001:187, 221, 336 & 382; Barthes 1999:121); Munslow's (1997:2, 6, 7, & 140) suggestion about the '*creation*', '*inventing*' '*imposition*' '*colligation*', '*collation*', '*configuration*' and '*emplotment*' role of language; Wetherall's (2001a:16) submission about the '*constitutive*' and '*constructive*' function of discourse. Moreover, Esmarth (1997:48) argues that language is "*…not merely a neutral collection of travelling pointers with which we indicate real things*"; Atkinson and Coffey (1997:55) writes about the "*…construction of distinctive documentary realities … [which] create a very particular version of reality*"; White argues about the "*…deep structure of linguistic protocols…*" (Munslow 1997:121); and Ericksson & Lehtimäki (2001:205) amongst other, refers to "*…rhetoric and argumentation tactics*".**

Under such mentioned evolving conditions typically found in the social/urban environment, it is not surprising that a contrasting technique - enthused by more post-modern philosophies such as hermeneutics, interpretivism, constructivism and post-structuralism –

has been favoured (Taylor 2001:11; and Wabash College 2004). In contrast to the rigid conventions of modernist science where knowledge is largely methodologically bound, knowledge (from a more post-modernist perspective) is rather acquired through achieving understanding (For similar viewpoints see Hancock 1998:1; and Tinkler 2004)[16]. Understanding is therefore seen as a more dialogical/shared process where the focus is more on revealing/presenting an **interpretation/version of reality**, than the mere verification of the (real) truth/reality (Taylor 2001:11; and Wabash College 2004). From an epistemological perspective the knowledge obtained from such investigations is therefore more partial, situated, contingent, ephemeral and relative. This type of research according to Hammerssley, cited by Taylor (2001:325), produces knowledge "...*with the status of "beliefs about whose validity we are reasonably confident*", as oppose to presenting universal truth claims (Ibid: 12 & 325).

"There are no facts, only interpretations"
Nietzsche (1997:16)

In piecing together these preliminary glimpses of a much broader discourse on the fracturing of positivist modes of enquiry, a few promising gaps appeared to have opened-up for me to gain an in-depth understanding of the **conceptualisation of Tshwane**. With a multifaceted subject matter such as planning text typical acknowledged for its constitutive quality, I found very limited value in using the rigid verification methods typically employed in the positivist research methodologies. My iconoclastic stance towards these (inappropriate) methodologies for inquirie in the social sciences, led me to favour the post-modern approach and technique to figure out the (further) meanings embedded in the stories that planners (in Tshwane) prefer to tell about the spaces they describe and plan.

With this mopping-up exercise completed, I advanced my reconnaissance trip towards my next stop, i.e. the illumination of the

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[16] Understanding in this context is seen as an ontological condition. In other words humans are regarded as self interpreting beings and understanding is something they use to acquire knowledge (Wabash College 2004)

following query: how and what post-modern method(s) can be used to make practical sense of favoured conceptions on the City of Tshwane?

→ **in situ investigations of NATURALLY-OCCURING (CON)TEXTS**

So far along my expedition a broad picture has been outlined of the shift towards post-modern research methodologies. Against this backdrop it is perhaps not surprising that a new interest and focus began to develop in the study of practice, i.e. an inquiry into the meaning(s) of phenomenon as it occurs within naturally-occurring contexts (See also Coetzee 2005:23 & Innes 1995:183 in Watson 2001 for similar observations). My expedition hence takes a further short course through so-called **'field research'**[17] practices by zooming in on case study research as one of the most prominent ploys used in the '*practice movement*' (Watson 2001).

The study of practice is a form of qualitative research most often employed in phenomenology and ethnography. This naturalistic mode of enquiry tries to extract an intuitive understanding of the essential features of phenomenon as it exists as part of the world in which we live and work (Hancock 1998:4)[18]. This kind of research focuses for example on how individuals and groups see the world and create meaning(s) out of their observations and experiences of it. Phenomenological research generally operates from a premise that some gap exists in our understanding of the world and that further elucidation is needed to increase insight and deepen our understanding of our lived world.

The research methodology particularly applicable to this expedition of real-life (con)texts is qualitative **case-study research**. Rather than

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[17] For similar use and commentary on this notion see also: http://faculty.ncwc.edu/toconnor/308/308lect09.htm. Access 28 July 2005; and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fieldwork. Access 3 August 2005.
[18] Vide also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phenomenology. Access 3 August 2005

using very large samples and rigid techniques to examine only a few variables (most often the case in controlled/laboratorial situations), a case study approach involves an in-depth examination of a single instance and lends itself to the generation (as appose to the testing) of hypotheses and theory[19] (For some definitions on case study research see adjacent text box). As highlighted by various commentators (E.g. Merriam 1998; Creswell 2002:485 & 496; and Patton 1990), case studies can be very useful to develop an in-depth understanding of a situation and the particular meaning thereof for those involved. Flyvbjerg (2001:71) also similarly acknowledges this premise by describing case study research as '*a method of learning*' that generates the type of knowledge that makes it possible to move from the lower levels of human knowledge to the higher echelons of learning[20]. Of particular importance in case study research is the **holistic probing of phenomena** that specifically avoids the separation of elements from one another and the larger context, by rather stressing the importance of examining complete situations (See for example Gillham 2001:11; Yin 1994:3 & Erlandson *et al* 1993:14).

> **There appears to be two dominant views in the literature on how researchers defines case study. Some such as Stake (2000) conceives case study as the object to be studied, whiles others (E.g. Creswell 2002) regards it more as a process of investigation. Yin (1994:13) defines a case study as an empirical enquiry that "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real – life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident". Creswell (2002:485) defines case study as 'an in-depth exploration of a bounded system (e.g. an activity, event, process, or individuals) based on extensive data collection".**

Various classifications can be used to describe the different types of case studies. Perhaps one of the more practical and often used in the qualitative research arena is the categorisation of Stake (1995 & 2000) that delineates three possible types, *viz.* intrinsic, instrumental and collective[21]. Since this expedition sought to develop a deeper understanding of the conceptualisation of the City of Tshwane, it duly fell within the scope of an **instrumental case study**. My particular slant was more illustrative and hence it focussed predominantly on the description of the rich texturing of my research topic. Furthermore, it served to make the unfamiliar familiar and endeavoured to give the

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[19] Vide http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Case_study. Access 3 August 2005
[20] Vide also Coetzee (2005:25) for a similar point of view.
[21] An **intrinsic case study** is undertaken to gain a deeper understanding of a case. An **instrumental case study** is used to provide insight into a particular issue in order to advance understanding. A **collective case study** is an examination of a number of cases in order to inquire into a particular phenomenon (Stake 1995 & 2000).

more exploratory readers a common language of my subject matter. As similarly noted by Hancock (1998:8), this case study aimed to identify how a complex set of strands can converge to produce a particular manifestation.

The next concern in my search for epistemological clarity is the choice of data and possible ways for examining its appearances.

➜ **turning to TEXTUALITIES**

In the investigation so far it has become increasingly clear that our mental mappings of the (urban) world are mostly interpretative in nature. In my choice of exponents on exhibit, I have laid emphasis to how text is viewed as a possible intentional terrain of fabrication (For complementary views on the argumentative nature of text see for example Healey 1993:83; Gasper & George 1998:367; and Oosthuizen 1999:8). More specifically, the central role of text in the constitution of knowledge and its prospect for revealing the present mindsets/practices of a profession has become evident (See for example Esmarth 1997:55; Munslow 1997:6; Kress 1994:28; Guttenberg 1993:1; Oranje 1997; and Oosthuizen 1999). Hence it is not surprising then that these very texts have lately been favoured as fitting subject matter for exploratory enquiries.

> *"Humans live in two worlds – the world of events and things (the territory) and the world of words about events and things (the map)."*
> Weick (1990:2).

Planning is no different, since the cognitive mappings we come up with typically find expression in the plans we compile. Planners generally conceive their '*images of the world*' and '*modes of maintenance and repair*' in the written form of language (Mandelbaum 1990:353; Oosthuizen 1999:8). Planning text has therefore also been acknowledged as a pivotal source of planners' description of the urban space(s) and their arsenal of preferred manoeuvring tactics (See the adjacent text box for some leading references to the argumentative nature of planning text). However, the mere recognition is not enough, as justly observed by Oosthuizen (1999:3) "*it has become time to 'read' (and even more*

> ⓘ **Some typical demonstrations of the argumentative nature of planning texts are *inter alia*: Throgmorton's (1992:17) idea that good planning is about '*persuasive storytelling*' of the future; Mandelbaum's (1991 & 2004 suggestion that planning arguments are typically expressed and emplotted in '*stories*'; Moore Milroy's (1989:313) submission that planners '*construct plans that are plausible to the profession and the community*'; and Lapintie's (1998:187) and Ericksson & Lehtimäki's (2001:205) observation that '*rhetorical and argumentative tactics*' are employed as vehicles in strategy text.**

importantly, to reflect) beyond this ideally presented and seemingly unproblematic discursive surface".

In search for some clues as to the perusing of these texts, it became apparent that the analysis of text is not simply a gateway to certain (uncovered) phenomena that somehow existed beneath the text. Instead, as duly noted by more progressive commentators, the focus should rather be on the discourse itself. As a patterned product of **collaborative praxis**, it in its own right holds certain ideas and versions of reality (E.g. Potter & Wetherell 2001:206; Prior 1997:64, 65 & 70). Knowledge of our world is therefore as much a product of how we write as what we write (Munslow 1997:6; Wetherell 2001a:16). The significance of this insight is the growing realisation that a potential reading of textualities should go beyond the mere confirmation of authenticity, i.e. a (forensic) investigation that determines the truth/falsity of evidence and facts. It should rather seek to retrieve the meaning(s) mediated between readers and writers and the possible consequences of these versions of reality (For similar comments see also: Meinhoff & Richardson 1994:2; Munslow 1997:6 & 16; Ericksson & Lehtimäki 2001:207; Mandebaum 1990:350; Wetherell 2001a:16; Potter & Wetherell 2001:200 & 203).

➥ **situating and employing TEXTUAL READING**

As hinted above, the planning fraternity like many other professional groups has its own arsenal of distinctive documentary contents (i.e. plans), which contain particular versions of reality and strategies to improve upon the current spatial condition. These textual perspectives/tactics are generally considered to be typical archetypes of how our fellowship configures and constitutes reality. Given the growing realisation of the importance of these '*modes of self description*' (Oosthuizen 1999:13) and the understanding that these **textographies**[22] are richly textured/opinionated, a sudden

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[22] This term was first devised by Swales (1998) to refer to the study of text in a situation.

gap has opened-up for textual reading as a revelatory methodology of inquiry.

Some of the first moves along these lines were made by Michael Foucault who initiated explorations on the unscrambling of the '*textualised shape*' of language (Munslow 1997:26), and its '*constitutive machinery*' (Atkinson and Coffey 1997:56). This turn towards narrative interpretation as the main vehicle for knowing, centres on the illumination of the various nuances formed in the text. Hence it laid the foundation for a mode of inquiry focusing on the reading of **documentary realities** (Munslow 1997:120 & 180; Prior 1997:70). Content analysis forms part of the larger genre of discourse analysis (Wetherell 2001b:381). Discourse analysis is a relative new development that essentially emerged from the 1980s onwards (Wetherell 2001b:381; Powers 2001:1). Notwithstanding its novelty, it quickly settled in as an acknowledged method of qualitative research (See the adjacent text box for some descriptions of the analysis of texts, textual forms, and systems of text).

> **ⓘ** **Many tags and labels have been used to identify the analysis of documentary realities. Some of the most common titles used that unite and divide the various nuances of the scheme are for example: critical discourse analysis (E.g. Van Dijk 2001; Fairclough 2001); argument mapping (E.g. Fletcher & Sigismund 1990; Lapintie 1998; Gasper & George 1998); rhetoric analysis (E.g. Ericksson & Lehtimäki 2001); documentary research, textual analysis and content analysis (E.g. Rubin; Rubin & Piele 2000; Coulthard 1994); and textual reading (E.g. Sandercock 1998).**

Although the aim was not to dig up a full taxonomy of discourse analysis, it was however necessary to glace over its latitude in an attempt to appropriately situate and put together my own researching approach. Without prejudicing my argument and limiting the exhaustive field of discourse analysis to a single classification, I nevertheless found Stephanie Taylor's (2001:7-9) categorisation[23] as an informative entry point to the field of discourse analysis. I gathered from her sorting that my particular mode was more related to her suggested third tradition, *viz:* an approach that explores **patterns** ('*interpretative repertoires*') in the language associated with a

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[23] Taylor's (2001:7-9) proposed categorisation of discourse analysis consists of four approaches. The first tradition studies language **itself**, i.e. it searches for regularities and patterns of imperfection and variation in the vocabulary, structure and function of language. In contrast to the first tradition the second, focuses on the **use** of language, i.e. it searches for patterns in the interaction identifiable in sequence of occurrences and regular shapes of scripts for example. A third and somewhat different tradition explores the '*interpretative repertoires*' of a particular occupation, i.e. it searches for patterns in the discursive surface (wordily constellations) of a specific group situated in a particular context. The fourth and last tradition in this classification focuses on patterns in the '*extra-discursive*' surface, i.e. those of a much larger context like the power struggle in society or culture articulated through language.

specific topic and situated within a particular fraternity. By no means do I suggest that these different approaches are mutual exclusive and distinct. Instead, I believe as Taylor (2001:10) does, that they represent centre points of different styles, which are intertwined and implicated in one another. Nevertheless, the third tradition presented a solid foundation and tactical opening for my method of investigation, since the semiotic material of my subject matter had a strong constitutive quality and was firmly situated in a particular professional context[24].

At closer inspection I also discerned two possible ploys that could be used to capture the meaning embedded in documentary material. As a first modus operandi, patterns could be revealed though a detailed analysis of the surface characteristics of text. This approach entails a linguistic analysis of the text on various levels, for instance: narrative and argumentation structure, rhetoric structure, word frequency, metaphorical use of words (tropological conventions) and choice of vocabulary (Fairclough 2001:241-242; Erdener & Dunn 1990:293; Munslow 1997:154; Coulthard 1994:7; Kramsch 1998:166; and Ericksson & Lehtimäki 2001:205 & 219). A second possible way takes a broader stance by exposing the underlying deep meaning as constituted in text through a process of interpretation and (re)contextualisation (Erdener & Dunn 1990:293; Rubin, Rubin & Piele 2000; Powers 2001:37; Tett & Wolfe 1991:196). My approach was more aligned to the second approach and therefore did not zoom into the detailed formal properties of the text, but instead opted for a **big picture view** that focussed on the main discourses[25] of Tshwane's (conceived/envisioned) urban 'reality'.

"…there is no reading without interpretation; no 'plan sense' that precedes interpretation, giving the reader nothing to do but pay attention, decode accurately, and get the message straight" **Mandelbaum (1990:350).**

In a further scoping for definitive clues on the reading of planning text and the possible linking-up of my exploration with other similar

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[24] Vide page 20 (FRAMING my excursion of discovery) for the detailing of my subject matter.
[25] Discourse(s) in this context can perhaps be best understood as the sedimented constructs that result from the emplacing of text in a particular context so that it obtains a coherent meaning/image shared by author(s) and reader(s) (Munslow 1997:181).

approaches, returned only a few results. At present, existing examples on the analysis and reading of spatial text are relatively scant[26]. The most vivid applications found were from Alison Tett & Jeanne Wolfe's (1991) outline on '*Discourse Analysis and City Plans*', Patsy Healey's (1993) examining of the '*communicative work of development plans*', Seymour Mandelbaum's (1990 & 2004) explanation on '*Reading Plans*' and Beth Moore Milroy's (1989) proposition on '*deconstructing plausibility*' through a liberal reading of plans. Although these readings were slightly nuanced from one another and guided by different objectives, they had in common an understanding that the reader actively participated in the (re)production of meaning, generally referred to as 'writerly texts' (Sim 2001:382). Furthermore, these readings clearly assumed that many perspectives were possible from the same text.

This somewhat sketchy picture is also mirrored in the South African Planning context. Content analysis of local planning text also appears to be a rather less traversed landscape (See Oosthuizen 1998:14 for a similar viewpoint). A worthy start was however made by Jennifer Robinson (1992) in her brief Foucaultean textual enquiry into the power, space dynamics of the South African City. Initiating more thorough inquiries along these lines and maturing them to a recognisable and acknowledged status, was primarily done by Mark Oranje during the closing decade of the 20th century. This culminated in an unpublished PhD thesis echoing Ludwig Wittgenstein's notion of '**language games**', through a contextualised mapping/verifying of planning's own '*Language Game*' in South Africa (Oranje 1997). This opening seems to have enthused Riette Oosthuizen's (1999) recent somewhat bulky and detailed textual analysis of plans in Pretoria from 1970 to 1998. Her passage was woven around several journeys of discovery, *vis-à-vis* some key discourses on plans, planners and planning and the beneficiaries of planning as

"…attention to language, texts and professional discourses will be at least one important requirement for making sense of the post-apartheid city" **Robinson (1992:298).**

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[26] For similar viewpoints see also Oosthuizen (1999) and Oranje (1997).

represented in the written/fabricated text of planners in Pretoria (Ibid.:15).

My reading is therefore a continuation of these first encounters, although somewhat differently reworked and modified towards the conditions of my subject matter. It embodied Oosthuizen's spirit and touch, but in approach tilted more towards the (re)interpretation of the textual extracts than revealing certain unknown mysteries and surprises that somehow existed behind the text. In my case, I also favoured planning text as 'evidence' for my journey of discovery. With a reasonable solid understanding of the methodological context in which content analysis is situated, I shifted my focus towards the most suitable ways to unlock the multiple meanings found in these written portrayals, i.e. as Tett & Wolfe (1991:196) notes: the *"...circumscribed 'hard copy' instance of planners..."*.

� **rupturing (CON)TEXTUAL**[27] **tranquillity**

The most promising opening to get to the bottom of the so-called *'textual unconscious'* (Sim 2001:222), is found in the tracks of Jacques Derrida. This French philosopher was one of the first pioneers that introduced deconstruction in the late 1960's as an opposing mode of reading more responsive to the multiple meaning(s) of text (Ibid.). **Deconstruction** was founded on the belief that language is not a neutral conduit for ideas and messages (Moore Milroy 1989:315; Munslow 1997:180; Sim 2001:222). It was generally put forward as the avenue for picking-up, (re)collecting and intercepting the slippage left in the process of signification.

"...texts ... are always more than any mission would impose, they exceed the boundaries they currently occupy" (Caputo 1997:31).

In siding with deconstruction as method, one tends to rupture the (supposed) preset meanings found in text(s). It sets out a path to recover and expose the unforeseen and hidden meaning(s) (See also

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[27] This absorption/imploding of the prefix (**con**)- into textual does not only serve as a reminder of the reassertion of context, i.e. localisation, in the post-modern condition (Moore Milroy 1991:185; Harrison 1996:27), but also emphasises that textual meaning, more than often, depends on their contexts of use, as often pointed out by Wittgenstein (Wetherell 2001c:187).

Caputo 1997:31; Sim 2001:222; and Moore Milroy 1989:317 for similar viewpoints). It goes about its task by taking apart/inverting the logic and displacing opposition, leaving in its place many new questions and possibilities (Moore Milroy 1989:314). Moreover, it creates an aperture for unlocking the '*possibility space*' (Battram 2001:105), *i.e.* the place where all our ideas live before they are squeezed through the '*prison house of language',* to borrow a Nietzschean saying (Spiegel 1997:184).

During my enquiry, I intentionally allowed deconstruction to infuse my methodology and to open up a strategic entry point. My point of departure was therefore not to uncover truth, but to **distil value** by unmasking, uncovering, unravelling and unlocking the (further) meanings found on the conceptualisation of the urban space in Tshwane. Beth Moore Milroy (1989:313) also considers deconstruction to be a useful method for examining how planners construct plausibility. She clarifies this method in her juxtaposing of a '*literal*' reading with the more preferred robust '*liberal*' or deconstructionist mode of reading (Ibid.:318)[28]. Deconstructionist reading involves amongst other demystifying the text, tearing it apart, exposing the oppositions on which the text relies and reading existence in non-existence and non-existence in existence (Rosenau 1992:109; Moore Milroy 1989:314 Oosthuizen 1999:19 & 20).

What I gathered from this offering and hence chose to take along my expedition, was an eclectic collection of deconstructive impulses. However, Oosthuizen's (1999:19) metamorphoses of Moore Milroy's methodology through her (re)creation, adaptation, '*criss-crossing and interweaving*' thereof on her own personalised resistance reading had a great influence on my personal angle of enquiry. My ensemble therefore represents a further permutation of these stimulating

"The aim of "deconstruction is, precisely to make manifest the hidden meanings which continue to lurk within the silences and absences that the text attempts, in vain, to impose" **Spiegel (1997:184).**

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[28] In a **literal reading** words in the text are taken for their straightforward, conventional meaning, whilst in a **liberal reading** an abundance of meaning is anticipated. This form of reading is also echoed in Seymour Mandelbaum's method of '*reading against the grain*' (1990:353) and Riette Oosthuizen's recent offering on '*resistance reading*' (1999:19).

submissions on deconstructive reading but adapted to my (con)text, which I labelled **expansive scanning**. It shares with the other commentators an array of intentionalities and practices to get beneath the textual veneer, i.e. the semiotic mantle of words and mental artefacts. Yet, it is also simultaneously unique and different since a lesser emphasis was placed on the disrupting and resisting impulses evoked by a critical deconstructive reading. A far greater accent was placed on elucidating and opening-up further versions, which might be silent and absent at this stage.

My process of deconstructive reading entailed a rather intense scanning of the abstract representations/interpretations found in the texts. This process enabled me to not only collect data, but more importantly to generate meaning and expose the unconscious conceptual bias found in the various representations. The procedure involved a series of steps repeated over and over until a 'big picture' understanding emerged. The procedure started with a rigorous reading to develop a comprehensive understanding of **what is in the text**. It primarily involved the making of detailed notes/memos in the margins about the nature of the information I noticed. This was followed by further in-depth scoping of the notes to determine **what relates with what**. This exercise listed the types of information found and the latent patterns visible in the textual excerpts. By recognising the differences/similarities a complex set of themes/categories was built up very similar to the process referred to by Creswell (1998) as '*categorical aggregation*'. The next step entailed the repeated revisiting of the data and reviewing of the categorisation system to ensure that the **data was sited in the right place**. The last phase of analysis sought to **build abstractions** by the continued re-reading, clustering of ideas, observing of plausibility and the relationships between the variables in order to develop a coherent understanding of the multiple conceptions[29].

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[29] The process was adapted from Zucker's (2001) interpretation of Miles and Huberman's (1994) 13 tactics for generating meaning from qualitative data as well as Hancock's (1998:17-18) procedure for content analysis.

This individualistic style was therefore custom-made and would necessarily differ from person to person. Nevertheless, in borrowing from the postmodernist style and method, I would maintain that these ephemeral and contingent accounts could by no means be adjudicated as to light and not existing at all. Since the discourse on urban conceptualisations is still very much in the texturing, I am of the view that it should remain open to commentary and potential enrichment from a deconstructive reading like this one.

There is therefore little value in developing statistically valid samples or conclusive proof of hypotheses. My focus was rather on developing a (truthful) understanding of the **meaning the spatial phenomenon** had for the various actors or participants in the conceptualisation of the City of Tshwane.

➔ **the selected TEXTS**

The texts selected for the scanning, were the full complement of two Integrated Development Plans (IDP's), a City Development Strategy (CDS), a Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF's) and a Local Economic Development Plan. In guidance by Taylor's (2001:24) criteria for selecting material, I chose these texts on the grounds that they belonged to a '*limited category*', i.e. it represented the full assortment of texts that dealt with the **(re)conceptualisation** of the City of Tshwane during the period I marked as the contemporary moment. I regarded this selection, as good/important textual specimens of the typical plan(ning/ers)' thought(s) on the perceived urban scenery and the conceived images of redress.

These texts represented a rather voluminous collection of approximately two thousand pages in total that had to be scrutinised through multiple passes of qualitative reading, deciphering and interpreting. In view of the huge task at hand, the reading of the selected texts was done in a more a holistic, intuitive, non-linear and

creative manner in order to give a picture of the meanings present in the texts.

➜ some beacons on **GOOD PRACTICE** and **USEFULNESS**

As I near the start of my two voyages, it is perhaps good to provide a few comments on the **credibility** and **fruitfulness** of my exploration. In following post-positivist directions, my research generated various ideas that were more situated and contingent. The (new) knowledge found and narrated into presence had no intention to claim universal applicability and the status of enduring truth. Instead, it simply referred to the unique situation of Tshwane as it was (dis)articulated by the specific narrators of the planning text.

However, I do not regard this somewhat more modest claim, as a kind of imperfection in my research process. It merely concedes that textual realities are more situated, pluralistic and inevitably influenced by any attempt to read and analyse it (For a supporting observation see Taylor 2001:319). Under such conditions, my position is simply that the knowledge produced was inescapably partial and requires different criteria to demonstrate integrity than the conventional criteria of internal and external reliability, validity, neutrality and replicability. In general, qualitative investigations like this enquiry tend to rather demonstrate its trustworthiness and authenticity by means of criteria such as credibility, applicability and confirmability (See also Lincoln and Guba 1985 for similar views).

In order to specifically lend credibility to my qualitative research process and findings, I incorporated a range of alternative methods similarly advocated by Taylor (2001:319-322), Tinkler (2004) and Zucker (2001). Firstly, I positioned this exploration as a **continuation** of Oosthuizen's (1999) scholarly work on a reading of the planning discourses on Pretoria (1970 to 1998), into the successive post-transitional phase of local government. Although my topic/focus was somewhat different, I could nonetheless answer on her call to keep

the debate open by (re)connecting with and extending some of her threads into the following epoch. In addition to the continuance tactic, I employed '**prolonged engagement**' (Cresswell & Miller 2000) or what Merriam (1998) refers to as '*long term observation*'. I continued and persisted with my expansive scanning process for 3 years. This allowed me to scope the voluminous body of text multiple times and to allow sufficient time to acquire in-depth insight into the conceptual patterns and complex relationships that emerged/existed across the respective texts.

Moreover, the quality of my interpretation was further enhanced by my so-called '*insider status*' (Taylor 2001:321). This more intimate relation with the planning text came about by my position as a full-time planner and later Manager of the Metropolitan Planning Function of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality. Being in the setting and working in the same environment where these texts were created, placed me in a perfect position to observe things that would otherwise have been overlooked and perhaps would not have been so apparent if the analysis was done by an outsider simple reading the text(s) without having had access to the intricacies surrounding the planning text. I therefore used the '**participant observation**'[30] technique to specifically provide further credibility to my findings. I also ensured sampling diversity by using '**triangulation**' as a justification method[31]. I specifically used multiple sources of texts to seek convergence of the data and to confirm or disconfirm themes and ideas. This rich textual base enabled the (re)iteration and elucidation of patterns, but also served as a form of averaging of peculiarities not necessarily representative of the central body of themes.

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[30] Vide also Wabash College (2004); Gillham (2000), Erlandson *et al* (1993); Yin (1994); and Jorgenson (1989) for detailed definitions of participant observation, its value and applicability.
[31] See for example Taylor (2001:322), Yin (1994:91-92) and Homann (2005) for supporting views of why triangulation improves validity and integrity of the research outcomes.

Since I was primarily engaged in the re-interpretation of the (written) perceptions of others, I increasingly became conscious of the potential for subjectivity due to the centrality of my own perceptions in the research process[32]. I therefore used various validating procedures to increase my objectivity, such as '**researcher reflexivity**' (Creswell & Miller 2000). This was done by continuously questioning my assumptions and interpretations. I further endeavoured to maintain a heightened perceptiveness and awareness of possible biases as a result of my background, aptitude and general experience. Where I doubted my objectivity, I noted my inclination or context that could have coloured my specific perspective. Since my investigation was not the mere unscrambling of some predetermined facts or reality, I also consistently focused on the **persuasiveness/plausibility** of my argumentation, to ensure that a coherent (re)presentation is given of the findings[33]. The last method that I used to minimise my subjectivity and to ensure accuracy of my portrayals, was through a process referred to as **member checking** (See for example Gillham 2000:13 and Erlandson *et al.* 1993:28-29). The trustworthiness and correctness of my main findings were primarily addressed by allowing leading experts in the spatial planning fraternity of the City of Tshwane to scrutinise my findings and give feedback on its integrity (See adjoining text box for a list of the leading specialists).

> ⓘ **The following individuals conducted the member checking procedure:**
> **Dr. V. Nel – current Acting General Manager City Planning (City of Tshwane Municipality), Dr. J. Coetzee – former Acting Manager Metropolitan Planning (City of Tshwane Municipality); Mr. L du Bruto – former Chief Town Planner (Centurion City Council); and Miss. L. Strydom – former Deputy Manager Spatial Planning & Policy (City of Tshwane Municipality).**

Drawing closer towards the end of my reconnaissance trip, it is perhaps also necessary to deposit a few thoughts on the **fruitfulness** of this exploration. Although the exercise was primarily a personal quest of learning, experimentation and self-realisation, which in itself is self-fulfilling, I could gather some worthy uses for my findings.

Firstly, in dis(turbing/rupting) the seeming untouchable planning text of Tshwane, I unearthed some very useful reflections of the

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[32] Dear (2000:179) specifically refers to this form of interpretation as '*active interpretation*'.
[33] Creswell & Miller (2000) similarly refers to this validating procedure as '*thick description*'.

characteristic conceiving and envisioning of the City of Tshwane. This version on **latent realities** was specifically aimed at inviting and influencing practitioners to refashion their (narrow) planning conceptualisations.

In addition to my highlighting of the meagre portrayals, my more sceptic stance towards the status quo (i.e. a post-structuralist position), lead to the **demystifying of the texts' authority**. In doing so, potential blockages to the more vivifying and unprejudiced (re)imagining and (re)making of the City of Tshwane could be clearly flagged. Furthermore, on top of the sincere attempt to provide a valuable barometer of the actual postures and stances of plan(ning/ers) on the (re)conceptualisation of Tshwane, I also raised the awareness on the many silences/absences on the spatialisation of the city. These efforts collectively formed the basis of a possible theorisation that Jorgenson (1989:107) describes as the '*making sense of the data*'. This process went beyond the mere description of textual patterns by focussing specifically on fusing the main themes and interpretations into emerging theory[34]. In this regard my picturing and juxtapositions began to establish the very first foundations of a new theory on more pertinent ways to perceive and reconceive the Tshwane urban scenery.

➜ **WINDING UP**

In drawing together these many glimpses and returning to my original query staged at the beginning of the reconnaissance trip, a few gateways seem to have opened-up. In order make practical sense of the (textual) surfaces, I realised that I needed to supplement the numerous suggestions on qualitative research methodologies with some purpose made techniques of my own. By being mindful to piggyback on a '*putatively universal working model*' (Gasper &

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[34] For some complementary explanations of theorisation, see amongst other: Gillham (2000); and Jorgenson (1989).

George's 1998:378), I consequently decided to conceive my own version of deconstructive reading termed **expansive scanning** to (re)interpret the current (conceptualised) urban scenery.

