

**Locating the cultural significance of foreign diplomatic representation
to the city: the cases of the US, Dutch and Brazilian missions in the
City of Tshwane**

by

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Abstract

Foreign diplomatic representation is a feature of national and other capital cities as centres of political and other forms power, the significance of which in cultural terms has previously been granted minor attention. Using the cases of the U.S., Dutch and Brazilian missions in the City of Tshwane (Pretoria), it is evident their meaning takes two forms: firstly, in the built environment and secondly, in cultural and public diplomacy activities that engage *cityzens* in new ways of thinking and being.

The form of primary diplomatic sites, chanceries, embodies the national community around which their representation is constructed. Armed with a legitimate claim on the space they occupy they are a part of the city imaginary in their various shapes, sizes and styles where they communicate intent through their architecture, symbolism and activities. The identity, structure and intended meaning of chanceries would however be an incomplete project were it not for *cityzenry*'s casual observers and active participants, as well as diplomatic and other chancery staff, who are instrumental in constituting the site and its purpose.

Exploring beyond the chancery, places in the city also become diplomatic sites when utilized by missions for their cultural and public diplomacy. These activities again reify the nation state promising a platform for the affirmation of community in a city of loosely associated *cityzens*. Additionally, in the present context of multiplied choices for personal identity formation, missions attract audiences through language schools, art exhibitions, theatre, music and film festivals, workshops, seminars and panel discussions. This facilitation of voluntary association is the post-political, post-economic significance of diplomatic representation in the City of Tshwane.

Primary data is sourced from select interviews with diplomats and *cityzens*, as well as the web pages of ministries of foreign affairs and embassies. Secondary data is taken from urban studies and diplomatic studies literature.

Keywords: *City of Tshwane (Pretoria), diplomatic representation, diplomatic sites, cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy, embodied placemaking, American Spaces, Shared Cultural Heritage, Brazil-South Africa Cultural Centre (Cbras).*

Chapter One

Locating the Cultural Significance of Foreign Diplomatic Representation in the City of Tshwane

1.1 Introduction

Foreign diplomatic representation is today a special feature of capital cities, as centres of political and other forms of power¹. Yet, at the intersection of diplomacy and urban studies generally, there is little evidence that foreign diplomatic representation has been explored beyond a vaguely related, small but growing literature on paradiplomacy²; that is, the drive of cities to act pursuing their interests through quasi-diplomatic relations with other world cities. This study asks how the presence and active cultural and public diplomacy of foreign diplomatic representation in the City of Tshwane, the administrative capital of South Africa, can be culturally significant to the city and its *cityzens*³.

The societal dimension of diplomacy is too easily neglected. As a profession with humanist underpinning it seems appropriate that the practice affects the lives of ordinary people, in the instance of this paper, *cityzens* of the City of Tshwane. Thus, the central focus is to look beyond the high level politics and economic deal-clinching to the symbolic sites of chanceries and other diplomatic sites in the city space where diplomats interact with *cityzens* through cultural and public diplomacy. This investigation takes place in the broader context of the City of Tshwane's Vision 2055, a plan to re-imagine and consolidate the city as the country's sole capital. The large diplomatic corps, till now a subject of much boasting for the city, will remain important to this as a

¹Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France. (no date) The work of consulates in economic diplomacy. [Online] Available from: <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/french-foreign-policy/economic-diplomacy-foreign-trade/supporting-french-businesses-7569/the-foreign-affairs-ministry-7783/article/the-work-of-consulates-in-economic> [Accessed on 20 August 2015].

² Van der Pluijm, R. & Melissen, J. (2007) City diplomacy: the expanding role of cities in international politics. *Clingendael Diplomacy Papers* 10; Musch, A., et. al. (2008) City diplomacy, VNG: The Hague; Acuto, M. (2013) World politics by other means? London, city diplomacy and the Olympics. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 8 (3-4). p 287-311.

³ Bell, D. A. & de-Shalit, A. (2011) The spirit of cities: Why the identity of a city matters in a global age. Princeton University Press: Oxford.

fixed sector in the City of Tshwane. Thus, the relevance of this study is in its elucidation of the foreign diplomatic corps' contribution to the cultural landscape of the city. Greater understanding of their current impact on space and interaction with *cityzens* can facilitate their appropriate participation in the further shaping of the city's future.

In pursuit of this some groundwork is necessary. This chapter will provide a background to the study, where after it will situate the topic within the relevant literature and the novelty of the question will be marked. Important concepts and terminology that will recur throughout the paper will then be clarified. Delimitation of this endeavour is necessary due to the size of foreign representation in the City of Tshwane. Finally, an overview of the work per chapter is presented together with applicable methodology at each stage.

1.2 Background to the study

How foreign diplomatic representation can alter the city space and impact *cityzens'* lives is a topic sparked from a reading of Peter Taylor's work on cities⁴. In studying how networks of financial and legal transnational companies, media houses and diplomatic missions contribute to the classification of a place as a "world city". Taylor categorizes diplomacy as evidence of political linkages between cities, i.e. a reflection of the cooperation between two nations and the importance of one to the other. Though the profession is unquestionably one concerned with affairs of the state, it is my argument, while diplomatic practice begins in the realm of politics and progresses into economics it then goes further into the promotion of societal development and specifically finds expression in cultural additives to the city and its *cityzens*.

Their impact can be more marked in a developing world city like the City of Tshwane where their sites strike a harder contrast to societal inequality, and their activities – some backed with development aid – can have noticeable socio-cultural effects. These activities include encouraging targeted investment in growth sectors that should meet the needs of *cityzens* (e.g. the USAID facilitated President's Emergency Plan For AIDS Relief), supporting grassroots social initiatives (e.g. the Embassy of Japan in South

⁴ Taylor, P. (2005) Leading world cities: empirical evaluations of urban nodes in multiple networks. *Urban Studies* 42(9). p 1593-1608.

Africa's Grant Assistance for Grass-roots Human Security Projects⁵), providing educational exchange scholarships (e.g. Erasmus+ scholarship program by the EU representation in South Africa) while presenting occasions for cultural exhibition and exploration. That said, before bestowing uncritical praise on the well-intentioned projects of foreign missions, one should be careful to remember each of them has first and foremost their own interest to consider.

Nevertheless, by their very presence, whether for good or bad, the foreign diplomatic corps in the city diversify the space. Cultural and public diplomacy drive this contribution of foreign diplomatic missions to the cultural fabric of the city. Thus, the diplomatic corps is not solely a mechanism of political and economic necessity. Seeing them as such is to the detriment of an understanding of diplomacy in the 21st century.

1.3 State of existing knowledge

Though the cultural significance of missions to the city is a fresh point of inquiry, interest in urban cultures has a well established history. Sharon Zukin in *The Cultures of Cities* (1995) describes forms of symbolic (cultural) production so embedded in the City of New York that they are central to its character. Using terms like "symbolic economy" she focuses on the pervasiveness of cultural production and representation in that city. Zukin recognises urban regeneration/redevelopment and culture as sides of the same coin, and the latter's role in creating zones of belonging⁶. It is the same culture industry about which Horkheimer and Adorno⁷ express scepticism. Similar literature on the City of Johannesburg⁸ reiterates the cultural zone – e.g. the Maboneng Precinct – as a site for urban regeneration with its own inclusions and exclusions. There is no doubt that the pervasiveness of cultural representation in the City of Tshwane and New York are vastly different, rather it is the second point on the utilisation of cultural representation in urban regeneration in Zukin's work that is meaningful. If the city is a locus for creativity,

⁵ Embassy of Japan in South Africa. (no date) The Grant Assistance for Grass-roots Human Security Projects (GGP). [Online] Available from: http://www.za.emb-japan.go.jp/en/Japan_SA/ODA.html [Accessed on 17 August 2015].

⁶ Zukin, S. (1995) *The cultures of cities*. Blackwell: Massachusetts. p 1: "culture is also a powerful means of controlling cities. As a source of images and memories, it symbolizes "who belongs" in specific places".

⁷ Adorno, T. W. & Horkheimer, M. (1988 [1944]) *Dialektik der Aufklärung*. Fischer Verlag: Frankfurt am Main.

⁸ Walsh, S. (2013) 'We won't move': the suburbs take back the centre in urban Johannesburg. *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action* 17 (3). p 400-408; Nevin, A. (2014) Instant mutuality: the development of Maboneng in inner-city Johannesburg. *Anthropology South Africa* 37 (3-4). p 187-201.

cultural expression and pluralist expansion and foreign missions act as curators of their national culture, what do they present in cultural and public diplomacy to the receiving capital city and by extension the receiving state? How do they pursue this, with whom and to what effect?

Existing publications on interaction between foreign diplomatic corps and their receiving cities are limited. Till now, as far as it has been possible to determine, only Virginie Mamadouh, Anne Meijer, James D Sidaway & Herman van der Wusten⁹ have published along a similar line of enquiry: *Toward an urban geography of diplomacy: lessons from The Hague* (2015). Their article examines the microgeography of diplomacy as embodied by the foreign diplomatic corps in The Hague and poses questions about the profession as a spatial practice pertaining to diplomatic buildings and their clustering. By mapping embassies in the city the article raises questions about diplomatic form and function, whereby urban, economic, and political geographies intersect around issues of diplomacy, representation, and security. The article as an exploratory undertaking does in a small measure address the impression diplomatic sites may leave on the passer-by and potentially how their presence influences the character of the city. However, it does not explore the direct interaction of missions with *cityzens* through cultural and public diplomacy as a component of the relationship between the foreign mission and its city home.

Moreover, there are two further articles in conjunction with the often repeated claim of Pretoria's diplomatic community rivaling that of Washington D.C – size bearing as it may consequences for cultural impact – provoked thought about the significance of foreign presence to the city: Xierali and Lui's¹⁰ spatial modelling approach that explained the presence of diplomatic representation in the U.S. between 1980 and 2000 and

⁹ Mamadouh, V. et al. (2015) Toward an urban geography of diplomacy: lessons from The Hague. *The Professional Geographer*.

¹⁰ Xierali, I.M. & Liu, L. (2006) The effect of power and space in foreign diplomatic presence in the United States: a spatial modelling approach. *Geographic Information Sciences: A Journal of the Association of Chinese Professionals in Geographic Information Systems* 12 (2). p 53-63.

Neumayer¹¹ writing on distance, power, ideology and diplomatic representation in the world. These are discussed at greater length in chapter two.

While the present research is not directly addressed in literature on city diplomacy, urban culture, political geography, urban sociology and diplomatic studies, it nevertheless succeeds in drawing these together. Consequently, this paper stands on no single conceptual foundation but draws from the thinking of the various fields. This will be explicated in chapter three.

1.4 Concepts and terminology

In order to gauge accurately the particular slant of the research there are a few recurring concepts in need of clarification: ‘the city’; ‘space’ and ‘place’; ‘public diplomacy’ and ‘cultural diplomacy’, and; ‘culture’. All except ‘space’ and ‘place’ are covered below; a discussion of these follows in chapter three. In respect of terminology, three things will be covered: jargon related to diplomatic practice; the choice between ‘City of Tshwane’ and ‘Pretoria’, and; a manner of referring to the inhabitants of the capital city.

a) ‘The city’

This research revolves around ‘the city’ and the foreign diplomatic missions as interacting spaces. In this instance it is not about the geographical boundaries of the City of Tshwane, but about the concept of ‘the city’. The assumption is that the city is a significant form of social organization¹² in modernity existing is as much an idea as a material reality¹³ which is reconstituted and renegotiated in its narratives and spatial practice. Bearing some similarity to Lefebvre’s tripartite theory of space¹⁴, it is as Malcom Miles says: “constituted by overlapping zones of business, power, industry and

¹¹ Neumayer, E. (2008) Distance, power, ideology: diplomatic representation in a world of nation states. *Area* (4)2. p 228-236.

¹² LeGates, R.T. & Stout, F. (eds.). (2016) *The city reader*. 6th Edition. Routledge: New York. p 117: “the city as a particular form of human association”.

¹³ Tonkiss, F. (2005) *Space, the city and social theory*. Polity Press: Cambridge. p 2.

¹⁴ Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The production of space*. Blackwell: Oxford.

housing within all of which are distinct zones”¹⁵, to which Peter Marcuse adds: “that produce a clustering along a number of dimensions, some related to and congruent with others, other lines independent of all others”¹⁶. Importantly, it is “a site of social encounter”¹⁷ according to Fran Tonkiss. The city is not constituted in its form alone but also its habitation; how *cityzens* navigate through the city space and participate in its various zones. This conception of the city is important in the exploration of how foreign missions populate the material and conceptual realities of the city.

b) Public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and soft power

Public and cultural diplomacy are important focal points for the rest of this study. What do these types of diplomatic practice entail, how do they relate to one another and refer to Joseph Nye’s idea of soft power¹⁸?

Both public and cultural diplomacy saw their zenith in the aftermath of the World Wars but experienced their most marked decline in the 1980s, yet after 9/11 have been restored to a measure of prominence¹⁹ as cornerstones of soft power generation in international affairs. *Soft power*, a term coined by Joseph Nye in the early nineties, is the power to influence the behaviour of others through attraction and cooptation, with the aim of decreasing the potential for conflict and promoting peace through mutual understanding. Traditionally, public diplomacy meant:

*...government communication aimed at foreign audiences to achieve changes in the ‘hearts or minds’ of the people... [It could] also refer to domestic public (s) in two ways: either as the domestic input from citizens for foreign policy formulation (engaging approach), or explaining foreign policy goals and diplomacy to domestic public (explaining approach)*²⁰.

Since its revival in the early 21st century it has focused on relating beyond governments to private institutions and individuals through long-term contact as accurately as

¹⁵ Miles, M. (2007) *Cities and cultures*. Routledge critical introductions to urbanism and the city. Routledge: New York. p 17.

¹⁶ Marcuse, P. In M Miles. (2007) *Ibid*.

¹⁷ Tonkiss. (2005) *Space, the city and social theory*. p 1.

¹⁸ Nye, J. S. (2005) *Soft Power: The means to success in world politics*. Public Affairs: New York.