Given the post-structuralism's growing scepticism towards the rigidities of positivist modes of enquiry, I equally found it compulsory to engage opposing research methodologies. The main rationale being that the multi-textured/constitutive quality of planning text, called for a post-modernist research approach. My own mode of deconstructive reading therefore simultaneously demonstrates support for the linguistic turn, and also introduces my own attempt towards elucidating and rupturing the textual veneer on spatial conceptualisations. Since the expedition was largely a **reconnoitring exercise** of uncharted territory, I set-up my researching scheme at a higher altitude and primarily focussed on mapping-out the bigger picture. As a result, some smaller stones were left unturned.

The expedition (re)connected with the unfinished avenues of Oosthuizen (1999) and continued her exploratory openings, in relation to the textual discourses on plans, planners and planning in Pretoria, into the 'contemporary moment'[35]. My focus was the text itself and yielded a **(re)interpretation and new version** of the '*presences*' in the '*absences*' and the '*absences*' in the '*presences*' found in planning text (after Nehamas cited by Oosthuizen 1999:20). In fracturing and unsettling the (composed) '*texturology*' (Soja 1996:314) on the conceptualisations of Tshwane, some new fragments transpired for the potential (re)composing of the broader discourse on the perceiving and reconceiving of the broader South African urban scenery.

"It was, in short, an attempt to put into practice the pragmatist maxim according to which there is nothing in the making unless what is already there is unsettled, mixed up, mixed together anew, without prior program, encompassing plan, or single fixed end" (Rajchman 2000:15).

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[35] Vide p.21 for an indication of the specific time window.

Part 3: First Voyage:

The sketch out - Navigating through the facts and fiction on post-modern urban imprints

"The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes, but in having new eyes."

Marcel Proust [S.a.]

BACK ON TRACK AFTER A BRISK DETOUR THROUGH THE QUICKSAND OF PROMISING WAYS TO PROBE TEXTUAL PASSAGES, A PATH SEEMS TO BE CLEARED FOR MY FIRST VOYAGE. THIS VOYAGE EMBARKED UPON THE DAUNTING COURSE THROUGH THE PICTURING OF THE POST-MODERN URBAN LANDSCAPE. BY ENGAGING THESE IMAGINATIVE MEANDERINGS, I AIMED TO PARAPHRASE THE FACTS AND FICTION ON THE POST-MODERN GEOGRAPHY IN A REDRAFTED ATLAS[36]. THIS SPATIAL SKETCH OF THE CONTEMPORARY SPATIALITIES PRESENTED ME WITH A VALUABLE ROUTE MAP FOR NAVIGATING THE INTRICATE IMAGINARY TEXT(UAL/URED) MUDDLE ON THE TSHWANE (CONCEPTUALISED) SPATIALITIES.

♦ **a prelude to excavating the post-modern discourse on SPATIALITIES**

Like the pre-eminent explorers before me (E.g. Dear 2000; Soja 2000; Ellin 1999), I am also concerned with making sense of the post-modern urban landscape. This advance is part of a group of emerging explorers' aim to unlock new understandings of the contemporary urban patterings. By revisiting these representations we begin to raise questions and possibilities about the future of cities (See also Massey et al. 1999:2; Gibson & Watson 1995:8; Robinson 2002:4 for similar assertions).

In the reflection that follows a **brief review** is offered on some new surfacings of the ever changing urban scenery. This almost voyeuristic scoping focussed more on discerning the outline of the post-modern urban landscape than zooming into its morphology. By scanning the broad silhouette, I attempted to spot what has become known in the literature as the '*generalizable particularities*' (Soja 2000:xvii, 154). This does not imply that the entire urban spectacle could be effortlessly

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[36] This attempt similarly supports and reconfirms Parnell & Mabin's (1995:60) pertinent assertion that: "…[South African] *cities await the emergence of new ways of seeing, new attitudes and understanding...*"

cataloged in a single universalising representation. On the contrary, the contemporary text on the city space, has taken on a variegated look over space and time with a multitude of forms and appearances visible[37].

I kick off this voyage with a momentary look at the dramatic metamorphosis of the urban scenery and its accompanying conceptual bedazzlement.

➜ a **NEW (CON)TEXT** in a disruptive age

As I woke-up on the 10th of October, 2003, with Heraclitus frequently stated dictum that nothing is permanent but rather in a constant state of change[38], I'm once again reminded of the remarkable changes witnessed during the 20th century. These changes, which were primarily the result of technological innovations, seem to have taken a sudden ironic turn at the start of the 21st century. In this regard, the renowned urban theorist David Alexander (2002:5) has amongst other noted that "…*the third millennium begins at a time when humanity struggles to assimilate the technology it has created, which has caused immense upheavals in the ground rules of human relations*". One still very vividly recalls **9/11** and the invasion of Iraq, etc. that introduced the '*Age of Terror*', which left permanent scars in world stability and dashed hopes for a prosperous start to the third millennium (See bordering text box for a brief detailing of this notion).

**All things are in flux
Plato, Cratylus**

ⓘ **9/11 marks the most significant terrorist attack in the history of the USA that took place on 11 September 2001. It entailed the deliberate crashing of four hijacked Boeing's into the financial and military icons of the country killing 3343 people in total (Alexander 2002:2).**

The mere sight of these changes seems so overwhelming that one very easily looses sight of the many other profound changes of our contemporary age. Apart from the intellectual, emotional and spiritual transformation in all aspects of life, which took place during

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[37] Paquot (1999:83) also acknowledges this idea by observing that "*There is not one city; it always and necessarily is multiple*".

[38] Vide http://ancienthistory.about.com/gi/dynamic/offsite.htm?site=http%3A%2F%2Fwww. forthnet.gr%2Fpresocratics%2Fheracln.htm. Access 30 January 2003.

the last 30 to 40 years and generally referred to as the '*Turning point*'/'*Post-modern Condition*', a profound **urban transformation** impelled by spatial, technological, political, cultural and socio-economic changes was also witnessed (Capra 1983; Harvey 1990; Castells 1992).

Most urban theorists are at once that something extraordinary happened to cities during the closing epoch of the twentieth century (E.g. Soja 1996, 2000; Flusty & Dear 1999; Dear 2000; Ellin 1999; Graham & Marvin 2001; World Bank 2000b). We witnessed a colossal erosion and restructuring of the urban landscape to the extent that Soja (2000:96*), as* one of the most prominent commentators of the contemporary urban transformation, even goes so far as referring to it as a '*transformative moment*'. In a reworking of one of the modern-day commentators of modernity, i.e. Marshall Berman's (1982) pivotal writings, Soja (2000:96) further accentuates this argument by describing the transformative moment as a*: "…time of accelerated change when seemingly all that was solid and dependable in the recent past melted into the intensely unsettling "air" of the present"*.

This intense period of urban transformation, has concurrently extended and (re/un)made the spatialities of the modernist era. Several observers (E.g. Castells 1993, 1998; Cuenya 2000; Harvey 1990; Soja 1989b, 1996, 2000; Sassen 2000a) have illustrated how the 'reworlding'[39] and 'urbaning'[40] processes have broken down the previous urban appearances, and subsequently, how it has mutated new urbanscapes. A more apt account of the last 40 years of urban reconfiguring would be that of a wide-ranging **(re)formation** as apposed to a (s)light reconditioning. Against this background it has increasingly

> *"The [urban] restructuring process is far from complete but it is beginning to have some profound repercussions on the way we think about the city, on the words we use to describe urban forms and functions, and the language of urban theory and analysis"*
> **Soja (1989:185)**

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[39] 'Reworlding'/'worlding' are terms originally devised by Iain Chambers and often used in post-modern discourses on cities to describe the affects of the placement of a city in the expansive global network" [i.e. globalisation], which increasingly engulfs everyone into its finely choreographed/ tumultuous planetary networks (Graham & Marvin 1996: 569 - 574; Soja 2000:152, 218).

[40] 'Urbaning' is a concept used by Coetzee and Serfontein (2002:1) to denote the "*complex, ongoing and dynamic changing processes, within and outside urban areas, which impact on, or are impacted upon by the process of becoming evermore urban*".

become clear that the features of the Postmetropolis do not resemble the older conceptual mappings, and that considerable modifications have to be made to the somewhat outdated archetypes often used to describe the spatialities of our time (See also Soja 2000:241 for a comparable viewpoint).

➧   the **BLURRING** of the city's discernable footmarks

There seems to be consensus that as the new geographies began to sprout and the urban vortex of transformation displaced and altered the previous patternings, the traditional conceptions on the city became more and more blurry (For corresponding remarks see Ellin 1999:274, 280; Mikelbank 2004:937; Soja 1989:181; Soja 2000:150; and Dear 2000:40, 140). The **vaporization of the city's perceptual features**[41] was primarily caused by a lack of adaptation of the prevailing labels used to describe the city's main features. The traditional unwavering binary codings such as: the '*city*' and the '*suburbs*', the '*core*' and the '*periphery*', '*First*' and '*Third World*', '*developed*' and '*developing*', as well as the long-established organic and machine metaphors, became increasingly obsolete. In trying to respond to these outdated labels and the general disarray of urban thought on the logics of post-modern urbanism, many commentators started to raise their voices in support of: the fracturing of the prevailing mental constructs; '*dialogical engagement*'; '*alternative conceptions*'; '*different cartographies*'; and '*further signs*' (E.g. Soja 1996:50; Soja 2000:xviii, 154; Harrison 2002c:79, 80; Coetzee & Serfontein 2002:9, 10; Dear 2000:159; Gibson & Watson 1995:2; Patton 1995:113; Mabin 1995:191; and Parnell & Mabin 1995:43).

"Recent descriptions of the city … suggest that it is increasingly difficult even to determine what a city is and what its contours are" **Landry and Bianchini (1995:4 & 9**)

The aforementioned puzzlement generated considerable topicality and a body of international (re)conceptualisation that attempted to make practical and theoretical sense of the urban mutatings (See for

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[41] This growing ambiguous mental mapping of the contemporary urban scenery is also similarly observed by: Boyer (1999:65) as the '*etherealization of geography*'; Barnett (1986) as the '*elusive city*'; and Sharpe and Wallock (1983) as the '*crises of language*' (Cited by Ellin 1999:271).

example Castells 1989, 1993 & 2000; Clark 1996; Ellin 1999; Fishman 1987; Garreau 1991; Hannigan 1998; Graham & Marvin 1996; Sassen 1994; Soja 1996, 2000; Southall 2000). Locally, the (re)formation and (re)making of the urban spatialities are yet to be fully studied and understood (For a corresponding observation see Harrison 2003:17). Against this scenery it can be assumed that it is perhaps more necessary than ever before to commission further journeys into this patchily mapped territory of the current urban condition. However, this is not a plea to follow in familiar tracts, but rather a call for new and ingenious ways to explore/describe our local territories. Hopefully this will create a platform from where some of the experiences of the South can be interjected in the predominant ethnocentric/Euro-American discourses that tend to model/absorb all urban effects into universalising portrayals of the North (See also Southall 2000:5; and Mabin 2001:183 for similar comments).

"The Exopolis stretches our imaginations and critical sensibilities in much the same way it has stretched the tissues of the modern metropolis: beyond the older tolerances, past the point of being able to spring back to its earlier shape" **(Soja 2000:279)**

IN SHUFFLING THESE NOTABLE GLIMPSES INTO A TACTICAL POSITION, I AM BROUGHT TO THE POINT WHERE MY VOYAGE CAN START. WHAT HAS BEEN REVEALED SO FAR IS A FLEETING PREVIEW OF THE PROFOUND (DE/RE)PATTERNING OF THE CONTEMPORARY URBAN FABRIC. THIS UNDERSTANDING HAS SIGNIFICANT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CONCEPTUALISATION AND PLANNING OF CITIES. PERHAPS ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE, AS HIGHLIGHTED BY CASTELLS (1992:77), IS THE REALISATION THAT "…A NEW WORLD REQUIRES A NEW UNDERSTANDING AND ULTIMATELY A NEW THEORY" [PERSONAL EMPHASIS ADDED].

Without delay it is perhaps then appropriate to respond to Manuel Castells' call by presenting my own (imaginative) version of the changing urban scenery/text.

I began the mission of making sense of the emergent discourse on the multiple spatialities that make up the contemporary city, in the footsteps of the various afore-mentioned commentators who called for the updating of our outdated spatial conceptualisations. I took up the challenge and ventured an alternative **language of description** on some of the symptomatic intonations found along the post-modern urban vista. In my (re)telling of the images, I did not merely pick and decode signs, but keenly partook in producing some supplementary signs of my own[42]. This was accomplished by extracting instant images from the actuality and also affording myself the opportunity to compose the same **(vera)city** at slightly different angles. These encapsulations on contemporary urban footprints, also referred to by Soja (1996: 38, 57) as '*approximations',* attempted to engage the contemporary city through a post-modernist prism[43].

"No one, wise Kublai,
knows better than you that
the city must never be
confused with the words
that describe it"
(Calvino 1974:61)

In mapping these developing spatial surfacings, I selected the most edifying '*sites and sights*' (Soja 1995a:13) as my personal collection of representative postcards of the post-modern urban vista. I broke from the use of a single model and advanced the (e)merging of concepts and notions across time, space and between observers. This small sample on offer did not afford me the joy of protracted detail and comprehensive elaboration. Instead, I mainly exhibited the more vivid images as indicative portraits and fragments of a much larger discourse in the making. These clippings from my notebook are

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[42] This type of analysis is comparable to Soja's (1995a:15) technique, referred to as '*interpretive analytics',* which he actively employs in his interpretation of the '*heterotopologies'* of Los Angeles. It is also similar to Patton's (1995:114) '*new aesthetic of cognitive mapping*' that he uses in his dealings with '*Images of Postmodernity*'. See also footnote 36 for a similar appeal from Parnell & Mabin (1995:60).

[43] The engagement of post-modernist/alternative interpretations of the urban structure has also been encouraged by several commentators (E.g. Dear 2000:157; Mabin 1995:191). As justly observed by Dear (2000:159), these approximations are not (grand/meta)-narratives but rather a more modest **micro-narrative** that awaits the possibility of dialogical engagement from other commentators. According to Lyotard (1984), one of the leading reporters on the '*Post-Modern Condition*', we cannot rely on these previous totalising narratives in the post-modern world but need to construct more self-styled little narratives.

therefore partial and incomplete but hopefully sufficient enough to glimpse the outline of the post-modern **spatialities**. This (con)textual/ceptual rendering, also established some baseline conditions for my mode of deconstructive reading, planned for the second voyage.

Throughout the (re)composition I maintained a similar awareness of what Dear (2000:136) refers to as our *'vital groundedness'* by paying particular attention to **local (spatial) outcomes**. I therefore used Tshwane as a conceptual base for my reading of the textured (idea/land)scape. This attentiveness to Tshwane's situatedness, implied a refusal of any attempts to locate Tshwane's particular place along a global linear axis and thus falling into a trap of reducing the specific spatialities of Tshwane to a *'mere place-in-a-queue'* (See also Massey *et al.* 1999: 17 for similar concerns). I therefore rather focussed on portraying the particular (dis)similarities, mutations and distinctive manifestations vis-à-vis post-modernist (de/re)patternnings.

I believe as many other post-modernist urban voyagers justly do that in these multiple stories/pictures of cities, new perspectives will surface (See for e.g. Massey *et al.* 1999:2; Mabin 1995:191; Parnell 1997:894; Robinson 1997:367; Soja 2000:4 & 5; Body-Gendrot & Beauregard 1999:4 for similar viewpoints). I therefore favoured a point of view that the (re)conceivement of the contemporary city is the essential starting point for **(re)imagining** better/alternative futures for the rapid changing urban actualities of the South (See also Soja 1995a:30; Robinson 2002:4, 16; Parnell & Mabin 1995:39, 43 & 60; Parnell 1997:903; Mabin 1999:142; and Harrison 2002b:78-80 for similar opinions) (Note the adjacent text box for a detailing on the meaning of (re)imagining).

> *"Imagination is more powerful than knowledge"* (Albert Einstein cited by Strydom 2002:12)

> *ⓘ* **The meaning associated with the notion (re)imagining in this (con)text has been borrowed from John Dewey's portrayal of the related term '*Imagination*' in '*Art as Experience*' (1934) as documented in Joan Ockman's intellectual journey: '*The Pragmatist Imagination'.* A full extract is quoted here to articulate the exceptional quality of the conception. "[Imagining] …*designates a quality that animates and pervades all processes of making and observation. It is a way of seeing and feeling things as they compose an integral whole. It is the large and generous blending of interests at the point where the mind comes in contact with the world. When old and familiar things are made new in experience, there is* [imagining]. *When the new is created, the far and the strange become the most natural inevitable things in the world. There is always some measure of adventure in the meeting of mind and universe, and this adventure is, in its measure,* [imagining]" (Ockman 2000:25).**

THE COLLECTION THAT FOLLOWS AIMS TO PARAPHRASE THE FACTS AND FICTION ON THE POST-MODERN URBAN LANDSCAPE IN A NEW ATLAS. THE INCIPIENT DISCOURSE ON THE SPATIALITIES OF OUR PLACE AND TIME IS PRESENTED IN THE FORM OF A **HEXAPLA**[44] THAT PICTURES SIX DIFFERENT SHADES/PASSAGES OF THE EVOLVING SPATIALITIES. THIS INSIGHT AND MY RESPONSIVENESS TO CONTEXT ALSO CULMINATED IN THE CONTEXTUALISATION/ADAPTATION OF THIS UNDERSTANDING ON/TO THE PARTICULAR SPATIAL PATTERNINGS OF TSHWANE.

➨ **PLANETARY PLEXUS** of transnational (re/un)bounding

The first stop offers a minor glimpse at the globalisation of urban space. Since the original spottings in the 70's by David Harvey and Manual Castells, many more commentators have joined the unscrambling of its more recent transcending circuits (See for example: Sassen 1991, 1994, 2000a-c, 2002; Castells 1989, 1996; Knox & Taylor 1995; Harvey 1990; Dear 2000; Soja 2000; Marcuse & Kempen 2000; and Abrahamson 2004). The very first entering in this globe-trotting has its footing in John Friedmann's (Grand) '*World City Hypothesis*'[45] and Saskia Sassen's descent on the key '*command points*' of urban globalisation, which she terms the '*Global City*' that has become the planetary apex of the informationalisation of the global city space (Sassen 1991) (Note the adjoining text box for a description of the main thrusts of globalisation).

ⓘ **The forces of globalisation that have triggered the (de/re)forming of the urban landscape are amongst other**: the virtualisation of global production processes through the ICT Revolution; the rise of a New International Division of Labour; the declining significance of the national state and the renewed importance of regions and localities; the reorganising of trade relations through the pronouncement of various supra-national trading blocks; the fluidisation of the international financial markets that results in the accelerated movement of assets, people and services across national boundaries; the rise of (trans/multi)-national companies that orchestrate and synchronise global capital formation; the simultaneous homogenisation of the world through commoditisation and Americanisation and the countervailing pulling-up forces of indigenisation, Africanisation etc. that reiterates heterogeneity; the reworking of fordist/mass production into flexible specialised but interlinked clusters/service centres, generally referred to as '*flexible accumulation*'/ '*specialisation*', '*flexspec*', '*Flex-city* 'or '*Flexopolis*'; and lastly the decline of traditional manufacturing sectors/regions (de-industrialisation) and the dramatic emergence of new industries, such as: high-tech manufacturing, cultural production, services, entertainment and tourism (Soja 2000:160-175, 192-210, 218-227, 265-278; Harrison 1994:2-8; Mabogunje 2000:166-169; Castells 1993:559-562; Graham & Marvin 1996:569-570; Sassen 2000b; Gottdiener & Budd 2005:39-70).

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[44] Hexapla is a word of Greek origin that means a six fold text (Oxford Compendium, 9th Edition). Similar to my advance, Soja (1997 & 2000) in his most recent exploration of the Postmetropolis, also deploys a hexagonal mental matrix to (re)map six '*characteristic mentalities*' (Soja 1996:74) of possible ways for understanding the textured mosaic of the contemporary city, *viz*. the: '*Postfordist Industrial Metropolis, Cosmopolis, Exopolis, Fractal City, Careral Cities and Simcities*'. For a more condensed description of the six geographies/restructurings, see also Soja's (1995b & 1997) editions.

[45] Friedmann's '*World City Hypothesis*' centred on the idea that cities around the world are used by global capital as '*basing points*' in the spatial organisation of production and markets. He further argues that these ensuing connections make it possible to place cities in a complex spatial hierarchy (Friedmann 1986:319; 2002a:145-146 & 2002b).

Towards the closing decades of the second millennium, a new/flexible economic system took shape around the inner/outer works of a post(industrial/fordist) production system that has significantly (de/re)materialised global patterns of territorial development. Perhaps the most momentous of this (re)patterning was the formation of a global urban network that stretches the whole planet and functions as a fully synchronised unit that Flusty & Dear (1999:42) label as the '*citistāt*' and Taylor (2004) more recently branded as '*geographies of connectivity*'[46]. This **enmeshing network** materialises as a partly deterritorialised strategic geography that transcends national borders and connects a variety of nodes of '*hyperconcentration*' (Sassen 1999:102, 105; Sassen 2000:261; Southall 1998:411; Sassen 2001 & 2002; Taylor 2004; Gugler 2004). Its outcome is the huge disengagement of cities from local/introverted wholes to a system of global/inverted clusters that function as strategic points on/of global economic networks and pronounced city regions (Graham & Marvin 1996:570; Knox & Taylor 1995; Sassen 2002; and Taylor 2004).

Although its web enjoins the whole planet, large expanses and locales are increasingly excluded from its inner/benefiting circle. As pointed out by Castells (1993:560), the global economy increasingly intensifies its means and returns in the 'North'[47], while largely desolating the 'South' to the in-between/informal realms, peculiarities and piecemeal functions of the global economy. The '*African Disconnect*'/'*black holes*[48]' *or* simply loosely referred to as '*failed*

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[46] Taylor (2004) specifically in his detailing of the '*World City Network*', claims that this new characteristic of being connected to other is not simply an ad on, but rather the '*second nature*' of cities.

[47] This is a vague spatial construct that destabilises/disintegrates the obsolete East-West binary coding, which more or less corresponds with the OECD countries (Castells 1993:560).

[48] Perceptions of African's at ground level do however paint a somewhat more diverse picture. In a relative recent study released by Globescan and the University of Maryland (USA), conducted between December 2003 and January 2004 of 7556 urban African's in seven countries, indicated that most feel relatively positive about globalisation – even more so than in other parts of the world. There were however significant differences. Ghanaians showed the greatest enthusiasm - 82 percent either very positive or somewhat positive - followed by Kenya (79 percent), South Africa (71 percent) and Nigeria and the Ivory Coast (70 percent). On the other hand, a bare majority of Tanzanians expressed positive views, while as expected in Zimbabwe only 35 percent felt positive (Sapa-Ips 2004:1).

cities' have become the quintessence of many commentators' observation of the de-linking and continued marginalisation of Africa in the planetary (economic) spectacle (See for example: Mabogunje 2000:169; Castells 1993:561, 563 and Simone 2004:16). Large segments of African urban settlements have therefore increasingly become absorbed in informal operations and complex interactions/affiliations with many urban actors positioned in various stratums, networks and localities, in order to eke out a minimum subsistence and to generate resources for a feeling of stability (Simone 2002:5, 8 10-13; and Jenkins & Wilkinson 2002). These ways of informalisation, collaboration and clustering that arises from the dis(embedding/locating) from formal/global orders, have been described by Simone (2002:12) as '*emphemeral-networked modalities of social collaboration*' and Jenkins & Wilkinson (2002:35) as '*urban entrepreneurialism*'. These engagements are therefore not the binary opposite to the 'formal', but very much a hybridised and promising manifestation of **glocalisation** patterned in African urban landscapes (See also Jenkins & Wilkinson 2002:34 and Simone 2004 for a similar viewpoints) (Note also the adjoining text box for some descriptions on the aforementioned notion).

*One of the first voyagers to use the term '*glocalisation*' was Erik Swyngedouw (1992) (Soja 2000:199). It generally implies the adaptation of the globalisation affect to local conditions. This hybridised notion deliberately challenges the usual binary coding that sets globalisation and localisation apart as two apposing/separate forces, by offering a possible 'thirding', i.e. an other filter to understand the simultaneous top-down and bottom-up influences that results from the inter(play/action) between the two surges. It recognises that globalisation does not run its full course at a planetary scale but also territorialises in various ways and intensities at a local level (Ibid.:200, 201).*

Venturing somewhat deeper and further into the globalising affects on the planetary spatialities, a highly differentiated scene is revealed across space and time (See Castells 1993:559; Mabogunje 2000:166; and Graham & Marvin 1996:577 for similar observations). Many more sightings are visible if one goes beyond the somewhat partial accounts entrenched in a World/Global City conceptualisation. In this void, many more eclipsed inclinations - not so easily labelled in Saskia Sassen's and Peter Hall's global grade tables - awaits to be depicted[49]. What comes into sight from a view '*off the map*', as promoted by various progressive commentators (E.g. Robinson 2002; Simone 2002 and Gugler 2004), is some of the diverse dynamics of

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[49] Vide for example Sassen (1991) and Hall (1999) for typical illustrations of the global ranking tables.

ordinary cities (beyond the west) that transcend/confront many of the unlocated urban theorisations. By widening the compass a channel opens to the ever-increasing (localised) scenes of de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation (See for example Soja 2000:215 and Gottdiener & Budd 2005:19).

Firstly, globalisation had muddled and worn away the fordist worlds of industrial production. This led to the huge transferral of manufacturing/production to less developed and newly industrialised countries. Secondly, the vertical disintegration/fragmentation of economic production processes was succeeded by the **horizontal (re)agglomeration** of economic activity. A centrifugal force of (re)industrialisation was superimposed on the urban landscape in the form of new industrial districts, situated some distance away from the erstwhile industrial cores.

Thirdly, in the wake of the decentralisation impulse and its decomposition of many inner-cities, a (re)centering of the de-centred world was also set in motion. Some cities appear to carry the Herculean gene and are becoming colossal giants, i.e. the mounting large and mega cities, as a result of the increased concentration around the primary global connecting points and the supplementary detachment effect of the globalising economic system (Zwingle 2002 and Fu-chen & Yue-man 1998). Apart from the transnational centres that constitute as the principal global 'hubs' mentioned above, the dominance of financial services also propelled the growth of a second ring of so-called '*sub-global*' larger cities (Lo & Yeung 1998:18) placed at the hubs of global virtualisation and other supplementary forms of connectivity such as: rapid rail and international airports. Some, especially those not previously immersed in industrial activities, manage to specialise as headquarters for niche forms of high-tech manufacturing, research & development, seats of world-power governments whilst others (re)group as the termini/'*pleasure spaces*' of global tourists and holiday seekers (For similar observations on the

formation and nature of the sub-global large cities see for example: Sassen 1991; Holmes 2001; Lo & Yeung 1998 and Borja & Castells 1997).

Lastly, various '**iconic emplacements**' were deposited across a range of urban landscapes (Soja 1996:249). These have materialised as the (globally standardised) headquarters of major corporations, multinationals and financial institutions, whilst others appeared as the (theme-o-magic) flagship projects such as: casinos; waterfront developments; amusement parks; post-modern (mega) shopping malls/arcades; convention centres; hotels, etc. Some cities also experienced the valorising of their derelict industrial zones by re(cycling/instating) their factories, harbours and warehouses. This nostalgic reappearance of incarnating artefacts of our industrial past in the form of seductive architectures for loft-living and (shopper/eater/edu)tainment, has become the latest favoured/smartened-up archaeologies as a result of globalisation (For supporting observations on the hyper/fantasy architectures of entertainment, consumption and pleasure see Graham & Marvin 1996:569-570; Soja 2000:163, 164, 207, 218 & 246; Massey *et al.* 1999:114-115; Sassen 2000: 189; Southall 1998:411-412; Ellin 1999:18-22, 161-162; Hannigan 1998:3, 89; Shaw & Williams 2004: 185-265; Morris 2001 and Harrison 1994:10-14) (See also the adjacent text box for a contextualisation on the so-called romantic reappearance).

> *ⓘ* **The turn to the past since the 1960's, i.e. the romantic resurgence, has been a late twentieth century quest for meaning to quell the growing de-territorialisation and feeling of placelessness. This emulation of our (pre)industrial past in postures such as: historical eclecticism; neo-classicism; historical preservation and gentrification; new (traditional) urbanism etc., is also referred to by Vidler as the '*third typology*'. This typology follows on the second, i.e. the machine, which in turn superseded the first that was sparked by nature. From a psychological perspective the infatuation with the past is interpreted as the '*desire to return to the whom, to mother, to nature, to archetypes, to some paradise or state of bliss which has been lost*' (Ellin 1999:13, 17, 18, 28, 37, 80-81, 93, 124, 156 & 286).**

With this growing embedding of cities in an ever-evolving planetary plexus, the question arises of just how it has touched base in Tshwane.

❖ **on(to) Tshwane**

Although Tshwane still finds itself very much off the global map, it already bears the marks of an embryonic interweaving of globalisation through its urban fabric (See also SA Cities Network: 2004 for supporting views). The inherent production apparatus in Tshwane,

historically pieced together to serve the aims and means of the previous Nationalist government, recently began to rise from a history of inward orientation and protectionism (Monitor Company 1997:iii). The grand unbounding and reconnection with global networks found most of the manufacturing quarters relatively uncompetitive and vulnerable to global competition (Ibid.). Nevertheless, similar to cities elsewhere, the constrained local demand was not allowed to relegate the city into despair and stagnation. Instead, an eventful gearing of the economy was set in motion.

During the 90's progressive **export orientated growth paths** emerged on the back of the depreciation of the South African Rand, the reintegration of South Africa in the world economy and increased competitiveness as a result of industrial optimisation[50]. In the Tshwane area three specific manufacturing sectors responded to these favourable conditions by strengthen their global stance.

Firstly, the automotive cluster largely situated in Rosslyn and Watloo, i.e. two historic industrial zones of the city, re-organised into a major high value-added manufacturing network of material suppliers, automotive assemblers, and component manufacturers[51]. In addition, the Automotive Supplier Park (ASP) was added as part of the Gauteng Blue IQ initiative, as an eventual outcome of the Motor

i **Blue IQ is the strategic investment programme of the Gauteng Provincial Government to become a 'smart' province. It entails the substantial investment in eleven major projects in smart industries, transport, high value-added manufacturing and tourism as a means to catalyse economic activity. One of the eleven mega projects that make up the Blue IQ programme is the Gauteng Automotive Cluster (GAC). It has two components, namely: the Automotive Industry Development Centre (AIDC) that provides support services to enhance the industry's competitiveness; and the Automotive Supplier Park – a sophisticated logistics park for concentrating component manufacturers and automotive suppliers in one location adjacent to the key OEM's assembly plants (http://www.bluiq.co.za/project_aid.asp. Access 21 June 2004; http://www.bluiq.co.za/project_asp.asp. Access 21 June 2004).**

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[50] Since the start of the 80's the South African Rand has continued its depreciation against the dollar with a peak in 2001 when the currency lost a further 37%. Since then the currency has appreciated with approximately 50%
Vide http://www.nedbankgroup.co.za/content/economic_comments/economic_pdfs/ The%20rand%20collapse%2031%20January%202002.pdf. Access 11 November 2006.
[51] Several of the Original Equipment Manufacturers (OEM's) are present in the cluster: BMW, Daimler Chrysler, Fiat, Nissan and Ford (including Mazda, Volvo and Land Rover). Together they represent the largest concentration of Gauteng's motor vehicle industry and are responsible for 37% of passenger vehicles manufactured in South Africa. The automotive cluster is also the largest manufacturing employer in Tshwane and accounts for approximately 24% of the city's manufacturing jobs (Monitor Company 1997:43). Between 1996 and 2001 the Gross Value Add (GVA) of this sector grew by 48% while the export component during the corresponding period grew as much as sevenfold (SA Cities Network 2004; Gouws 2003).