¹⁹ Hart, J. (2013). *Empire of Ideas*. Oxford University Press: New York. P 1-7.

²⁰ Szondi, G. (2008) *Public diplomacy and nation branding: conceptual similarities and differences*. *Discussion Papers in Diplomacy*. Clingendael: The Hague. p 6.

possible the full range of perceptions of a nation to other national audiences to further mutual understanding. It restores a 'public' in diplomacy, a profession shrouded in a narrative of security, secrecy and crisp suits (for both genders). Cultural diplomacy is for the most part subordinated to public diplomacy. It is "the promotion abroad of "national culture" and interactive international cultural exchange"²¹. This definition lies on one end of the spectrum which regards cultural diplomacy as a well-intentioned valid strategy of nations to share their views with foreign publics. Taking into account the history of cultural diplomacy from its origin "prior to World War I – its development as a political tool in the interwar period, its expansion during the cold war, and its global significance since the 1990s"²², on the other end of the spectrum is a suspicion that it is propaganda. Gienow and Donfried describe how this is related to the perceived stake of the state in activities:

...the more authors perceive state involvement and clear-cut state interest, the more likely they are to link cultural diplomacy to propaganda-like activities. The less visible the state remains, the sooner they are willing to move their definition closer to cultural relations and benevolent long-term strategy²³

This paper views public and cultural diplomacy as a legitimate action of governments sharing information about themselves with foreign and domestic audiences.

c) Culture

Benedict Anderson in his seminal work is known for putting forward the idea of the nation as a construct. The nation's existence is dependent on myths and narratives stirring up the idea of a limited, sovereign community²⁴. These are the things which constitute national culture:

...nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which – it came into being.²⁵

²¹ Gienow, J.C.E & Donfried, M.C. (eds.). (2010) Searching for a cultural diplomacy. Berghahn Books: New York. p 10.

²² Gienow & Donfried. (2010) ...cultural diplomacy. p 3.

²³ Gienow & Donfried. (2010) ...cultural diplomacy. p 9.

²⁴ Anderson, B. (2006 [1983]) Imagined communities. Verso books: London. p 7.

²⁵ Anderson. (2006 [1983]). Ibid. p 12.

Despite its constructedness, cultural attachés and diplomats in foreign missions repeatedly reconstruct ‘the nation’ and ‘the national culture’ for foreign audiences. This paper, however does not dispute the ‘authenticity’ of the national image, but is more curious about the form in which it is conveyed. Therefore ‘culture’ will be viewed through the lens of cultural diplomacy, meaning it can therefore range from education, cinema, community recreation and sports to exchange programs and the arts, among others.

d) Terminology

It is sensible to gain certainty about some terms associated with diplomatic practice, given that in common usage many are applied incorrectly. The most obvious site of diplomatic activity is that of the embassy, for which the appropriate term is rather ‘chancery’. The term ‘embassy’ in actuality refers to the official residence of an ambassador, but has in recent times been used “inaccurately...to denote the building which contains the offices of the ambassador and other key members of his staff”²⁶. The term ‘Mission’ by contrast “[as a] generic term for embassy...describes the entirety of official representation in a given foreign country [- including any consulates and trade offices -] which functions under the supervision of the ambassador, including civilian and military personnel”²⁷. This research will therefore refer either to the chanceries of the chosen states in the City of Tshwane or to their missions. Other terms related to diplomacy will be explained in the instances they occur.

Two terminological preferences are the choices of Bell & de Shalit’s term *cityzen* and the *City of Tshwane* as the geographical descriptor. *Cityzen* is an appropriate differentiation from ‘citizen’ as a descriptor of national identity. It is a more accurate classification of the group of individuals – residents of the city – on whom this research seeks to determine the cultural effect of foreign missions.

The second matter is the use of ‘Pretoria’ and the ‘City of Tshwane’. Since the turn of the millennium, the metropolitan region was renamed the *City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality*, but until 2013 debate continued as to whether Pretoria, till then maintained as the demarcation for the Central Business District (CBD) of the metro, would also be

²⁶ eDiplomat. (no date) Glossary of diplomatic terms, [Online] Available from: <http://www.ediplomat.com/nd/glossary.htm> [Accessed on 1 June 2015].

²⁷ Ibid.

subsumed under the name Tshwane. It was decided in 2014 that Pretoria would remain as such. The large majority of Mission chanceries and embassies are by this geographical organization located in the City of Tshwane and not the CBD, Pretoria. Nevertheless, in the practice of substituting states with their capitals to indicate the relations between them, Pretoria has persisted in reference²⁸. In a diplomatic sense, missions are representatives of their own countries to the South African state, therefore Pretoria could be applied, but the missions are not located in Pretoria, rather in the City of Tshwane. Since this research aims to investigate the cultural significance of selected missions to the city and its *cityzens*, in what follows it is more often apt to use the descriptor 'City of Tshwane'. 'Pretoria' will only be used when explicitly referring to the representation of the diplomatic corps to the South African state or to the historical period before the city's renaming.

1.5 Delimitation

Providing a comprehensive view of the activities of a diplomatic corps numbering at one hundred and twenty three would be a hefty task, thus the scale of the present research is significantly reduced to focus on three chanceries in the City of Tshwane. In the process of selection the cultural activities of Germany (Goethe Institute) and France (French Institute), and other similar organizations that are undoubtedly part of the cultural diplomacy of those nations, were intentionally set aside because of the following reasons that apply to them variously: firstly, they operate on a scale unmatched by the cultural and public diplomacies carried out by other chanceries. Secondly, diplomats are not the primary agents. Thirdly, they are not entirely fiscally dependent on their governments and therefore have a greater measure of independence. The USA, the Netherlands and Brazil were chosen in their place as case studies that display comparatively varied:

- historic relations with South Africa (the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands is particularly salient here);

²⁸ Author unnamed. (2015) Maputo, Pretoria to revise agreement On Mozambicans working In South Africa. [Online] Available from: <http://www.bernama.com.my/bernama/v8/wn/newsworld.php?id=1140154> [Accessed on 1 June 2015].

- physical presence in the City of Tshwane;
- explicit structure and approach to cultural and/or public diplomacy activities in the city; and
- access to the diplomatic agents responsible for cultural and/or public diplomacy.

Each mission, as chapter four will explain, has maintained representation in the capital city for over forty years. This study will however focus on cultural and public diplomacy activities carried out during the current postings of the three diplomatic agents to be interviewed, roughly from 2009-2015.

Though Peter Taylor's (2005) work is a starting point, in respect of methodology, the quantitative techniques used by him to classify world cities and others, like Xierali and Liu (2006) to explain the spatial organization of representation, will not be replicated. I instead take a primarily qualitative approach, using interviews, paired with data analysis and elucidations from political geography and urban sociology to find how diplomatic representation in the city generates impacts.

1.6 Overview and methodology

The study will be informed by the policy directives, purpose, form and audiences of cultural and public diplomacy in the case of three foreign missions; the USA, Brazil and the Netherlands, selected for the following reasons:

1. U.S.A:
 - a. the country's continued status as world hegemon;
 - b. the State Department's instrumental role in the field of cultural diplomacy, and;
 - c. the country's refocused emphasis on soft power after 9/11.
2. Brazil:
 - a. as a representative of Global South relations;
 - b. due to the shared histories and challenges between the largest Latin American country and South Africa;

- c. a growing association due to shared membership in BRICS, and;
 - d. the only cultural institution, amongst those associated with foreign missions – Goethe Institute, IFAS, British Council, Confucius Institute – to specifically be attached to their chancery in the City of Tshwane.
3. The Netherlands:
- a. because of their entanglement in the South African past, and;
 - b. due to continuing cultural and linguistic relations with especially Afrikaans-speaking populations.

In order to demonstrate that foreign representation brings with it not only political and economic but social and cultural interchange, the research paper will investigate the chancery sites of these three missions in the City of Tshwane to find how they indirectly engage *cityzens* in the city space and simultaneously seek to understand how the form (what?, when?, where?, why? and with whom?) of their cultural and public diplomacy impacts *cityzens'* lives directly. These two aspects of the missions' representation which diversify the city's cultural fabric and affect the spirit of the City of Tshwane form the core of this study. In pursuit of this, the work will proceed as follows:

Chapter two presents a brief history and microgeography of the diplomatic corps in the City of Tshwane. Three primary sources will be used for gathering history data: (1) early records of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, (2) the histories of diplomatic relations between South Africa and the foreign representatives in Pretoria as made available on the official website of the Department of International Relations and Cooperation²⁹, and (3) the same on official websites of foreign missions in the City of Tshwane.

In the third subsection, the size of the City's diplomatic corps is measured against that of other capital cities in order to verify the veracity of Pretoria's "second only to Washington D.C" claim. Based on a preliminary review of the numbers provided by the diplomatic information source *EmbassyPages* the capitals of twenty states will be

²⁹ Department of International Relations and Cooperation. (2015) Bilateral Relations (country profiles listed alphabetically). [Online] Available from: <http://www.dfa.gov.za/foreign/bilateral/index.htm> [Accessed on 18 March].

selected for comparison, namely: USA (Washington D.C.), but also Belgium (Brussels), France (Paris), the UK (London), Germany (Berlin), as well as Ethiopia (Addis Ababa), Egypt (Cairo), China (Beijing), Brasil (Brasilia) and others. The size of their official diplomatic presence will be verified by drawing on data published by the Foreign Ministries of respective states. International organizations are not included in the tally. Lastly, the chapter theorizes critically about the origin and significance of the prestige-conferring narrative while considering concepts from political geography and the individual foreign policy priorities of states as possible explanations for the disproportionately large presence of foreign missions in the City of Tshwane.

Chapter three brings together diverse theoretical perspectives from urban studies, urban sociology and urban culture to firstly, understand the significance of the mission's embodied, noticeable presence to the city imaginary and, secondly, how missions can promote pluralism and be institutions of community formation. Conceptual discussions about 'space' and 'place', sociologically mindful architecture and embodied placemaking lay a firm foundation for application to the case chanceries in the fourth chapter. An overview of the scale of missions' socio-cultural activities will be provided to create an impression of how foreign missions act in the city space. Data will be gathered from mission websites, newsletters and social media profiles.

In chapter four the focus is increasingly on chancery sites and cultural and public diplomacy activities of the selected foreign missions. This chapter is important to find how the missions understand their cultural and public diplomacy in the City of Tshwane, what form it takes, whom it reaches, how frequently and to what affect/effect. To this end, primary data was collected in interviews with the custodians of cultural diplomacy at the selected missions (the USA, the Netherlands, and Brasil). The identified representatives are:

- Antonio Carlos França, First Secretary of the Brazilian Embassy and Director of the Brazilian Cultural Centre in Pretoria (views to be supplementary in an interview with Daniela Mendonça, director of the Brazil-South Africa Cultural Centre)

- Edward J Monster, Cultural Affairs Office at the Embassy of the United States of America in Pretoria;
- Jeroen-Louis Martens, First Secretary and Senior Policy Officer for Press and Cultural Affairs at the Embassy for the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Pretoria.

Each interview candidate was initially contacted via email to gauge their interest in participating in the research. A paper based on chapter two and three of this mini-dissertation (presented at the conference *Changing capital cities in Latin America, the Caribbean and Southern Africa*, University of Pretoria on 21 April 2015) was attached as a supporting document. They each expressed enthusiasm to share their insights in one-on-one, face-to-face, semi-structured interviews varying from an hour to two in length. All representatives received a copy of the questions a week in advance of the interview. The interviews with the Brazilian and Dutch representatives were conducted on the Chancery premises with the permission of the missions concerned. The final interview with the representative of the USA was held at a Café. Due to policy restricting voice recording on the chancery premises, the interviews at the Brazilian and Dutch chanceries were not recorded. The U.S. representative consented to a recording. All representatives agreed to be available via email for any follow-up questions.

The interviews specifically brought to light the initiatives judged to be most successful in creating effects in the city space. They were supplemented by site visits to the *American Spaces*, and an interview with the Director of the Brazil-South Africa Cultural Centre, Mrs. Daniela Mendonça.

Finally chapter five addresses gaps in the research as it draws together the previous chapters in summary to reiterate what social and cultural benefits foreign missions bring to City of Tshwane and how they are therefore significant to the city and its residents.

The tables are turned in order to gain collaborators' views of their work with the U.S. and Dutch missions in the City of Tshwane. The perspectives of two individuals, both coincidentally at the University of Pretoria were gathered. These were Prof. Denver Hendricks, director for university relations and Johan Swart, lecturer in the Department of Architecture. Professor Hendricks participated in a U.S. Study Tour facilitated by the U.S. Mission in South Africa, while Johan Swart has had frequent contact with the Dutch

program '*Shared Cultural Heritage*'. While there is limited participation, it becomes clear from these two cases how knowledge transfer in these partnerships can have consequences for *cityzens* further down the line.

In the penultimate subsection, a future for public and cultural diplomacy in the City of Tshwane is imagined with recommendations to review and strengthen the platform of the annual Diplomatic Fair. Finally, further points of departure for questioning the relationship between the foreign diplomatic corps and the City of Tshwane will be proposed.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the research problem by situating the topic and the central argument in Peter Taylor's (2005) work on world cities and other conceptually diverse literatures. It has set a terminological and conceptual foundation, delimited the work and laid out the overall structure, and methodology. What remains to be said is that the significance of the paper is its pioneering academic effort in understanding the interaction in space between foreign missions in and *cityzens* of Tshwane. Due to the exploratory nature of the paper, its chief aim is to provoke further enquiry at the junction of city space and foreign diplomatic representation.

Chapter Two

Microgeography of the Diplomatic Corps in the City of Tshwane

2.1 Introduction

Diplomacy, as premised on the representation of the unitary sovereignty of a far-removed territory, is a site-dependent activity³⁰ bound in the first instance to a chancery, in the second to a capital city and referent to the distant nation. This chapter gives an impression of the spatial relationship between the diplomatic corps and the City of Tshwane (henceforth CoT). In order to reconstitute the physical context it sketches a brief history of the diplomatic corps, its size and location in South Africa from 1963 to 2014. Next, it will collate and compare the numbers of selected national capitals while theorizing about the narrative of prestige behind the assertion that Pretoria is second after Washington DC, and finally, search for motivations from the field of political geography for the relatively large diplomatic representation in the CoT.

2.2 A brief history of the diplomatic corps in Pretoria

A major change in the long history of diplomatic practice - which according to Joseph Siracusa stretches at least back to the Bronze Age³¹ - linking 'the city' to 'a diplomatic corps', was the swapping out of travelling court messengers with resident Ambassadors in Constantinople in the 15th and 16th centuries³². This occurred before the sovereignty-cementing Treaty of Westphalia which marks both the rise of the nation state and the origin of modern diplomacy³³. Even though diplomacy became increasingly a state-to-state practice thereafter, the profession predates states. In the period before the Treaty and since the rise of transnational corporations (TNCs) in the 19th century, it was and is a profession facilitating relations between other entities. Rogier van der Pluijm and Jan

³⁰ Neumann, I. B. (2013) *Diplomatic sites: a critical enquiry*. Columbia University Press: New York. p 4.

³¹ Siracusa, J.M. (2010) *Diplomacy: a very short introduction*. Oxford University Press: New York. p 2.

³² Sharp, P. & Wiseman, G. (eds.). (2007) *The diplomatic corps as an institution of international society*. Palgrave: New York. p 35.

³³ Siracusa. (2010) *ibid*.

Melissen³⁴ assert prior to 1648 that diplomacy was pioneered by cities in what nowadays we would term paradiplomacy i.e. local government-to-local government relations.

Whether city-to-city, state-to-state, state-to-TNC, state-to-NGO/NPO, diplomacy is based, though not always carried out³⁵, near centres of power. Most frequently these are national, or other capital cities. Paul Sharp and Geoffrey Wiseman referring to diplomatic presence in Constantinople in the 17th century remark on the freedom with which representatives located themselves³⁶. Yet, it is unclear how exactly their presence was at the time accommodated and realised in space. Distinct places of residence and office were unlikely the immediate structure of exchange, becoming necessary only as resident Ambassadors were joined by other representatives to create robust missions. The first US diplomatic property was for instance obtained as late as 1821, even though the first envoys set sail for Europe in the 1780s after the American Revolution³⁷. At the Vienna Convention of 1961 diplomacy's customary law, based on its gentlemen's' agreements and the principle of reciprocity, was codified. Article 12 of the same regulates where a foreign mission may represent its government in the receiving state:

³⁴ Van der Pluijm, R. & Melissen, J. (2007) City diplomacy: the expanding role of cities in international politics. *Clingendael diplomacy Papers 10*. The Netherlands Institute of International Relations: Clingendael. p 5: "It is often asserted that modern diplomacy, characterised by the establishment of permanent missions that are resident in the capital of a foreign country finds its origins in the Peace of Westphalia. However, the foundations of diplomacy as such were established long before 1648, in times when states as they are known now did not yet exist and cities pioneered as foreign policy entities. Diplomacy thus existed before the existence of states. In ancient Greece, for example, city-states like Athens and Macedon were regularly sending and receiving embassies of an ad hoc character and appointed ambassadors to engage in negotiations on behalf of the city-at-large. Later, in Renaissance times, powerful Italian city-states like Venice and Milan were the first to establish permanent diplomatic missions abroad and to create an organized system of diplomacy (Nicolson, 2001:6-33). After the Treaty of Westphalia, cities like Venice were not able to prolong their monopoly over foreign policy and diplomacy became the domain of the newly established European states".

³⁵ Neumann. (2013) Diplomatic sites... p 4: "Government offices and negotiation tables are typical diplomatic sites. These are the places where we expect the activities of politics and diplomacy to 'take place'. When it happens elsewhere it may strike us as 'out of place'...the summit that led to the treaties of Tilsit between Alexander and Napoleon in 1807 took place on a raft on the Neman river...[and] Lyndon B. Johnson sometimes addressed his interlocutors from a toilet seat, while using that site for its designated function..."

³⁶ Sharp & Wiseman (2007) *Ibid.* p 25.

³⁷ Loeffler, J.C. (2004) In E.G. Lui Building diplomacy: The architecture of American embassies. Cornell University Press: New York. p 33.

*The sending State may not, without the prior express consent of the receiving State, establish offices forming part of the mission in localities other than those in which the mission itself is established.*³⁸

According to this, missions are not entirely free agents and their occupation of space/(s) is determined in collaboration with the receiving state. One can recognise that with the intention of being a good host receiving states would not impose undue restrictions on missions. South Africa has however reinforced Pretoria as the seat of power after ratifying the Convention in 1989³⁹. The State's *Policy on the Management of Diplomatic Immunities and Privileges in the Republic of South Africa* based on The Diplomatic Immunities and Privileges Act, 2001 (Act No 37 of 2001) to that effect states:

*In terms of Section 12 (4) of the Act diplomatic missions must be located in Pretoria or, during sessions of Parliament, in Cape Town.*⁴⁰

While Pretoria's status as capital is contested⁴¹, this affirmation has ensured that the city would benefit from the diplomatic and other foreign international presence in the CoT. It has also connected it to other South African cities like Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town where missions have subordinated representation in the form of trade offices, consulates and cultural outposts. Although the three missions studied at greater length – Brazil, the USA and the Netherlands – each tell a tale of moving further away from the Central Business District, it is difficult to map the relocation of mission offices in the city throughout the years. An illustration of their number at various intervals is comparatively simpler. Image 2.1⁴² shows the existence of diplomatic ties with foreign

³⁸ United Nations (1961) Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. United Nations: New York. p 5, [Online] Available from: http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_1_1961.pdf [Accessed on 06 June 2015].

³⁹ United Nations. (1961) United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter 3 (Privileges and immunities, diplomatic and consular relations etc.). [Online] Available from: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtsg_no=III-3&chapter=3&lang=en [Accessed on 07 June 2015].

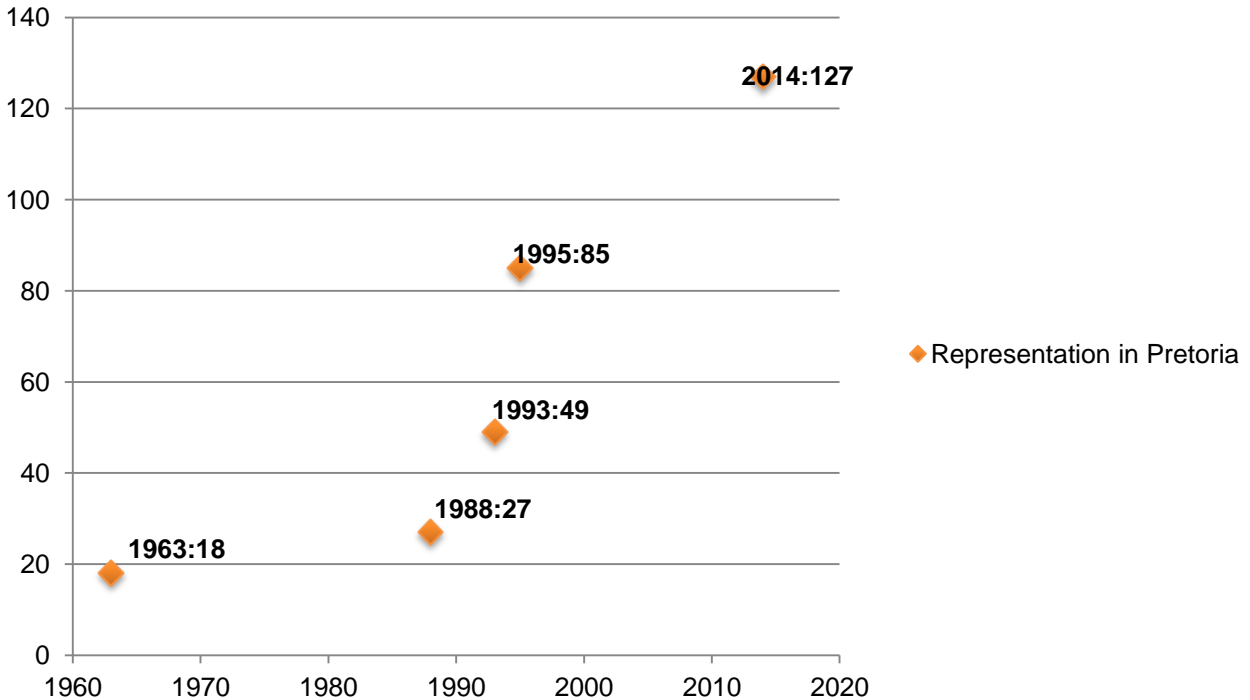
⁴⁰ Republic of South Africa. (2011) DIRCO Policy on the Management of Diplomatic Immunities and Privileges in the Republic of South Africa. p 17.

⁴¹ Mabin A. (2011) South African capital cities, In S. Bekker & G. Therborn (eds.). Capital cities in Africa: Power and powerlessness. HSRC Press: Cape Town. p 185.

⁴² Republic of South Africa. (February 1963) Department of Foreign Affairs List. The Government Printer: Pretoria. p 13-34; Republic of South Africa. (February 1988) Department of Foreign Affairs List. The Government Printer: Pretoria. p 32-58; Republic of South Africa. (October 1993) Department of Foreign Affairs List. The Government

states conducted at the level of chanceries from 1963 to 2014. It especially reveals the city’s accommodation of more foreign missions after the democratic transition of 1994 than at any time previously.

Image 2.1 Diplomatic corps in Pretoria from 1963 to 2014



Though it commences with 1963, the USA for instance had a legation – for most practical purposes an embassy, but of a lower rank and presided over by a minister⁴³ instead of an ambassador – in South Africa as early as 1929 and Brazil in 1948.

The graphic tallies only foreign diplomatic representation based in Pretoria and assumed to be conducted at the embassy or legation level, because the Department of Foreign Affairs’ lists do not distinguish between the two. The totals account neither for the presence of International Organizations in the city, nor other forms of representation i.e. consulates or trade offices in other South African cities.

Printer: Pretoria. p 66-124; Republic of South Africa. (October 1995) Department of Foreign Affairs List. The Government Printer: Pretoria. p 81 -150.

⁴³ Dictionary.com. (no date) Legation. [Online] Available from: <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/legation> [Accessed on 18 August 2015].

Member states of the United Nations were in 1962 asked to break diplomatic, trade and transport relations with South Africa⁴⁴. It would be the first of many attempts to persuade the country to abandon apartheid. South Africa's disenfranchisement of the majority of its citizens, without the added disapproving voice in the UN toward the country, discouraged significant development of diplomatic relations⁴⁵.

Those that maintained a representation in the country while shunning its politics could not ignore its strategic and economic value. For that reason, prior to 1994 there were a number of representative offices and consulates located in Johannesburg some of which did not have chanceries in Pretoria.

*The western powers remained aware that, although apartheid was unacceptable, South Africa was still important to them ...in the fight against communism, and...as a route to the east. Financially, South Africa provided the West with important commodities...and provided an important market for Western products. For this reason [sic], the West was not prepared to break all relations with South Africa, and Britain and the USA in particular were very [much] against sanctions...*⁴⁶

Apartheid's policies leave a mark on the numbers in an additional way; the tallies for 1988 and 1993 include the offices of representatives from four of the ten Homelands (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda).

On the significance of a large diplomatic representation in the CoT, the most recognizable comment made is its place after Washington D.C. as a world diplomatic city. An exaggeration if one remembers the diplomatic clout of Brussels as the most important home of the European Union, Paris with its long history as a world city of note, the robust representation in Russia and Beijing during the Cold War and the increasing importance of cities like New Delhi at the centre of economic growth in Asia. The

⁴⁴ South African History Online. (no date) South Africa's Foreign Relations during Apartheid 1948. [Online] Available from: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/20th-century-south-africa/south-africas-foreign-relations-during-apartheid-1948> [Accessed on 08 June 2015].

⁴⁵ Republic of India, Ministry of External Affairs. (2013) India-South Africa foreign relations. [Online] Available from: http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/India-SouthAfrica_Relations.pdf [Accessed on 08 June 2015]: "India was the first country to sever trade relations with the apartheid Government, in 1946, and subsequently imposed a complete -- diplomatic, commercial, cultural and sports -- embargo on South Africa."

⁴⁶ South African History Online. Ibid.

increased presence of foreign diplomatic representation is from this chart clearly a more prominent feature of the city space since 1995. The next section depicts where they are located in the city space today.

2.3 Microgeography of the corps in the City of Tshwane

Far from holding up a simple mirror of nature that is either true or false, maps redescribe the world – like any other document – in terms of relations of power and of cultural practices, preferences, and priorities. What we read on a map is as much related to an invisible social world and to ideology as it is to phenomena seen and measured in the landscape.⁴⁷

Image 2.2 illustrates this micro-geography in the CoT; a clustering of Embassies and official residences around the centres of power in the foothills of Meintjieskop. The vast majority of these are located in one of nine suburbs, namely: Arcadia, Sunnyside, Colbyn, Muckleneuk, Hatfield, Hillcrest, Brooklyn, Waterkloof and Menlo Park.

Official Residences are primarily located in Waterkloof and in the suburbs around Government Avenue which runs through the Union Buildings, the administrative seat of government. The red stars in *Image 2.2* pinpoint two noteworthy structures: the Union Buildings and South Africa Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) respectively. As Mamadouh, Meijer, Sidaway & van der Wusten⁴⁸ stated on the urban geography of diplomacy in The Hague identify, missions there have gathered in close proximity to the Palace of Justice. If we viewed images of other capital cities the same could likely be said for the spatial organization of foreign missions which are in close proximity to their centres of national power.

⁴⁷ Harley, J.B. (1990) Introduction: text and contexts in the interpretation of early maps, In D. Buisseret (ed.). From sea charts to satellite images: Interpreting North American history through maps. University of Chicago Press: Chicago. p 3-15.

⁴⁸ Mamadouh, V. et al. (2015) Toward an urban geography of diplomacy: Lessons from the Hague. *The Professional Geographer*.