Industry Development Programme (MIDP)[52], the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA)[53] and a local land incentive[54]. Its main purpose was to create synergies and enhance global competitiveness through the optimisation of logistics involved in a highly diversified automotive supply chain.

Secondly, following on the previous government's prolonged combative style and a(nta)gonistic stance mostly exerted from Pretoria, a sophisticated **defence cluster** became progressively settled in the Capital. This cluster largely took shape around a critical mass of complementary firms, defence headquarters, military infrastructure and cutting edge defence technologies, all linked together in a highly developed network (Monitor Company 1997:47-48) (See also the adjacent text box for a relative standing of the defence sector in Tshwane).

> *i* **The South African defence sector is largely clustered in Tshwane around its main actor's viz. the South African National Defence Force, Denel, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and universities. Most (40%) of the firms in South Africa involved in defence-related activities, are located in Tshwane, whilst 75% are located within Gauteng province. In addition, approximately 1000 suppliers to Denel also operate in Tshwane alone (Monitor Company 1997:48).**

However, with the advent of South Africa's democracy 12 years ago and the country's re-entry into the global arena, much of the political will and funding for a strong military force evaporated. The defence sector regrouped, unbundled and resorted to commercialisation (Jane's Defence Weekly cited by Monitor Company 1997:49). Since the largest part of the production apparatus was already established in decentralised locations, the damaging affect of de-industrialisation did to materialise to the same extent as it did so in the case of the leading post-modern locales of the West (E.g. Los Angels). What instead followed was an adjustment from a sole focus on an anchor sponsor, towards a more flexible industry focussing on niche products

CSIR main entrance

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[52] The Department of Trade and Industry's (DTI) Motor Industry Development Programme, introduced in 1995, has been the catalyst in making the South African automotive sector globally competitive. The policy instruments used to achieve these objectives have been: a gradual reduction in tariff protection; allowing exporting firms to import the same value of goods exported duty-free; and the introduction of various incentives designed to upgrade the capacity of industry (SA 2002:8; http://www.southafrica.info/doing_business/investment/opportunities/ midp/.htm. Access 21 June 2004).
[53] AGOA is a non-reciprocal gesture by the USA to assist growth and development of sub-Saharan African countries by means of duty-free and quota-free access into the USA market in respect of a broad range of products until 30 September 2008 (SA 2002:58).
[54] The land incentive entails the selling of 130ha of serviced industrial land in Rosslyn Extension 2 at a subsidised rate of 37c/m² (Xundu 2001:2; Hlahla 2001:5).

for a much broader market (Monitor Company 1997:49-50). Currently, the defence cluster in Tshwane is amassed primarily in the outer city along an arc that follows the N1 highway from the CSIR past its headquarters in Erasmuskloof towards Kentron in Centurion[55]. By joining other post-fordist techno-manufacturers - clustered in the same vicinity - it appears to be well set to grow further and also to benefit from the counter investments that are expected to follow from the recent controversial arms deal[56].

**Denel headquarters
along N1 highway**

Thirdly, the sector in Tshwane that perhaps exhibited the greatest spatial adjustment was the **metal products cluster**. Contrary to the other clusters, the metal products cluster experienced the full force of de-industrialisation as the basic metals producers were forced to move closer to the coast in order to improve their competitiveness under global conditions (Monitor Company 1997:51). Locally the metal sector readjusted by aligning itself more closely with the strong downstream clusters mentioned above (i.e. automotive and defence) and also commenced with the manufacturing of high value-added niche products (Ibid.). However, the cluster's main anchor, i.e. the steel smelter of Iscor, remain mostly deserted and standout as the most noticeable example of Tshwane's fordist/modernist industrial past (For a brief overview of the metal cluster in Tshwane, note also the adjacent text box).

> ⓘ   The basic metals industry, i.e. Iscor its main anchor and related research and development institutions (e.g. Council for Mineral Technology and Mintek), form the core of the metal products cluster present in Tshwane (Monitor Company 1997:50). The basic metals and metal products industries account for approximately 21% of manufacturing jobs in Tshwane, and basic metals is the second largest manufacturing industry in Pretoria (Ibid.

In pressing forward, many more **global etchings** appear to be layered across Tshwane's urban landscape. The horizontal re-agglomeration impulse mentioned earlier also manifested, although

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[55] Vide page **Error! Reference source not found.Error! Bookmark not defined.** for a depiction of the defence cluster along the N1 Development Arc.
[56] The controversy has centered on the alleged and proven guilt (in a number of instances) of highly placed officials and politicians involved in corrupt procurement practices in the R60-billion arms deal.

much later than the other cities worldwide[57]. It started off with a gradual softening of the original (segregating) plot by allowing high-tech industries during the 80's to concur new frontiers and establish themselves in the productive/rich borderlands[58]. Various (high-tech) industrial/ '*science*' parks settled along the N1 axis as they

Siemens headquarters situated in the Centurion Technopark

fed off the Gauteng's agglomeration benefits, i.e. the general availability of advanced resources and markets in the powerhouse of the SA economy[59]. These spontaneous '*technopoles*' were strongly attracted to the (colour/spot)less fringes and happens to be conveniently placed to the skilful bourgeois – i.e. those citizens comfortably sheltered in the (peripheral) encampments.

Perhaps also of note and visible in Tshwane, is the birth of an '**African Capital**', *viz:* the new anchorage from where Africa's contemporary renaissance is being steered from the echelon's of the Union Buildings. As justly observed by CTMM (2004b:6), the city "*…harbours all the symbolisms of a brand new political dispensation that acts as the embodiment of all that African unity strives for*"[60]. Supported by the various high-profile educational and research institutions, the city is releasing its intellectual potential beyond its borders, and in doing so,

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[57] The critical factor for this somewhat delayed response was the previous government's attempts to constrain industrial growth in its cities in favour of the preferred (artificial) border industrial quarters, such as Babalegi, GaRankuwa and Rosslyn as in the case of Tshwane (See for e.g. SA 1975 and SA 1984).

[58] At the time, this tactic was generally perceived to be complementary to the erstwhile government's decentralisation plans, since the high-tech industries required the services of the more mobile (white) citizenry and hence did not require to be close to the outcast low income (black) areas (See also Hodge (*S.a.*:19) for a similar observation as well as the guidelines for so-called Annexure B industries promoted from 1987 onwards (Government Gazette 27-2-87).

[59] These include amongst other the premier publicly funded research institution, the CSIR; Persekor Park; Centurion Technopark; Kentron; Gateway; Samrand, etc. A recent addition is the Innovation Hub, a Blue IQ development that is being developed as the first internationally accredited Science and Technology Park in South Africa situated along the so-called 'knowledge axis' between the University of Pretoria and the CSIR where cutting edge technologies will be incubated and developed to enhance innovation and growth of high-tech companies (http://www.bluiq.co.za/project_innovationhub. asp. Access 21 June 2004; Innovation Hub Development Management Company 2003:9-13).

[60] The most striking symbol being the raised hands of the the country's first democratic elected president Nelson Mandela, supported by the former president F.W. de Klerk in front of the Union Buildings, which strikingly symbolises South Africa's code of arms, i.e. '!ke e: /xarra //ke **- diverse people unite'.** This striking symbol also laid the platform for the emerging metaphor of **confluence**, *viz.* the place where the past & future met; nature meets city; and historic reminders juxtapose with modern advances.

begins to mirror the immense potential and abilities of the African continent. The strategic location of Tshwane on the doorstep to the Southern African Region and its global reach primarily via two airports, has positioned it ideally for continental logistical support initiatives. On top of the symbolic and engaging atmosphere of political transformation that Tshwane is known for, the city finds itself part of the ever strengthening economic dynamo in Gauteng that presents an excellent platform from where the decisions of Africa's leaders can be carried into the continent and over the globe (Ibid.) (Note also the bordering text box for an elucidation of the city's strengthening role as a key command point in the Southern African region).

> *i* **Tshwane is strategically situated as the northernmost influential city in the country and is also located at the crossing of the main routes connecting Cape to Cairo and Walvis Bay via Gabarone to Maputu. In addition, Tshwane also houses 137 international embassies and trade missions and several international bodies, including the secretariat of NEPAD, the Red Cross and the United Nations (CTMM 2004b:5).**

⤷ **REGIONAL WEBS** of inter-connectivity

Leaving behind these selective glimpses of the globalising effects on my path of discovery, I began to narrow my scope somewhat closer on the regional outcomes of the contemporary urban (re)formation. In this illustration I focus on the (de/re)territorialisation effects that emerge beyond the extremities of the core cities as a result of regional urbanism (For enlightening descriptions on regionalisation and the expanding geographical scope of cities see amongst other: Gillham 2004; Gottdiener 2002:167; Scott 2001; Soja 2000:172 & 179; 1995b:132; Sudjic 1993:3; Graham & Marvin 1996:573 and Calthorpe & Fulton 2001).

In this case the spatial divides between the city and region dissolve into a more **elastic regional spatiality** (Simone 2001:15). The centripetal power of the city centre begins to fade as a new network of metropolitan centres and nodes become entangled in what Soja (2000:179) similarly describes as a new '*combinatorial*' regional urban system that comprises of: "…*cities, suburbs, towns, villages, open space, wilderness areas, and other urbanised (regionalised) landscapes*". The metropolitan landscape gets extensively deconsentrated by the dispersal of activities in a massive regional

arrangement. Yet, all nodes and centres are absorbed in an intricate regional matrix where different parts and points begin to specialise in certain functions dedicated to the broader regional spatiality. Also of note, as similarly emphasised by Calthorpe & Fulton (2001:2) and Soja (2000:242), is the realisation that this stretching out of the urban form is not simply further sprawl, but rather the appearance of a new genus of mass regional urbanisation and the rising of a new interconnected regional urban system.

Underling to this undercurrent of regionalisation, is the ever contributing force of Information technology that acts as the built-in catalyst of the new (elasti)city logic that erodes the traditional time-space constraints (See also Castells 1998 & 2002; Graham & Marvin 1996:573 & 2001; Morelli 2001:128 and Soja 2000:213 for reverberating comments). As the new/essential raw material, it exerts and steers cities into extended urban regions, where the (electronic) matrix/web/lattice metaphor becomes the equivalence of the regional city's latest relationships (Boyer 1999:51). Ironically, this becoming of age echoes/reconfirms Christopher Alexander's visionary hypothesis of 1965 that "*A City is Not a Tree*"[61]. In other words the linear/hierarchical picture of the spatial structure is replaced with a '**semi-lattice**' conceptualisation where (activity) points are free to inter-link across time and space (Note the adjacent visualisation of this conceptual arrangement). As justly observed by Boyer (1999:53), the regional city's spatiality "...*does away with centre-periphery arguments and the notion of sub-urbs that depend on a central urb. A lattice or net is open-ended, potentially connected to any point on its grid"*. In this transitional state where a demand for transportation and telecommunication accumulates exponentially, the city becomes less and less legible

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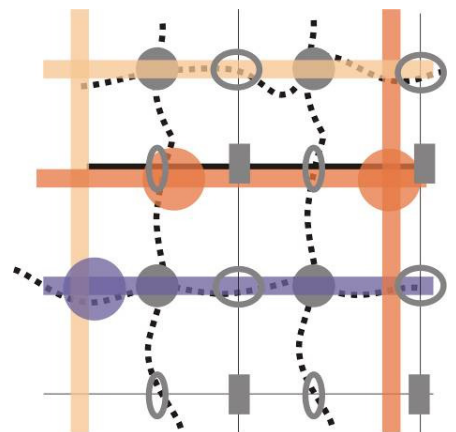
[61] Vide http://www.rudi.net/bookshelf/classics/city/alexander/alexander1.html. Access 18 January 2002 (Originally published in: Architectural Forum, Vol. 122, No 1, April 1965, pp 58-62 (Part I), Vol. 122, No 2, May 1965, pp 58-62 (Part II)).

according to Kevin Lynch's (dated) pictorial filter[62] and more imaginable as a complex system of open-ended points on a grid with multifaceted connections and flows in-between (Boyer 1999:68, 75).

on(to) Tshwane

By exploring some of the spreading effects in Tshwane, a picture transpires of an ever expansible urban region. The (inner) building boom of the 60's, which largely converged around the inner-city residential quarters of Sunnyside, Arcadia and Berea was traded for an even more vigorous (outer) surge. Towards the south-eastern quarters of the metropolitan region, an imposing manifestation of the **regional urban merging** became observable. Apart from the outer solidification and convergence in/on Midrand, Tshwane and its new (decentralised) settlements and nodes in the south-eastern quarters increasingly became intertwined with Johannesburg and its similar north-western clusterings. The (traditional) orbital logic of suburban realms under the consistent gravitational pull of the central-city, were eroded away by the linear resurgence between the two main anchors of the Gauteng urban conurbation, viz. Johannesburg & Pretoria. The N1 development axis became the pinnacle of high technology development of the South-African economy and the backbone of a larger north-south development corridor stretching across the settlement spaces between the two central cities (Hodge S.a.:2). This almost continuous urban entanglement developed into the (leading)
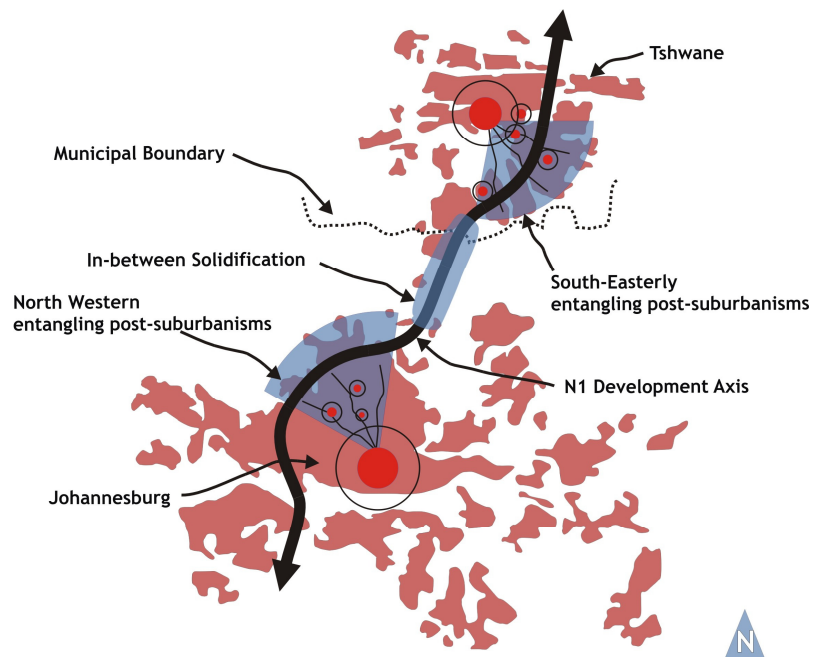
Map 1: The regional urban MERGING into a combinatorial urban system.

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[62] The reference here is to one of his classic/seminal texts on '*The Image of the City*' that portrays the city through five elements, i.e. paths, edges districts, nodes and landmarks (Lynch 1960).

space for cascading residential, commercial and industrial development, including various hybridised look-alikes of new-postsuburbanisms. This mounting regional web of interconnectivity along an intricate lattice of paths is rapidly elevating the role of the **non-central metropolitan locations** (i.e. the (peripheral/in-between spaces) above the historic influence of the two central-cities.

Linked to the afore-mentioned is a new forming virtual-hub, which further spurs the regional merging between Tshwane and Johannesburg. This rising of an Information Communication and Telecommunication (ICT) cluster, situated along the linear development axis between the two central-cities, has also been referred to by Paquot (1999:81 as the '*out-places*' of the metropolitan landscape. However, these are not 'non-places' but only out of

picture as they constitute the primary hubs and spokes of the local/regional cyberspace. The <u>first</u> virtual anchorage is Telkom's National Network Management Centre and Information Technology Data Centre situated in the Centurion Technopark. This node focuses as the main basing point of the complete telecommunication network in South-Africa. The <u>second</u> of this **cyber nodal pairing**, is the State's Information Technology Agency (SITA), abutting the aforementioned and serving the same purpose but largely dedicated towards governments' own activities.

Telkom's ICT headquarters situated in the lush Centurion Technopark

Also dormant but ever present is the optical fibre cables meshed over the widths and breadths of the metropolitan region. This sophisticated communication web installed on the electricity supply grid, is capable of providing all of today's known telecommunications applications at speeds, capacity and flexibility even exceeding the current monopoly's (Telkom) capability (CTMM 2002a). This unique faculty does not only have the potential to energise the rising virtual hub, but

also holds the prospect for significantly advancing the regional spatial eminence.

➜ WHIRLING PATCHES AND KNOTTY LINES of ex-centricity[63]

Almost overwhelmed by the many contemporary urban restructurings already witnessed in my reading of the Tshwane urban landscape, I find myself even more inspired to move on. As I continue to explore this semiotic blend of ex-centric restructurings, more images come into sight of a new habitat that was morphed in the remains of the modern city. Situated between the central-city and exurbia[64], lies the beginnings of an altered (sub)urban logic, which Gillham (2004) denotes as the '*Limitless City*' and Kling *et al.* (1995) very appropriately as '*Post-suburban Regions*'. The (traditional) clear-cut distinction between the urban, suburban and rural zones and the subsequent daily commuting from a mainly dormitory periphery to an exclusive (employment/activity) centre, were unsettled by wide-ranging urbanisation of suburbia (Ellin 1999:105, 271; Kling *et al.*:vii; and Soja 2000:238-242;)[65]. The orderly (concentri)cities and specialised sectors converging on city-proper[66], were supplemented with a more multifaceted arrangement.

"The fundamentally decentralised spatial arrangement of postsuburban regions – in which a variety of commercial, recreational, shopping, arts, residential, and religious activities are conducted …makes them complex, seemingly incoherent …yet dynamic and lively. Precisely because they are a new kind of settlement space, such regions cannot easily be understood in terms of traditional conceptual categories, such as rural, urban, and suburban" **(Kling et al. 1995:viii)**

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[63] This textual snarl attempts to portray the exocentric character of the '**exo**polis', i.e. the notion used by Soja (2000) to describe the restructured contemporary urban form. The **ex-** prefix relates amongst other to the **ex**ogenous thrust, i.e. the **ex**odus towards the outer fringes; it accentuates/suggests the end of the traditional traits of urbanity; and also highlights the pull that does not come from the centre anymore (For similar use and interpretation see Soja 2000:250).

[64] Since the first account by Spectorsky (1955), the term **exurbia** (exurban landscape/exurbs) has morphed into various meanings. In this text the meaning is however more broadly used to refer to the multi-dimensional character of a new settlement type being formed at the rural-urban fringe by the further expansion beyond the traditional suburbs by mainly low-density (residential) estates and booming peripheral small towns/centres chosen for their perceived superior (rural/natural/themed) lifestyle qualities. For more detailed descriptions see amongst other: Nelson (1992); Mikelbank (2004); and Davis *et al.* (2002).

[65] For further elaborative portrayals of these outer-happenings see also Joel Garreau's (1991) description of the newly condensations on the edges and Robert Fishman's (1987) version of the fall of suburbia and the rise of the '*Technoburb*'.

[66] The (tongue-in-cheek) reference here is to the classic concentric theory of Burgess and the sector theory of Hoyt, generally known as the Chicago school of urban theory, which for long portrayed the urban structure of the modern city (Whynne-Hammond 1985:232-234).

A more appropriate portrayal of this significant (suburban) about-turn can perhaps be found in the picturing of an ever strengthening **patchwork** of multifaceted activity clusters interlinked by a series of intricate connections. Elements of city-proper were outsourced to the suburbs and now persistently enfold and transform these outer-places. A mosaic of mostly peripheral destinations became the uplands of the contemporary metropolitan landscape. Further to the many global etchings mentioned earlier such as technopoles and iconic emplacements, various other enclavisations were activated in the borderlands such as: office/corporate parks; regional shopping, recreation & lifestyle hubs; entertainment parks; transport hubs; campus districts as well as hybridised blendings of these with residential typologies - evocative of yester year and/or reflective of elsewhere.

The driving force to these whirling patches is a nexus of well-established routes that connect and mainly attract the higher-order (non-residential) activities. These activities most often mass and adjoin along the main arteries of the outer street network and constitute a new linear (de/a)rangement. A systematic **urban elongation** thrust extending from the main anchoring points of an ever-expanding exogenous logic, is becoming even more pronounced than the erstwhile (exclusive) convergence on the inner-city. Its outcome is an extensive urban lattice of regional corridors and local activity spines that criss-cross the (sub)urban fabric, anchor the majority of developing patches, and incubate the evolving outer ascendant nodes.

In excavating further through the post-suburban reformation in Tshwane, a range of **ex-centric renditions** became visible. The most easy-to-read drivers of this outer surge were the waning central-city and the building of the N1 highway[67]. What followed was a catapulistic building boom towards the south-eastern outskirts that created the necessary critical mass for the appearance of various new (non-residential) outcroppings. Primarily in the opposite direction of the (north-westerly) apartheid quarters, the first ring of nodes materialised towards and beyond SUNNY-side. Nestled at the foothills of the in velvet Waterkloof Ridge - in the midst of South Africa's ambassadorial elite and close to a large gathering of students[68] - a pivotal/prestigious commercial and office clustering took shape in and around Hatfield and Brooklyn[69] (See also the adjacent Table 1 for an overview of the distribution of the total office floor area in Tshwane).

Tshwane Nodes	Total (m²)	%
ARCADIA	204,239	10.1%
BROOKLYN	164,870	8.1%
CBD PRETORIA	472,061	23.2%
CENTURION	248,943	12.3%
HATFIELD/HILLCREST	214,673	10.6%
HIGHVELD TECHNOPARK	191,437	9.4%
LYNWOOD	142,751	7.0%
MENLYN	122,665	6.0%
PTA EASTERN SUBURBS	207,147	10.2%
SUNNYSIDE	61,984	3.1%
TOTAL	2,030,770	

TABLE 1: TOTAL OFFICE FLOOR AREA PER NODAL AREA (DEC 2005) Source: Metropolitan Planning Section, CTMM

Further afield, a series of **protuberances** crystallised in the productive south-eastern outer reaches. Five significant concentrations have sprung up at the interchanges with the N1 viz: the CSIR as the northernmost collection of leading R&D activities at the crossing of the N1 and N4 highways; the Menlyn node as the premier/b(l)ooming shopping and office destination of the eastern suburbs; the Erasmuskloof office node at the Rigel off-ramp as the nerve centre of the defence clustering; the Doringkloof office node; and the

[67] This was part of a significant 'freeway shift' in South Africa (Mabin 1995:192). See also Ellin's (1999:270) similar observation on the exocentric affect of the building of highways.
[68] The reference here is to the University of Pretoria, one of South Africa's largest universities with approximately 30 000 residential students and a further 29 000 students enrolled in the distance education programme for 2004, also situated in Hatfield (http://www.up.ac.za/about/eng/profile.html. Access 20 August 2004).
[69] During the last 10 years the Hatfield and Brooklyn office nodes have experienced very high growth rates with the A and B grades collectively standing at 379 543m² (PlanPractice 2004:14, 20). This figure currently compares favourable to the Tshwane CBD, which only had 472 061m² of A and B grade office space left at the end of 2005 (Note Table 1 above).

Centurion node as the main shopping, office and sport & recreation node of the South[70]. This pattern actualised around the reiterating logic of supporting off-ramps, which in turn collectively reinforced the prominence of the N1 Development Arc.

In addition to the above, various other subsidiary (economic) concentrations externalised along the outer route system. This linear concentration further amplified the omnipresent lattice configuration and also added to the fading of the former (inner) suburban nodes[71]. Although many traces are still evident of the former radial logic (E.g. Voortrekker, Charles-, Atterbury-, and Lynnwood streets), a much more powerful spontaneous lace-work developed between the growing nuclei within the post-suburban region. Also of note is a southern development axis that increasingly stands out as the main thrust driving the linking up with the northern foci of Johannesburg
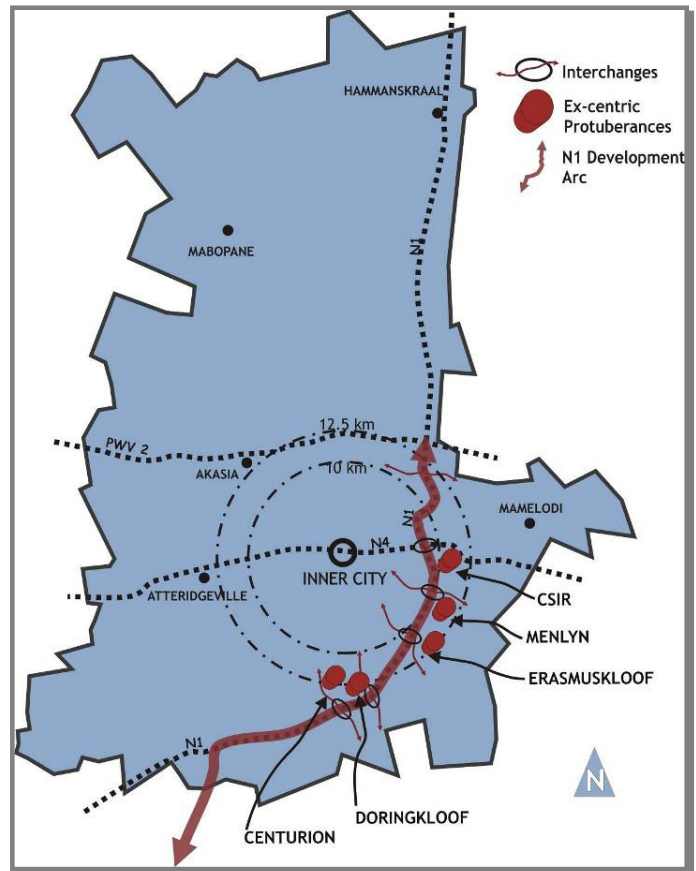
Map 2: A series of ex-centric Protuberances along the N1 Development Arc

→ **MULTI-CENTERED JUNCTIONS** of conglomeration

Pursuing this critical scanning of the expanding urban scenery somewhat further, more imagery becomes comprehensible of the inverted (sub)urban landscape. As the definitive centre, *viz*: '*the*

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[70] At the end of 2005 these exocentric patches (i.e. Brooklyn, Centurion, Hatfield, Highveld, Lynnwood, Menlyn and Eastern suburbs) collectively represented approximately 64% 1 292 486m²) of all A and B grade office supply in Tshwane (PlanPractice 2004).

[71] These sedimentations of yester year relate to the former preference of the neighbourhood unit concept, which dominated layout planning in the past (Parnell & Mabin 1995:57). For an elating description/critique of the neighbourhood unit concept and its specific application in layout planning in South Africa see Behrens & Watson (1996).

translucent vortex of urban life' (Soja 2000:239) lost its gleam and the *'orbital landscape'* (Soja 1996:269) abated, a new era dawned where some peripheral nucleations became gravitational nodes in their own right (Soja 2000:242). The various global etchings in the borderlands and the complementary ex-centric renditions, joined to form a new **multi-centred cityspace** (For similar views see also: Gottdiener 2002:167 & 2004:199; Gottdiener & Budd 2005:87-91; Fainstein & Campbell 2002:11; Hack 2001:36; Mabin 1999:143; Harrison & Oranje 2002:28).

Many prescient neologisms have been offered to describe the coming of age of the metropolitan periphery as originally prophesied in Frank Lloyd Wright's (1935) *'Broadacre City'* vision, for example: *'exurbia'*; *'outer city'*; *'technoburb'*; *'edge city'*; *'metroplex'*; *'megaburb'*; *'postsuburbia'*; *'heteropolis'*; *'exopolis'*; *'cyburbia'*; *'polycentre'*; *'technopolis'*; and *'100-mile city'*[72]. The express purpose of these redefinitions has been to emphasise the urban re/de-centering process, which has matured these outer condensations to point of becoming autonomous *'citadels'* in their on right (Flusty & Dear 1999:27). They are perhaps neither cities nor suburbs, yet they do function as fully urbanised/specialised anchors of the regional urban collage[73]. The startling irony of the decline of the original city-centre is the rise of the suburban regional shopping mall as the 'real' centre/urban-place, albeit a shared function between the various new junctions of the growing regional multi-centred urban landscape (Paquot 1999:81; Rybczynski 1995:176). These **swelling outer nucleations** have also unsettled those original pyramidal density gradients, by the development of the new post-suburban/exurban cityscapes (Soja 1995b:132). However, in many instances the Inner-centre's hegemony has held out, albeit just as the region's

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[72] See for example: Soja 1995b:131; Fishman 1987:79 and Ellin 1999:105, 272 for extensive lists of these various new labels.
[73] Rowe's notion of the *'collage city'* has become the contemporary metaphor for the city, which appropriately highlights its new qualities of montage, assemblage, and pastiche (Ellin 1999:285).

'*panopticon*'[74], or as the tourist, service and governing centre of the metropolitan landscape (Flusty & Dear Ibid.; Soja 1989a:187).

⊕ **on(to) Tshwane**

Returning to the scene in Tshwane, a similar converging of peripheral cores is materialising. The decentralisation from Tshwane's central-city spurred the erasure of its premier employment, production, shopping, and entertainment faculty in favour of the outer realms, where five particular nucleations are becoming significantly dense, focused, and gravitational.