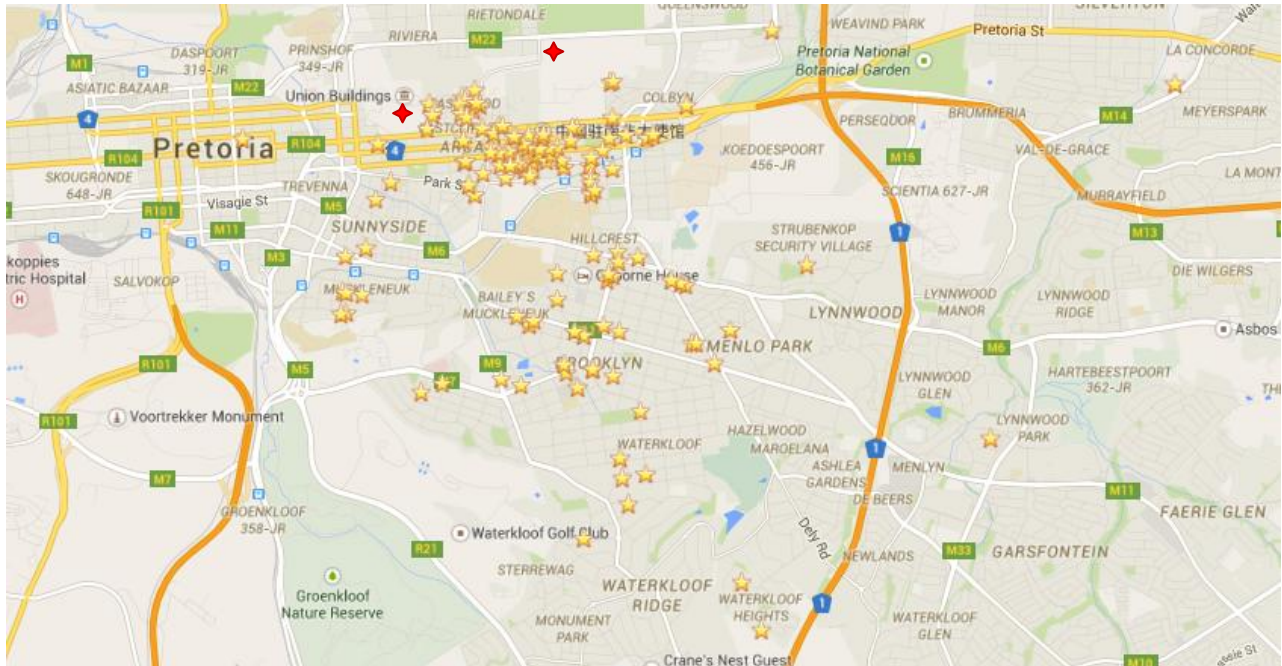


Image 2.2: Location of Embassies and Official Residences in the Old East of the City of Tshwane (Google maps)

Clustering holds consequences for the work of missions. Their proximity to the prime collaborative partners in the receiving state simplifies building and strengthening of relations because meetings are not restricted by lengthy travel. Diplomatic agents gain benefit from location in a wider diplomatic community in the city, as an additional source of information and impetus for mutually beneficial cooperation. In the latter respect there is evidence of the diplomatic corps as a community of professionals all on its own⁴⁹. The state benefits from their cohesive presence on occasions of national import, most frequently elections. They are convenient observers to the democracy, unity and stability of the South African state on display and thus lend its national processes a measure of legitimacy. As much as in Constantinople many centuries ago⁵⁰, foreign diplomatic presence remains recognition of a state's political relevance. Therefore, it stands to reason that the large diplomatic presence in the CoT, compared to other capitals, may imply something about the importance of South Africa on the world stage. Prestige and explaining why it is that comparatively there so many nations that have

⁴⁹ Sharp & Wiseman. (2007) Diplomatic corps... p 1: "diplomats often seem to have more in common with each other than with those they allegedly represent".

⁵⁰ Ibid. p 17.

representation in the CoT is a matter we return to later. Next, we verify the size of the diplomatic corps in relation to other world diplomatic cities.

2.4 Pretoria and other diplomatic world cities

When comparing the CoT to other diplomatic world cities the numbers reveal a more humble, but still admirable story for the twenty-year distance between 1994 and the present. Tallying chanceries in capital cities – and not the consulates which fall under their jurisdiction in the same cities, or in other locations in the same state – the picture of diplomatic representation in select countries is as *Image 2.3* depicts:



Image 2.3: Size of diplomatic representation in selected national capitals

The CoT is clearly not second to Washington D.C according to the data from Embassy Pages⁵¹. Even when the numbers are cross referenced with the foreign representation data on the websites of select foreign ministries this state of affairs remains. Those tabulated numbers leave even Washington D.C. displaced by London in the pole position. The CoT at 123 comes in as 10th, it is however likely 11th because the tally for Moscow could not be confirmed:

⁵¹ EmbassyPages. (2015) Embassies & consulates around the world. [Online] Available from: <http://www.embassypages.com/> [Accessed on 16 April 2015].

Table 2.1: Top 10 Diplomatic World Cities

	Capital city	Diplomatic missions
1	<i>London</i>	188 ⁵²
2	<i>Washington D.C.</i>	187 ⁵³
3	<i>Brussels</i>	184 ⁵⁴
4	<i>Beijing</i>	163 ⁵⁵
5	<i>Berlin</i>	158 ⁵⁶
	<i>Paris</i>	158 ⁵⁷
6	<i>Tokyo</i>	152 ⁵⁸
7	<i>New Delhi</i>	151 ⁵⁹
8	<i>Cairo</i>	146 ⁶⁰
9	<i>Brasilia</i>	133 ⁶¹
10	<i>Tshwane</i>	123⁶²

⁵²United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Foreign and Commonwealth Office. (2015) The London diplomatic list. [Online] Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/433749/London_Diplomatic_List_-_June_2015.pdf [Accessed 3 May 2015].

⁵³United States of America, Department of State. (2015) Diplomatic List. [Online] Available from: <http://www.state.gov/s/cpr/rls/dpl/c64877.htm> [Accessed 3 May 2015].

⁵⁴Kingdom of Belgium, Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. (2015) Nomenclatuur Van Het Diplomatieke Korps. [Online] Available from: http://diplomatie.belgium.be/nl/binaries/ReportNomenclatureCD_tcm314-245645.pdf [Accessed on 3 April 2015].

⁵⁵People's Republic of China, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (no date) Beijing foreign embassies. [Online] Available from: http://www.ebeijing.gov.cn/feature_2/EmbassyService/list.htm [Accessed 10 June 2015].

⁵⁶Federal Republic of Germany, Federal Foreign Office. (2015) Liste der diplomatischen Vertretungen und andere Vertretungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. [Online] Available from: [Accessed 10 June 2015].

⁵⁷French Republic, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2015) Ambassades et consulats étrangers en France. [Online] Available from: <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/le-ministere-et-son-reseau/annuaire-et-adresses-du-maedi/ambassades-et-consulats-etrangers/> [Accessed 10 June 2015].

⁵⁸State of Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (no date) Foreign missions in Japan. [Online] Available from: http://www.mofa.go.jp/about/emb_cons/protocol/ [Accessed 10 June 2015].

⁵⁹Republic of India, Ministry of External Affairs. (no date) Diplomatic missions in India. [Online] Available from: <http://meaprotocol.nic.in/> [Accessed on 18 June 2015].

⁶⁰Arab Republic of Egypt, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2010) Foreign missions inside Egypt. [Online] Available from: <http://www.mfa.gov.eg/English/DiplomaticMissions/ForeignMissionsInside/Pages/default.aspx> [Accessed on 18 June 2015].

⁶¹Federative Republic of Brazil, Ministry of External Relations. (no date) Relações bilaterais. [Online] Available from: http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3663&Itemid=112&lang=pt-BR [Accessed on 18 June 2015].

⁶²Republic of South Africa, DIRCO (2005) Foreign relations. [Online] Available from: <http://www.dfa.gov.za/foreign/index.html> [Accessed on 18 June 2015].

Addis Ababa, referred to as the capital of Africa and therefore just as effortlessly its diplomatic capital⁶³, loses this claim due to the sheer numbers of foreign diplomatic missions (verified at 100⁶⁴). This is not to disregard that arguably the most important political, economic and other cooperation with foreign missions and other international representation for the African continent may take place in that capital city. Therefore, while the CoT displaced in the rankings, it can still boast the largest diplomatic representation in Africa, if one regards Egypt as part of the Middle East. Each city's rank is an important indication of its state's power and part and parcel of the pursuit of prestige, a valid foreign policy goal⁶⁵. The proudly and oft-repeated proclamation that this African capital is second only to Washington D.C. as a diplomatic city is wrapped up in this narrative of prestige because foreign missions are not only place-holders for nation states, but the diplomatic corps is collectively an institution of international society. As such, it facilitates the visible representation of world society in a national capital thereby reaffirming a sense of international solidarity. Furthermore, as Sharp and Wiseman assert, their certainly visual, and possibly tangible, allusion to the international is a symbol of the receiving state's political standing in the global order⁶⁶.

It is not difficult to understand the allure in this statement. Human fascination with rankings on its own generates kudos, but the materiality of missions, the nations to which they refer and the prominence of their symbols is more convincing. When moving through the Old East of the city, chanceries and residences do not pass by notice so that the mythical prestige surrounding the profession dominates the perception of their physical buildings. Finally, that it plays into the grand narrative of South African exceptionalism increases the tendency for it to remain unquestioned.

Simply high number of foreign diplomatic representation in the city does not secure visibility of its prestige. In conceiving of the comparative effect of foreign diplomatic

⁶³ Wubneh, M. (2013) Addis Ababa, Ethiopia - Africa's diplomatic capital. *Cities* 35. p 255-269.

⁶⁴ Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2012) Diplomatic list. [Online] Available from: <http://www.mfa.gov.et/docs/February%202012%20Diplomatic%20List%20-%5B1%5D%5B1%5D.pdf> [Accessed on 18 June 2015].

⁶⁵ Wylie, L.. (2007) Seeking prestige: A foreign policy goal. 48th Annual International Studies Association Convention Chicago, Illinois, 28 February-4 March. [Online] Available from: http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/1/7/8/8/9/pages178897/p178897-1.php [Accessed on 22 June 2015].

⁶⁶ Sharp & Wiseman. (2007) Diplomatic corps... p 273.

missions in the city space in more meaningful terms, one could compare the size of the diplomatic corps (in terms of total individuals posted and land mass occupied) with the population of the capital city in question. This measurement would centre on the chancery site because members of the diplomatic corps in their individual capacities are outside thereof, or their clearly marked diplomatic vehicles, are by and large unidentifiable. Should one take this approach, The Hague with its small population of 646,000⁶⁷ would easily top the list. Considered together with other iconic structures in the city, this may serve to reflect the dominance, or the inverse, of the diplomatic corps on the material reality of the city.

As we have found, it does not hold under scrutiny that the CoT follows Washington D.C as a world diplomatic city, but while “[South Africa] lag[s] behind several other cities...we have an unusually big diplomatic corps, taking into account our country's relative GDP, (sic) and other rankings”. The next section explores why according to political geography an unusually large diplomatic corps is the case.

2.5 Motives and grounds for representation in Pretoria

A small amount of attention in the literature indicates some lines of enquiry on the possible motives and grounds for the size of diplomatic representation in the CoT. The first, by Xierali and Liu⁶⁸, explains the complex relationship between space and power as it relates to foreign representation in Washington D.C. Secondly, Neumayer⁶⁹ touches on similar aspects but adds the dimension of ideological similarity.

Xierali and Liu define three spatial relationships between states which may serve as motivation for maintaining diplomatic relations:

1. Spatial proximity is the physical distance measured from capital to capital, in their case Washington D.C. and the various capitals of other nation-states.

⁶⁷ Central Intelligence Agency. (2014) The world factbook. [Online] Available from:

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2219.html> [Accessed on 18 June 2015].

⁶⁸ Xierali, I.M. & Liu, L.. (2006) The effect of power and space in foreign diplomatic presence in the United States: a spatial modelling approach. *Geographic Information Sciences: A Journal of the Association of Chinese Professionals in Geographic Information Systems* 12(2). p53-63.

⁶⁹ Neumayer, E. (2008) Distance, power, ideology: diplomatic representation in a world of nation states. *Area* 4(2). p 228-236.

2. Spatial dependence describes the need to have representation in neighbouring states, because affairs therein are, as a matter of course, likely to affect one's own state. They refer to this as the "neighbourhood effect", and lastly
3. Spatial heterogeneity constitutes the entanglement of one's own state in the affairs of others through inter-state organizations. Xierali and Liu refer to this as the "regional effect".

Applying the concepts of spatial proximity, dependence and heterogeneity to the case of the CoT reveals three motivations for seeking and maintaining representation in South Africa. In terms of spatial proximity, South Africa's administrative capital is one of the southernmost lying capitals of the world. Thus, the average distance between it and other political centres of power is comparatively greater than for other state capitals. Yet, a state does not choose its diplomatic partners by locating the furthest capital from its own because distance alone is insufficient as a motivator for establishing and maintaining diplomatic representation. In a realist paradigm, a state will pursue relations with others from which it can obtain resources it does not possess, where it can grow a market for its own goods and generate goodwill as a security strategy for a rainy day. In order to accrue such benefits the state must have influence and the fact is:

...the influence of one nation's power on other nations diminishes as the distance between them increases. Beyond distance, the relative location of nations complicates the projection of national power.⁷⁰

Therefore, diplomatic missions in the CoT, as in other capital cities, re-present the power of their nations through which diplomatic actors work to secure opportunities for collaboration to varying mutual benefit.

Incorporated into the fifteen-member ⁷¹ strong Southern African Development Community (SADC), events in South Africa – the continental hegemon – inevitably bears consequences for these neighbours. SADC includes its six immediate neighbours (Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and the Kingdom of Lesotho) as well as Angola, DRC, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Seychelles, Tanzania and

⁷⁰ Xierali & Liu. (2006)...power and space in foreign diplomatic presence... p 55.

⁷¹ SADC. (2015) Member state. [Online] Available from: <http://www.sadc.int/member-states> [Accessed on 18 August 2015].