In an all but familiar habit, a **triadic formation** formed south-east from the inner-city. The <u>first</u> of the triad's multi-centric nodes raised some 7,5 kilometres away from the Tshwane CBD around Hatfield/Brooklyn as the executive and elite foci. The <u>second</u> and <u>third</u>, namely Menlyn and the Centurion CBD, leapfrogged a further 12 kilometres to be conveniently placed at the entry point to Tshwane's higher income segments. At this juncture they have solidified and become the new gravitational/bustling nodes of shoppertainment, post-suburban employment, sport and recreation and cultural expression. This configuration, also closely linked to the N1 Development Arc, functions relatively independently from the
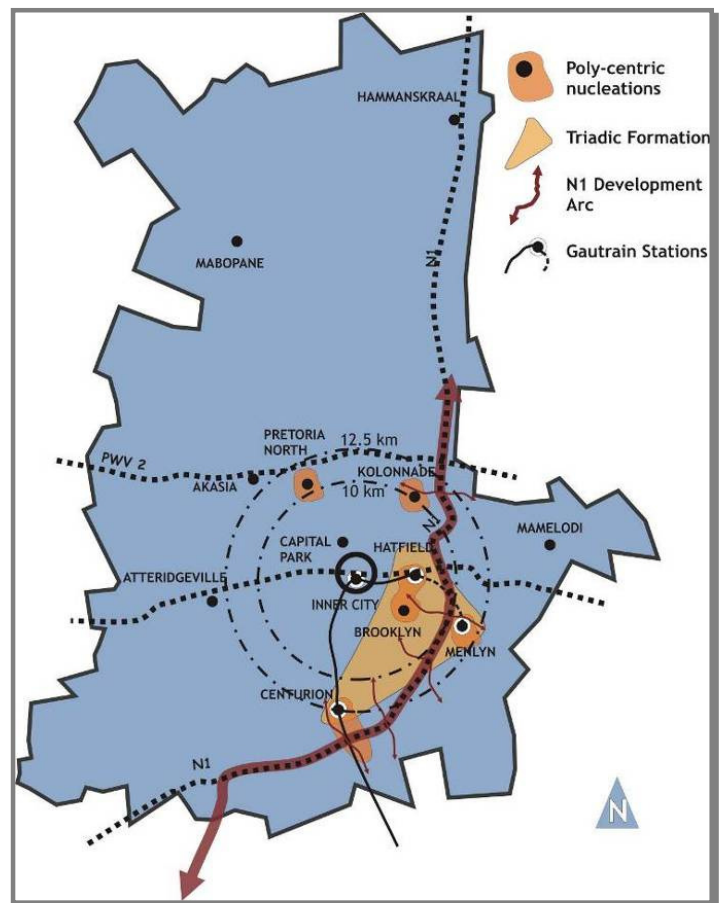
Map 3: Emerging multi-centric nucleations

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[74] The '*Panopticon*' is Jeremy Bentham's late eighteen century famous prison-like paradigmatic schematisation of an empty centre that functions as the strategic vantage point of command, domination, surveillance and control, which enthused various other explorers, e.g. Foucault to use it as a power mechanism of enquiry (Soja 1995a:28-29; Soja 2000:306; Ellin 1999:170–171; and Robinson 1997:374).

central-city as a swarming interconnected whole, and increasingly challenges the inner-city for supremacy[75] (See also Prinsloo & Cloete 2001:12 for a similar remark). Most of the smart jobs, shops, sports, and leisure are huddled in these nucleations, even more inaccessible to the escalating poorer fellow-citizenry still mainly bound to the urban realms of the north-west. Two of the three planned stations of the new Gautrain Rapid Rail link between Johannesburg and Tshwane are also destined for two of the triad's nodes, *viz*: Hatfield and the Centurion CBD. The possibility is also not excluded that it might in future be extended to Menlyn. The further overlaying of these regional inter-modal movement junctions with the main nodes of the triadic formation is set to significantly advance their pre-eminence (For some background info on the Gautrain see the adjacent text box).

The Gautrain is a R20 billion project part of the Gauteng Blue IQ initiative. The Gautrain Rapid Rail Link will be a new 80 kilometre rail-bound mass transit system to serve the Johannesburg-Pretoria corridor as well as the link between Johannesburg International Airport and Sandton. It will cover the distance between the Tshwane and Johannesburg CBD's in less than 35 minutes. Its main purpose is to provide a pivotal stimulus along Gauteng's most important north-south development axis by increasing the levels of productivity, convenience and traffic congestion associated with the massive projected population and employment concentration in this development corridor (http://www.bluiq.co.za/project_gautrain.asp. Access 21 June 2004).

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[75] Vide also footnotes 77 and 70 for some figures/substantiation on this effect.

Scenes from the three main nucleations forming the triadic formation

MENLYN

CENTURION

The fourth and almost forgotten yet significant node is the Pretoria North CBD, still evident some 15 kilometres north of the central-city. This veteran and time-worn core still labours and offers its supportive fruits to the accustomed inhabitants and the new arrivals[76]. The fifth is a relative recent happening some 15 kilometres north east of the Tshwane CBD, gravitating around the Colonnade shopping centre and expectant to graduate from adolescence into adulthood. Although situated on the northern side of the 'Magaliesberg', i.e. the region primarily ignored by private capital, it does seem to draw its energy from the same logic as the triadic formation, namely: the (good) access off the N1 and the easterly decentralising development thrust. It also appears to pick-up momentum from the new incomers that perhaps find its nearness to the (far) north appealing.

A (contemporary) recycling of the older veneer visible in the Pretoria North CBD

Juxtaposed against this growing maturation in the post-suburban region, is an **inner-city in repose**[77]. The reworking of the metropolitan landscape into multi-centricity once again brought the inner-city's panopticon eminence to the fore. With the emptying out of the inner-city's earlier commercial and corporate splendour, those stark rem(a)inders of social control and power in and around the inner-city became even more pronounced in imposing an un(spoken/challenged) mode of disciplining and silent domineering. Still etched in the inner-city's fabric are the series of tactics deliberately used during the 50's and 60's to partition, clear and buffer the inner-city on

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[76] On a somewhat unexplored terrain, Prinsloo & Cloete (2001) have already indicated that the residential relocation of black buyers in Johannesburg and Pretoria, following the abolishment of the Group Areas Act, has taken place between the traditional black residential areas and the CBD's, i.e. the traditional low income white areas. In the case of Tshwane, the north-western suburbs such as Wes Park, Danville, Kwaggasrand, Karen Park, The Orchards and Theresa Park have been especially popular.

[77] Some clues to the effect are: firstly, the downgrading/reclassification in 2000 of approximately 200000m² office space in the inner-city to C grade, i.e. the grade not worthy of monitoring on the official SAPOA radar (CTMM 2000a:6); secondly, the permanent silencing of 11(eleven) former office buildings (arguably most of the afore-mentioned), by City Property from 2001 onwards, through the conversion into approximately 1750 residential units to a value of R100 million (CTMM 2004c:26); and thirdly, the staggering 30% decline of the total municipal property value in the inner-city, from R4 billion to 2,8 billion during the 6 year period from 1996 to 2002 (CTMM Ibid.:15).

the north-western side, i.e. the Tshwane University of the North, the sewerage works and bus depot, which displaced the black suburbs of Bantule and Schoolplaats (Hattingh & Horn 1991:149). Added to these are the fully operational disciplining preserves clustered in the western side of the inner-city that still radiate their signals of obedience such as: the Pretoria prison & correctional services along a main entrance to the city; the defence- army-, air force- and military Intelligence headquarters; the police academy; the new metro-police headquarters; the 'Weskoppies' psychiatric hospital; the Palace of Justice and High court; the monuments and cathedra of the former generals and presidents as the sentinels of the city; and lastly but not least the new metro/space police, ever visible in the streets. In recent times the Metro Police has also opted for what Koskela (2001) calls the '*gaze without eyes*'. Sophisticated (undercover) digital surveillance cameras (CCTV) were installed to observe the citizenry and as Danny Minnaar, the then Acting Chief of the Tshwane Metro Police, puts it: "*to be EVERYWHERE ALL the time*" (cited by Hlahla 2005:1)(Personal emphasis added). In retrospect the inner-city might have dispensed with most of its corporate fabric, but it still functions as the emblematic nucleus, albeit only as the **surveillance node** that evokes a sense of adherence on its inhabitants.

Emblems/generals of yesteryear still guarding in front of the City Hall

➹ (UN)DONE REALMS of 'urbaning'[78]

While exiting the multi-centered nature of the evolving metropolitan spatialities, yet another phenomenon reveals itself along my line of discovery. The amorphous amassing in and around the marginalised/ quarters, has become the other/dark side of the urbanisation discourse. The mainstream account (in the contemporary literature) of a trend that left most detached from its means and resources is the

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[78] Vide footnote 40 for a description of urbaning.

thickening '*narrative of eviction*' (Sassen 1991:101). The deserted many, i.e. the marginalised surplus labour that Flusty & Dear (1999:40) refers to as '*protosurps*', are increasingly sheltered/shaded in (peripheral) engulfing repositories, which Simone (2001:5) refers to as the 'half-built environments' and Smith (1992:316) locally coined as the '*shacklands*'. The urban characteristics that an increasing number of (marginalised) individuals find themselves in these **undone realms**, are that of being "…*under-developed, over-used, fragmented and often makeshift urban infrastructure – where essential services are not only erratic or costly, but whose inefficiencies themselves induce the cultivation of new diseases and the 'urbanisation' of existing ones*" (Simone 2001:5). Although this condition is currently more acute in the cities of the South, where they seem to display the same intensity and tendency (Mabin 1999:86 & 2001:183; Harrison 2002b:80), Mabin (1999:151) in a provocative exposition alludes to the possibility that these pictures in the South, could well be revealing the "…*potential futures and not only possible pasts of the cities of the North*".

⚙ **on(to) Tshwane**

Tracing these enfolding traces in the spaces of Tshwane, some extraordinary occurrences become visible of the city's own **forgotten (post) apartheid scenery**. Juxtaposed against Tshwane's 'big brother' aptitude in Africa and its selected connections to the wider world, are the accumulating disengaged masses[79], which find themselves increasingly not being accommodated by an economic engine progressively tuned to fit the global agenda. In an all but familiar (global) plot, Tshwane's people find themselves also divided by an epitomising chasm between the south-easterly haves and the north-westerly have-not's,

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[79] Manuel Castells from his all familiar New-Marxist standpoint similarly refers to the disengaged masses as the '*structurally irrelevant people*' (Cited by Massey *et al.* 1999:127).

i.e. those deserted to the ever escalating pockets of informalisation, piecemeal jobs and imploring acts of fortitude (Simone 2001:103)[80].

Footed in the remnants of yester year's 'Grand Apartheid', a picture transpires of the (unending) **post-suburban shack build-up**[81] and the (monotonous) subsidy-driven housing palliations that have simply continued the (peripheral) segregation and fragmentation of the '*Apartheid City*'[82] (For substantiating observations see also Smith 2003:30; and Harrison *et al*. 2003:4). The solidifying urbanisation around places such as: Hammanskraal, Temba, Winterveld, Klippan, Mabopane etc., also functions as '*interfacial*' zones (Horn *et al*. 1992:122), i.e. it operates as the basing points to the metropolitan area's opportunities and the recipients' sporadic returns to an even larger network of scattered (dis)localities – more and more dependant on the acquired fruits in the Tshwane urban region[83].

In this part of the expandable urban system, similarly referred to by Hattingh & Horn (1992:146) as the '*multiple city system*', urbanisation mostly takes shape bereft of industry, but increasingly profiled by the rising number of shacks and make shift livelihoods. These enlarging (racially homogeneous) fringes constitute the non-centres of a growing new post-urbanism, probably as remarkable as the urbanisations (similarly) taking place at the edges of other urban regions of the South (Mabin 1999:148). A few informal clusters have also recently been interjected in the south-westerly outskirts of Centurion, which places them much closer to the economic dynamo

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[80] In 2001 approximately 305 000 (32%) of Tshwane's economic active inhabitants were unemployed, which were also 64% up from 1996. In 2001, more than 105 000 people were employed in the informal sector (Formally employed – 583 814) (SA Cities Network 2004:180). One of the best examples of the informalisation within the City of Tshwane is the street vendors of fruit and vegetables. According to the Thinus Dodds, the marketing manager of the Tshwane Fresh Produce Market, almost 30% of the weekly turnover of R75 million is sold to street vendors (Moos 2004:1).

[81] In the period 1996 – 2001 the number of households without formal shelter in Tshwane grew 58% - the highest percentage growth registered for all the largest cities in South Africa (SA Cities Network 2004:31, 186). In 2001 the number of households without formal shelter in Tshwane numbered 129688, which represented approximately 25% of all households (Ibid:185).

[82] Vide Van der Merwe (1993) for a description of the '*Apartheid City*' and a comparison with international city form.

[83] This opposing view to the linear conceptualisation of urbanisation is generally referred to as '*circular migration*' (Mabin 1999:146).

picking up between Johannesburg and Tshwane. These (tactical) insertions could just be the beginnings of a rising gulf of (well-informed) citizens not content with the RDP alms[84] so much disconnected from the economic logic emerging between the two largest cities in the Gauteng urban region.

However, under this bleak surface lies the (invisible) beginnings of the African people's resourcefulness and their adaptation to the geographically uneven dynamics of globalisation. Drawing on his 15 years experience researching African cities, Simone (2004) also demonstrates how innovatively the people of Winterveld, situated at the very outskirts of Tshwane, are negotiating space by means of the many fluid and makeshift social relations and collective actions. These highly agile tactical abilities - visible in the informal economies and social networks – are constantly being reworked to sustain and give meaning/life to the people. Similarly to Hansen and Vaa's (2004) '*reconsideration of informality*', Simone (2004:1) also reiterates that these undone realms are not failed precincts but rather areas (and informal economies) in progress, "…*at the same time exceedingly creative and extremely stalled*".

➥ **ILLUSORY SCENES** of urbanity

The sixth and final feature visible along my path of discovery revolves around the **post-suburban consciousness**. This reinvention of the urban imagery is a response to the rather outmoded '*city-centric consciousness*', and presents a contemporary blurring of the once much clearer boundaries between the ('real') city and the ('fake') suburbia (Soja 2000:324). It instinctively flows from the recent exogenous reflex (and its related fabrications) and involves the gradual passing into the period of hyper-reality and simulation (Soja 1995b:135; Graham 1998; and Oswald 2001).

*"Is this the real life?
Is this just fantasy?
Caught in a landslide – no escape from reality
Open your eyes, look up to the skies and see…"*
(Queen, 'Bohemian Rhapsody" 1975).

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[84] The reference here is to the National Housing Strategy in terms of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) that has put more emphasis on the development of housing on a one-plot-one-house basis.

Oswald in Holmes (2001:38) explains how our material spaces are commodified and simulated around certain experiences. In a (re)collection of the growing cyberspaces, Michael Oswald (2000) further explains in his discussion on '*Virtual urban futures*' that the simulation of cityspace involves certain processes such as the: sanitisation, homogenisation, privatization, zoning and theming thereof. We have entered a new (cyber/simulation) era where novel/illusive scenes of urbanity are constantly fabricated and then used to replace the reality itself[85]. In '*Simulations*' (1983), Baudrillard takes this imitation to its ultimate end state by indicating that the 'real' in the post-modern world bears no relation to the commonly regarded sense of reality (Ibid.). Perhaps what is merely happening is the rise of a new genus of (simulated) pseudo-public space that is beginning to fill the void left by the dating of traditional public spaces.

Apart from the erasure of local distinctiveness and the growing fading of time-space constraints, which Soja (2000:336) alludes to as '*spatial ubiquity*', a growing sense of Gertrude Stein's famous aphorism - '*there is no there there*' – is becoming apparent. However, one should be mindful to encapsulate all these imagery renovations in cynicism, nihilism and dystopia and to wallow in historic romanticism, and nostalgia. One could (perhaps also) appreciate the fluidity of the identity (de/re)construction and support attempts to keep its metamorphosis alive (See also Oranje 2003:175 for a similar view). As justly pointed out by Soja (2000:331) new possibilities awaits by "…*taking advantage of its expanded scope, its blurred boundaries, its breakdown of rigid hierarchies, its flexibility and fragmentation, to engage in a more creative praxis of transgression, boundary crossing, border work, and commitment to the right to be different that can redirect the diffusion of hyperreality from its primarily conservative channels to more progressive objectives*".

"…it is imperative for planning to occupy itself with identity and culture if it is to play any meaningful part in the sustainable development of localities with increasingly diversifying populations" (Oranje 2003:175).

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[85] The foremost exponent of this confounding, Jean Baudrillard, in his explorations refer to this phenomenon as '*the precession of simulacra*' (Soja 2000:326; Sim 2001:358).

Taking these expressions into the life-worlds of Tshwane, the replacing of reality/identity seems to have moulded very similar effects. A **plot-scripting technique** was expansively rolled-out across the expanses of the metropolitan landscape. It recomposed the urban scenery into a '*scamscape*' (Soja 2000:343) encompassing numerous silhouettes.

'Collonade' shopping centre

Amongst the many illustrations is firstly the collection of theme-o-magic emplacements of consumer/entertainment delight (e.g. Menlyn, Collonade etc.) that increasingly mimics an international persona. An array of simulated Tuscan and Provençal Eden's-of-pretence, so 'real' that it takes precedence to the motherlands it is supposed to mirror, have also been extensively reincarnated in the fertile borderlands of post-suburbia. Almost as if this is not enough, the need for simulated experiences have even gone as far as (trans)fusing the post-suburban landscape with a collection of seductive residential estates assembled along ecotopian aspirations and country lifestyles. These simulated additions, primarily situated along the south-easterly (exurban) outskirts, lure their (needful) clientele with various enticements that evokes a sense of transcendental serenity and locational superiority. Various examples of nostalgic attempts of new-urbanism - in which live, work, and play are carefully packaged and manicured into car-less/pedestrian romanticised archetypes[86] - appear to complement these (perceived) **aspirational outer zones**. Moreover, in order to protect all these (virtual perfect) landscapes, a fortification impulse seems to exist that does not only

Woodhill residential estate and Country Club

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[86] An eminent example is the 210ha – mixed-use development known as Centurion Eco-park, situated just off the John Voster off ramp. Apart from the residential, retail, recreation and educational facilities, an upmarket office park is also being developed, know as Eco-(con)Fusion [Personal insertion added]. All the components are finely landscaped and linked with walkways, safeguarded and protected by fences/walls, styled in recycled vernaculars and within walking distance of each other.

guard over the new (simulated) ways of life, but perhaps more importantly, serves as a tactical gearing-up of post-suburbia into a securiotopia, which is nothing else than a (disguised) form of spatial (iso/insu)lation.

A few examples of the multiple emblematic allurements on offer in post-suburbia

Looking further at the evolving simulations and redirecting my attention temporarily towards the projection of a (post-apartheid) African identity, a picture becomes visible of the central-city's image more and more freed to unleash its (true) African organic vibrancy, hospitability and rich/colourful texturing[87]. Yet, against this (promising) rejuvenation stands a growing image of an African Capital brushed in staged ethnicity, surrogate experiences and **reconstructed images** of the (new) continent of the rising sun. This flushing out of the more real experiences with the global expected (African) experiences, seems to suggest that the inner-city reality might have become too much of an annoyance to deal with. Also of note is the Freedom Charter's valued vision of a '*better life for all*' that has somehow taken a one-dimensional shape in the many (suburbanising) RDP housing replications, continuously fabricated around the already disengaged (black) quarters, to be somehow appreciated as the (tangible) freedom rewards of the struggle[88].

To sum up, the post-modern reflex in Tshwane also created a stage for the lavish replication/flirtations with illusory imagery suggestive of elsewhere/yester year. These imitations are not only enfolding the formal and en(light)ened quarters, but is also becoming the aspiration/reprieve of the darker quarters. This redressing seems to be part of an all familiar agenda/recipe for development and (global) success.

➡ **some closing/opening REFLECTIONS**

Nearing the end of my first voyage, I gaze back with a more clear understanding that the symptomatology of the scanned spatialities in Tshwane do reflect the post-modernist imprint[89]. Through my personal hexagonal enquiry and the offering of

"The dunes are changed by the wind, but the desert never changes" (Coelho 1992:175).

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[87] For an elucidating discussion on the broad outline of an African identity and the qualities that could be accommodated in the vision of an African city see Oranje (2003 & 2004).
[88] This more shortened version is locally interpreted to generally refer to the struggle against Apartheid.
[89] For similar views on the echoing of the general post-modernist imprint by South African Cities see Parnell 1997; Gibson & Watson 1995; and Mabin 1999.

some '*transgressive imagery*' (Soja 2000:348), I responded to Harrison's call to engage our local spatialities in more contextually relevant ways[90], by highlighting some alternative/localised shades to the broader post-modernist canvas. This conceptual atlas provided me with a valuable route map for my second voyage.

I will embark on my second voyage not with the discovery of a new landscape, but rather with a more established realisation that my assembled atlas increasingly opposes the usual modes of cognitive understanding (See also Soja 1996:251 for a similar observation). The former templates that used to outline the dimensions of the city have become outdated and the (six) conceptualisations put forward on the post-modernist spatialities, begins to speak more directly to the (actual) realities. I therefore commence the next part of my exploration with the following **(un)mandated reflections**:

- Much of the newness in Tshwane's discursive surfaces are inconceivable from a local/inner perspective, but to a greater extent only understandable through the **relationships** to/with the global networks and the extended regional entanglement with Johannesburg;
- In an all familiar move, the orbital logic around the mono-centric/central city has become (de/re)-centred by the surfacing of **multi-centred conjunctions** and the (re)formation of the outer-places into activity patches and intricate development spines;
- The global etchings and ex-centric renditions extending along the N1 Development Arc towards Johannesburg's north-western clustering's, have developed into (South) Africa's primary **linear development axis**. This spatial thrust is well set to strengthen in the near future, at a scale and potency, probably as dramatic as the much considered text(ual/uerd) surfaces of the West;

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[90] Vide p. 14 for a citation of Harrison's appeal.

- The decline of the inner-city, the replication of undone realms around the already disconnected (black) quarters and the continued attraction of urban activity to the spotless peripheral encampments of the skilful bourgeoisie, has brought the **duality** of the urban landscape to the fore. Yet, these outcomes are also forging an aperture for the further advancement of Gauteng's smart economy in the interstitial zone between Johannesburg and Tshwane;

- The **compact city** discourse as a means of repair, appears increasingly questionable in view of: the growing solidity of the chequer-board habitude (with its hardening edges around the private quarters); the more elastic regional spatiality that supports the growth of nodal points along various emerging corridors; and the dissolving of the post-suburban realm's 'invented' boundary with the beyond;

- The current **illusory flirtations** around the ex-centric consciousness, is increasingly homogenising the urban scenery into (simulated) paradises and (meagre imitations) of its former state;

- The silence in planning text on the broader significance of the spatialities of the South, might in 10 years time be acknowledged as planning's own **literary simulacrum**. As the South grapples with the many challenging sides of its changing urban actuality, the growing evidence of similar manifestations in the North, might soon lead to a realisation that it is actually following the trajectory of the South.

HENCE BETTER ATTUNED AND MORE RECEPTIVE TO THE TEXTUERD SCENERY, I PREPARED TO COMMENCE MY SECOND VOYAGE. THE SECOND SCOPING AIMED TO EXPLORE THE (DIS)ARTICULATIONS AND INCLINATIONS EVIDENT IN THE CURRENT DISCOURSES ON THE CONCEIVEMENT AND ENVISIONING OF TSHWANE.

Part 4: Second Voyage:

The field notes - detailing the discoveries

"What concerns me is not the way things are but rather the way people think they are"

Epictetus [S.a.]

the RUN-DOWN: some sketches of the findings on my exploration

1 October 2004

WITH THE FIRST VOYAGE BEHIND, I IMMEDIATELY COMMENCED WITH THE SECOND PART OF MY QUEST, I.E. A FACT-FINDING MISSION ON THE CURRENT STRANDS ABOUT THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE LOCAL SPATIALITIES. MY MAIN OBJECTIVE WAS TO FOCUS ON PLAN(NERS/INGS)' (FABRICATED) DISCURSIVE SURFACES, I.E. THE DOCUMENTARY TEXTS ON THE PLANNING OF THE CITY. THROUGH MY MODE OF DECONSTRUCTIVE READING, I EXTRACTED THE MOST REPRESENTATIVE IMAGERY AS A/MY (FURTHER) VERSION ON THE CONCEIVED (SPATIAL) REALITIES AND ENVISIONED (URBAN) FUTURES.

➡ **some initial (rhetorical) observations amidst the (TEXT)URES and personas**

As I prepare to read the wealth of ideas, pictures and concepts, so much present yet almost guised by the many façades in action, it is perhaps appropriate to kick-off the second voyage with a few fragments on the broader context in which the text currently sits. From there onwards I start the meticulous process of figuring out the constituted realities by means of my own mode of deconstructive reading, termed earlier as **expansive scanning**[91].

"Learning is about our personal voyage of deep inner-self-discovery. It cannot be reduced to blindly following rules set up by others. It involves challenging automatic, robotic behaviour and being demanding as a learner both of others and ourselves" **(Sheila Harri-Augstein cited by Battram 2001:145).**

Like other expeditions through textual passages, the considered texts of this exploration also contain plan(ers/nings)' main postures of a particular epoch[92]. In particular, the chosen texts represent a true record (at the start of the post-transitional phase of local government) of how the City of Tshwane has been **conceptualised**. At a time of so much (urban/planning) transformation, one would expect that these textual passages would not only begin to reflect and speak of the newness, but it would also contain the very first (inspiring) future-

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[91] Vide p.36 for a detailed discussion on this mode of enquiry.
[92] Vide p.37 for a general description of the selected texts as well as for some references to similar advances that used (planning) text to elucidate the stances at the time.

shaping and future-seeking pathways[93]. As also noted by other commentators (E.g. Castells 1992:77-78; Dear 2000:134; Soja 1996:279; Simone 2002:2; and Coetzee & Serfontein 2002:7), it is essential that new articulations and tactics be grafted that are more responsive to the emerging contours of the post-modern urban landscape.

Scanning the influencing context, one should perhaps note that these texts were not only written against the backdrop of the already mentioned global urban transformation but also at the height of the South African cities' own 'epochal watershed' (Mufamadi 2001). After decades of isolation and exclusion, our cities dramatically experienced the consequences of reconnecting with global circuits. Our cities do not only need to cope with globalisation, but in addition, have to deal with fundamental changes brought about by the fall of Apartheid and the subsequent passage to a more integrated, equitable and democratic society. It seems evident that South African cities are experiencing consequences as a result of urbanisation, globalisation and spatial adjustment in line with international trends. However, it can be accepted that the situation in South Africa is much more problematic since our cities enter the global arena with an already ingrained pattern of inequality, fragmentation and segregation. However, as new conceptions of the contemporary city emerge, even more novel forms begin to transpire with its own sets of challenges (and opportunities). Urban planners of South African cities, similarly to other cities in the South, are therefore faced with an ever evolving and shifting target. This multiple task/'crowded agenda'[94] present a commanding set of complex challenges that requires appropriate and expeditious action.

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[93] Tewdwr-Jones (2003) also emphasises the importance of planning endeavours to engage the future in a similar way.

[94] The 'crowded agenda' as referred to by Turok & Watson (2002:108) entails amongst other: addressing of the structural imbalances as a result of Apartheid; urbanisation of poverty; historic inequalities; improving living conditions; increasing jobs and income; short term delivery; better urban management systems; and the advancement of urban productivity.

AGAINST THIS SETTING AND MY ORIGINAL QUERY STAGED AT THE START OF THIS EXPLORATION[95], I BEGAN MY DUAL TASK OF READING THE CONCEPTUALISED PORTRAYALS OF THE CONTEMPORARY URBAN LANDSCAPE AND THE DIFFERENT ENVISIONINGS OF A BETTER URBAN FUTURE.

With this objective firmly in mind I proceeded with my second voyage. The enquiry through the textualities on the conceptualisation of Tshwane (unfortunately) had to proceed somewhat empty–handed from its first stopping, *viz:* the symposium held November 2001 on '*The Restructuring and Rebirth of Tshwane*'[96](See Hlahla 2001b:4). Ironically, this embryonic event that took place (surprisingly) just more than nine (9) months after the amalgamation of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality had all the ingredients for making a very fruitful start. As a politically championed partnership process, but broadly owned and situated on neutral ground, it constructively/ imaginatively engaged and explored the new/possible urban future and some options for achieving the restructuring of the city (For some ingenious contributions at the event see for example Mufamadi 2001; Pretorius 2001; Vilakazi 2001; and Oranje 2001). Unfortunately, the only traces found of this (resourceful) event are the somewhat retrospective recollections, newspaper clippings and a single draft report that portrayed the general picture and proposed a way forward on shaping the development trajectory of the city **outside** the legislative realm[97] (See CTMM 2002b).

Sadly, this momentous beginning was followed-up by an even greater recline. This promising local initiative slowly evaporated and gave way to '*Planning's BIG affair*' with the Integrated Development Planning

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[95] Vide p.20.

[96] This symposium - jointly organised and hosted by the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, The University of Pretoria and the Development Bank of South Africa on 22 & 23 November 2001 - showed some similarities to the City Development Strategies (CDS) program of the World Bank, which at that stage was a somewhat untried urban planning methodology in the South African planning scene (CTMM 2002b).

[97] The reference here is to Municipal Systems Act's (2000) statutory mandate for the adoption of an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) that serves as a strategic plan for the development of a municipality (SA 2000).

process (IDP's) (Coetzee & Serfontein 2002). The totalising way that IDP's were done in the City of Tshwane, unfortunately squeezed out any space for other inventive tactics and more responsive future-seeking pathways to emerge[98]. Most of the conceptualisations were therefore cast within the copied/stiff frame of two rounds of the IDP's done in house. In the (very assertive) words of the IDP Manager, Mr. Wonder Nkosi, nobody was left to 'w(o/a)nder'. In his message/preface to the first IDP, all were reminded again of his "*very high status within the CTMM in terms of strategic planning*" and the fact that the first "*home-grown*" IDP was not "*farmed out to consultants*", which somehow (re)assured all that the formulation of the first fully fledged IDP was in 'masterful' hands (CTMM 2002c:2, 3) [99].

The Tshwane Municipality has in terms of a Council resolution, appointed Wonder Nkosi, Chief Operating Officer (COO), as the Tshwane IDP Manager. An IDP Office has been established in the Office of the COO. Integrated development planning is not just about spatial planning and therefore its management was delegated to the Chief Operating Officer who holds a very high status within CTMM in terms of strategic implementation.

For most of the investigative period the city's integrated development planning dominion (i.e. the IDP Office situated in the Office of the Chief Operating Officer (COO): Mr. Wonder Nkosi) and its **textual ornament(s)**, *viz:* the two (colossal) Integrated Development Planning compendiums of approximately 600 pages each, largely controlled the fabrication of strategic planning text on the (supposed) integrated planning of the City. As somehow deduced from the 'guide packs'[100], these (ultimate) records were assembled in a directory style of compartmentalised text made-up of scores of standardised tables and templates with little content, but packed with lots of undertakings/references to an intricate maze of more

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[98] For similar views on the (de)limiting application of the IDP process in municipalities such as the CTMM where the Guide Packs were followed literally and where it was seen as the only component for strategic planning, see also Adams & Oranje's (2002) comprehensive overview of the first round of IDP's completed in South Africa.

[99] During the reading some fragments of the thought provoking texts were (in their original formats) collected and pasted in the sides as representative artefacts of the finds (The most striking parts of the fragments are highlighted in yellow). The references to these various excerpts can either be found in the footnotes or in the citations on the same page.

[100] The reference here is to the infamous Guide packs developed by the CSIR and the German Agency for Technical Co-operation (GTZ) published by the Department of Planning and Local Government (DPLG) in 2000 to somehow standardise the methodology and content of all Integrated Development Plans. Vide http://www.csir.co.za/plsql/ptl0002/PTL0002_PGE038_ARTICLE?ARTICLE_NO=7185241. Access 10 February 2006.

resourceful places where the ('much important') sectoral plans were being masterminded and prepared for its ultimate inclusion in the broader scheme of things[101]. The very first editions of two of these sectoral plans that related to my enquiry, *viz*: the Integrated Spatial Development Framework (CTMM 2003b) and the Integrated Local Economic Development Plan (CTMM 2002d) were also sufficiently detailed (during the research period) to provide valuable insight on the conceptualisation of the local urban space.

The one thorny issue though, that struggled to emerge from the already mentioned resourceful beginning was a City Development Strategy (CDS). Still suffering at that stage from these **inhibitive conditions**, but with National Treasury's incentive for a substantial Restructuring Grant (Momoniat 2002), the municipality was rapidly moved towards concretising its City Strategy. It started off with a '*Restructuring Grant Application Process Plan*' (CTMM 2002e), and the tasking of Mr. N. Pillay to co-ordinate and finalise all aspects related to the Restructuring Grant Application (including a CDS)[102]. What followed was a peculiar period of part(s) of the organisation attempting to build a platform for the development of a CDS (along the lines promoted by the World Bank)[103], and the IDP office (under the headship of Mr. W. Nkosi) to counter/control any strategic CDS endeavours within the ('legitimate') IDP approach[104].

> **The CDS process was introduced under the World Bank's new Global Urban and Local Government Strategy, which with the help of Cities Alliance, is currently engaged in more than 50 cities around the world (Vide http://www. worldbank. org/html/fpd/urban/ cds/main/caseexamples_2.htm. Access 15 May 2002). As noted by Coetzee and Serfontein (2002:5), the CDS process *"…promotes a new way of (strategic) thinking about the city within the broader regional, national and global context, outside the rigidities of statutory development frameworks"*.**

Eventually, an (encouraging) opinion piece emerged from the organisational dearth/bout on the (re)conceivement/envisioning of

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[101] The Department of Development Planning & Local Government of the Gauteng Provincial Authority, in their first analysis of the Tshwane2002 IDP noted that the extensive use of tables and the little to no coherence in or between them made the reading of the document very difficult (CTMM 2003a:38).

[102] Vide Thoahlane (2002), i.e. the letter of the former Municipal Manager to National Treasury that confirmed Mr. Pillay's (SEO: Housing, City Planning & Environmental Management), nomination as the local champion of the Restructuring Grant process.

[103] See for example CTMM (2002f) and CTMM (2002g) as two attempts from the City Planning Division (under the guidance of Mr. N. Pillay) to put forward a roadmap for the compilation of a CDS.

[104] See for example: CTMM 2003c for the rejected report to the Mayoral Committee on contextualising the CDS; CTMM 2003d for another attempt to the (misapplied) levering of organisational management theory for a CDS; and CTMM 2003a:59 for an attempt to correct the 'misconceptions' being spread to the dissatisfaction of the IDP Office.

the Tshwane urban space with the SEO: Housing, City Planning and Environmental Management putting forward a '*Position Statement on the Repositioning and Restructuring of the City of Tshwane*' (CTMM 2003e). This strategic framework, for a short period acted as a lighthouse within the troublesome storms and in retrospect initialised strategic thinking on the (new/preferred) development trajectory of the city. However, with the missing of the original deadline for submitting a Restructuring Grant application to National Treasury[105], the firm 'Organisation Development Africa' (ODA) was brought in from Cape Town (as saviour/mediator) to finalise the '*City of Tshwane Restructuring Grant Application*' (CTMM 2003f), and also to put forward the first CDS. For the purposes of the exploration it turned out to be the most significant thrusting element that put Tshwane (back) on a new (poignant) path towards the North.

IN SHUFFLING THESE NOTABLE GLIMPSES INTO A TACTICAL POSITION, I AM BROUGHT TO THE POINT WHERE MY ODYSSEY OF DISCOVERY CAN START. FROM HERE ONWARDS MY EXPLORATION WILL FOLLOW A ROUTE MORE OR LESS INDICATED BY MY ASSEMBLED ATLAS BY PERFORMING A (DECONSTRUCTIVE) TEXTUAL READING OF THE COLLECTED DOCUMENTARY (PLANNING) TEXTS. THIS READING WILL BE DONE THROUGH THE PRISM PORTRAYED IN THE FIRST VOYAGE, I.E. THE SIX DIFFERENT SHADES/SCENES OF THE EVOLVING POST-MODERN URBAN LANDSCAPE. AS STATED EARLIER THIS READING (THE SECOND VOYAGE) WILL FOCUS SPECIFICALLY ON TWO PARTICULAR APPEARANCES OF THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF SPACE, NAMELY: THE HABITUAL PERCEPTIONS ON THE CONTEMPORARY CITY SCENERY (I.E. THE CONCEIVING OF SPACE); AND THE MENTAL PICTURES TO IMPROVE UPON IT (I.E. THE ENVISIONING OF A BETTER FUTURE).

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[105] Vide Savage 2002, for a list of the conditions included in the confirmation letter by National Treasury regarding the approval for funding from the Local Government Restructuring Grant.

➡ **first scene: the PLANETARY PLEXUS of transnational (re/un)bounding**

The very first investigating plane is situated within the discourse of globalisation. In this part of the second voyage I scan some developing threads on the meta-narrative. More specifically, this section of the exploration tracks the (engaging/countering) portrayals on its local rooting and some of the manoeuvres employed to navigate its emerging contours.

⚜ **some conceiving(s) on the globalisation of the Tshwane urban space**

Scanning the texts for the main tendencies and motifs of the interlacing of globalisation in/on Tshwane, a somewhat paradoxical appearance emerged. For most of the time the tendency was to shun away from this 'slippery' concept by conceptualising primarily around a (con)fusion of local (e/a)ffects. Yet some very capable engaging(s) were however visible in the first (internal) framing of a CDS (CTMM 2003e)[106] and the spatial analysis of the first IDP (CTMM 2002c).

> *"…the city is, then, not only a developing mixture through history, but also in each moment of that history, the focus of a wider geography"*
> **(Massey et al. 1999:103)**

Underlying the many poses present, was an uncomplicated pretence of the **less pronounced presence** of the layering of globalisation onto the urban scenery. The process of global (economic) integration was generally portrayed as if it somehow missed this locality, or at best as if it had not (firmly) set foot so far South on the African continent (See for example CTMM 2003a:94; and CTMM 2003b:17). Also related and notable in the references was an unvarying sense of scepticism towards the '*new economy*' and its new (good) addresses[107]. The

> Cities are increasingly the places where international finance and labour markets converge. It is common sense that capital and labour are attracted to those cities that are well managed, have a strong local economy, perform well and have a sound skill base. The effects of *globalisation* are less pronounced in Tshwane as it has always been a governmental and education city and is thus not entirely dependant on primary and secondary industries.

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[106] This document entitled:' *A Position Statement on the Repositioning and Restructuring of the City of Tshwane'* was conceptualised and envisioned by a multi-disciplinary strategic workgroup of the Metropolitan Planning Section of the City Planning Division on request from the SEO: Housing City Planning and Environmental Management.

[107] For some examples of these sceptic stances note: CTMM (2002c:476); CTMM (2003a:93); and CTMM (2003b:11).

horizontal (re)agglomeration and its symptomatic clustering's towards the outer fringes, were largely steered clear of except for some unvarnished traces deposited in the spatial analysis of the first IDP[108]. In general, the newness and evolving forms elucidated in my first voyage (e.g. the inverted clusters, iconic emplacements, informalisation and gearing of the local economy), were generally perceived as indifferent to a (supposed) nostalgic good order. This feeling of disbelief and sense of (dis)quiet over the reworlding effects exposed their **uneasiness to cross over** to an emerging global space more and more patterned from outside. Instead of perusing (possible) understandings about globalising networks of collaboration and the city's (dis)connection within these, Tshwane was observed as an introverted/isolated object mainly patterned from within. Instead attention was directed to an alternative plot of little newness and a proliferation of old trends, which can be attributed to an undisciplined market, our separating pursuit and a less potent planning force[109]. This stands starkly against Soja's (1996:50) just comment that: "*Our concern must be with space on a world scale … as well as with all spaces subsidiary to it, at every possible level. This globalisation process creates a new situation in which* **all places and spatiality** *itself have undergone metamorphoses such … that our … languages need to be dismantled and reconstructed* [Personal emphasis added].

"Space is being muddled and misconstrued either by baggage of tradition, by older traditions that no longer fit the changing contexts of the contemporary moment, or by faddish buzz words…" **(Soja. 1996:2)**

Pursuing this theme a bit further it was not surprising to find that the new globalising affects were generally perceived as negative and that the accompanying urbanisation was regarded as a threat and entirely out-of-control[110]. There seems to be a general lack of a more fundamental understanding/ appreciation of the global makeover and the significance of the new (interconnected) systems/patterns

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[108] For some attempts to depict the horizontal (re)agglomeration effects see CTMM (2002c:120-122, 127 & 128).
[109] Vide CTMM (2003a:82) and CTMM (2003b:13 & 16, 17) for typical inward orientated portrayals of urban change and the general overlooking of the globalisation (e/a)ffects.
[110] Vide CTMM (2002c:111, 113, 234 & 271; CTMM (2003a:84, 391) and CTMM (2003b:15-17, 22) for some references to the city's perceived 'out of control' bearing and the negative affects of urbanisation.

and the growing (dis)embedding of (parts of) the local space into a much broader planetary scene[111]. It is also repeated in the rather outdated voicing of the '**dual city hypotheses**' that dooms Tshwane altogether to the forgotten side of globalisation[112]. Even the leading/executive text on a CDS (CTMM 2003f:8-15), used the dual city metaphor as a tactical advance to cast the whole area to the north of the Magaliesberg as being on the wrong side of a '*great divide*', even with the common knowledge that some of the quarters in the north (e.g. the Automotive Cluster situated in Rosslyn with the BMW plant and the mentioned Supplier Park) were actually most advanced in their relationships with the global production processes[113].

> *i* The 'dual city' hypothesis has many facets but generally refers to globalisation's dichotomising outcome, i.e. a binary coding into (marginalised) peripheries and (prospering) centres. As correctly observed by Harrison (2003:15) and Marcuse (1989), the dual city metaphor has become somewhat outdated for portraying a complex urban space that is '*multiply divided*' and rather takes shape as a "*quartered city*' with several different forms.

Another intriguing aspect of this (mis)reading of the (globalising) urban effects, was a narration that seemed more at ease to focus exclusively on **surface trends** and to confine its explanation to a (voyeuristic) depiction of the physical look of the city scenery. It focused primarily on describing present land-use arrangements and pictorial scenes that persistently pointed to the increasing lack of a sense of place and the overall disintegration of urban beauty and legibility[114]. It was evident between the lines that the (urban) planners/designers believed that Tshwane was moving further and further away from its (ennobled/more superior) urban character/past[115]. In the explanation the city allegedly fell constantly

> ◆ **Suburban appearance**
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> Seen from the air, the city has a general suburban appearance. Historically, this pattern of development was planned and controlled. However, the last decade has seen an increase in *sprawl*, particularly in the areas adjacent to or along the edge. Development here, generally, takes one of the following forms:

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[111] For some examples of the very narrow and superficial view see: CTMM (2002c:272-273, 476-479); and CTMM (2003a:85-94).

[112] Vide CTMM (2003b:17) for an illustration of such an all-encompassing casting.

[113] Vide footnote 51for a description of some of the global motor manufacturers' (OEM's) use of the Rosslyn area in its global production processes.

[114] For a typical illustration of the focus on surface appearances in the description of Tshwane's settlement characteristics and the elucidation of an ever increasing placeless/banal (global/local) urban environment see for example: CTMM (2002c:124, 125 & 271); CTMM (2003a:93) & CTMM (2003b:15-17).

[115] Vide also Tewdwr-Jones' (1999:26) identification of the same trend where planning generally portrays an image of '*the abandonment of the past".*

short of the Jacobsean romance of everyday urban life[116], and the aspirational Eurocentric street scene's frequently pictured/punctured in the text[117]. In this focus on surface appearances the (deeper) potentialities/complications as a consequence of the reworlding process (e.g. growing unemployment and jobless growth, informalisation, urban entrepreneurialism, emerging comparative advantages of some specialising high-tech/techno clusters, (de/re)industrialisation, new synergies between the living and working quarters etc.), were completely lost in view.

"Jacobs's vision seemed so direct and straightforward forty years ago. Today we've got to wonder, is this pragmatism or pastoral? Is it direct experience of city life or a grid of prescribed happy meanings forcibly imposed on city life?" **(Berman 2000:215)**

Fortunately, as already suggested, everything was not only doom and gloom. The mainstream texts did have bits of promising starts, albeit only the very **generalist/elementary descriptions** of the globalisation results. Reasonably central in the expositions was the (neo-liberal) recognition of cities' elite entering of the '*battlegrounds*' of urban warfare. The discussion asserted that the survival of the fittest had (finally) revisited the urban landscape and in this round it was about triumphing in the (international) field of urban competitiveness[118]. How Tshwane measured up to the (alleged) challenge was however fairly sketchy. While some attempt was made to portray the angles of urban competitiveness (e.g. liveability, an adequate movement network that provides accessibility and mobility, connectivity via an international airport, skills levels and labour cost, tariffs & pricing issues, safety and security and tourism resources)[119]; unfortunately little effort was spared to illustrate Tshwane's (global) standing on these indicators.

The ==battlegrounds== on which companies will compete in future will therefore be cities, rather than countries.

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[116] The reference here is to Jane Jacobs' (outmoded) romantic celebration of urbanity and everyday city life in her classical text on the '*Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961).

[117] Vide CTMM (2003b:43, 52, 53, 69 71 and 72) for typical Eurocentric clippings included of nostalgic urban scenes to be 'admired' and 'hopefully' duplicated in Tshwane.

[118] Vide CTMM (2002c:77 & 94); CTMM (2002d:9) and CTMM (2003f:7) for some passages indicative of the increased importance of cities in the urban war-game for increased competitiveness.

[119] For some examples on the identification of indicators of urban competitiveness see: CTMM (2002c:96, 100 & 140); CTMM (2003a:78, 79, 125, 135, 136 & 145); and CTMM (2003b:17).

A probing demonstration of some localisations did however come from the experimental strands of the City Planning Division's first CDS attempt (CTMM 2003e). It, amongst other things, highlighted the strategic location of Tshwane within the Southern African context in terms of proximity, connectivity and historic relations, which were beginning to catalyse the city's ever increasing role of port/gateway into Africa. It also acknowledged the growing importance of Gauteng as the most prominent candidate for acquiring the 'world city' status and hence also began to recognise the changing/collaborative role of Tshwane within the larger **combined space**. Against this backdrop it also started to distil the locational specificities into comparative advantages, combined urban synergies and possible emerging development niches, which could be used to envision (productive and enabling) developmental paths and to attend to the city's vulnerabilities[120].

⊕ some **envisioning(s)** of Tshwane following on the globalising urban space

With these rather dodg(y/ing) nuances of the pictured realities of globalisation disappearing in the background, I began to turn my attention to the second appearance on the conceptualisation of Tshwane. This passage scanned the multiple **depictions of a better urban future** within the aperture of a globalising urban space.

Mindful of being too expectant, I began to hoe amongst the visualisations of a better future. Juxtaposed against the explicit vision of the city, *viz:* "*To become the leading international African Capital of Excellence that empowers the community to prosper in a safe and healthy environment*" (CTMM 2003a:xi), I found many jumbled attempts to contextualise this envisioning. Instead of steering the development trajectory of the city

"The restructuring exercises of the past two years and the Content of the IDP demonstrate the organization's strategic competence" **[!] (CTMM 2003a:275)**

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[120] Vide CTMM (2003e:5-14) for some incisive investigations into Tshwane's growing standing in the African and broader global scene as well as for some of the prominent qualities that catalyses/disqualifies the city to (productively) collaborate in the Gauteng (world city) space.

clearly towards this targeted destination, the elevated status in the international arena unfortunately got somehow construed in multiple versions/aspirations of becoming (either): "*an African cultural city of world renown*" (CTMM 2002c:294); "*…the safest international acclaimed African Capital city*" (Ibid.:316); "*A healthy city…*" (Ibid.:334); "*An economically viable, attractive, efficient and environmental friendly city…*"(Ibid.:351); and "*An international acclaimed nature city…*" (Ibid.:391), to highlight but just a few. Whilst it might have been a meaningful intention to cascade the city's vision down into the respective functional/(fictional) fields, these (s/c)ited envisionings clearly demonstrated confusing/diverging pathways to a better urban future and lacked any consolidation around appropriate/complementary developmental paths.

Searching further for more envisionings of the globalising space, yet more (paradoxical) discoveries were in store. Most of the conceptualisations of a better future progressed from the neo-liberal intentions already demonstrated in the first scoping of pictured realities. Its most acute ideals - as mostly championed from the local economic development quarters - resonated around: a globally competitive economy sufficiently energised and freed-up; a highly liveable city for housing and entertaining its citizens/(upper elite); a polished imagery of the Tshwane wonderscapes for showcasing/selling the local space at international fairs; a well managed city attractive for investment; and the exploitation/selling of tourism resources[121].

> The implication for the way in which cities, and especially urban regions and metropolitan areas, are governed is that clear strategies need to be set that will ensure ==international competitiveness==.

Yet, against these reformist intentions, some exceptional **restraining ploys** emerged from the spatial re-engineering postings. Instead of a more sophisticated interventionist/indicative approach, which attempts to (re)direct development and high impact public

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[121] See for example CTMM (2002c:82, 100, 119, 278, & 382) and CTMM (2003b:17 & 135) for typical demonstrations of these neo-liberal tactics evident in the strategies put forward by the local economic development planners.

investment towards strategic locations (e.g. some of those emerging global etchings and economic clusters highlighted in the first voyage), the most favoured manoeuvres reflected an urge to take a firm grip on the (disliked) global effects[122]. The discourse therefore pictured a canvas on which the urban planners/masters will (dogmatically) demand and control the type, location, and appearance of all activities by means of their detailed/non-compromising pictorial guides and urban design manuals. Their main intentions centered around: a better ordered; parcelled; clustered; countered; and less muddled urban landscape and its ultimate indicator for (urban) success: good/beautiful public space[123].

"For those who choose to struggle against its alluring and illusive embrace, stubbornly modernist modes of resistance are certainly not enough. New tactics and strategies must come into being" (Soja 1996:279).

The MSDF seeks to counter the existing trends and create a *liveable* and stimulating city with a positive image.

Although widely scattered and in short supply, some useful propositions could be gathered on top to the aforementioned sketchy conceptualisations. An incisive visualisation was put forward on the picturing of a new international airport for Tshwane. Ever present, although somewhat quietened, are the (welcomed) beginnings of a more strategic attempt to connect with global circuits, even though it implies the rethinking of the Wonderboom Airport's use and appropriateness[124]. Another promising, yet less spatially inclined envisioning within the global re-territorialising reality, came from the assertion that **investment** towards the far north of Tshwane should be made **in people** as apposed to places (CTMM 2003b:285). The significance of this suggestion does not only lie in the

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[122] Vide CTMM (2003a:37) for similar findings of the Department of Development Planning & Local Government of the Gauteng Provincial Authority, as well as CTMM (2002c:31, 364 & 379); and CTMM (2003a:311, 335 & 357-363) for some evidence on the general lack of more interventionist/catalytic initiatives, relative narrow conceptualisations of strategic development initiatives (SDI's) and a favouring of disadvantage areas as oppose to localities with much more potential within the global/regional economic urban space.

[123] For some illustrative demonstrations of the urge to prescribe, control/counter and structure the urban environment with the use of a comprehensive system of urban design, place making, form-giving, spatial structuring, streetscape- and symbolic articulation tools, see: CTMM (2002c:224, 237, 238 & 323) and CTMM (2003b:31, 51-76, 81, 89-95, 97-100).

[124] Vide CTMM (2002c:103) for the origin of this testing (re)conceptualisation from the Transport Division. This idea (unfortunately) stands in opposition to the Local Economic Development Division's dire endeavours to revive/safe the Wonderboom airport (Note CTTM 2002c:364, 379 & 407) and CTMM (2003a:64 & 145).

comprehension that these areas are largely situated outside the probable zones of (global) economic potential, but perhaps also in a more pragmatic understanding that begins to challenge the continuation of excessive/non-appropriate investment in historic disadvantage areas[125].

Lastly, a promising conceptualisation that sought to optimise Tshwane's potential to gain from globalisation, also emerged from the first in-house attempt of a CDS (CTMM 2003e). As with the NSDP's (SA 2003:22) and the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework's (GPA 2000:54) pivotal submission, this (re)envisioning was also premised on a path of sustained/appropriate economic development as the essential source for addressing other policy objectives such as poverty alleviation. This pragmatic stance clearly understood Tshwane's situatedness within the broader Gauteng urban space and for the first time demonstrated how a **holistic growth path** could be articulated (based on the 'insides') to address critical issues and exploit emerging opportunities (largely stimulated from the outside).

"The objective, is to use "insides" op cities to approach, navigate and incorporate an intricate "outside"
(Simone [S.a.]:4)

GAZING BACK OVER THE NAVIGATED PASSAGES ON PICTURED REALITIES AND ENVISIONINGS OF A BETTER (GLOBALISING) URBAN FUTURE, I MUST ADMIT THAT I ANTICIPATED MORE PROGRESSIVE ATTEMPTS TO SPEAK TO THE 'NEWNESS'. THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF TSHWANE LARGELY SUFFERED FROM AN UNDERLYING SENSE THAT GLOBALISATION WAS OUT OF PLACE AND TOO DISTANCED TO CONTEXTUALISE LOCALLY. THE CONCEIVEMENT OF THE CITY MOST OFTEN REVERTED (IN/BACK)WARDS AND GENERALLY LACKED A MORE FUNDAMENTAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE GLOBAL MAKEOVER AND TSHWANE'S PARTICULAR (DIS)CONNECTION WITH THE PLANETARY CIRCUITS.

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[125] This principle is also one of the key normative guidelines of the 'National Spatial Development Perspective' (NSDP) that serves as the National Guideline (at the broader spatial scale) for productive Infrastructure Investment and Development in South Africa (See SA 2003:22).

THE ENVISIONING OF A BETTER FUTURE SOMEHOW GOT TANGLED-UP IN MANY DIVERGING PURSUITS AND AN INABILITY TO CONSISTENTLY PURSUE MORE INDICATIVE AND INTERVENTIONIST ADVANCES AS TO BE EXPECTED IN A CITY THAT AWAITS A MORE ENABLING URBAN FUTURE. HOWEVER, THE CAPABLE STRATEGIC THINKING DEMONSTRATED IN SMALL BUT PERSUASIVE CAPACITIES (E.G. INVESTMENT IN PEOPLE), DOES POINT TO SPECIFIC IN-HOUSE COMPETENCIES, WHICH I HOPE TO FURTHER TRACK IN THE NEXT READING OF THE URBAN REGIONALISATION EFFECTS.

➜ second scene: the **REGIONAL WEBS** of inter-connectivity

The second scanning begins to explore the regional panorama. More specifically, it zooms in on the emerging combined urban spatiality of the Gauteng urban region of which Tshwane forms an intricate part. It probes the enfolding plot in search for some untold strands on how the regional urban merging is portrayed and what imaginations of a better future are piloted into position.

✢ some **conceiving(s)** on the elastic regional spatiality

Picking-up and following on the various leads spotted in the first voyage regarding the rise of regional urban systems, it might be useful to point out that the textualities in Tshwane emerged against the Gauteng urban region's growing prominence of this particular evolving feature in the national urban space. With this in mind, one would expect that the conceptualisation on the combinatorial regional urban system would begin to advance the current (mis)understandings of this **intertwined spatiality** and that some meaningful/creative actioning would begin to emerge.

"The Gauteng polycentric urban region is only one of many features of a rapidly evolving national urban environment. It is vital that South African cities begin to develop a more comprehensive understanding of this national economy of urban space" (SA Cities Network 2004:24).

Continuing the somewhat more positive advance that ended the first scene, the more inquisitive/engaging examining (as before) came from the spatial analysis included in the first IDP (CTMM 2002c) and the first discussion document towards a City Development Strategy

done in-house (CTMM 2003e)[126.] These texts acknowledged the new regional logic and began to portray the evolving contours of this new regional spatiality[127]. Although more surfaces and facets might have been explored, some useful representations were made about the strengthening Gauteng regional spatiality. Firstly, the **('smart') shift** in the Gauteng economy was observed and its subsequent concentration of the growing activities between Johannesburg and Tshwane was observed[128]. The new locational requirements of the new prominent sectors were highlighted [129] and Tshwane's (positive) standing on these was indicated[130]. The conceptualisation also pointed to the potential further growth and development in Tshwane, seeing that the positive correlation was particularly pronounced in the city.

Looking at the shape of this new regional pattern, some constructive illustrations were also found of the new **linear appearance** between Johannesburg and Tshwane. In the portrayal, the interweaving of the more active south-eastern part(s) of Tshwane and the north of Johannesburg (especially its booming north-western area) was pictured[131]. The representation specifically indicated that the linear thrust between the two main cities has overcome the prominence of the inner-city and its orbital logic. It also identified the more

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[126] These particular texts were primarily drafted by the then newly formed Spatial Analysis and Strategic Directions sub-section of the Metropolitan Planning section. The authors were primarily town planners from the erstwhile Centurion Town Council migrated to the newly formed Metropolitan Planning Section as a consequence of the organisational transformation process. It could possibly be asserted that these planners were more accustomed to the elasticity logic, given their continual exposure to the full array of exogenous trends manifesting in the Centurion area as a result of its strategic location along the main axis connecting the two largest cities in Gauteng busy converging on one another.

[127] Vide CTMM (2002c:119-121, 126-130) and CTMM (2003e:7-13) for some engaging attempts to conceive the regional urban merging.

[128] Vide GPA (2000:23-25) and GPA (2003) for some detailing of the Gauteng economic shift towards more sophisticated, high value added production and the complementary growth in the financial, services and technology sectors.

[129] The new spatial requirements highlighted in the text, were: high visibility, good accessibility, away from crime and grime, towards improved safety and security, park-like environments and natural settings, controlled and managed environments, and away from CBD's (CTMM 2002c:128).

[130] The reference here is to Tshwane's strengths regarding: its substantial pool of highly educated people; sound physical & IT infrastructure allowing good connectivity and movement; medical, academic and research institutions concentrated in the city; its outstanding liveability as seen in the abundance of open spaces, the relative cleanliness and safety of the city, the availability of high quality residential neighbourhoods, and the proximity to the many eco-tourism attractions towards the north of the city.

[131] Vide also Map 1 (p.62) for my own mapping of the same patterning.

pronounced manifestation of this emerging spatiality in the southern quarters and pointed out how well this area is situated within the Gauteng Province's economic core, i.e. the spatial growth focus of the regional economy[132].

In an attempt to detail the (re)formation somewhat further, the N1 highway was also pictured as the **catalytic backbone** of a larger north-south development corridor. It specifically showed the new economic foci along this alignment and also outlined how the (market related) residential growth was beginning to respond to this regional economic solidification. In a more visionary tone, the picturing then briefly (yet very importantly) noted how the aforementioned reformation was opening-up a potential gap for non-market related residential development to possibly join the leading (economic) space[133]. Yet, the one aspect still absent, was a more detailed illustration of the linear structure of this evolving formation.

A start was also made on the superimposition of the proposed **Gauteng Rapid rail link** between Tshwane and Johannesburg onto the regional spatiality. It mapped how it would generally draw development closer to the alignment and also how it would refocus and concentrate activity towards the respective regional modal transfer points. However, as many of these (revisionist) texts were handed over to successive planners/urban designers, some very different conceptions emerged on the outer surge and intertwining with Johannesburg[134]. Mostly construed by habit and tradition, the mental picturing seemed rather **out of place/shape** regarding the changing face of the polycentric urban reality.

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[132] Vide GPA (2000:25) for a mapping of the growth focus of the Gauteng economy.
[133] The importance of bringing (all) people closer to the (e)merging economic activity in Gauteng is one of the key normative concerns of the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework (Ibid.:16 & 54).
[134] A group of urban designers of the erstwhile Pretoria City Council was largely responsible for directing/controlling the drafting of the final spatial development concepts/frameworks included in the investigation.

Although some attempts were made to portray the regional spatial development pattern (See for example: CTMM 2002c:478; CTMM 2003a:86 & 87 and CTMM 2003b:11-12), it generally lacked ingenuity and assurance. It indistinctively/unconvincingly noted the regional spatialities and for most of the part left the localisation of these influences/trends undone[135]. The sketches were mere descriptions with no backing-up or following through. The forces towards the periphery were simply observed as the outward extension from the central-city with limited appreciation of the growing inter-relationship between the two main cities of the Gauteng urban region. It was clear that the planners preferred to rather fall back on an (outdated) understanding that the re-patterning was simply an (unwanted) thrust disrupting Tshwane's ('solid') borders.

Some credit could perhaps be given for the (somewhat sketchy) attempt made to recognise a more key function for the southern part(s) of the city. It began with the acknowledgment of the central location of the Centurion area within the Gauteng Province (E.g. CTMM 2003a:90) that eventually culminated in the depicting of the whole southern part of the city as the '*Central Focus Area*' (E.g. CTMM 2003b: 38 & Map 10). However, at closer inspection it was evident that this conceiving lacked any attempt to portray the emerging structure/form and merely functioned as a **blob of perceived centrality** for intensification and densification of the urban fabric. In most descriptions of the settlement form/structure, no traces could be found of any effort to conceptually relate this central zone with the south through an ('accepted') cross-boundary spatial concept (See for example: CTMM 2002c:477; CTMM 2003a:84-86 & 92; and CTMM 2003b:15-16).

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[135] This somewhat hesitant conception of the linearity between Johannesburg and Tshwane was also recognised in the Transportation Planning Division's observation of: '*Undefined development corridors*, [their] *lack of focus and details'*, as one of the key problems relating to the appropriate guidance of linear development in the city (CTMM 2002c:407).

Another disconcerting discovery was the tendency to portray the effects of the regional urban merging as sheer negative impacts. In an act of antagonist self disclosure, the stretching-out of the urban fabric and regional entanglement was largely depicted as a (to be avoided) process of decentralisation, urban sprawl and marginalisation that simply displaced development supposed for the inner-city (See for example CTMM 2002c:478; and CTMM 2003a:85 & 93). The linear resurgence was largely condemned as **ribbon-like** and hence by its very nature (too) car-bound and thus not conducive to the already demonstrated best practice models of perceived urbanity (See for example CTMM 2003a:85; and CTMM 2003b:16). This conceptual retrofitting of a historically disliked notion, attempted to contemporise an archaic critique on linear development. As a final attempt to drive in the point, the sketches on the regional outer surge were frequently speckled with cynical sentiments as a way to denounce the elastic spatialities as upsetting[136].

◆ **Ribbon development along highways**

The decentralised, high-technology and service industries toward the south are rapidly expanding and a ==ribbon of development== runs almost continuously between Tshwane and Johannesburg.

…the type of development that could be expected is ==non-urban== (e.g. as has occurred along the N1 in Midrand).

With these (discouraging) habitual perceptions on the regional spatialities rather visible, I turned to the second appearance, i.e. the conceptual ideas to improve upon the regional urban merging.