Zambia. When it comes to the country's consistent effort to play a leading role on the African continent outside of the AU there is a sense that what happens in South Africa is furthermore of relevance to the continent⁷². Yet unrealised regional integration⁷³ has minimised the possible impact, but with the goal of increasing the interconnectedness of African countries and South Africa seeking to be a driver, representation of other African states in South Africa has followed⁷⁴.

Pretoria's accumulation of membership cards in various inter-state groupings constitutes its regional effect. South Africa is part of BRICS, IBSA, G20, NAM, AU, UN and others⁷⁵. In each, it also makes a case for Africa which a foreign policy and public diplomacy narrative reiterates in the presentation of Pretoria as the "gateway to Africa". As a review of the accreditation of foreign missions in the CoT shows, their Ambassadors are frequently accredited to not only South Africa, but four or five other countries in the Southern African region. This tends to hold up the "gateway to Africa" narrative even though their multiple accreditations may be for various reasons. . Relative political, social and economic stability ensure its suitability as a base for conducting relations with the region and the continent.

Each of these three spatial realities affects the political will to engage in diplomatic relations. Besides the geographical distance between countries the decision to represent the state abroad involves the power and influence in the international system, of the sending state and the degree of ideological affinity⁷⁶ between the partners in

⁷² Scholvin, S. & Draper, P. (2012) The economic gateway to Africa? Geography, strategy and South Africa's regional economic relations. *SAIIA Occasional Paper 121*. p 3: "South Africa does serve as an economic gateway for other African states".

⁷³ Njini, F. (3 October 2012) SADC's cosmetic integration, South African Foreign Policy Initiative. *SAFPI*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.safpi.org/news/article/2012/sadc-s-cosmetic-integration> [Accessed on 18 August 2015]: "While the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) has made progress towards integrating the 14-member bloc's economies to boost intra-regional trade, it is seemingly reluctant to deepen and entrench the process. A regional trade analyst, Paul Kalenga, says SADC is failing to deepen its integration process glaringly exposing member countries' lack of commitment to the ideal, which leaders publicly endorse".

⁷⁴ Byrnes, R.M. (ed.). (1997), *South Africa: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress. [Online] Available from: <http://countrystudies.us/south-africa/83.htm> [Accessed on 18 August 2015]: "Official delegations from almost every other African state visited Pretoria in 1992 or 1993 to discuss ways to strengthen bilateral ties".

⁷⁵ Republic of South Africa. (2011) *Building a better world: the Diplomacy of Ubuntu*. White Paper on South Africa's Foreign Policy. p 24-26.

⁷⁶ Neumayer, E. (2007) Geography, power and ideology: diplomatic representation in a spatial, unequal and divided world. *Research Papers in Environmental and Spatial Analysis 122*. p 2.

question. South Africa speaks to Western and Eastern states at the political left and right, states part of the global south and north, the UN permanent 5 as well as small island nations, those of a Judeo-Christian persuasion or adherents of Islam. Since 1994 there has been a default orientation towards, Africa, the global south and the political left, however foreign policy has taken a pragmatic rather than ideological approach: “cooperation with all countries and international institutions in pursuit of national interests”⁷⁷.

These theorizations propose motivations for what may have drawn 123 foreign missions and counting to the CoT. Diplomacy is after all a costly foreign policy strategy, but perhaps not unjustifiably so in light of the gains from investment and trade promotion⁷⁸. In order to speak authoritatively on the presence of missions one has to regard each independently as the above mentioned considerations could be attributed to them variously. The power of the sending state could then also factor into the equation. National interests are also more particular and exact determinants of each individual state’s presence, size of its diplomatic mission, themes of cooperation emphasised in diplomatic offices (military, economic, political, science and technology, culture, etc) and location in other cities besides the capital. How foreign missions share their national cultural product is the focus of the next chapter. Understanding representation from political geography does not take into account historical relations, cooperation on trade and other motivators that have an effect on the political will to engage in formal diplomatic relations, but it has shed some light on the case of the distantly located capital city that is the CoT.

2.6 Conclusion

The CoT does not fall next in line after Washington D.C. as a diplomatic capital when the size of the diplomatic corps in that city is measured. Finding its prestige reduced could lead to wondering after the origin of this claim. According to Dr. Yolanda Spies, a

⁷⁷ Olivier, G. (2012) South Africa’s foreign policy towards the Global North, In C. Landsberg & J. Van Wyk (eds.). South Africa Foreign Policy Review. Africa Institute of South Africa: Pretoria. p 174.

⁷⁸ Yakop M. & van Bergeijk, P.A.G. (2011) Economic diplomacy, trade and developing countries. *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society* 4. p 253-167.

former member of the South African diplomatic corps, it found its way into public regard through the foreign diplomatic corps in South Africa:

It was said many years ago in a speech by a Dean of the Pretoria-based diplomatic corps, and was subsequently repeated as 'statistic'⁷⁹.

While the beguiling city caption is lost, it is a broader question about the significance of the foreign diplomatic corps to the city that can be its redemption. While a ranking generates prestige, how can one understand the cultural and material significance of the diplomatic corps in the CoT?

The next chapter continues to explore the site-specific context of diplomacy, both in its traditional form – the chancery – and the spaces that engage various publics to answer this question. At the nexus of the capital city and foreign diplomatic corps, a determined stride must be taken away from the political and into cultural and public diplomacy because these public-nearing subfields are best poised to generate benefits for the *cityzens* of the CoT.

⁷⁹ Yolanda Spies. (13 March 2015) Personal communication.

Chapter Three

The spatial and socio-cultural significance of foreign diplomatic representation to the City of Tshwane

3.1 Introduction

In the City of Tshwane (CoT), chanceries reflect existing relations between South Africa and the sending states of each mission. In their form, they are symbolic of the nation, of power, function and a result of embodied placemaking by diplomats and *cityzens*. The prominent recognition which the sites afford the diplomatic corps engenders prestigious regard that makes the wheels of diplomatic practice turn. A lack thereof would bear negative consequences for the corps' right of access and impair their work.⁸⁰ Following on from the second chapter's microgeography of the corps in the CoT this chapter firstly seeks to understand the groundedness of the chancery in the city space. What is important in this pursuit is deconstructing the making of the place and the role of bodies in doing so. Secondly, and complementary to the former task, I explore sites of cultural and public diplomacy other than chanceries with an overview of activities carried out there in the recent past (2009-2015). These subdivisions reflect the direct and indirect aspects of diplomatic contact with the city space and *cityzens*. It is a way of thinking about impact even when its quantification is problematic. I rely on the theoretical underpinnings of urban studies in order to fulfil the first task. The second is based on data collected from the official websites and social media presences of foreign missions.

3.2 The spatiality of diplomacy

Recollecting a personal experience in December 2007, a mission in the CoT erected a large red ribbon on the well manicured lawns behind the perimeter fence of their chancery for the commemoration of World AIDS Day. It was a sight the public could appreciate minimally hindered from the sidewalk. Yet, on a weekend family excursion to

⁸⁰ Sharp, P. & Wiseman G. (eds.). (2007) *The diplomatic corps as an institution of international society*. Palgrave: New York. p 21-22.

the location, during which cellphone cameras stood at the ready to document the visual impact of the vibrant red cast against the grey stone of the chancery building, perimeter security expressly prevented its photographing. Images already taken were hastily deleted under the duress of arrest for non-compliance. In an instance like this, it is unclear where to locate the lines of acceptable behaviour between public space, the city sidewalk, the allure of temporary and/or permanent architecture and security concerns of the foreign mission.

In the city space, the sites foreign missions occupy are laden with symbolic meaning referential to the applicable nation state. Flags, coats of arms and sometimes foreign military personnel are evidence thereof. The chancery building and premises may act similarly on the cityscape through its architecture. Armed with legitimate claim on the space they occupy they are a part of the city imaginary in their various shapes, sizes and styles. These are broadly recognizable to *cityzens*, landmarks in their own right guiding the individual's exploration of the city space. While diplomatic staff come and go the chancery form continually relates a meaning, but not a static one because the manner in which a chancery is perceived varies dependent on the referent viewer and the historical context. The next section explores how the architecture of chanceries and their placemaking uniquely structure the urban space of the CoT.

3.2.1 Space/place descriptor and the chancery

Chanceries form part of complex city landscapes. The elements of these landscapes and their interweaving may be drawn from literature on space and place, an understanding of which helps to address the material reality of the chancery and how bodies in and around them co-create the site. Doreen Massey approaching the discourse notes the greater meaningfulness usually applied to the latter (place) while the former (space) is relegated to a conceptual field:

A regular litany of words accompanies the characteristic evocation of place; words such as 'real', 'grounded', 'everyday', 'lived'. They are mobilised to generate an atmosphere of

*earthiness, authenticity, meaning. And over and again, that evocation is counterposed to 'space' which is, in consequence, understood as somehow abstract.*⁸¹

It leads to the definition of place as a “space to which meaning has been ascribed”⁸², in which Massey finds the universal proclamation of meaningfulness of place problematic because it evades the question to whom a given place may truly be meaningful and when it may be so. This is important because the meaningfulness of place says something about the cultural identity of those who find it meaningful⁸³. It is also unclear where place ends and space begins when considering the mutual constitution of the local and global. Though place might be the right here and the right now, it is in dialogue with abstract realms of the far off and the past. Thus, while place is grounded and real, Massey’s argument is that space is too. This discussion is applicable for chanceries because they are ‘real’, ‘grounded’, ‘everyday’ and ‘lived’. Yet, chanceries by their physical reference to other nations and the diplomatic corps’ by the link they draw between the local and the global attain a level of abstraction. What consequence does this bear for the use of space/place descriptors in this paper? The term ‘site’ is preferred in order not to link chanceries exclusively to either discourse on place or space. Although ‘city space’ reoccurs, it is to designate the collective, varied practice of place in the wider city context.

Specifically, diplomatic sites are a characteristic of national capitals, whether or not these are as metropolitan, economically or otherwise significant as other cities in the country. National capitals by virtue of this could be said to have a global sense of place – to use Massey’s description. Meaning that, “any nation, region, city, as well as being internally multiple, is also a product of relations which spread out way beyond it”⁸⁴. How this is achieved through the built environment is the topic of the next subsection.

3.2.2 Design and architecture of chanceries

Fran Tonkiss understands the city as a “cote of social encounter and social division...a field of politics and power...a symbolic and material landscape, as an embodied space

⁸¹ Massey, D. (2004) Geographies of responsibility. *Geografiska Annaler* 86 (1). p 7.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Tilley, C. (1994) cited in Massey (2004) Ibid.

⁸⁴ Massey. (2004)...Responsibility. p 6.

[and]...a realm of everyday experience”⁸⁵. Chanceries as lived sites resonate with each of these categorisations. Turning the magnifying glass on them as a particular type of material reality and social relation that occurs in South Africa’s national capital, we gain a new depth of understanding into diplomacy as a spatial practice, here and potentially elsewhere. This section looks at the form, features and symbolism of chanceries in the city space.

Mamadouh et al. in their analysis of The Hague, find chanceries take one of three building forms: “There are those built for diplomatic functions in very different times, those converted to diplomatic uses, and those recently purpose-built”⁸⁶. With a more recent diplomatic history – the Union’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs having only been established in 1927⁸⁷ – the CoT shares the second and third, but not the first. Dividing converted properties into two categories and adding another, there are four different types of chancery buildings in the CoT: (1) the purpose-built, (2) re-purposed older residential property or (3) historical buildings, and (4) occupancy of office space in commercial properties. Why these are the types consistently pursued is a matter of policy from the side of each sending state after having taken into account the city context and the South African state’s approved guidelines for representative offices.

Although unlike the chanceries in The Hague, which are “housed in buildings in an area designed and built from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries **for** [emphasis added] the merchant and political elite”⁸⁸, chanceries of the last century in the CoT are reflective of the local and global circumstances under which they were established. This includes recurring threats of violence enacted upon diplomatic officials related to discontent with what was perceived as foreign interference.

The first recorded attack on an embassy occurred in 1926 targeting the U.S. chancery in Buenos Aires, Argentina. However, only with the simultaneous bombing in 1998 of the U.S. chanceries in Nairobi (Kenya) and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), which resulted in

⁸⁵ Tonkiss, F. (2005) *Space, the city and social theory: social relations and urban forms*. Polity Press: Cambridge. p 1.

⁸⁶ Mamadouh, V. et al. (2015) *Toward an urban geography of diplomacy: Lessons from the Hague*. *The Professional Geographer*.

⁸⁷ Wheeler, T. (ed.). (2005) *The history of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs 1927-1993*. SAIIA: Johannesburg.

⁸⁸ Mamadouh et al. (2015) ...urban geography of diplomacy... p 5.

the highest death toll (two hundred and twenty four, including twelve U.S. citizens)⁸⁹ of any attacks on chanceries before and after that point, did a securitization agenda most significantly effect U.S. chancery form⁹⁰.

While it is uncertain how the microgeography of chanceries and therefore their structures have broadly varied in the CoT, of the three chanceries investigated, each has relocated within the city specifically moving further out of the Central Business District (CBD). Reasons for relocation are unknown for the Brazilian and Dutch missions. In the case of the U.S. representation, a premises no longer able to accommodate the needs of the mission and security were two of the concerns. Although leading up to the 2010 World Cup the U.S. mission closed in response to an unpublicised threat⁹¹, violent attacks on chanceries in the CoT are not common. Should any such act be carried out however, it would have significant implications for the further withdrawal of the embassy from the daily lived experience in the city space.

Security concerns are prominent in eight features of chanceries in the CoT. The first has been mentioned previously, that is their tendency to cluster and be centrally located, “often...close to the buildings of the political authorities of the host country”⁹². Secondly, the visibility of symbols – flags, coats of arms, signage and even diplomatic vehicles – as site markers. Thirdly, perimeter sidewalks, mostly but not always paved. Fourthly, there may or may not be provision made for parking. In the latter case, chanceries may employ defensive architecture to discourage vehicles from sojourning. Take for instance the potted rose plants that line the periphery grass of the Indian High Commission in Francis Baard Street (see Image 3.1). Fifth, perimeter fencing or walls supplemented by electric fencing, surveillance cameras, around the clock security staff and other unseen security measures. Sixth, the premises will ideally have two or more entrances.