✤ some **envisioning(s)** of Tshwane to improve upon the elastic regional spatiality

Seeking further for more traces to enhance the regional urban system, I (unfortunately) ended up with unsuporting finds. As a case in point, the foremost strategic directive for guiding the development of the

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[136] The scepticism towards the combinatorial spatiality and its affects were created by the frequent interjection of remarks like: (so-called/perceived) high profile/good address areas; factual and 'perceived' advantages; speculative residential development; 'security villages'; anti-urban ethic of the freestanding house on a plot ; non-urban (e.g. as has occurred along the N1 in Midrand); private car-dominated benefiting the wealthy; affluence resulting from the new markets (CTMM 2002c:477 & 479; and CTMM 2003a:85, 87, 93 & 95).

south-eastern sector of the city, i.e. the area mostly influenced by the mounting regional urbanism, were simply envisioned as a task of '**Maintaining** *the existing urban areas*' [personal emphasis added] (CTMM 2003f:21-22). In all fairness, this focus area of the CDS did project a slightly wider advance for the south, but perhaps in relation to what it referred to as the: "*defining strategic intervention for Tshwane*" (Ibid.: 5), i.e. '**Developing** *the North*' [personal emphasis added] (CTMM 2003f:21), it ended up as the binary opposite to the North, *viz*: the **secondary space** for (governmental) intervention[137]. They did not foresee any more progressive or interventionist role for the south (as they did for the north), and only saw the municipality's role and purpose as that of development facilitator/proprietor. It was very much at ease with letting the market do best what it does, and to simply maintain and expand services as-and-when-called-upon. It did not see fit to identify any (new) opportunity clusters in the south, nor did it picture any significant corridor development worth changing its tactics. Ever-present was a general sense that the 'developmental agenda' was not necessary for the south, or said slightly differently, the developmental agenda was only to be pursued by activating other ('more meaningful') spaces in the city (like the north)[138]. The only 'meaningful' role left for the south, apart from being the fertile land for the market, was of course that of main sponsor for the more venturesome advance to the north. This ('strategic') scheme also provided a perfect fit for the existing budgetary weighting that left only 20 percent of the capital expenditure for the southern quarters of Tshwane (CTMM 2003f:19).

Continuing my search for further spatial concepts to shape the regional elasticity logic, even more (uninspiring) sightings became

Tshwane City Development Strategy

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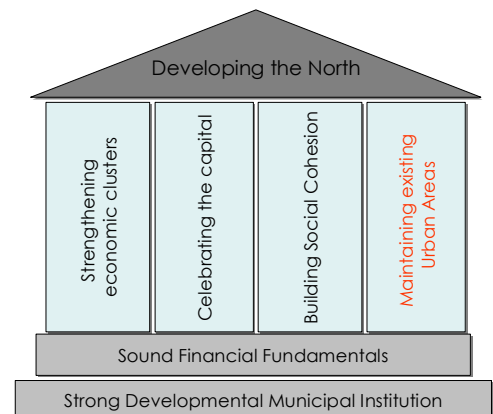
[137] The strategy on '*Developing of the North*' is later discussed in depth (Vide the 4th scene, p.177).
[138] The '**developmental agenda**' generally refers to the shift from a predominant focus on infrastructure services provision towards a more balanced approach of social and economic development (CTMM 2003f:37). See also Section 152(1), 153(1) and Section 156(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, for the objects of Local government and its developmental duties (SA 1994).

visible. The already observed '*Central Focus Area*',
appeared to have no mental chart to guide its
manifestation in the South. The zone was simply
presented as a focus area for intensification and
densification (CTMM 2003b:38), but the authors
were disinclined to cast it for example in Boyer's
(1999:53) (earlier observed) more open-ended
'semi-lattice' structure. Instead, its only guide was
a **cataloguing schema** of all the different types
of (tolerable) urban and non-urban linear effects
and the ever-present disciplining codes to make
sure that the linear modifications did not step out

of bounds[139]. The only contextualisation of this imaginary system was
the couple of references made of the existing examples in the city.
There was a general absence to venture any **indicative outlook** on
the preferred future patterning of the linear development between
Johannesburg and Tshwane and any suggestions that would
advance and direct the expansion of the urban fabric towards
Johannesburg, were (purposefully) avoided[140].

In scanning further I was also amazed to find that the transportation
planners only loosely acknowledged the potential
presented by the proposed rapid rail link
(Gautrain). A possible demonstration of how the
most influencing zones (i.e. the station precincts)
could be energised/connected was not
forthcoming. Instead they rather opted for
(doubting) reminders of its potential complication

> The ... planned Gautrain Rapid Rail shows promise with respect to urban renewal and job creation but if not planned properly, ==may put an additional load== onto the local authority's road network which will be used for feeder and distribution services...
>
> Particular attention should be given to the feeder and distribution systems that will have to support the Gautrain. If this system fails, the Gautrain project will be a ==financial disaster==.

on the road feeder and distribution system (CTMM 2002c:102). The
spatial (master)minds also reiterated this avoiding ploy by not opting

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[139] Vide CTMM (2003b:66-73) for an example of a typical categorising guidebook for supervising/ordering the linear urban (re)formation. It provided an extensive classification system that tabled all the different types/parts of the perceived '*public rights-of-way*' system.

[140] Vide CTMM (2002c:415 & 417) for the Transport Economics and Funding section's just call for better integration between transport and economic development and the need for regional contextualisation. It voiced a clear (wake-up) call for exploring synergies, complementarities and strategic thinking more attuned to the reality of the regional urban merging between Tshwane and Johannesburg.

for any drastic re-envisioning of the spatial form as a logical next step to their relatively able display of the spatial affects of the rapid rail[141]. However, the one regional intervention (ironically) still top on the map was the Mabopane Centurion Development Corridor (MCDC). Despite the various adept critiques (See for example Oranje 1999) on this **restructuring device** it still featured prominently as the enabling tool to somehow replicate the growth path of the east by simply putting in place a major freeway in the west (See for example CTMM 2002c:364, 376-380; and CTMM 2003b: Map1). The fact, as observed by Oranje (1999) that it still went against one of the key principles of the corridor-concept by short circuiting the Pretoria CBD as a significant point of energy, was still comfortably ignored[142].

In spite of it all, some insight was demonstrated in the in-house preparatory work on the CDS with the apt call to '**collaborate regionally**' (CTMM 2003e:15). Although a detailed rendering was never offered, a broad outline of collaborative praxis could well be discerned in its intention to optimise Tshwane's unique insides, i.e. those local strategic features, which could be strengthened in relation to the broader regional outside[143].

AT THIS POINT WHERE I AM ABOUT TO ADVANCE TO MY NEXT SCANNING ON THE BUSTLING PATCHWORK OF PERIPHERAL RESTRUCTURINGS, PERHAPS JUST A BRISK DISTILLATION FROM THE MANY FRAGMENTARY PORTRAYALS ON THE PICTURING/POSITIONING OF THE EMERGING GAUTENG POLYCENTRIC URBAN REALITY. IN AN ALL FAMILIAR PLOT, THE SUPERFICIAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF TSHWANE STILL SEEMED TO PREVAIL. THE CONCEIVEMENT OF THE REGIONAL URBAN MERGING, MORE OFTEN THAN NOT, LACKED A REAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE ELASTICITY LOGIC AND BARELY DEMONSTRATED A COMPETENCY TO

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[141] Vide CTMM (2002c:130) for a promising conceiving of the possible re-patterning of the regional urban form as a consequence of the Gautrain, included in the spatial analysis of the first IDP.

[142] The principle referred to here concerns the connecting of major metropolitan nodes over short distances as the essential generator of the energy required for the corridor development to materialise.

[143] Vide CTMM (2003e:19-25) for some of these ploys to enhance local competencies in order to advance the regional competitiveness and to strengthen the regional (economic) platform needed in the province's drive to become the 'smart' centre (See also footnote 128 for more detail on the economic shift of the Gauteng province).

LOCALISE THE REGIONAL ENTANGLING URBANISMS. IT SHOWED LITTLE INSIGHTFULNESS AND WAS RELUCTANT TO CONCEPTUALISE OUT OF THE BOX/ PLACE.

THE (RE)ENVISIONING OF TSHWANE'S REGIONAL EMERGING LOGIC, WAS LARGELY UNDONE BY THE PREDOMINANT AVOIDING PLOYS VISSIBLE IN THE TEXT. IT DID NOT ONLY SHUN AWAY FROM PROFILING ITS POTENTIAL CONTOURS, BUT ALSO REFRAINED FROM ACTIVATING/CONNECTING THE (CONNECTABLE) SOUTHERN QUARTERS WITH THE JOHANNESBURG EMERGING CLUSTERINGS. NOT EVEN THE NECESSITY TO BRING (ALL) PEOPLE CLOSER TO THE (E)MERGING ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, WAS REGARDED SUFFICIENT ENOUGH TO UPGRADE ITS STATUS OF SECONDARY SPACE TO THAT OF A MULTIPLE SPACE, (ALSO) WORTH VENTURESOME ACTION.

➜ **third scene: WHIRLING PATCHES AND KNOTTY LINES** of ex-centricity

The third scanning meanders along the new (activity) lines and patches of the altered (sub)urban logic. It enters the new (intimate) space of the outer-places where ex-centric renditions persistently transforms and wraps the erstwhile suburban setting. My perusal of contemporary planning texts in/on Tshwane, scrutinises the predominant portrayals of the post-suburban outlook and also examines the foremost suggestions on how the new scenery should be (better) developed.

✢ **some conceiving(s) on the inverted (sub)urban landscape**

In tracking the commentaries on the outsourcing of some the elements of city proper to the '*borderlands*'[144] of Tshwane, some

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[144] Sandercock (1995) often uses this notion in her advocacy to view planning theory through a post-modern lens. She generally uses this term to stress the need to include the 'border' contributions of those who are addressing the condition of postmodernity in more constructive and progressive ways. My similar endeavours points to the often generalising negative portrayals of the peripheral areas of Tshwane (and cities through predominant urbanist theorisations).

startling portrayals began to stand out on the energising of the city's traditional sleeping quarters. Interweaved through the text was a general recognition that the (sub)urban landscape had dramatically changed its **look and feel**. Unfortunately, fairly limited portrayals or acknowledgements of a structural makeover of the suburbs found space in the broader exposé.

With an almost eagle-eyed precision, the observation of the suburbs got cooped up in their almost fixated belief in the shameful effects of the

> The metropolitan area can presently best be described as a series of settlements (affluent edge cities and impoverished townships) surrounding the core (inner city).

outer transformation. With a mental bias in the central-city the entire (sub)urban realm was portrayed as a concentric mass/mess evolving around it[145]. The entire post-suburban area was seen as a homogenous area willingly absorbing/facilitating the outward thrust that only resulted in the (unwanted) detachment from the (supposed divine) central-city. There appeared to be no appreciation for the rise of a possible new spatial reality that consisted of a new intricate system of multiple relationships and a growing embedding of some suburban parts into the broader regional spatiality (e.g. the south-eastern quarters).

Continuing the all familiar trend, the post-suburban realms were branded as the definitive terrain where uncontrolled urban sprawl had taken place[146]. The (suburban) periphery was generally homogenised as an **untamed place** of low density expansion, private car dependency, fragmentation and separation of uses, which by implication were depicted as negative, ugly, unsustainable and detrimental to the city. By following this line of thought, a strong bias towards more compact, urban-type development

> The nature and scale of new development, conceived as free-standing structures aimed at satisfying current concerns with corporate image, creates environmentally impoverished environments, which lack coherence and beauty. Parts of the city which are being developed (or redeveloped) are becoming ever more banal (ugly) and hostile to the human scale. 'Placeless' monotonous housing schemes sprawl ever further into natural areas on the edges of the city. Sensitive historically developed residential precincts are being encroached by non-residential developments. At the same time, extensive parts of the historically developed areas are becoming blighted, especially the inner city.

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[145] Vide CTMM (2002c:125 & 476), CTMM (2003a:84 & 85) and CTMM (2003b:16) for typical examples of how the relative position of the outer areas are taken from the inner-city and not from the larger regional economic space.

[146] Vide CTMM (2002c: 32, 124, 125, 476 & 477), CTMM (2003a:84, 85 & 88) and CTMM (2003b:15 &16) for emblematic demonstrations of the alleged disastrous effects of urban sprawl.

became evident. In a further blackening attempt, it was alleged that this engulfing exogenous thrust was destroying the natural/cultural base and skewing the urban form towards the south-eastern side. At the heart of this purported anti-urban push, were the claimed damaging market forces apparently allowed to penetrate the unspoilt virgin lands. The various hints intentionally stringed together, brought to light a perception that the main catalyst of these (devilish) forces was the (self-seeking) developers that did not necessarily value the more superior urban qualities - always inherent and not to be compromised in any sense.

Although the depiction correctly alluded to the distortion of the urban form and the growing marginalisation of the poorer communities by this south-easterly swelling, for most of the part it was silent on any possible (urban) logic/usefulness that could be emerging (e.g. the growing trend of new residential developments that were actually taking place in close proximity to the new industrial, retail and service facilities, already depicted in my visualisation on Map1[147]). Very importantly, it also overlooked the rising significance of the poorer living quarters on the city's south-westerly fringes (e.g. Diepsloot & Olievenhoutbosch) that were rapidly enlarging/solidifying in the midst of the new regional geographical space. These areas situated in close proximity of the (new) self-evolving lacework of economic opportunities and the complementary gulf of market-driven residential sedimentations, were essentially the **unobserved initial beginnings** of a more appropriate footing of the marginalised communities in the new metamorphosing (economic) urban space.

Juxtaposed against this damned conceiving were the evocative beginnings of an interpretation that repositioned the rapid development between Johannesburg and Tshwane as medial infill (as

It is regarded by some that since the Centurion area is situated on the corridor of development between TSHWANE CBD and Johannesburg CBD the rapid development occurring there is not urban sprawl but infill development in line with the principles of the Development Facilitation Act.

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[147] Vide GPA (2000:26) for a similar observation on the (market-driven) residential developments' useful following of economic trends.

apposed to peripheral sprawl)[148]. Although somewhat sketchy but filled with a deeper understanding of the transformation of the outer places, the ensuing planners (unfortunately) found it too imaginative/generous for their taste and appreciation. The subsequent texturing of the same development effects hardly incited more multifaceted reassessments and frequently reverted back to ill-informed and discrediting commentary.

Scanning further through the picturing of the suburban (economic) invigoration, the fixation on the inner city's decline showed yet again. Although the representation(s) generally succeeded in pinpointing the new non-residential growth nodes and the subsequent changing face of suburbia, it did so in a rather embittered fashion. The aptly described development of the outer enclavisations (clearly visible in the initial examining of Tshwane's changing spatial scenery[149]), was unfortunately not influential enough to prompt the succeeding spatial masterminds to attempt anything more than a mere acknowledgement of the outer economic patches and activity lines. For most of the part this (outer) over-sensitivity took shape around an understanding that the regrouping of the economic and service faculty in/towards the outer sphere of the city primarily displaced and invaded the residential areas[150]. Through deductive reasoning the economic reshaping was simply condensed to a (grand) **dislodging**

> Decentralisation has also resulted in the invasion of residential areas by 'home-offices' and service industries, particularly in older residential areas closer to the inner city…
>
> In the case of office and commercial developments, new buildings do not necessarily mean new growth but simply a displacement…
>
> Often the new environment lacks coherence, uniqueness and beauty. In some cases, sensitive, older residential areas are being harmed by the encroachment of unsympathetic non-residential developments. The displacement of residential activity in such areas, in turn results in further sprawl.

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[148] For an enlightening discussion on the formation of infill development and the need for reassessing the (outmoded) definition of urban sprawl, see the spatial analysis of Tshwane included in the first IDP (CTMM 2002c:121 & 122).
[149] Vide CTMM (2002c:116 & 120) for an encouraging identification of some of the catalytic factors that activated the development of a series of (economic) protuberances in the former suburban landscape such as: the increased mobility; concentrated affluence and skilful recruits in the exurbs; large natural and institutional zones/reserves surrounding the inner city that necessitated leapfrogging; and the solid base around the defence related industries (Armscor), which created a spontaneous footing for other high-tech industries to grow (See also Map2 for my personal picturing of the protuberances in Tshwane mainly concentrated at the off-ramps on the N1 highway).
[150] Vide CTMM (2002c:477), CTMM (2003a:84-85) and CTMM (2003b:16) for typical representations of their viewed destructing/displacing affects of the decentralisation of urban activities to the (sub)urban periphery.

affect that contributed to further sprawl. Even the energetic whirling patches such as Brooklyn and Hatfield, which exhibited great potential for intensifying the urban fabric, building economies of scale and bringing the working and sleeping zones in closer proximity to one another, were largely negatively pictured through an array of unimportant observations on the (outer) look of things[151].

Further afield, some very **cynic and unperceptive notes** were jotted down on the peripheral (economic) concentrations and the growing nexus of routes that energised the post-suburban landscape. Instead of detailing the emerging linear formation and its accompanying activation of strategic points/lines, they rather attempted to label/discredit the emerging examples (especially those in the south-eastern parts) as a snobbish scamscape of speculative development that was allegedly targeting the so-called 'good address' areas[152]. Even embryonic patterns like home-offices and service industries were only seen for their damaging affects on the (older) residential areas[153]. This disgruntled frame of mind did not only demonstrate an uneasiness with the remaking of the suburban landscape, but also displayed a naïve assumption that the exogenous thrust was all-in-all an unnecessary decentralisation drive causing the decline of the inner-city.

> Private investment is at present targeting 'good address' areas to the south-eastern sector of the city and is predominantly not interested in the development of inner city properties…
>
> The so-called high profile developments, i.e. the office, finance and information technology related developments, tend therefore to concentrate in the southern and south-eastern parts of Tshwane, particularly along the N1 national road which offers them excellent accessibility and visibility.

With these unobservant notes on the emerging whirling patches and knotty lines of ex-centricity appearing in the background, I proceeded with my journey towards my next objective, namely: the

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[151] See for example CTMM (2003a:92-93) and CTMM (2003b:17) for typical (of the point) observations that (over) emphasised the very detailed appearances of the urban development process such as: the excessive scale and bulkiness of the development; ostentatious architectural styles; free-standing and introverted buildings; the monotonous and ugly character; lack of coherence and uniqueness; and the general disrespect to historic developed residential areas.

[152] Vide CTMM (2003a:87, 92-93) for typical sceptic/discomforting attitudes towards various types of ('*high profile*') non-residential outcroppings consolidating in/towards the city's so-called ex-centric '*good addresses*'.

[153] Vide CTMM (2003b:16) for the alleged total invasion of residential areas by the 'dreadful' home-offices.

scoping of the preferred ideas on how the post-suburban landscape should be (better) developed.

⚜ some **envisioning(s)** of Tshwane to develop the inverted (sub)urban landscape

With this rather indiscriminate conceiving of the post-suburban character of Tshwane brought to the fore and the deep discomfort exhibited with both the exogenous thrust and the (economic) energising of the suburbs, it is perhaps not surprising that the re-envisioning of the (sub)urban landscape showed intense **restricting signs** of the alleged uninhibited decentralisation advance towards the borderlands.

In scanning the textual veneer it was quite obvious that the city's changing suburban fabric, was scheduled for a radical reconditioning through the fateful believe in the **compaction of the city**[154].

> The edge cities, due to their predominantly ==suburban character== (private car dependency, low density sprawl, fragmentation and separation of functions), are however inefficient and need to be ==restructured== in order to support the notion of a ==compact and sustainable city==.

This scheme, similarly founded on a strong sense for order, was pursued through the reinforcement of sturdy development controls like for example the use of urban growth boundaries. It was argued that the halting of the undisciplined pursuit to the outskirts and the redirecting of growth inwards would (inexplicably) save the city from post-suburban damnation. By mimicking typical legal speak, the market was sharply warned that from now onwards they would have to '*prove beyond any doubt*' that the proposed development could under '*no circumstances be developed inside the urban edge*'[155].

In a rather ill-considered representation, the municipal boundary was in many instances (especially towards the south-eastern side) assumed as the ultimate/appropriate end to the city's supposed functional outline. All development outside the municipal boundary

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[154] Vide CTMM (2002c:476 & 482).
[155] Vide CTMM (2002c: 483) and CTMM (2003b:46).

was assumed to be wrong and only contributory to further urban sprawl. Even the (encouraging) few cautionary notes on the potential negative impact of rash growth boundaries[156], did not hinder the latter **containing offensive** on the city's perceived unruly move towards/across its 'required' boundaries. For most of the part it was silent on the broader regional logic that actually necessitated the testing of these called-for boundaries. It also did not consider how suitable these punitive mechanisms would be and nor did it raise any doubt on its efficacy given the actual growing difficulties in realising such goals[157].

> The implementation of an urban edge has usually certain implications within a spatial context. The land market usually has an abstract idea regarding the supply of land suitable for development. With an urban edge the market suddenly becomes aware of the limitation. This limits the supply of land and usually drives up land prices...
>
> Where green field development is still possible within the edge, densities could dramatically increase on the periphery of the urban landscape. Up to now low cost housing was built on cheap land. Urban edges usually drive up the price of housing in general but will put pressure on areas with traditionally cheaper property prices not seen as investment driven. This could even slow down the desegregation process of residential areas in TSHWANE.

Turning my focus more towards the envisaged activity landscape, much attention was drawn towards enlivening the perceived monotonous suburban landscapes. This **spicing-up tactic** featured mainly through the introduction of so-called 'urban cores' that were imaged as the foci of civic identity of the local (sub)urban areas[158]. It entailed the reinvigoration of the outer suburban zones by the insertion of 24/7 bustling hubs of economic, social and residential activities functionally integrated with and around the existing railway stations and the planned Gautrain stations. These h(e)avens of urbanity were reserved for the highest order/concentration of activities and were supposed to function more at the level of people on foot. This presumed noble ploy, as good as its intention may have been, unfortunately tried to superimpose a time/place

> Each settlement or group of settlements should have one or more urban cores which should be physically and functionally integrated with and around major railway stations. They should be the foci of civic identity of the broader area. Urban cores should be the highest order activity nodes of the local urban realms and should be developed as the urban places of highest concentration of residential, commercial, social, cultural and other general urban activities
>
> They should be characterised by:
> ◆ high intensity and high density mixed land use;
> ◆ highest level of accessibility;
> ◆ 24 hour activity;
> ◆ well defined *public spaces*;
> ◆ pedestrian friendly environments; and
> ◆ public transport facilities and activities.

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[156] See CTMM (2002c:131) for some warning notes on the implementation of urban edges, identified in the first spatial analysis.

[157] For similar concerns/observations on the suitability of 'pro-urbanist' controls, given the lack of institutional capacity to ensure compliance and the relative low political priority for land management, see also Oranje & Harrison (2002:28). Note also Breheny (1997) for a similar questioning of the conventional 'compact city' wisdom on basis of feasibility and acceptability.

[158] Vide CTMM (2002c:286, 481, 484 & 485) and CTMM (2003b:33, 34, 39, 51 -53) for the detailing of urban cores and their supposed vitalising/intensifying role within the metropolitan region.

even more (sur)real than the Eurocentric imitations it tried to replicate. Instead of proposing a more multifaceted activity system, typically associated with the post-suburban actualities, this homogenising ploy appeared too obsessed with large/one-size-fits-all inspiriting nuclei. Moreover, the picturing of the main metropolitan activity nodes got so fixated with categorisation that it unfortunately stopped well short from screening the future shape and location of the various possible metropolitan activity clusters[159].

Another pertinent feature of the activity landscape was the envisioned **production landscape**, i.e. the so called 'specialised activity areas'. In an all familiar repetitive classificatory technique, the various perceived enterprise zones were arranged into (orderly) types/places of occupation. Despite the merger of various activity types so evident of our contemporary urban transformation, rather inept labels were put forward for describing/disentangling the different shades of the metropolitan occupational landscape[160].

- **Non-industrial specialised activity areas**
- **Peripheral mixed activity areas**
- **Suburban industrial areas**
- **Rural mixed activity areas**
- **Rural industrial areas**

These imagined/designated places of production were unfortunately nothing more than a simple plotting of the current localities and approximate types of activity[161]. It provided little indication of the city's expected business landscape, and lacked any attempt of relating the activities to a broader urban structure/pattern that was emerging or should perhaps be worked towards. The only indicative trace was the ever recurring **confining impulse** that figured through the identification and enforcement of exact precinct boundaries. These illusory limits were seen as the definitive devices that would ensure that the occupational landscape was nicely parcelled, controlled and hindered from spilling over to the more pristine

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[159] The reference here is to the simple classification into so-called '*capital core*', '*urban cores*' and '*suburban (regional/local) centres*' (CTMM 2003b:39, 51-55).
[160] Vide CTMM (2003b:56-58) for some examples of the classification of the various envisioned types of specialised activity areas such as: '*Non-industrial specialised activity areas*'; '*Suburban industrial areas*'; *Peripheral mixed activity areas*'; '*Rural mixed activity areas*'; '*Rural industrial areas*' etc.
[161] Vide CTMM (2003b:Map 3) for a typical demonstration of the blotting of the production landscape.

suburban landscape[162]. Likewise the strong desire to (re)order and smarten the lacework of activity spines, unfortunately exposed their gross neglect to fully comprehend and conceptualise an integrated metropolitan activity lattice, and hence left the vast (economic/social) potential of the movement/activity network largely un(identified/directed).

Considering for a moment the promotion and advancement of the occupational landscape, the local economic development division (in its pro-poor pursuit), primarily focussed on SMME support and development[163]. Although these community-based initiatives were to be welcomed, they were hardly sufficient to start an economic engine for greater job creation. Few attempts were made to activate/innovate the city's production landscape on a grander scale. The nearest they got were a few modest references to facilitate the existing development initiatives such as: the Blue IQ initiative; the cry of distress for the (re)activation of the (dormant) MCDC corridor; the promotion of Tshwane's aging (industrial) quarters (E.g. Rosslynn, Babelegi, Ga-Rankuwa and Wonderboom Airport); and lastly the trading with the city's real estate assets in the north[164]. Any other more **interventionist advance**, for example the

Non-industrial specialised activity areas should be located and developed in accordance with the following guidelines and directives:

4.1.1. Regional SDF's must determine the exact boundaries of the non-industrial specialised activity areas. These SDF's may also identify more non-industrial specialised activity areas within the suburban environment.

4.1.2. Regional SDF's can differentiate between the following two types of non-industrial specialised activity areas:

- single use (mono-functional) areas where similar or related specialised activities are clustered and where unrelated activities / land uses / structures, even if compatible in terms of Table 4 on page 49, should not be permitted; and

- mixed use (multi-functional) areas where different and unrelated specialised activities may take place next to each other.

4.1.3. Activities / land uses / structures incompatible with the non-industrial specialised activity areas are indicated in Table 4 on page 49.

DEVELOPMENT FACILITATION

♦ To implement a pro-active process approach focussing on facilitating economic growth and development
♦ To promote integrated economic development planning and implementation
♦ To co-ordinate private and public sector funding so as to create the best possible growth effects (threshold values)
♦ To help to (re) structure a diversified urban/rural economy for Tshwane
♦ To stimulate development at priority locations such as the MCDC area, the Urban Port, the Innovation Hub, the Pretoria Inner-City, Wonderboom Airport, GaRankuwa, etc

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[162] Vide CTMM (2003b:56 -57 & 87) for an emblematic display of the pre-occupation with defining the outer limits of these (specialised) activity zones.
[163] Vide CTMM (2003a:311, 334-335) for the bias towards community based economic development initiatives and the sustaining of smaller enterprises especially within the previous disadvantaged areas (E.g. Hammanskraal Rose Farm, Olievenhoutbosch Entrepreneurial Centre, Catfish processing plant, Glass recycling Project, SMME Development Programmes etc.)
[164] Vide CTMM (2002c:364, 376-385) and CTMM (2003b:94-95) for these subdued and run-of-the-mill project conceptualisations, support and prioritisation.

(re)positioning of the city's activity zones towards the south of the Magaliesberg, was for the moment off the radar.

TAKING A SHORT BREATHER TO CONSIDER THE COLLECTION OF FRAGMENTS GATHERED ALONG THIS PART OF THE JOURNEY, I WAS AGAIN STRUCK BY THE UNEASINESS DISPLAYED BY THE TSHWANE PLANNERS WITH THE CITY'S GROWING POST-SUBURBAN CHARACTER. THE RESHAPING OF THE SUBURBAN QUARTERS THROUGH THREE DECADES OF CONTINUED INVESTMENT WAS BY DEFAULT PICTURED AS A STRAIGHTFORWARD DISTORTING (E/A)FFECT AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PRIZED INNER-CITY. IN A STRANGE FIXATION WITH THE LOOK AND FEEL OF SUBURBIA, THE BORDERLANDS MAINLY FEATURED AS THE NEW SNOBBY/UNSIGHTLY PLACES. THE ILLUSTRATIONS DEMONSTRATED LITTLE FORETHOUGHT AND MOSTLY SHUN AWAY FROM DISCERNING THE INTRICATE URBAN STRUCTURE THAT CONNECTED AND ENERGISED THE

OCCUPATIONAL LANDSCAPE.

AGAINST THIS BACKDROP, THE IMAGINED BETTER SHAPE PRIMARILY MATERIALISED THROUGH A CONTAINING OFFENSIVE THAT SOUGHT TO CONTROL, COMPACT, AND PARCEL THE CITY. IN OPTING (ONLY) FOR A SYSTEMATIC NAMING AND CATALOGUING OF THE POTENTIAL ENCLAVISATIONS AND LINEAR ARRANGEMENTS, LITTLE EFFORT WAS SPARED TO MAP/ACTIVATE THE CITY'S POTENTIAL PRODUCTION LANDSCAPE.

➱ **forth scene: MULTI-CENTRED JUNCTIONS of conglomeration**

The fourth scanning aims to venture somewhat deeper and further into the imagery of the inverted/extroverted (sub)urban landscape, by focussing on the developing peripheral junctions and their increasing autonomous character. In this reading of the planning texts in/on Tshwane, the new multi-centered city space will be probed and the various intentions to facilitate its improvement will be deciphered.

⚜ some **conceiving(s)** on the (new) multi-centered city space

As I had by now become accustomed with the more adept conceptualisations visible in the first completed spatial analysis completed during the investigative period, a similar picture emerged regarding Tshwane's growing orbital logic[165]. In some of the portrayals, the de/re/multi-centring effect was highlighted by purposefully drawing attention to the new nucleations' growing catchments and their anchoring role in the peripheral areas. As (duly) illustrated, these **bustling peripheral cores** were disengaging from the inner-city and were indeed becoming gravitational nodes in their own right. The conceiving furthermore accurately concluded that Tshwane could be best thought of as a series of edge cities/urban realms maturing towards the 'periphery'.

Besides the relatively sound depiction of the new multi-centred cityscape, a further illumination was offered on the firming of the respective peripheral cores. It amongst other showed the focus of employment growth during the last two decades in/towards the outer cores and their subsequent maturing beyond the point of simply being large suburban nodes. As indicated the continued non-residential investment had made the outer cores more and more economically independent and thus more sustainable. In an attempt to provide more depth to the visual rendering, it was suggested that Tshwane is, and will be experiencing its further growth in relation to these **gravitational hubs**.

Moreover, the depiction also located the growing regional shopping nodes as the new centre points of the post-suburban collage, but (unfortunately) overlooked the possibility of these (ex/sub)urban shopping centres becoming the indisputable urban places/cores of the contemporary (post-suburban) landscape. Also present, yet

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[165] Vide CTMM (2002c: 119-125) for a elucidating discussion of the solidification and mounting significance of the peripheral nucleations.

somewhat contrasting to the featured mounting peripheral cores, was a more pragmatic recognition of the changing face of the original central-city. Without venturing on a bewailing path of despair about the fading pre-eminence of the inner-city, some more realistic trajectories were explored around: the (national) governmental and associate functions; corporate (head) office business; (national) health and education facilities/services; and the shifting retail profile that was consolidating around the inner-city's changing clientele and role as high order **(inter-modal) crossing point**, especially for those interchanging to/from the North.

However, a slightly different slant was offered by the ensuing (urban design) perspective vis-à-vis the existence of the multi-centred cityscape. The dwindling orbital logic and the rise of the peripheral gravitational nodes were as well recognised[166]. Whilst some imagery was present of the various independent settlements/realms that were forming, a reluctance to perceive these swarming (sub)urban nodes as something more than mere outsized activity cores, seemed to prevail[167]. Quite surprising, but perhaps emblematic of their sense of 'good' urban form, was the (uncompromising) blanket-assertion that the multi-nodal character was generally problematic[168]. Instead of accepting and perhaps exploring the potentialities of the re-centring process, they chose to complain/regret its anti-urban logic and road based dependency, its unbalancing pursuit, and disregard of the North[169]. Although many of these descriptions duly acknowledged the existence of the emerging multi-nodal nature of the urban landscape, they were unfortunately proffered from a point of resistance as appose to a more pragmatist position of awareness.

> Nevertheless, Tshwane's settlement structure is spatially characterised by the following problematic characteristics:
>
> **MULTI-NODAL AND SPATIALLY FRAGMENTED STRUCTURE**
>
> Developed around a traditionally strong central core, the city has over the last two decades become multi-nodal, with a ring of satellite nodes at 10-12 km from the centre, mostly within high-income neighbourhoods adjacent to highways…
>
> The combined implications of this on the lives of the majority are disastrous…

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[166] Vide CTMM (2002c:285 & 476) and CTMM (2003b:32).
[167] Vide CTMM (2003b:39-40) for the identification of urban cores and the description thereof as merely activity nodes of metropolitan significance.
[168] See for example: CTMM (2003a:84) and CTMM (2003b:15).
[169] See for example: CTMM (2002c:124-125); CTMM (2003a:79, 85, 88 & 93) and CTMM (2003b:13).

Furthermore, a forceful reactionary attempt was made to clear up any doubt as to the alleged pre-eminence of the central-city. The emerging (sub)urban cores were placed in a almost **patriarchal conceptual arrangement** under the control and influence of the capital core. In this imaginary hierarchy, with the inner-city at the top of the urban order, the other nodes were merely pictured as satellites of/surrounding the central-city. The best (assumed) proof of this superiority was a claim that the inner-city still held most of the (formal) jobs in the metropolitan region[170]. Unfortunately this assertion was none other than a desperate attempt to cling onto a static moment 10 years ago when this particular situation stood. This view speculatively presumed that it was still pertinent now and disregarded any changes that might have taken place during the last decade[171].

> The most important centre - the inner city - is visually prominent in that the highest buildings and most intense developments, which provide the necessary civic scale and character, are concentrated there. The image of the inner city is further reinforced by the presence of landmark buildings (such as. the Union Buildings) and impressive public urban spaces (such as Church Square, Church Street, Burgers Park and Pretorius Square).

Leaving behind this fairly **tentative/reluctant outlook** towards the emerging multi-centered junctions, I then turned towards the second appearance by tracking the desired intentions to (re)direct the potential development of the multi-centred city space.

✿ some **envisioning(s)** of Tshwane's (new) multi-centred city space

Looking forward and scanning through the various sketches on the repackaging of the multi-centred city space, two dominant strategies seemed to be suggested on navigating its latest contours.

First (and perhaps to be expected), was the forceful promotion of the imagined highest order node of the city, *viz* the central/inner core. It was

5.8.   Capital core

Due to Pretoria's capital city status, the inner city has to accommodate the capital city functions and belongs, therefore, to the entire nation. A capital core should be identified and its image should be enhanced in terms of:
◆ achieving exceptional environmental quality;
◆ ensuring monumentality and symbolism, and
◆ reflecting the entire nation's values and aspirations

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[170] Vide CTMM (2002c:123-124).
[171] Vide Table 1 on p. 66 for the Inner-City's current (2005) relative standing on the total office floor area in the metropolitan region.

envisaged as the most pristine place, i.e. the bastion of urbane qualities worth preserving and reconditioning into its former/formal monumental glory. By (re)turning the city (back) to its roots, it was anticipated that the (national) capital city status could be (re)claimed through the well articulated/decorated capital core[172]. Moreover, this rather **dominating pursuit** was also seen as the vital feature to guard the city's assumed patriarchal structure and the inner-city's prominence in upholding the orbital logic[173]. Whilst the enhancement of Tshwane's capital city status would probably form part of most repositioning plans of this central-city, the (pragmatic) question to be asked was whether this should be pursued almost at the expense of the other emerging strategies. Furthermore, this totalising belief was trying (in vain) to freeze the city in time and almost return the metropolitan landscape to a point in time when: generals used to parade the streets; the citizens only had a choice to work in the (urbane) inner city; and the citizens content to (only) sleep in the suburbs. This ploy was also visible in the strong regulatory stance towards the various emerging suburban junctions, the general conviction that growth needed to be (re)channelled inwards and the viewpoint that (new) infrastructure investment should be done more centrally[174].

Somewhat related to the **glorification of the inner-city**, was an enthusiastic attempt to reactivate the inner-city's latent ring-rail system, and to connect the central-city via the rail system to the rest of the multi-centered urban landscape[175]. The rail system was singled-out as the city's optimal solution to public transport, and all higher order nodes linked to it

The rail system has the greatest potential of becoming the basis of public transport throughout Tshwane and should therefore form the primary movement system.

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[172] Vide CTMM (2002c:287, 482) and CTMM (2003b:34, 53-54) for the positioning/sanctifying of the inner-city as the capital core.

[173] As an example of the vigorous attempt to protect the highest order node in the city, see the proposed R2,5 million programme of the Office of the COO (Mr. Wonder Nkosi) called '*Don't mess with the inner-city'* (CTMM 2003a:305).

[174] Vide CTMM (2002c:286 & 480) and CTMM (2003b:34).

[175] See for example: CTMM (2002c:32, 102, 286 & 481); CTMM (2003a:64; 145 & 321); CTMM (2003b:23, 33, 38 & 82); and CTMM (2003f:53) for an extensive/exclusive promotion of rail-based public transport in Tshwane.

were suddenly promoted to the (upper) rank of urban cores. Although the proposed revitalisation of the under-utilised rail infrastructure was commendable and long overdue, it still remains to be answered whether this was the most feasible/acceptable solution for the multi-centered metropolitan landscape. Almost no utilisation/optimisation of road-based public transport was explored, nor was it demonstrated how the observed incomplete concentric road system could be extended to better interlink the peripheral cores. Unfortunately, this high regard and ensuing ploys to revitalise the worn out tracks and carriages, was perhaps nothing more than a tactical ploy to counter the perceived disconnection of the inner-city by redefining a new logic, which made the linkage to a station a prerequisite for acquiring the (esteemed) higher developmental status[176].

The second strategy and perhaps one of the most forceful attempts to equalise the perceived unbalanced urban form, was the imagined advance towards the North. The Northern areas were largely pictured as having equivalent (or even more) potential for mimicking the development dynamics of the South-Easterly outskirts[177]. The viewpoint offered resonated around the continuation and strategic activation of the impending junctions/cores situated in the North. This **symmetrising stance** was largely presented as the definitive strategic focus of the City Strategy for restructuring the spatial leftovers of the former era[178]. Underlying this rebalancing pursuit was a careful worked-out spatial determinism, which assumed that by bringing the multi-centered fruits closer to the places where the disadvantaged people lived, the consequences of the Apartheid city will be overturned. Even if some parts of this valiant scheme could or needed to be followed through, the fundamental question still

The northern areas also contain the most potential for municipal facilitation of economic opportunities, thus providing the platform to serve both of Tshwane's macro strategic objectives.

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[176] Vide CTMM (2002c:490) and CTMM (2003b:33) for the obligatory connection to a railway station to achieve the higher developmental status.
[177] Vide CTMM (2003f:5 & 20) for the untested idealising of the development potential of the north.
[178] Vide CTMM (2003a:88 & 93), CTMM (2003b:92) and CTMM (2002d:16) for broad support across the textual landscape for the rebalancing of the urban form.

unanswered was whether the more fitting answer to the spatial distortion of the Apartheid urban fabric (in the long run), was to be found in (blindfolded/optimistic) endeavours that presumed that gravitational nodes could be drawn into the inopportune part of the metropolitan region.

Although the imagined strategy towards the North rightly emphasised the necessity of strategic/productive investment[179], this new yet less ingenious position (of the imported consultants), unfortunately only reaffirmed the political prioritisation already in operation since December 2000, which afforded the current weighting of 80% of capital expenditure towards the North. Moreover, it largely ignored the pragmatic realisation and consequent guidance from the spatial planning standpoint that **investment** (in the north) should more appropriately be made **in people**[180]. Similarly, Tshwane's own Poverty Reduction Programme cautioned against too much physical infrastructure investment (in the North), whilst the pressing call from civic quarters for skills development and training centres in the North, went mostly unanswered[181]. With the engineering calculation that investment in the North would require a staggering R3,8 billion[182], supported by the doubtful return on investment in the North, one cannot avoid to question whether the disengaged communities would not have been better off by more purposeful attempts to connect them with the **real areas of potential**, or in addition, to identify areas for urban/social intensification much closer to or even within the South-Eastern growing multi-centered space.

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[179] The reference here is to a more developmental approach that implies a shift towards better focussed high-impact investment, as apposed to the previous over emphasis on low-impact public expenditure indiscriminately directed towards housing and infrastructure provision primarily for individual households (CTMM:2003f:16-17 & 20, 25 & 37).

[180] See for example CTMM (2002c:285, 480-481 & 484) and CTMM (2003b: 32-33 & 94) for the directive that investment in the low potential areas of the north should rather be made in people. Vide also footnote 125 for a reference to the NSDP's similar guideline.

[181] See for example CTMM (2003a:407 & 439) for the Poverty Reduction Programme's welcome forethought and CTMM (2003a: 171-188, 202, 207) for typical requests from the various wards for skills development and training centres as high priority needs in the north.

[182] Vide CTMM (2002c:97).

DRAWING TOGETHER THIS ASSORTMENT OF SKETCHES GATHERED ALONG MY ENQUIRY INTO THE PICTURING OF THE MULTI-CENTERED URBAN SCENERY AND THE DESIRED INTENTIONS TO ADDRESS ITS FUTURE DIRECTION, I WAS ONCE AGAIN STARTLED BY THE DISINCLINED OUTLOOK AND THE DEEP NEED TO RE(SIST/FUSE) THE RISING SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PERIPHERAL NUCLEATIONS. APART FROM THE (FEW) HOPEFUL STARTS MADE TO RECOMPOSE THE MULTI-CENTERED URBAN ACTUALITY, MOST OF THE OTHER PORTRAYALS LACKED DEPTH AND WERE LARGELY LIMITED TO A NARROW CHANNEL FIXED ON THE ALLEGED INURBANE CHARACTER AND UNBALANCING EFFECT OF THE (OUTSIZED) PERIPHERAL CORES.

FROM THIS VIEWPOINT IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THE PREFERRED TACTICS TO ADDRESS THE RE-CENTERING PROCESS, PRIMARILY TOOK SHAPE AROUND VERY DETERMINED ATTEMPTS TO PLACE THE INNER-CITY AT THE TOP OF AN IMAGINARY URBAN HIERARCHY. IN ADDITION HERETO A MOMENTOUS EQUALISING SPATIAL PURSUIT TO THE NORTH WAS CANVASSED AND SET IN MOTION. THIS NEW CONCERTED **QUEST IN SPATIAL DETERMINISM** MARKS THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA WHERE THE CITY HAS CHOSEN TO RECORRECT THE PAST, BUT IN ITS CAUSE WAS (UNFORTUNATELY) LEAVING THE VARIOUS OTHER OPPORTUNE PATHWAYS TO A BETTER URBAN FUTURE UNEXPLORED.

➜ **fifth scene: (UN)DONE REALMS of 'urbaning'**[183]

The fifth scanning goes directly to the incomplete/deprived spheres on the flip-side of the Tshwane spatial reality. It specifically gathers some of the portrayals on the half-built/makeshift environments and the favoured tactics to activate, rejuvenate and integrate these undone realms.

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[183] Vide footnote 40 for a description of urbaning.

By delving into the textualities on the dark side of the urbanisation discourse, various ideas became evident on the housing of Tshwane's (poor) peripheral communities[184]. As should be expected, ample coverage was offered to the deepening dislocation of the Apartheid remains. This elucidation brought the extreme (spatial) exclusion/ marginalisation of most of the (black) citizens to the resources and joys of the (regional) spatial landscape to the fore. It did so amongst others by highlighting the inherent inconvenience, inefficiency, inequity, and wastage of scare resources (time, money, energy etc.) as a consequence of their manoeuvring from these dislocated realms. Furthermore, we were once again reminded of how the urban opportunities continue to move/solidify further and further away from the (desperate) basing points in the North. Also noteworthy and clearly visible in the text was a representative assertion that the (present) peripheral RDP housing extenuations (and associated basic household service delivery schemes), were actually aggravating the Apartheid city logic[185].

However, as gratifying as these few comprehensions could be, as upsetting were the abnormal silences on Tshwane's peripheral/**stark environments**. At a glace these descriptions seemed adequate, but at closer inspection they in fact lacked fundamental insight and the necessary depth of the actual appearances. Apart from the occasional references to the spatial displacement of the undone realms (as alluded to above), little or no illumination was for example offered on the future prospect of activating the latent economic

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[184] Nearly 40% of the total population and an estimated two-thirds of the total black population (2001) are concentrated in the north/north-western peripheral settlements. Approximately 33% of households in the northern areas live in informal dwellings (CTMM 2003f:8). It is further estimated that 93% of black households in these areas earn on or below the minimum household income (MHI) level (Ibid.:12). It follows that the majority of people have very limited access to urban opportunities and that service expansion in the northern areas would require significant indigent support.

[185] For some of the illuminations/explanations presented on the insistent spatial marginalisation/deprivation of the undone realms and its continued manifestation through various current programmes and strategies, e.g. housing and service provision see: CTMM (2002c:116, 119, 125, 128 – 129 & 477 - 478); CTMM (2003a:65, 78, 85 - 86 88 & 93); CTMM (2003a:85); and CTMM (2003f:16).

potential of these realms. The complexity of the conditions inherent to the undone realms were largely reduced/diagnosed as a dearth of houses, a lack of services and an inadequacy of jobs in the North. The spatial '*problematique*' was generally condensed as just a prioritisation problem, which could simply be addressed by pushing the undone realms to the front of the developmental to-do list. The **needs-architecture**[186] so much entrenched in the established method used during the IDP process, also significantly worsened the above situation as it reduced any effort to better understand the developmental condition intrinsic to the undone realms as an exercise of merely listing the (many unrelated) insufficiencies.

This IDP is the revision, and the result of a people's centered plan. The Ward Committee System is the starting point for a process which culminates in the IDP. This system at its most basic is designed to encapsulate the needs of the broad citizenry in the Tshwane Metropolitan Area…

The IDP Office would also like to extend their thanks to the IDP Representative Forum. This Forum serves as a vital link to the communities within the CTMM. In this regard the work of the Ward Councillors and Proportionally Elected Councillors has been invaluable. Without these Councillors who communicate the needs of their communities to the IDP Office, the IDP would indeed only be a shadow of what it is now.

Also of concern was the general avoidance of the fundamental implications of some of the more slippery/prickly issues such as HIV and Aids, urbanisation and migration. These variables that are significantly affecting the undone realms were only generally alluded to. By quickly tiptoeing across this uncharted territory, many questions were unanswered and emerging futures that needed to be acknowledged were readily ignored. Any significant chances to the (black) population of the **deprived spheres**, were somehow to difficult/problematic to engage and explore. The population of the undone realms were simply profiled as a static/homogeneous clientele only in need of (single residential) houses and basic services. Any break-out from this outline (and its subsequent effects) as evidenced for example by the desegregation trend driven by the new emerging black middle-class hardly registered on their radar. Moreover, the tactical insertions of (in)formal clusters (e.g. Olievenhoutbosch) on the south-westerly outskirts of the city, weren't even perceived let alone recognised as the first possible castings of a

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[186] Vide CTMM (2003:iii, & 2) for reference to the alleged '*one of the most crucial elements of the Analysis Phase*', namely: the '*Needs Analysis*'; and the '*Needs Register*'. See also CTMM (2002c:265) for a typical example of the (insubstantial) ward inputs compiled during the use of the needs-architecture.

looming future of (well informed) communities demanding better **basing points**, i.e. places closer and more accessible to where the (real) economic logic was emerging.

In concluding this part of the scanning it emerged that these gross absences actually made way for (short term) political gain/pleasing. This picturing around (short term) physical deficiencies were written over the more fundamental issues such as the increasing disengaging effect inherent in these places, the disconnection with the (real) jobs and the severe lack of (appropriate) skills.

On this dreary note I close this reflection in the hope to track some more enabling manoeuvres to better the undone realms.

✤ some **envisioning(s)** on the (a)mending of Tshwane's makeshift environments

In working through the many strands on the reviving of Tshwane's makeshift environments, several paradoxical ploys emerged on the addressing of the many deserving realms of the city. What at the outset appeared to be a pro-poor pursuit unfortunately remained nothing more than a (streamlined) exercise in integrated development **pleasing** (idp).

The (re)envisioning of Tshwane's Apartheid urban fabric and its many undone realms, did however start off from a good footing. As indicated, the (a)mending of the undone realms required the stimulation of new (more accessible) local activity systems and appropriate intensification of the urban fabric around the promising high order activity nodes and spines[187]. In addition to the afore-mentioned, some parts of the urban fabric - i.e. the so-called '*areas of consolidation*' that had little chance of maturing into viable/effective settlements (due to their marginality) - were (aptly)

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[187] Vide CTMM (2002c:285-286, 480-481 & 491) and CTMM (2003b:32 - 34) for examples on the promotion of appropriate patterns of activity within and between the different settlements in Tshwane.

discouraged as priority destinations for further physical development[188]. Alternatively, as correctly indicated, investments in these areas could more appropriately be made in people as apposed to the places itself (For example: more accessible and better education, health & social services and skills/human development). As pointed out further, resources should purposefully be directed to more sustainable locations, i.e. areas where people stand a better chance for quality living. Also linked to the afore-mentioned was a clear directive that significant changes were necessary in the manner we shelter people and in particular our selection of **empowering locations**[189].

5.3.1. Housing developments in Tshwane, particularly those aimed at housing the poor and previously disadvantaged segments of the population, should not –
- perpetuate *sprawl* and the apartheid spatial development patterns;
- disadvantage and inconvenience people by settling them far from any meaningful social and economic opportunities; and
- continue to strain society's limited re-sources by requiring excessive service infra-structure and transportation subsidies.

Against this backdrop one would have expected more enabling development trajectories to emerge. Regrettably, for most of the investigative period a general lack of commitment, will, and ability seemed to prevail in undoing the apartheid induced patterns of segregation and inequality. The undone realms appeared trapped in short term agendas to repair and recondition and to move faster and smarter in releasing more and more land for RDP houses even further and further away from the (real) resourceful sites in the city. More enduring solutions appeared to be overshadowed by the **mechanistic delivering mode** in meeting the promises made for basic services and shelter[190]. These actual simplistic solutions have even been taken to the very extreme in that it was already absorbing the greatest part of the municipal capital budget[191]. Apart from the

The success of Tshwane and its ability to meet future challenges is intrinsically tied to the degree to which the services delivered by local government meets city and citizen needs. The provision of services is the core business of Council…

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[188] Vide CTMM (2002c:480 & 484) and CTMM (2003b:32) for references to the fitting attempts to start undoing the apartheid induced segregation and inequality by limiting the further expansion in the remote parts of the city.

[189] Vide CTMM (2003b:61, 64 & 90) for the strong attempts to redirect (public sector) housing to more lasting, uplifting and integrating locations.

[190] Vide for example CTMM (2003a:276).

[191] The current prioritisation framework (already alluded to), which resulted in 80% of capital being committed to the Northern areas, also culminated in approximately 75% (two-thirds in the North) of capital for infrastructure development, of which half was going towards water and sanitation projects (CTMM 2002c:438; CTMM 2003a:439; CTMM 2003f:32). As acknowledged, a clear correlation also existed between the infrastructure programme and the housing programme (CTMM 2003a:275).

unfocused public expenditure and unsustainable patterns of individual household infrastructure creations, the investments also generally appeared grossly misaligned with a more sophisticated approach to redirect development, to make investments with a possible multiplier effect and to creatively balance investment between the broader public interest and individual households.

In my search for more interventionist attempts to stimulate and develop a well connected economy (as a means to fast track job creation and to address the fundamental causes of poverty - so pronounced in the undone realms), I only succeeded in collecting a few modest finds. The city's local economic development (LED) framework (CTMM:2002d) was unfortunately nothing more than a generic manual of institutional LED intentions detailing what could be done (universally) as opposed to how LED should be done (specifically) in Tshwane. The said framework also appeared significantly biased towards SMME development and for most of the part, saw itself (only) as a **development facilitator** as apposed to a strategic development director. No contextual activation of the areas of potential and any sophisticated attempts to create mutual reinforcement effects seemed to emerge from this non-specific strategic planning framework.

Also of grave concern, and perhaps indicative of a (superficial) **mode of pleasing/silencing** the electorate, were the traces found of the blatant continuation of the apartheid induced segregation in the way the city's housing programme was being implemented. Mandated by the number one political priority in the IDP (i.e. housing)[192], the administration willingly continued the upgrading of existing settlements even beyond the level of essential services and facilities. It persisted with the idea of preparing mini-suburbia's in the form of

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[192] Vide CTMM (2002c:265, 272-274) for the municipal priority issues as decided by the IDP Steering Committee on 22 March 2002. This was actually approved contrary to the administration's prioritisation, which placed housing (somewhat surprisingly), as the least important issue (CTMM 2002c:271).

twenty thousand (freestanding) RDP houses that it set itself as goal to develop per annum[193]. Although the current subsidy system in South Africa limited the arsenal of options available to the city, it readily steered clear from any other more ingenious ways to address the housing crisis. Even the few attempts of social and institutional housing at more strategic locations (e.g. the 100 units under construction in the inner city)[194], were so meagre that it had no significant impact and made me wonder whether there was any substantial determination and strength of character present in the administration to undo the apartheid city fabric.

PAUSING A MOMENT TO TRY AND MAKE SENSE OF THE MANY FRAGMENTS EXHUMED DURING MY FIFTH SCANNING, I UNFORTUNATELY REALISED THAT THE FEW (PROMISING) ATTEMPTS TO (RE)CONCEPTUALISE THE HALF-BUILT REALMS, WERE GREATLY OVERSHADOWED BY RATHER SHALLOW AND UNSOPHISTICATED ENDEAVOURS TO UNDERSTAND AND RENOVATE THE FLIP-SIDE OF THE TSHWANE CONTEMPORARY SPALIAT REALITY. THE UNDONE REALMS WERE GENERALLY SEEN AS A STATIC/HOMOGENOUS CLIENTELE TRAPPED IN NEEDY PLACES, WHICH REQUIRED (GREAT) PHYSICAL INTERVENTION AT THE LEVEL OF INDIGENT SUPPORT, HOUSEHOLD INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENTS AND A NEW ECONOMIC ENGINE TOWARDS THE NORTH.

THE ENVISIONING OF A NEW DEVELOPMENT(AL) PATH THEREFORE PRIMARILY TOOK SHAPE AROUND PLEASING THE (MAIN) ELECTORATE WITH 'FREEDOM REWARDS', I.E. A (CAREFUL ENGINEERED) PACKAGE THAT SATISFIED THE IMMEDIATE NEED FOR BASIC SERVICES AND RDP HOUSES. THE MAIN TASK AT HAND APPEARED TO BE A COMMITMENT TO SORT OUT THE PAST AND TO SOMEHOW STOP THINKING ABOUT THE FUTURE (AT LEAST FOR NOW). ANY POSSIBILE ATTEMPT TO REPAIR AND RECTIFY THE APARTHEID URBAN FABRIC AT A MORE FUNDAMENTAL LEVEL, BY FOR EXAMPLE EXPLORING SOLUTIONS OUTSIDE THE IMMEDIATE SURROUNDINGS OF THE UNDONE REALMS, WAS SOMEHOW TOO DIFFICULT/FAR-OFF TO IMAGINE.

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[193] Vide CTMM (2003a:397).
[194] Vide CTMM (Ibid.:398).

Beginning to approach the end of my second voyage, it is perhaps fitting to round-off the exploration with the sixth and last scoping dedicated to the ex-centric consciousness. This reading specifically attempts to make sense of the pictured illusory scenes of the life-worlds in Tshwane and also makes an effort to zoom into the suggested intentions to navigate/better its illusive enfolding.

✿ some **conceiving(s)** on/around the ex-centric consciousness

At this point of the expedition I have to admit that many shades of the ex-centric consciousness have already found their way (instinctively) through my textual reading/interpretation of the first five scenes on the portrayal of Tshwane's conceptualised outlook. Perhaps what remains then to be done is more an exercise in filling the gaps and articulating the more pertinent, than repeating the full range of (illusory) depictions.

Generally speaking, the (fabricated) texts were abundantly interlaced with portrayals of Tshwane's new/illusive scenes of urbanity. As indicated earlier the ex-centric consciousness took (inappropriately) shape as the binary opposite to the city-centred consciousness[195]. The succeeding mental mappings on perceived identities were therefore notably influenced by this early encoding and hence influenced most representations towards the side of antagonism and resistance.

The blurring and (creative) boundary-crossings of the once clearer/ rigid conceptions were not recognised nor understood as the configuration of a new possible (spatial) genus. It was instead viewed

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[195] Vide CTMM (2002c:123) and CTMM (2003a:84) for a symptomatic demonstration of the mental anchoring/centring in the inner-city, as the most significant point of/from observance and hence basis for the city-centric consciousness. See also footnote 145 for similar observations.

as a wrongdoing of the (more fixed/appreciated) **conventions of urbanity**. The mind here at work appeared pre-programmed to observe only two types of conditions, i.e. urban and suburban. The (new) condition of ex-centricity was viewed as nothing more than a mere messy/characterless state and undesirable divergence from the good path of urbanity. Any deviation from this alleged (urban) 'best practice' - such as the notorious suburban character – was constantly pictured as second best that needed to be (re)shaped into a more acceptable (urban) condition. The zenith of (urban) success therefore (only) resonated around a state of urbanity – i.e. the divine state generally portrayed as the binary opposite to the suburban condition.

Measuring up to this alleged higher state of appearance, the planners/designers found Tshwane's emerging character fairly unaccomplished. From a rather cynic/nostalgic point of view, the city's veneer was found to be too monotonous, muddled, disorganised, suburban, and generally lacked any sense of place[196]. In short, what was actually ushered between the lines, was a contention that Tshwane did not have the essential spirit as the much aspired European street scenes and the much celebrated Jacobsean (c)arousing[197]. Their finely tuned examination found that an anti-urban disease was at the root of this condition of **suburban despair**. In addition to the many symptoms already mentioned, this sickness was also evident in the breaking down of the city's guardian/immune system, i.e. its alleged vital boundary towards the outside. The boundary was apparently being pushed and under attack by the many unscrupulous developers that allegedly showed

> TSHWANE is a very large and dispersed metropolis featuring numerous problematic characteristics:
>
> Low-density sprawl, which is based on an anti-urban ethic of the freestanding house on a plot. (In the case of lower income housing this means housing estates located on the periphery);…
>
> In addition:
> - Imbalance in city growth has resulted in over-dependence on traditional urban centers, with parts of the city being over-developed whilst large parts remain under-developed.
> - The city is being increasingly severed from its natural site by continuous sprawl;
> - Uniqueness ('sense of place'), including natural assets and amenities as well as irreplaceable cultural assets are being destroyed;
> - The above, together with the nature of new development has resulted in the city becoming increasingly ugly and 'placeless'.

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[196] For typical illustrations of the city's perceived (urban) messiness and low scoring on urbanity, see for example: CTMM (2002c:124, 271 & 476); CTMM (2003a:84, 87 & 92-93); and CTMM (2003b:12, 15-16 &19).

[197] Vide also footnotes 114, 116 & 117 for more specific illustrations of the focus on surface appearances and the benchmarking against European and Jacobsean ideals.

little respect for the city's 'edge'. The edge was supposedly necessary to keep the (fake) suburbia's within close obedience/surveillance of the (real) city.

Without implying that Tshwane's various new reflections were flawless/non-fakery and somehow essential to escape from its troubling (dull/separating) spatial encoding, it was nevertheless surprising to note that they could not catch sight of the emerging scamscapes' inescapability. To spend so much effort on the bemoaning of its emerging appearances was (realistically) an exercise in futility. Perhaps by observing the various illusionary scenes of urbanity from a less sentimental standpoint would have enabled them to observe that these new (identity) renovations have already preceded the realities they were actually based upon. Moreover, a realisation would have dawned that these renditions were not merely a temporary departure from a fixed/good path, but (more importantly) that they were actually the beginnings of a new (ex/post-urban) genre. Perhaps a more pragmatic position therefore would have been to abandon the outdated romantic (urban) fantasies and in its place to engage these (new) post-modernist (illusionary) **scenes of (ex)-urbanity** in a more constructive manner.

By emancipating oneself to a less emotional (and more observant) state, a more acute readiness would have been reached from where more fundamental questions/implications could have been explored. In a nutshell, the city was awaiting (real) conceptualisations that went beyond the historic romanticism that was so overly consumed with outer appearances, (lack of) identitiy, legibility and beauty. A more invigorating/pragmatic approach could have been initiated around issues that mattered more like for example: the role of the current (fabricating) smokescreens in the larger picture of displacement, isolation, and exclusivity. The great opportunity to explore the (local) meaning of an African identity was also hardly engaged nor used as a potential means to build social cohesion and pride in all of the citizens' perception of Tshwane. Any positive outcome of the current

break-down/alterations of the outdated imagery and any possible move along a more progressive channel of integration, multiplicity, enthusiasm, recognition and contemporaneity, got somehow lost in the bitterness towards the ex-centric consciousness and the unwillingness to venture along the path of **ex-urban discovery**.

With these prevailing city-centred prejudices towards the ex-centric outlook clearly visible, I advanced my last scanning to the terrain of the preferred intentionalities to possibly (re)direct and better the ex-centric consciousness.

✦ some **envisionings** on/around the ex-centric consciousness

Gazing over the various strands on/around the (re)envisioning of the (illusive) ex-urban enfolding, three leading ploys stood out on the navigating/rehabilitating of the (unwanted) ex-centric consciousness.

First and foremost was the vigorous attempt to advance/**reinstate urbanity**. This was a deliberate attempt to resist the ex-urban metamorphosis, which primarily took shape through an array of (dogmatic) form-giving interventions already elucidated in my scanning of the preceding five scenes. In this self imposed/professed calling, Tshwane had to be (forcefully) salvaged from its diagnosed condition of sub-urban despair. Amongst the most prominent tactics was the introduction of urban sanctuaries (e.g. urban cores) where 24 hour urban/street life could be cultivated/replicated so that people on foot would once again be given the opportunity to wander along (and take pleasure in) the inspirational street scenes.