⁸⁹ FBI. (no date) East African Embassy Bombings. [Online] Available from: <https://www.fbi.gov/about-us/history/famous-cases/east-african-embassy-bombings-1998> [Accessed on 20 August 2015].

⁹⁰ Monster E.J. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (1 June 2015).

⁹¹ Flak, A. (22 September 2009) U.S. to keep South Africa embassy closed after threat. *Reuters*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2009/09/22/us-safrica-usa-idUSTRE58L1FA20090922> [Accessed on 27 August 2015].

⁹² Mamadouh et al. (2015) Ibid. p 3.

Seventh, antechambers and internal partitioning to control guest movement inside and restrict access to the core diplomatic staff and work.

The third through seventh features convey how high security is on the agenda for missions and contribute to the rather aloof presence of chanceries in the city space.

The eighth and last feature of chanceries is their suitedness to protest action. What do all of these together suggest for the manner in which chanceries influence the city space?



Image 3.1: Indian High Commission (from Eastwood Street)
Google Maps

Kevin Lynch's seminal work on perceptual form of urban environments lends the greatest insight because it addresses the "ways that the environment communicates to those experiencing it and the meanings they assign to it"⁹³. This dalliance with perception in the city is apt for application to the chancery because diplomacy is a game of protocol and procedure, of acuity. His approach to reconstructing the environmental image is to seek the identity, structure and meaning of a site:

*A workable image requires first the identification of an object, which implies its distinction from other things, its recognition as a separable entity...Second, the image must include the spatial or pattern relation of the object to the observer and to other objects. Finally, this object must have some meaning for the observer, whether practical or emotional.*⁹⁴

The eight common features present such a clear identity and structure for the *imageability* of chanceries in the CoT. What has not been said about their meaning is that it proceeds from the symbolic importance of the sites which reinforce affective ties of individual and/or group identity. Chanceries stand as supreme bastions to the nation, representing its values in physical reality; more so those that have benefited from a complete process of conceptualisation from blueprints to their materialisation and the occupation of the site. Even repurposed sites may incorporate local design features as a testament to commitment in international cooperation. The chancery of the Kingdom of the Netherlands commissioned sculptures to be erected on plinths along their perimeter fence that symbolise such commitment to partnership⁹⁵ (see Image 3.2). More about them will be said in the next chapter. The aim is then not odd prominence but conveying a palatable message through the built environment to sending – in this case Dutch – but especially receiving state *cityzens* about the chancery's purpose. Through structural uniqueness chanceries become landmarks, while acting as lived monuments to the nation; if monuments are whatever "provide[s] 'focal points of collective identity'";

⁹³ Cuff, D. & Wriedt, J. (eds.). (2010) *Architecture from the outside in: selected essays* by Robert Gutman. Princeton Architectural Press: New York. p 16.

⁹⁴ Lynch, K. (1960) *The image of the city*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Massachusetts. p 8.

⁹⁵ Martens, J-L. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (28 May 2015).

are bearers of putative ‘historical tradition,’ and mark a ‘symbolic possession of urban spaces’⁹⁶.

Chanceries as manifestations of meaning making in the city space presuppose an audience to their symbolism. If chanceries are a type of monument, to what or whom is it one? While the architecture of chanceries invites the recognition of passers-by it stands in contrast to the inviolability of the diplomatic mission enshrined in Article 22 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961)⁹⁷. It represents an impenetrable boundary with right of admission reserved, applicable even to South African law enforcement agencies. In an age favouring the value of transparency such “spatial borders [can be seen to] reproduce economic, social and cultural divisions”⁹⁸. More especially because missions in the developing world strike a harder contrast with the unequal circumstances of life in the society in which they are stationed. “[Robert] Gutman never doubted that architecture was an art that played an important social function”⁹⁹, but even at the sacrifice of interaction? If foreign missions are to be culturally significant to their receiving national capital, certainly layers of restriction atop physical boundaries do more to hinder friendly contact? If Sen & Silverman¹⁰⁰ are correct, chanceries are not only bricks and mortar, they are sites made through the movement and meeting of people, so if their architecture prescribes correct forms of behaviour how does appropriate conduct affect the placemaking of the chancery?

⁹⁶ Carrier, P. (2005) cited In Kros, C. (2012). A new monumentalism? From public art to Freedom Park. *Image & Text* 19. p 37.

⁹⁷ United Nations. (1961) Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. [Online] Available from: http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_1_1961.pdf [Accessed on 06 June 2015].

⁹⁸ Tonkiss. (2005) Space, the city and social theory. p 4.

⁹⁹ Cuff & Wriedt (eds.). (2010) Architecture from the outside in..., p 21.

¹⁰⁰ Sen, A. & Silverman, L. (2014) Making place: space and embodiment in the city. Indiana University Press: Indiana.



*Image 3.2: Chancery of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (Florence Ribiero Ave street view)
Google Maps*

3.2.3 Embodied placemaking of chanceries

As a guided tour of the Würzburg Residence (Upper Franconia, Bavaria) in December 2009 revealed, during visits to court, guests would anticipate their meeting with whichever authority in antechambers. Depending on the guest, the antechamber into which they were led would function to grant a warm welcome, stir up awe, anticipation, or to intimidate and frustrate. Chanceries often also have a series of antechambers, although it is doubtful that these intend as much as in their palace form to modulate the mood of the guest. They lend security to the inner sanctums of the chancery. Together with ubiquitous surveillance they may yet create the same unexpected sense of anticipation and intimidation that result in visitors being on their best behaviour. A response recognised in psychology as the *Hawthorne effect*, a phenomenon in which subjects change their performance in response to being observed¹⁰¹. Thus, individuals reacting in and to the symbolic sites of chanceries by their actions and non-actions co-create the site. The identity, structure and intended meaning of chanceries would be an incomplete project were it not for the participating movement of bodies in, around and through them. This is the gist of what Sen and Silverman espouse in their book on embodied placemaking (2014):

*It is only through our consciousness, actions, and interactions that the physical landscape is brought into existence. By focusing on embodiment—that is, on the mutually constitutive relationship between place and the body—we underscore the notion that a physical environment cannot exist without the human inhabitants who experience it in their everyday lives, and its meaning is dependent upon the larger political and economic contexts within which these individuals operate in any specific location.*¹⁰²

Thus, the *cityzenry*'s casual observers and the active participants are very much involved in making the site. Active participants (visitors) remake the abstract idea of the chancery through actions which include formality of dress, compliance with the security protocol (no electronic devices, bags, sign-in sheets, producing some form of identification, proof of an appointment) and manner of engagement with diplomatic staff,

¹⁰¹ Zaleznik, A. (1984) The "Hawthorne Effect". [Online] Available from: <http://www.library.hbs.edu/hc/hawthorne/09.html> [Accessed on 10 June 2015].

¹⁰² Sen & Silverman. (2014) Making place...p 3.

amongst other things. *Cityzens* merely passing by have a role too through their notice-taking, the fixed sidewalks and a sense of heightened safety from which they benefit but they are most likely aware of prohibitions against photographing the premises. Between these there is a difference in participatory intensity. Not all guests or passers-by will interact with the site in the same way. Firstly, the site itself is not neutral and it's meaning static "but variable in its personal, cultural, historical, social, economic, and political contexts"¹⁰³ and secondly, individuals carry with them their current experiences and memories of past events that inform understandings and influence how they reproduce the site¹⁰⁴. As chapter two showed, the microgeography of diplomacy in the CoT has undergone transformation over the last two decades with ever more states seeking out representation in the capital city of democratic South Africa. Some missions in the city before '93 were furtively supportive of the anti-apartheid struggle; some remained aloof while others avoided such a question by concentrating on economic relations by establishing different forms of representation in other South African cities¹⁰⁵. Some, like the Kingdom of the Netherlands, were more implicated in the anti-apartheid struggle, but could not appear to be so in the CoT because Ambassadors as guests of the receiving state may be expelled should their actions be found to interfere in affairs that do not concern and threaten the state's sovereignty. Whatever associations were therefore made with the chancery, they were in light of this context. At one moment they could have the hope of change attached to them and in the next a line-treading dance of interference could be read into their presence. Today, after the reintegration of South Africa into the society of states, they would still be contextualised by the personal experiences of individuals with the sending state supplemented by the access to international media.

Not only *cityzens* are instrumental in the placemaking of the chancery. Diplomatic and other chancery staff similarly constitute its purpose. Especially diplomats identifiable in for instance their red and green number-plated vehicles bear an extended symbolic responsibility which continues the reification of the sovereign state they serve.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p 2.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p 4.

¹⁰⁵ Tom Wheeler. (27 May 2015) Personal communication.

Doreen Massey tells how “[i]dentities are forged in and through relations”¹⁰⁶. If the interaction of *cityzens* and diplomats through their responses to the environmental cues of the chancery goes a long way to shaping the identity of the site, how much of the interchange serves to forge affective ties toward the nation it represents because “identities, are constituted in and through...practices of interaction”¹⁰⁷? This curiosity about how chanceries put the nation on display and in what forms *cityzens* access the staged nation zeros in on the cultural effect of missions in the city. Sen & Silverman (2014) add:

*“[T]o embody” also suggests the act of becoming part of a body. Viewed as an act of incorporation, embodiment allows us to see the powerful ideological role played by place in the formation of human subjects. In other words, the experience of place can constitute—that is, be a substantial part of—our senses of individual and communal self-identification and can situate us within larger social contexts*¹⁰⁸.

Stefan Kaiser while aware of the ability of chancery sites to encourage engagement with foreign audiences, in a response to security threats to U.S. missions suggests divorcing all symbolism from mission sites, thereby obscuring their purpose and diminishing their nature as targets of violent attacks:

*The embassy cannot be a symbol and an instrument for diplomacy...Each function of the embassy must be isolated in order to be more effective. The visa application and passport services need not be beyond four security checkpoints when two is adequate. The local community services are likewise separated from the building. Other aspects relating to high security will not be burdened with maintaining an illusion of diplomacy*¹⁰⁹.

What he proposes about the relocation of ‘community services’, a reference I take to mean cultural diplomacy, is in line with thinking¹¹⁰ about the effectiveness of conversations and engagements when a distance from the state is established. However, were the diplomatic corps to slip into obscurity I am inclined to think the loss

¹⁰⁶ Massey. (2004) ...Responsibility. p 5.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Sen & Silverman. (2014) Making place...p 4.

¹⁰⁹ Kaiser, S. (2013) Reconstructing diplomacy. School of Architecture Dissertations and Theses. Syracuse University. p 6.

¹¹⁰ Gienow-Hecht, J.C.E. & Donfried M.C. (2010) Searching for a cultural diplomacy. Berghahn Books: New York. p 4.

of symbolic power would diminish the regard and therefore the access diplomats have in their professional capacity to society.

As Iver Neuman says: “the more recognised their expertise, the easier it is for them to...get things done”¹¹¹. Not to mention that Kaiser’s recommendations would alter the perception of power inherent to the capital city which annexes a similar power exuded by the overt presence of foreign missions. A subtraction of the monumentality and iconicity of foreign missions in the CoT would diminish the quality of a watchful international community that legitimises power as much as it exudes it through their significant numbers and diversity. Furthermore, the inability to gauge capital distinction through the built environment in the CoT is already lamented by Vision 2055¹¹². Without the visible presence of foreign missions the sparse monumentality that exists in the city space would be further diminished.

In another sense, even though chanceries in the CoT neither display the opulence of older diplomatic boulevards in mainland Europe, nor stand in direct visual contrast to the toughest of society’s challenges – because of the political geography of apartheid locating large numbers of people far away from the leafy suburbs in which chanceries and residences continue to be located – the association of prestige is inescapable. There is a disparity between the securitized, beautified, prestige-bearing, wealth-implying chanceries and residences and a society facing challenges of poverty, unemployment, incapacity and so forth.

Moreover, the visible iconography of chanceries in the capital city, in association with the exclusive privilege they confer on the site and staff is an indicator of belonging; permitting some individuals over others and being unequal in the depth of relations depending on the sense of shared identity or potential benefits from association. The

¹¹¹ Neumann, I. B. (2013) Diplomatic sites: a critical enquiry. Colombia University Press: New York. p 6.

¹¹² City of Tshwane. (2013) Tshwane vision 2055: remaking South Africa’s capital city. City of Tshwane: Pretoria. p 84: “Like other capital cities, Tshwane has its own monumentality although not to the same scale as some other capital cities. This monumentality can be seen in the design of the Union Buildings, of the Voortrekker Monument, of the Universities of South Africa (UNISA) and Pretoria, and more recently, the modest Freedom Park to honour the memory of the liberation struggle, and Tshwane House which will be the new official headquarters of the City of Tshwane. However, there are historical reasons the City of Tshwane did not completely take on the monumental qualities found in most other capital cities.”

average *cityzen* being most likely excluded. Missions break away from this when diplomatic activity relocates into the city space and becomes a comparatively more inclusive presence reflecting the humanist legacy of the profession as a national, cross-national, and postnational knowledge practice, negotiating interests but also social meaning and identity¹¹³.

The next section explores the affective ties spreading from the link foreign missions present to the nation and how *cityzens* may find a place in the same.

3.3 The socio-cultural significance of diplomacy

Uncertainty surrounds the exact point at which foreign missions took on the task of exhibiting a measure of concern for private individuals from their own nation in the receiving state. Nevertheless, the tendency to seek relations to the furtherance of their diasporas as an extension of the nation is a responsibility of foreign representation exhibited in modern diplomacy. The outposts of the South African Ministry of Foreign Affairs played such a role abroad in the maintenance of South African communities in Argentina¹¹⁴, the Belgian Congo¹¹⁵, Angola¹¹⁶ and assumedly elsewhere. They supported the South African (Afrikaner) communities in those countries by providing grants for schools and training, the formation and maintenance of cultural organizations and, when all else failed, repatriation services. It is true that the goal of those policy directives from Pretoria was to promote a South Africanisation of Africa¹¹⁷ by strengthening white European, specifically Afrikaans, presence on the Continent. This *raison d'être* of the post-apartheid era having numbed those colonial tendencies has diminished the community and culture promoting support for South Africans in other

¹¹³ Constantinou, C.M. (2013) Between statecraft and humanism: diplomacy and its forms of knowledge. *International Studies Review* 15. p 141.

¹¹⁴ Wheeler. (2005) South African Department of Foreign Affairs. p 85.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, p 176.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, p 180.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, p 258.

countries but the foreign mission will for the foreseeable future continue to provide services to own its citizens in other countries¹¹⁸.

Urban sociology has frequently critiqued social relations in the city for being characterized by anomie; alienation, estrangement, indifference and solitude of the individual¹¹⁹. Foreign missions in the city may yet counteract this when they re-enact forms of their national community. This section considers how this may be the case through cultural and public diplomacy, it also provides an overview of communal cultural appreciation activities hosted by foreign missions in the CoT in the recent past.

3.3.1 The corps' cultural diplomacy: effects in the city

In carrying out its functions, but especially in public and cultural diplomacy, foreign missions reify the nation state¹²⁰ and buttress the ethnic, linguistic and other identities coupled to it. They hold the promise of a platform for the appreciation and expression of cultural belonging between those who through birth or heritage are already associated with the represented nation thereby turning them into a bastion for community in a city of loosely associated *cityzens*. The initiative to form enclaves of subcultures in the city is underwritten by the policy of most foreign ministries to share the nation with foreign audiences. The cultural diplomacy activities of missions allow for the maintenance, but also formation of new, social ties which may counteract the isolation of the individual in the city. Additionally, in the context of globalization's increased choices for personal meaning-making missions attract new audiences through language schools, art, theatre, music and film festivals, workshops, seminars and panel discussions. Consider as examples the European¹²¹ (May), Latin American¹²² (usually in September) and

¹¹⁸ Melissen, J. et al. (2011) *Consular affairs and diplomacy*. Koninklijke Brill NV: Leiden. p 5: "Various factors have confronted foreign ministries with a true explosion in the demand for consular services...One cause of the rising demand for consular services since the late 1990s lies in the surge in foreign travel..."

¹¹⁹ Wirth, L. (1938) *Urbanism as a way of life*. *American Journal of Sociology* 44(1). p 12-13.

¹²⁰ McConnell, F., et al. (2012) *Mimicking state diplomacy: The legitimizing strategies of unofficial diplomacies*. *Geoforum* 43 (4). p 804: "while diplomacy is ostensibly for resolving differences among pre-existing states, it is simultaneously a discourse of recognition and authority (re)performed by sovereign states".

¹²¹ Institut Français Afrique du Sud. (2015) *European film festival #2015*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.ifas.org.za/index.php/cinema-media/cinema/985-2nd-edition-of-the-european-film-festival-2015> [Accessed 15 May 2015].

¹²² Gordon Institute of Business Science. (2014) *10th Latin American & Caribbean film festival*. [Online] Available from: <http://gibs.co.za/news-and-events/events-and-news/gibs-news/10th-latin-american-and-caribbean-film-festival.aspx> [Accessed on 12 July 2015].

Queer¹²³ (June) film festivals. The European film festival coordinated by the French [Cultural] Institute is made possible through collaboration with *Ster Kinekor Cinema Nouveau* which for a period of ten days showcases the selected films branches in four South African cities, one of these being of course in the CoT. The Latin American film festival is different for one important reason, films are screened at the Gordon Institute of Business Science, but have in earlier editions been shown at the Hatfield Campus of the University of Pretoria, and entry fees are not charged. The Queer film festival is an initiative of an independent cinema in Johannesburg (The Bioscope), but supported by the Goethe Institute.

This is an appropriate point to address, the disparity in cultural offering between the CoT and Johannesburg. Kros references Mabin to describe the relation:

*...we have a sense of Pretoria constantly looking over its shoulder at its troublesome neighbour who, especially at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, fraternised with the wrong sorts and was always better at drawing attention to itself than was the more modest and unassuming city to the north of it. Over the course of its history, Pretoria...has had, through various turns of events and the arrival of other contenders on the scene, to concede some of its prestige and power as capital city.*¹²⁴

As indicated in the previous chapter, foreign representation (except in the form of chanceries) in South Africa before 1994 was located in cities other than Pretoria, most often Johannesburg. Today, even though their chanceries are in the CoT, the most notable cultural arms of national communities are based in Johannesburg: The Goethe and French Cultural Institutes, Indian Cultural Centre, British Council and Confucius Institute (University of Johannesburg). In the CoT, the Brazil-South Africa Cultural Centre is based at that country's chancery and the Alliance Française also has a presence, but by and large, the projects which cultural institutes run and support are located in Johannesburg. This circumstance is lamentable to those today convinced and pursuant of Tshwane's capitalness. However, as concerns foreign diplomatic representation and as mentioned in the previous chapter, there was a precedent before

¹²³ The Bioscope. (2015) Not gay as in happy, queer as in fuck you 28 May – 3 Jun. [Online] Available from: <http://www.thebioscope.co.za/2015/05/06/not-gay-as-in-happy-queer-as-in-fuck-you/> [Accessed on 16 May 2015].

¹²⁴ Kros. (2012) A new monumentalism...p 40.

1994 for foreign missions to distance themselves from the apartheid state's capital of power. Cultural diplomacy in Johannesburg has fed into the distinctive spirit of that city space. It has been and continues to be:

*a hot spot for African arts,[today] primarily in downtown's Newtown cultural district, a historic brickmaking area that is being outfitted with a new science museum and a new home for the Johannesburg Art Gallery to complement the theater, dance and musical centers already there. The carefully restored brick facades and architectural touches lend the district the slightly antiseptic feel of an urban renewal island amid urban decay, which it is...*¹²⁵

This brings to mind the remark in the introductory chapter about Sharon Zukin's work on the use of culture in urban regeneration. Urban regeneration agendas in the CoT are more recently unfolding in a palpable manner. Rather than taking the city-to-city comparison further, it is of greater importance to deliberate on the connectedness of both because regardless of municipal administrative borders human beings move and nothing prevents cultural institutes from coordinating collaboration in the capital or *cityzens* making a journey south to explore their offerings. The French Institute recently (June 2015) hosted the first edition of the Fête De La Musique, a festival of French music, in the CoT¹²⁶. The Johannesburg edition has a longer history. It is an extension of the French established practice of the Fête in the streets, public spaces, cafés etc of Paris and other French cities taking place on the shortest night of the year (21 June) at the height of summer. In the CoT it is of course the middle of winter.

Indeed as Mabin argues:

*...it has become impossible to appreciate the nature of Pretoria without inserting it into the wider context of an urban region which has its northern limits at the northern edge of Pretoria, but which stretches more than 100km to the south – an urban region centred on Johannesburg as much or more as on Pretoria*¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Wines, M. (15 July 2006) Johannesburg rises above its apartheid past. [Online] Available from:

http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/16/travel/16next.html?_r=0&pagewanted=2 [Accessed on 10 July 2015].

¹²⁶ Embassy of France in South Africa. (24 June 2015) First Fête de la Musique in Pretoria. [Online] Available from:

<http://www.ambafrance-rsa.org/First-Fete-de-la-Musique-in-Pretoria> [Accessed on 27 August 2015].

¹²⁷ Mabin, A. (2015) Tshwane and spaces of power in South Africa. *International Journal of Urban Sciences* 19 (1). p 36.

That said, a determining factor for cultural significance of foreign missions in the city is access. In cultural diplomacy, apart from the annual Diplomatic Cultural Fair jointly organized by the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) and the CoT since 2012, events are more likely to benefit those with the knowledge of the activities and ability to gain access to the venues where they are hosted. An interested audience is essential to cultural diplomacy's success, but it is facilitated or discouraged by the location and time of the activities, presence of transport and the question of safety.

Cultural diplomacy activities, such as those mentioned above, bleed into the city space because the targeted audience is a foreign public and security or space concerns (for the chancery) often necessitate their occurrence elsewhere, giving rise to other sites of diplomacy. Spaces better suited to especially public-targeting cultural occasions, such as the 2014 performance of Trinidad and Tobago's Exodus Steel Orchestra at the State Theatre in the CDB, can be found in the city. Foreign missions are often present on university premises, hotel conferencing space (for example the Sheraton Hotel Pretoria, Pretoria Country Club, Burgers Park Hotel) where they engage select audiences to varying degrees of formality. Seminars, panel discussions, workshops and similar public diplomacy activities on university campuses and at the bases of think tanks call for more structure and protocol. At the same time the University of Pretoria has hosted art exhibitions, film festivals and the annual International Day in October which allow casual engagement with diplomats and their national cultures.

Development aid funded grassroots projects, like the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands collaboration with *YouthZones* in Mamelodi, additionally draw *cityzens* into voluntarily association with the values, manners of expression and cultural goods therewith entangled. They expand the opportunities for *cityzens* to discover other ways of being and as such shape the city space. In this way missions generate goodwill towards their nation but also contribute to the social development of the city.

This is not to overlook the promotion of academic cooperation through scholarships and research grants to South Africans, also a project of public diplomacy. Fulbright by the US mission; Eurosa, Aesop+, EU-Saturn and Inspire by the European Commission;

DAAD, Nuffic, and others are all means of creating goodwill amongst nations in the long term. However these are not like cultural diplomacy site-specific. Educational institutions like the German, Chinese and Iraqi Schools are important for the maintenance of cultural communities. Churches and other religious meeting sites, as well as venues for culinary exploration such as the German restaurant Eisbein & Co., the Turkish restaurants in Centurion (A'la Turka) and Midrand (Ottoman Palace), the Dutch and German bakeries and others serve similar purposes of community maintenance.

It is interesting to note the variation in emphasis on cultural diplomacy between various countries. Public and cultural diplomacy activities are dominated by countries from the global north, those already mentioned are evidence but consider also the Swiss art promoting initiative Prohelvetia. Although global south partners find it increasingly important as a means to further reinforce the ties between ideologically similar nations yet unknown to one another, their activities are not as widespread. Oftentimes African missions in the CoT lack a cultural office. Should cultural responsibilities arise they are likely delegated accordingly, but the lack of an official position is an indication of its lower prioritisation.

Thus, foreign missions' cultural diplomacy facilitating voluntary association is the post-political, post-economic significance of diplomatic representation in the city. In the context of globalization's increased choices for individual identity, subject to access, it attracts a variety of personalities and furthers a pluralist agenda that is the hallmark of melting-pot city life. In respect of reinforcing long-standing community ties to the nation, it depends on the extent to which this function is prioritised nowadays by foreign missions in the CoT whether they may counteract anomie. Nation branding driven public diplomacy prioritizes the foreign public, but nevertheless provides a home for diaspora should they seek such association.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the placemaking of chanceries and their cultural diplomacy activities; the passive and active means by which foreign missions engage with *cityzens* in the city space. The diplomatic corps is a phenomenon of capital cities and as such

they contribute to enriching the pluralist fabric of the city while furthering political and economic relations between South Africa and their home states.

What causes the presence of foreign missions in the city to be of relevance is best addressed by Daniel A. Bell and Anver de-Shalit in their 2011 book, *The spirit of cities*:

Cities reflect as well as shape their inhabitants' values and outlooks in various ways. The design and architecture of their buildings reflect different social and cultural values" ...[and they]...“do express and prioritize different social and political values: what we can call an “ethos” or “spirit” of a city¹²⁸

Twenty years into democracy the character of many South African cities are in flux. An opportunity which the Tshwane Vision 2055 seizes in its clear goal to “forge a new identity”¹²⁹ for the city and consolidate its capitalness¹³⁰. Locating the cultural contribution of foreign diplomatic missions in the city and their beneficiaries is a start to finding how they in particular affect the identity of the place. Understanding this, one is in a better position to encourage rerouting of some of their efforts to strengthen the imagined future for the CoT. Certainly, if some of the city’s present iconicity is due to the embodied presence of the diplomatic corps and they are lauded as a defining feature of the CoT’s capitalness, their voluntary incorporation into the grander scheme of the CoT’s Vision 2055 requires more careful thought. One manner in which this may be achieved is a re-patterning of the annual Diplomatic Fair hosted by the CoT and DIRCO at the Union Buildings verifiably since 2012, but possibly even earlier. Till now, the admirably public venue which has allowed unusual portions of *cityzens* first encounters with the foreign representation in the city has not been able to boast of the support and participation of more than half the corps’ number¹³¹.

With the greater understanding of the manner in which the diplomat corps interacts with the city and *cityzens* gained in this chapter one may contemplate how they may be

¹²⁸ Bell, D.A. & de-Shalit, A. (2011) *The spirit of cities: Why the identity of a city matters in a global age*. Princeton University Press: Oxford. p 2.

¹²⁹ City of Tshwane. (2013) *Tshwane Vision 2055...* p 83.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, p 88.

¹³¹ Department of International Relations and Cooperation. (07 March 2012) Diplomatic Fair for South Africa and the international community to showcase and celebrate diversity. [Online] Available from: http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/2012/dipl_fair0307.htm [Accessed on 27 July 2015].

mobilized for a city more accepting of difference despite communal loyalties and thus tie into Vision 2055's plan to transform the city into "an African capital"¹³² by "embracing a new age of Pan-Africanism"¹³³ and "position[ing] itself as the home of African renaissance"¹³⁴. A role of prominence for African foreign missions in the CoT Vision 2055 may be beneficial to the project when one considers that diplomatic representation in Addis Ababa, whether or not due to city planning, has contributed a similar spirit to that city. The diplomatic corps' possible connection to Vision 2055 will be raised again in the next chapters.

In conclusion, it remains challenging to determine the impact of diplomacy and diplomatic sites in the city, but the next chapter narrows in on three foreign missions in the CoT as cases to which to apply theorizations about diplomatic sites and cultural activities developed in this chapter. Those missions are the chanceries of the United States of America, Kingdom of the Netherlands and Brazil.

¹³² City of Tshwane. (2013) Tshwane Vision 2055...p 101.