Complementary to this was a passionate attempt to formalise, structure and (re)order Tshwane's blurring/disrupting edges and muddled character. The city would apparently greatly benefit from bringing order to the bemused typologies by amongst other parcelling the urban fabric into (more defined) activity and sleeping

quarters as well as differentiated suburban and urban character zones. The essential tool to this envisioned state was a vigorous deployment of a **Lynch-like pictorial guide** with the necessary conventions to redirect/rescue Tshwane from its perceived path of urban misery[198]. No attempt was (unfortunately) made to engage the (illusive) ex-urban veneer in a more constructive manner, as could have been the case with the high-density mixed formations under the mantle of new-urbanism along the N1 development corridor[199].

Table 4: Incompatible activities / land uses / structures per area (marked by an "✗")

		RETAIL AND BUSINESS			OFFICES				INDUSTRY, MINING AND WAREHOUSING					
		BASIC	MEDIUM ORDER	HIGHER ORDER	SMALL	CORPORATE	OFFICE PARKS	GOVERNANCE	RESTRICTED	MOTOR WORKSHOPS	WAREHOUSES	LIGHT	HEAVY AND NOXIOUS	MINING & EXTRACTIVE
SPECIALISED ACTIVITY AREAS	NON-INDUSTRIAL SPECIALISED	✗	✗					✗			✗	✗	✗	✗
	PERIPHERAL MIXED ACTIVITY AREAS	✗	✗		✗	✗	✗				✗	✗	✗	✗
	SUBURBAN INDUSTRIAL AREAS	✗	✗		✗	✗	✗							
	RURAL MIXED ACTIVITY AREAS	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗			✗	✗	✗	✗	✗
	RURAL INDUSTRIAL AREAS	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	

Secondly and also related to this fascination with outer appearances, was the powerful drive to re-establish Tshwane as the Capital of South Africa. In a surprising move specifically in the city regarded by most as the heart of supremacy and domination, i.e. the place from where the Apartheid architecture was primarily spearheaded, the urban designers/planners found it compulsory to reinforce this very same authoritarian posture. The '*leading international **African Capital City** of excellence*' [personal emphasis added][200], (unfortunately) also had to be expressed through a formalistic/**monumental capital web**[201] The imagined textbook symmetrical designs, symbolisms and serene street scenes punctuated by governmental institutions, landmarks and monuments, were somehow envisioned as the quintessence of an African Capital City (Note also the adjacent text box for a very appropriate critique

> ℹ️ **In a recent critique by Oranje (2004:184) of South African academic's (in the Cape) lobbying for (urban) designed solutions, he had amongst other the following to say on this ploy's relevancy to Africanise our cities:** " *Where academics were involved in the production of a new system, they were either concerned with new planning discourses in the international planning arena, focussed on reconstruction and development, or calling for planning to 'go back to first principles', that is the universal principles of city building and design … A distinctly African turn could not emerge from these concerns".*

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[198] For complementary references to the patterning on Kevin Lynch's mental profiling see also footnote 62. For typical demonstrations of the use of pictorial guides/manuals to save Tshwane from suburban despair see CTMM (2003:42 – 44, 48 – 49, and 51).

[199] Vide also footnote 86 for a description of such an archetype in the City of Tshwane.

[200] An excerpt from the current official vision for the City of Tshwane (CTMM 2002c:278).

[201] For a detailed vision of the formalisation and monumental (re)ordering of Tshwane street scene to express the Capital City image, see for example: CTTM (2002c:287 & 482); and CTMM (2003b:53-54).

of this type of urban design solutions). The only reminders of our contextual reality were the almost accidental hosting of freedom symbols like the Freedom Park and the Solomon Mahlanga Freedom Square[202]. Yet, one of our country's most significant symbols of the struggle, i.e. the Synagogue where Nelson Mandela was tried and send to jail, situated in the heart of Tshwane, was shamefully ignored. Our nation's rich culture, the spirit of ubuntu[203], our well developed performing arts, the warmth of our people and the bustling streets so typical of African cities, were not used as possible clues as to a more contextual relevant casting of the Capital City image.

3.2.4. The layout of the capital core should be formal and monumental, with strong physical, visual and symbolic links between the important existing and future capital city structures (buildings, urban spaces, *landmarks*, monuments etc.).

3.2.5. Monuments of national importance should be erected on strategic locations within the capital core to support Tshwane's capital city image.

Lastly but not least was the peculiar effort to emulate the south-eastern outer sub-urbanisations in the housing division's annual programme of rolling out 20 000 single residential stands of 250m² in size. These 'freedom rewards' would not only require a staggering 600ha of land each year (far outstripping the aforementioned sub-urbanisations), but was also fast becoming a simulacrum of the archetypes it was based upon. Whilst Tshwane was beginning to exhibit very promising signs in for example the recycling of the unused (inner-city) commercial fabric for residential uses and the intensification/densification of the post-suburban fabric (at densities at least twice as high as the new RDP palliations) - more and more of the **deceptive substitutes** kept running of the urban pleasing/planning machine.

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[202] Vide CTMM (2003a:330 & 347) for the R4 000 000,00 and R2 200 000,00 respectively made available for Freedom Park and the Solomon Mahlanga Freedom Square.

[203] This is the people centred custom/ethos unique in Africa, which generally refers to the key focus on the community where a person is a person (only) through other persons. This value is generally contrasted to the western worldview that sees the self as part and living inside the individual. This focus on group solidarity is generally informed by the following values: solidarity, conformity, compassion, respect, human dignity, and collective unity.

Vide http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pubs/umrabulo/umrabulo13v.html. Access 12 October 2006.

LOOKING BACK (FOR THE LAST TIME) AT THE SIXTH SCENE JUST AHEAD OF MY CONCLUDING ATTEMPT TO RECOLLECT AND REFLECT ON THE WHOLE EXPLORATION, I WAS ONCE AGAIN BAFFLED BY THE **STRAYING UNDERSTANDINGS** AND **INTENTIONS** TO NAVIGATE/BETTER THE (ILLUSIVE) EX-CENTRIC ENFOLDING. THE EX-CENTRIC CONDITION WAS GENERALLY PROFILED AS THE UNDISCIPLINED DIVERGENCE FROM THE (GOOD) PATH OF URBANITY. ANY POSSIBILITY OF IT BEING A NEW/IRREVOCABLE CONDITION WAS SIMPLY OVERLOOKED. FOR NOW, THE DISLIKE IN THE SUBURBAN CONDITION SEEMED SO INTENSE THAT NO MERIT WAS FOUND FOR MORE ENGAGING EXCURSIONS ON THE PATH OF EX-URBAN DISCOVERY. AGAINST THIS SCENERY PLANNING'S ROLE WAS SIMPLY PROFILED AS AN ACT OF GOING BACK TO THE BASICS, THAT IS (URBAN) DESIGNED SOLUTIONS THAT WOULD REINSTATE THE CITY-CENTRIC CONDITION AND RECLAIM THE CAPITAL STATUS THROUGH TEXTBOOK (RE)ORDERING AND FORMGIVING. COMPLEMENTARY HERETO WAS A CAREFUL CONSTRUCTED CHARADE THAT THE CITY WAS PUSHING BACK THE FRONTIERS OF POVERTY BY ITS MOMENTOUS FREEDOM AWARDS, I.E. THE 250M² (HOUSING) LAND PARCELS NICELY EMULATED ON THE ERSTWHILE SUBURBAN LOGIC.

Part 5: Postscript:

After(words/wards) - Some new openings on the urban trajectory of Tshwane

"Discovery consists of looking at the same thing as everyone else and thinking something different" [S.a.]

Albert Szent-Györgyi

a RECOLLECTION, RE-ENVISIONING and REFLECTION on the urban trajectory of tshwane

AFTER 4 YEARS OF MEANDERING ALONG THE MANY TEXTURED PATHS ON THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE CITY OF TSHWANE, I HAVE ARRIVED AT THE POINT WHERE I COULD BEGIN TO REFLECT ON THE MULTIPLE INSIGHTS I HAVE GAINED. MY 'CONCEPTUS' EXPEDITION WILL NOT BE BROUGHT TO A FITTING END WITHOUT A DECENT ATTEMPT MADE TO DEPOSIT SOME THOUGHTS ON THE UNFOLDING (TEXTUAL) SCENERY. THIS EXPLORATION INTO THE RICHLY OPINIONATED TEXTS ON THE PLANNING OF THE CITY HAS BROUGHT MANY NEW MEANINGS ON THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE CITY TO THE FORE. THIS PART OF THE JOURNAL WILL NOW TRY TO PUT TOGETHER THESE DECONSTRUCTED FINDS IN AN ENLIGHTENING MANNER, AND IN THE PROCESS, WOULD ALSO BEGIN TO REVEAL THE PREVAILING MINDSETS OF THOSE WHO CREATED IT.

➜ the **EXPLORATORY SCHEME/TENET** for guiding the expedition

What has intrigued me most along this expedition, which also incidentally happens to form the central theme in this travel journal, is the astute observation of Epictetus referred to earlier. He states: "*What concerns me is not the way things are but rather the way people think they are*". During my portrayals I have regularly revisited this theme and have frequently touched base with those that believe the same. Marcel Proust for example also similarly remarks by saying: "*The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes, but in having new eyes*". Thomas Elliot also contributes to this idea by saying: "*We must not cease from exploration. And the end of all exploring will be to arrive where we began and to know the place for the first time.*"

These wise remarks perhaps appropriately echoes the new **post-modern paradigm of knowledge**, to some extent explored in part 2 (The route map) of this journal. In short, I also became increasingly aware of Lefebvre's '*illusion of transparency*' and Nietzsche's '*figurative image of truth*' that generally signifies the general

discontent with the idea that language is a neutral representation of reality. Instead, as outlined earlier under the umbrella of the so-called '*linguistic turn*', language is viewed as being more inventive, constitutive, constructive and thus hardly neutral.

I framed and plotted this expedition against this post-modernist outlook of knowledge. The aperture for my exploration therefore had its footing in the very **interpretations or versions of reality** the planners in Tshwane chose to bring to light. The specific focus of my enquiry materialised around two particular appearances of the conceptualisation of the Tshwane urban space, namely: the picturing of the **current** urban condition and the preferred concepts used for shaping a better urban **future**. For this purpose I narrowed down my scope and continuously found direction in answering the following question:

How is the City of Tshwane conceived and envisioned in the 'contemporary moment'?

Looking forward in search for some guidance to the more attuned conceptualisation of the contemporary urban scenery, I began (in part 3 of the journal) to paraphrase some of the latest themes on the contemporary urban scenery into a redrafted (urban) atlas. In these sketches, as part of my **first voyage**, I tried to make sense of the s(t)imulating sites and sights that currently characterises the post-modern urban landscape. During this enquiry, I was constantly reminded of the dramatic (re)formation that has taken shape and the need for considerable modifications to the concepts we use to describe the spatialities of our time. These many calls from progressive urban commentators, clearly asked for: '*better ways of thinking and acting*' (Soja: 2000); '*new ways of seeing*' (Dear: 2000, Parnell & Mabin: 1995); and '*more nuanced and contextually relevant ways*' (Harrison: 2002b) to view, describe and engage the (re)patterned urban geographies. These appeals are perhaps best summarised in

Manuel Castells similar observation that "…*A new world requires a new* **understanding** *and ultimately a new* **theory**".

Going forward, I also accepted this realisation and hence advanced my enquiry from this very same assumption. With such a clear appeal made, I also looked forward to similar advances from those responsible for the drafting of the local planning texts. I therefore progressed from the understanding that these textual passages would not only begin to reflect and speak of the newness, but as earlier noted, would also begin to house the very first meaningful future-shaping and future-seeking pathways of/for the City of Tshwane.

However, with the same pragmatist/sceptical stance of the critical scholars from whom I morphed my mode of deconstructive reading (i.e. expansive scanning), I became increasingly aware of the growing disjuncture between my expectation and the actual versions of reality found in these texts. During my process of learning and understanding I was able to look afresh at the same realities/texts, but with my somewhat different line of sight I was able to colour the same canvas in a few different shades.

In this part of the journal, I will attempt to bring all the **revelations/ field notes** of my **second voyage** together in a more meaningful whole as my response to the query I staged at the start of the expedition. As a possibly way to connect these findings with real planning contexts, I will also endeavour to suggest how contextually relevant these conceptualisations are and what possible openings have emerged as a consequence of this reading.

➡ **some SKETCHES and MEANINGS of the (invented) portrayals on the conceptualisation of Tshwane**

In trying to add a further dimension to the detailed field notes of my second voyage, I found it more useful to rather distil the essence and collective value of the multiple shades already portrayed. Hence in

this reflection I merged the six refracted perspectives that surfaced from my earlier scoping (i.e. part 4 to this journal), into the two central perspectives of my enquiry, namely: (1) **conceiving** the current spatial realities and (2) **envisioning** better urban futures.

❦ on(to) the conceiving of the City

In this part of my recollection the attention is purposely focussed on how the existing urban fabric of Tshwane is imagined, described, observed, visualised, patterned and mapped. The sketch therefore provides a review of the favoured nuances in the picturing of the contemporary city scenery. For this purpose the discussion briefly highlights: the **core themes**; the dominant **absences/silences**; the main **assumptions** on which the ideas are based; and lastly some **closing reflections** of this conceptual profile.

- **Core themes:**

  A bounded city patterned from within – Throughout the many textual passages, Tshwane was largely pictured as an almost **isolated locality** of which the dominant altering forces were found within its (municipal) borders. Globalisation and the interrelationship with Johannesburg was only vaguely acknowledged and for most of the part not deemed significant enough to register on the (official) urban radar. The urban landscape was somehow viewed as an almost conceptual cut-out from any possible larger geographic reality that did not necessitate any conceptualisation beyond/across its municipal borders.

  A gravitational landscape around a governing inner-city – The Inner-city of Tshwane was continuously depicted as the real centre at the very top of a perceived **patriarchal conceptual arrangement**. This functional/symbolic heart

was viewed as the beginning and end of all destinations, and as such, perceived to be the main/only anchor of the metropolitan landscape. The outer zones and their emerging nodes were mostly viewed as the subsequent satellites of the (unnecessary) decentralisation affects that still strongly related to the central city via its (old) radial network. In the (concentric) depiction the 'orbital' satellites showed as outsized nodes at the direct expense of a glorified inner-heart.

An untamed place of uncontrolled suburbanisation – The contemporary urban form was constantly portrayed as having a (severe) strain of '**suburbangitis**'. In this diagnosis the outer realms were generally homogenised under a single mantle of low density expansion, private car dependency, fragmentation, and separation of uses. Most development in the outer realms was simply pictured as the unwanted divergence from the '*good path of urbanity*' - actually to be found and supposed for the inner-city. These (undesirable) suburbanising zones were largely depicted as the tolerated zones for those that did not understand and appreciate the urbanity of the so-much admired Jacobsean romance of everyday urban life. The non-residential development was mostly deemed out of place, an invasion to the integrity of the sleeping quarters and a (complete) disruption to the good (urban) order.

A banal environment with no sense of place – The planners mainly opted for a voyeuristic depiction of the physical look of the city scenery. In their bias towards **surface appearances**, the conceptualisation of the current spatial reality was mainly done through various descriptions of land use arrangements/typologies and pictorial scenes around (the lack of) beauty, identity and legibility. In a very sentimental viewpoint, the city's perceived lack of a sense

of place was continuously bemoaned, whilst their preferred set of benchmark indicators, i.e. the aspirational European street scenes, was found rather unrealised.

An unbalanced urban form – With a strong perceptual anchoring in the inner-city, the new post-suburban growth became mainly visible as overly focused and **skewed** towards the South-eastern side of the city. The outward growth towards this unfavoured side was predominantly seen as a threat to the (imagined) edge – somehow assumed as the precise line formed by the municipal boundary, or in some other cases, by arbitrary lines drawn around the perceived ends to the urban form. Whilst this observation was not necessarily strange, it was the assumptions and absences that accompanied this observation (highlighted hereunder) that made this pronouncement rather odd.

- **Absences:**

The general conceptualisation hardly acknowledged the broader regional context in which the City of Tshwane was situated. The portrayals were therefore mainly **silent on the city** (and certain specific parts of it) becoming increasingly interrelated/integrated with a much larger combinatorial spatial reality. No convincing exclusions or qualifications to the concentric/gravitational mental map were offered, nor did any infill development between Johannesburg and Tshwane become visible as the possible beginnings of a 'new centre' as apposed to the continued view as the condemned sprawling outskirts.

Any linear structure/arrangement that related to the flow and connection between the different parts of the city and the broader urban region was unobserved. The portrayals

struggled to localise broader trends and affects and also refrained from accepting the permanence of the changing forces especially active in the suburban realms. The descriptions were also silent about any new labels/concepts emerging and instead chose to picture the current patterns as simply outsized and extreme manifestations of old forms and trends. The portrayals were also silent on significant affects like HIV and Aids[204], migratory and urbanisation trends[205] and lacked any form of engagement with the possible futures that might transpire from these paths.

- **Assumptions:**

Many strange and **peculiar assumptions** appeared to underlie the many biases evident in the portrayals. Amongst the many but more prominent was the assumption that '*urban*' is better than '*suburban*' and that clear distinctions between these typologies should be observed. The representations also presumed that a clear, definable edge was practically visible and also necessary. The reading of the western and the northern parts of the city was 'unmistakeably' done from a presumption that it had the same (and even in some cases the most) development potential as compared to the (all criticised) south-east. The view of the (skewed) urban form also appeared to be based on the assumption that the city's ideal form is compact and typically symmetrically arranged around a dominant centre. Moreover, the socio-economic segmentation of the city was also seen as an extraordinary phenomenon with regard to the assumed norm where all sides of the city were apparently supposed to mirror the other.

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[204] According to the South African National HIV Survey (2005), the HIV prevalence amongst those between 15 and 49 years old, was 16.2% in 2005. The same study estimates that 30.2% of all pregnant women were living with HIV in 2005.
Vide http://www.avert.org/safricastats.htm. Access 10 September 2006.
[205] Vide for example Kok & Collinson (2006) for an elucidating discussion on the Migration and Urbanisation trends in South Africa.

- **Some closing reflections:**

MY EXPOUNDED READING ON THE CONCEIVING OF THE EXISTING URBAN CONDITION FOUND THE PORTRAYALS **CONCEPTUALLY BIASED**, MOSTLY OUTDATED AND HARDLY RELEVANT TO THE REAL PATTERNINGS OF A CONTEMPORARY POST-SUBURBAN LANDSCAPE. I FOUND THE BROAD OUTLOOK TO BE A NAÏVE SIMPLIFICATION OF THE UNDERLYING COMPLEX TRENDS AND ITS BACK TOTALLY TURNED TOWARDS THE BROADER EMERGING REGIONAL SPATIALITY. MOST OF THE OFFERINGS WERE DELIVERED FROM A POINT OF RESISTANCE AND NOT FROM A POSITION OF AWARENESS. IT IS MY VIEW THAT THE VARIOUS REPRESENTATIONS DID NOT PROPEL ITSELF ADEQUATELY ALONG THE PATH OF EX-URBAN DISCOVERY AND INSTEAD CHOOSE TO BECOME A CYNIC AND EMBITTERED CRITIC OF THE FALL OF THE IMAGINED TSHWANE JACOBSEAN IDEAL.

on(to) the envisioning of the City

Leaving behind the conceived profile on the existing urban condition, it has become time to direct my attention towards the ideas of a better future. The final outline presented here provides a review of the more prominent shades favoured by the planners on the envisioning of a better urban landscape. As with the first scoping, the main arguments are also recapped through a brief discussion on: the **core themes**; the dominant **absences/silences**; the main **assumptions** on which the concepts are based; and lastly a few **closing reflections** of the conceptual profile.

- **Core themes:**

Tightening the market's advance towards the periphery – Reading through the many textual passages, a very clear case could be discerned for restraining the perceived undisciplined development forces favouring the outer realms. This re-call of the **modernist reins**, was pictured as

the vital source that would ensure that a firm grip is put on things. The (good) path to a better (ordered) future was to be pursued through neatly delineating, parcelling and compacting the city and redirecting its energy to the favoured (in)side. By going back to planning's supposed basics (i.e. good design and control), a more compact, neat, legible and fine-looking urban landscape would supposedly transpire that (they believed) would exactly fit the aspirations and expectations of the citizens of an African (Capital) City.

Spicing-up of the monotonous suburbanscapes – Looking further afield, the mental pictures aspired were strongly based on the introduction of (imitated) heavens of urbanity. These **vibrant sanctuaries** of the good and bustling urban life were to be formed, shaped, and nurtured in the (dystopian) borderlands. These zesty hubs were envisioned to spring up and grow around all high order railway stations in size, shape, and character very similar to the many European imitations they were so desperately trying to replicate. This modification was profiled as the critical intervention needed to make the decentralising pursuit (and its subsequent peripheral nuclei) more tolerable and amenable. This fixation with urban-like patterning, also stood out as the single-most important intervention somehow favoured to invigorate and restore the Apartheid City legacy.

Reconditioning/reinstating the inner-city to its former glory – Almost juxtaposed against the strong containing offensive envisaged for the borderlands, was a more accommodating ploy intended as the proper release of the much visualised developmental energy destined for Tshwane. The inner-city was to be redecorated and profiled as the highest bastion of ('real') urban qualities and symbol of national pride. Apart

from restoring the inner-city's **monumental glory**, a strong case was also made for the further concentration and intensification of all types of development in the 'heart' of the metropolitan region. These actions were viewed as the prerequisites that would ensure that the inner city remain the beginning and end of all flows of/to the metropolitan region.

More (RDP) houses to the (entrapped) masses – Moving towards the most acute zones of exclusion and despair, the planners appeared to concur with the current political view that these places were actually the most empowering locations to intensify the city's capital and infrastructural investments. The better and more inspiring future was perceived to take shape (exactly) around the very same dislocated and marginalised places that needed to be uplifted. The number one strategy of the city was seen as a **massive housing exercise** that would see the current make shift shelters converted into 'proper'/permanent RDP houses. The logic to this revamping scheme and hence the justification of housing of the poor (still separated from the rich and the real jobs), was to be found in the imagined complementary tactic for actioning the North.

Advancing to the GREAT North – The most interventionist tactic for the dramatic reshaping of Tshwane's perceived unequal/unbalanced urban form was outlined around a daring ploy to **develop the North**. The area naturally avoided by private capital was actually to be targeted for investment, development, growth and intensified job creation. This heartening scheme for imitating the south-east was put forward as the missing link that would not only balance the skewed urban form but would also bring the jobs to the places where most people lived and were pictured to remain. The area was tactically branded as the 'Zone of Choice' and singled out for the biggest package of

infrastructure investment the city has ever seen. In short, the developmental agenda for the whole city was envisaged to take place through a massive rebuilding and activating exercise of the city's forgotten quarters, i.e. the Northern part(s)/side(s) deemed more meaningful to develop.

- **Absences:**

The conceptualisation of a better urban future generally avoided more **indicative and interventionist strategies** (except for the focus on the North). There was hardly an attempt visible to use the unique insides to possible navigate, steer and even incorporate the growing significant outsides. The text was also silent on more modest (but perhaps more meaningful) tactics to invest in the competence of its people and hence their tactical ability to negotiate the opportunities of the metropolitan landscape.

Looking at the visualized spatial outlook of the city, very little suggestions could be found on how the urban form and structure towards Johannesburg could/should be shaped. Even the single largest spatial intervention of the provincial authority, i.e. the Gautrain, was overlooked with a substantial gap left on how the urban form could be re-made to potentially incorporate and optimise its catalytic prospect. Any reference to where the (real) potential of the economic landscape lay, were conveniently ignored and hence no logical connection could be found between urban potential and the planner's view of the future shape and form of the economic landscape. Moreover, no possibilities to start redirecting the city's efforts towards increased urban/social intensification much closer to or

even within the South-Eastern growing space seem to be forthcoming[206].

- **Assumptions:**

The emerging discourse on the conceptualisation of a better future appeared to be founded on various doubtful assumptions. The advance to the North supposed that most economic potential existed on the northern side of the Magaliesberg and that the market would be **rushed into action** on the inspirational branding of the area as the 'Zone of Choice' and the massive infrastructure investments promised for this part of the city. It also took for granted the economic faculty of this part of the metropolitan landscape and assumed that the growth of the dominant economic activity in this area (i.e. automotive manufacturing) would effortlessly continue and be delivering the required employment (i.e. sufficient numbers & types) that was needed to justify the even greater focus on residential expansion of the poor in this part of the city. This bold tactic largely assumed that by growing the city on the Northern side of the Magaliesberg, stability and prosperity would be returned to those that needed it most.

Looking towards the more flourishing side of the urban landscape, the strategy towards 'maintaining of the South' appeared to be based on the assumption that the market

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[206] In a recent attack of this implied strategy by the president of South Africa, Mr. Thabo Mbeki at the opening of the Brickfields Housing Development at the Newtown Cultural Precinct, Johannesburg, on 12 August 2005, noted the following: "*…the perpetuation of settlement patterns along racial, gender and class divisions is an obstacle to the objective of building a non-racial and non-sexist society … to succeed at this task we have an urgent challenge of bringing to a stop the pro-rich housing development strategies that ensure that the best located land that is close to all the best facilities is always available to the rich … while the poor can only access dusty semi-developed land far away from modern infrastructure*".
Vide http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/2005/mbek0812.htm. Access 15 January 2006.
The principle of fundamentally challenging the separation of poor people from the more expensive land and the zones of more superior facilities, amenities and jobs, is also central to the new Property Sector Transformation Charter. Vide http://www.propertycharter.co.za/docs/propertycharter-final.pdf?link=propertycharter-final.pdf. Access 15 June 2006.

knew best what to do and hence it is better to leave it doing what it is doing. The fact that no constructive (spatial) shaping/directing of the development thrust in the South-East was made evident also appeared to confirm the same assumption. The general outlook was also based on the view that the poorer people were indefinitely destined, inclined, and willing to a life of time-consuming and inconvenient commuting stuck in low-density residential zones significantly disconnected from the growing regional economic reality. Lastly, the high priority placed on accentuating the more favoured urban characteristics and the tactic to reinstate the city's urban heart, largely assumed that the better (urban) future was to be found in retrofitting preferred glimpses of a romantic past.

- **<u>Some closing reflections:</u>**

IN MY DECONSTRUCTIVE READING ON THE ENVISIONING OF A BETTER (URBAN) FUTURE, A VERY STRONG PREFERENCE EMERGED FOR THE RESTRAINING OF THE CURRENT DEVELOPMENT CONDITION. IT PRIMARILY TOOK SHAPE AROUND A COMPLEX ARRAY OF CLASSIFICATORY AND CATALOGUING SCHEMAS WITH LITTLE EFFORT SPARRED FOR STEERING THE (URBAN) NEWNESS TO PRE-EMINENCE. THE RE-ENVISIONING WAS GENERALLY SPECKLED WITH MANY JUMBLED AND DIVERGING ATTEMPTS TO REPOSITION THE CITY. I FOUND LITTLE CONVERGENCE AROUND THE LEADING DEVELOPMENTAL THEMES AND A GENERAL RELUCTANCE TO CONVINCINGLY SPEAK TO THE FUTURE. THE VISUALISATIONS MOSTLY DREW THEIR INSPIRATION AND GUIDANCE FROM A ROMANTIC VIEW OF THE PAST AND SAW THE CITY'S PRIMARY INTERVENTIONS EXCLUSIVELY FOCUSED AROUND ITS INNER-CITY AND THE ASPIRATIONAL QUARTERS OF THE NORTH. IT IS MY VIEW THAT THE ENVISIONING LACKED THE NECESSARY DYNAMISM AND PERTINENCE TO THRUST THE CITY ALONG A PATH OF ADEQUATE RECOVERY AND ENDEARING/ENABLING SUCCESS.

Filled with some disappointment and a strange uneasiness with the finds gathered along this epic journey, it has become time to once again heighten my awareness and finally zoom out to a higher altitude. Ironically, I look back not with the discovery of a new land, but rather with greater insight developed in the prevailing mindsets on the **conceptualisation of Tshwane**. After this reading, which intentionally centred on how planners view Tshwane's conceptual arrangement and how they think it should be better made, I simply arrived back where I started knowing the place/text for the first time as similarly said at the outset by Thomas Elliot.

The abbreviated answer to the query staged at the beginning of my 'conceptus expedition', is perhaps the apprehension that the city was mostly pictured as a disorderly/undisciplined mess of old (concentric/radial) forms and patterns that continue to advance further and further away from the romanticised urban ideal. This strong urbanist perspective appeared grossly outdated and lacked the foundations of a more contextual relevant understanding. The emerging spatialities highlighted in my first voyage got somehow lost in sight with the resultant effect that all new and the possible conceptual descriptions of the local unfolding post-suburban reality were simply left blank.

Looking beyond, Tshwane's better future was envisaged as an imagined state (only) to be returned to and not something to be made new. The (little) actioning noticeable was only destined to the deprived/relinquished quarters, which suggests that the planners thought that strategic planning/positioning was only necessary for the areas where the market was not interested. Very little future-shaping and future-seeking pathways became visible for those areas fundamentally connected to the broader regional logic and its

emerging offshoots that kept on materialising outside the North and the Inner-city.

Gazing across the expounded texts I must admit that very little new/better ways of seeing, thinking, acting and shaping happened as one would have expected in a city already bearing the marks of the recent post-suburban reformation. Twelve years since Manual Castells' (1992) pioneering plea that "…*A new world requires a new* **understanding** *and ultimately a new* **theory**", I still happened to spot the worrying perceptions that the City of Tshwane is stubbornly immune to the broader spatial logic; its current outlook is simply an outsized and extreme manifestation of suburbanisation, and that city's better future would be found in the retrofitting of the **Babylon of urbanity**.

Looking back in an attempt to relate these found fragments with the finds of Oosthuizen's (1999) deconstructive reading of the planning text in Pretoria for the period 1970 – 1998, my scoping has reconfirmed the persistence of modernist outlooks and intentions also detected in her passages of discovery. Very little seems to have changed even in the first epoch of the Post-Apartheid era that marks the very first planning attempts of the so-called post-transitional system of municipal government. By this time one would have expected to begin notice a turnaround. However, I have to concede that for a period of more than 30 years the city has been observed and shaped from (old-fashioned) perspectives that appear overly biased towards modernist ideas.

Looking forward and beyond this reading, I would fail my responsibility if I do not also stress that the planners in the city are going to dismally fail the city and its people, in their shaping of the local urban space, if they do not begin to address the question of where the city currently is (and should be) in more contextual relevant ways.

"Futures not achieved are only branches of the past: dead branches"
(Calvino 1974:29)

For me this reading suggests a new and intrepid path where planners purposefully choose to engage and describe the unfolding present and not the (nostalgic) fragments of Tshwane's past very rapidly fading in the background. Our texts need to begin to connect with the emerging spatialities, their new logic, and the possible destinations that await discovery along the post-suburban trajectory. Looking past this reading, I would hope to soon observe the first future shaping actions that would begin to redirect the city's future away from its romanticised past and the assumed (better) models to be imported from the Northern hemisphere. For me the more enabling future lies in the reshaping and nurturing of the many embryonic beginnings already visible in the city's current spatial reality.

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