¹³³ City of Tshwane. (2013) Tshwane Vision 2055...p 93.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

Chapter Four

The U.S., Brazilian and Dutch Chanceries in the City of Tshwane: Sites and Interactions in Space with *Cityzens*

4.1 Introduction

This chapter takes three foreign missions in the CoT as case studies to manageably relate the musings on the direct and indirect means of diplomatic-*cityzen* interaction of the earlier chapters, to the practical everyday concerns of foreign representation. The chanceries of the USA, Brazil and the Netherlands have been chosen as case studies for this purpose. Reasons for the selection are:

1. The U.S. as a politically dominant chancery due to its global power, and; the presence of *American Spaces* located in Tshwane's city space.
2. Brazil, as a mission with from the Global South with clear cultural emphasis in their relations across the world; the only cultural institution, amongst others notably associated with foreign missions – Goethe Institute, IFAS, British Council, Confucius Institute – to be specifically attached to the chancery in the CoT, and; a growing association with South Africa due to shared membership in multilateral fora.
3. The Netherlands as a historically interesting case because of their entanglement in the South African past; due to continuing cultural and linguistic relations with especially Afrikaans speaking population, and; their inclination to highlight traces of Dutch heritage in the built environment.

The central occupation of this chapter is to scrutinize each of their chancery sites for the varied manner in which they 'act' in the city space and therefore indirectly engage *cityzens*. Likewise, the public and cultural diplomacy activities that draw missions into direct contact with *cityzens* in the CoT at other sites of diplomacy in the city will be discussed. Through targeted examples from each mission I show how both primary diplomatic sites (chanceries) and cultural diplomacy shape the city space and reach out

to particular sectors of *cityzens*. Addressing a hypothesis about missions and community formation in the city from the previous chapter, I consider the cultural significance of foreign missions from the perspective of expatriate *cityzens*.

Data has been collected through the missions' websites, site visits and interviews with three diplomatic agents from the respective countries responsible for cultural affairs. Each of them consented to in-person interviews about the policy and reality of cultural diplomacy in the CoT, varying from one to two hours in length. The questions posed to them are attached as an appendix to this chapter.

While the above is the core of the chapter, a context of each mission's bilateral relations presented first, clarifies why these countries have interest in and reason to contribute to the cultural fabric of the city in support of their own political and economic relations.

Finally, I draw conclusions about the significance of the selected foreign missions and broadly the diplomatic corps to the city. While considering how the city is a space geared for cultural diplomacy I contemplate how reviewed partnership between the CoT and the diplomatic corps could share the benefit of diverse foreign representation with a wider audience and contribute to the city's soft power thereby tying into its Vision 2055.

4.2 Histories of US, Brazil and Netherlands representation in Pretoria

The bilateral relations between South Africa and each of the chosen chanceries are a playbook for the changing perception and interaction of *cityzens* with the primary diplomatic site. They also grant insight into possible motivation in the pursuit of varying cultural and public diplomacy. We turn first to the U.S., then Brazil and finally the Netherlands.

4.2.1 Hopes of the New World

The United States has maintained an official presence in South Africa since 1799, when an American consulate was opened in Cape Town¹³⁵. Official diplomatic relations commenced in 1929 thereafter in June 1930 a legation was established in Pretoria. Full

¹³⁵ International Business Publications. (2011) US-South Africa diplomatic and political cooperation handbook, Volume 1: strategic information and developments. USA International Business Publications. p 36.

diplomatic relations at the level of embassy were reached in 1949¹³⁶ with the legation being upgraded to a chancery. The coordinated focus and nature of the U.S.-South Africa relationship, before the former's recognition of the latter's independence from Great Britain in 1929¹³⁷ - even though full independence was only declared in 1934¹³⁸ - revolved around natural resources as much as transnational corporation investment:

Bilateral economic contacts between the United States and South Africa, however, did not reach significant levels until diamonds were discovered in Kimberley during the 1860s and gold on the Rand 10 years later. American citizens and companies played a large role in the southern African minerals revolution...From such positions of power, these Americans passed on contracts to U.S. companies working this market. The Ingersoll Rock Drill Company...General Electric...Standard Oil Corporation...Comprehensive U.S. TNC investment in South Africa took off during the 1920s and 1930s. The American automotive and petroleum industries formed the vanguard of this new economic penetration. By 1920, the Union represented the fifth largest export market for the U.C. automotive industry. Ford of South Africa...in1923...General Motors...in1926, and the Firestone Tire Company...in the 1930s¹³⁹.

After the South African Ministry of Foreign Affairs was founded in 1927 and the country celebrated its division from Great Britain the burgeoning relationship with the U.S. was regarded as a means through which dependence on Great Britain could be reduced by increasing trade with the North American country. Disappointingly for South Africa, a consistent trade balance in favour of the USA remained an obstacle in finalizing a trade agreement¹⁴⁰. Nevertheless, this did not hinder further large-scale U.S. purchases of gold from South Africa¹⁴¹, and the significant expansion (700%) of trade generally from

¹³⁶ Department of State. (no date) A guide to the United States' history of recognition, diplomatic, and consular relations, by country, since 1776: South Africa. [Online] Available from: <http://history.state.gov/countries/south-africa> [Accessed on 20 July 2015].

¹³⁷ Department of State. (no date) U.S. consulate general Johannesburg South Africa. [Online] Available from: <http://diplomacy.state.gov/discoverdiplomacy/explorer/places/170248.htm> [Accessed on 20 July 2015].

¹³⁸ BBC. (25 June 2015) South Africa profile – timeline. BBC. [Online] Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14094918> [Accessed on 20 July 2015].

¹³⁹ Thomson, A. (2008) U.S. foreign policy towards apartheid South Africa 1948-1994. Palgrave Macmillan: New York. p 10.

¹⁴⁰ Wheeler T. (ed.). (2005) History of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs 1927-1993. SAIIA: Johannesburg. p 66.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. p 73.

1938-1948¹⁴², by which time over 50% of imports originated in the U.S. and other non-British areas and over 40% of South African exports were destined for U.S. and other non-British shores¹⁴³.

As regards the further extent of the relations, South Africa remained a strategic ally in the Cold War era, as a defence against the spread of communism on the continent:

*Remembering that South African forces had fought side by side with U.S. troops in World War II, and noting that the National Party leader Prime Minister Daniel Malan was thoroughly alert to the threat to the free world emanating from Moscow, both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations were well disposed toward Pretoria. Diplomacy based on friendly cooperation followed.*¹⁴⁴

“Consequently all U.S. administrations in the 1970’s and 80’s opposed strong economic sanctions against South Africa while still rhetorically condemning the apartheid system”¹⁴⁵. Only in 1986 was this stance reconsidered and joined the international community in imposing sanctions.

Today, South Africa remains a so-called strategic partner of the U.S. in Africa¹⁴⁶. U.S. foreign policy toward the country continues to pivot around trade, but since 1994 has also included aid and cooperation in multilateral fora. The renewal of the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) till 2025 is instructive in respect of trade. Development aid through USAID (headquartered in the CoT) flows primarily into the health sector through the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief. Other sectors are environment, economic development; education and social sciences; democracy, human rights and governance, and; peace and security¹⁴⁷. The aid focus areas are seen as answering needs identified by the South African government¹⁴⁸. Besides the chancery in the CoT,

¹⁴² Thomson. (2008) U.S. foreign policy towards apartheid South Africa. p 21: “Trading links...strengthened during World War II, as a result of South Africa’s traditional British sources of supply being disrupted by hostilities...the South African economy also emerged relatively buoyant from the war”.

¹⁴³ Wheeler. (2005) ... South African Department of Foreign Affairs. p 74.

¹⁴⁴ Thomson (2008) U.S. foreign policy towards apartheid South Africa. p 17.

¹⁴⁵ International Business Publications. (2011) Ibid. p 36.

¹⁴⁶ International Business Publications. (2011) Ibid. p 38.

¹⁴⁷ USAID. (2015) 2016 Planned funding by category: South Africa. [Online] Available from: <http://beta.foreignassistance.gov/explore/country/South-Africa> [Accessed on 15 August 2015].

¹⁴⁸ Monster, E.J. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (1 June 2015).

the U.S. Mission in South Africa maintains consulates in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban.

4.2.2 Siblings in southern skies

Like the U.S. presence in South Africa, Brazil first opened a consulate in Cape Town in 1918 which it continues till today to maintain. Nevertheless, 1948 marks the start of official diplomatic relations and the opening of a legation in Pretoria. Trade relations had already existed from the 1930s, a pact in having during that period grouped Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay together in such matters¹⁴⁹. The political and other aspects of the relationship with South Africa varied greatly:

*Brazil...vacillated in its relations with apartheid South Africa, heavily influenced by the status of its relations with the United States of American (UD) – when these were close, relations with South Africa thawed because of their common interest in defeating Communism. When Brazilian military leaders such as Ernesto Geisel took the reins, however, seeking to distance themselves from the US and implement more independent foreign policies, the distance from South Africa grew, in favour of proximity to the Global South and its politics. Even though the country was under a military dictatorship between 1964 and 1985, relations with South Africa changed in intensity according to whether the military head of government at the time sought closer relations with the US – which resulted in a more accepting posture towards South Africa – or a more independent foreign policy of pursuing relationship with the developing world, and consequently greater isolation of South Africa.*¹⁵⁰

It was during the presidency of Emílio Garrastazú Médici that the legation in Pretoria was converted to an embassy in 1972¹⁵¹. Nevertheless, Brazil's disapproval of the apartheid regime meant that the country refrained from political and other cooperation while continuing trade relations, but even trade relations were later curtailed in 1985¹⁵².

¹⁴⁹ Wheeler. (2005) ...South African Department of Foreign Affairs. p 83.

¹⁵⁰ Moore, C. (2015) South Africa's relations with Latin America: an opportunity foregone? In L. Masters et al. South African Foreign Policy Review Vol. 2. Africa Institute of South Africa: Pretoria. p 171.

¹⁵¹ França, A.C. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (26 May 2015).

¹⁵² Ministry for External Relations (Brazil). (no date) Relações Exteriores: República da África do Sul. [Online]

Available from:

http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4811&Itemid=478&cod_pais=ZAF&tipo=ficha_pais&lang=pt-BR [Accessed on 21 July 2015].

Since, “[i]n the last decade, the priority of Brazilian foreign policy has been to become an influential and respected global player”¹⁵³, especially in the so-called Global South, developing the relationship with South Africa in the post apartheid era increased in importance. The two countries have been strategic partners since 2010 with the relationship stretching from health, food security, agriculture, rural development, energy, defence and public administration to science and technology, communications, the environment, tourism and arts and culture. Certainly trade is also central. High level visits and various agreements signed across these sectors symbolise South Africa and Brazil’s strong and deepening bilateral relations today¹⁵⁴. However, this is not only a result of the 21st century’s South-South cooperation rhetoric – an important slant of Lula da Silva’s foreign policy – but also built on a foundation of ideological similarity; shared colonial histories, cultural ties through the Atlantic slave trade, similar development challenges, positions in respect of their continents and objectives in multilateral fora. The two countries are recurrently drawn together at IBSA, BRICS, BASIC but also the G20, WTO and UN, where they seek to “influence the global agenda in the 21st century in a manner that reflects the aspirations of developing countries”¹⁵⁵.

4.2.3 Traders to foes to fast friends

The Netherlands’ entanglement with South Africa reaches back to the creation of a trading post by the Dutch East India Company in 1652 at the Cape of Good Hope, which became Cape Town¹⁵⁶. The trading post quickly became a colony under Dutch rule till 1795 when the British gained control of the territory. Official representation of the Netherlands in the Cape Colony became necessary after the Dutch ceded sovereignty over the Cape to the British in 1814. A consulate there was first established in 1858 (it

¹⁵³ Zanini, F. (23 October 2014) Foreign policy in Brazil: a neglected debate. Harvard International Review. [Online] Available from: <http://hir.harvard.edu/archives/7486> [Accessed on 15 August 2015].

¹⁵⁴ Department of International Relations and Cooperation. (no date) Trade between South Africa and Brazil growing. *The Diplomatic Society*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.thediplomaticsociety.co.za/index.php/archive/archive/717-trade-between-south-africa-and-brazil-growing> [Accessed on 27 July 2015].

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Department of International Relations and Cooperation. (2014) Netherlands (The Kingdom of the). [Online] Available from: <http://www.dfa.gov.za/foreign/bilateral/netherlands.html> [Accessed on 20 July 2015].

has been maintained till the present). The earliest available records however indicate that the chancery in Pretoria was opened in 1963¹⁵⁷.

By this time South Africa had progressed from a Union to a Republic under the rule of the National Party. Afrikaans-speaking South Africans had always felt a certain kinship to the Netherlands, but to their and the nationalist government's dismay, the anti-apartheid movement was especially strong and effective in the Netherlands putting a strain on relations. Nevertheless, even when aversion discouraged pursuit of cooperation in politics and economics, cultural attachment continued to be cultivated¹⁵⁸. Support for the struggle against apartheid had favourable implications for bilateral ties between the two countries in the post-apartheid era. In 2007, the two countries celebrated 150 years of diplomatic relations¹⁵⁹.

Currently, South Africa is the largest trading partner of the Netherlands on the African continent. Dutch foreign policy toward the country nowadays rests on four pillars: Atlantic cooperation, European integration, international development and international law. Its relationship with South Africa, while speaking to relationships the Netherlands continues to cultivate with the countries where it has historical ties, falls into the international development category. The Dutch government maintains three types of relationships with its development partners: one of aid, the next transitional and finally trade focused¹⁶⁰. South Africa since 1994 fell into the "transitional" type and therefore was a recipient of Dutch development funding¹⁶¹. However, in 2013 Dutch government acknowledged South Africa's middle-income status and therefore the relationship has

¹⁵⁷ Republic of South Africa. (February 1963) Department of Foreign Affairs List. The Government Printer: Pretoria. p 13-34.

¹⁵⁸ Vandenbosch, A. (1970) South Africa and the world: the foreign policy of apartheid. University Press of Kentucky: Kentucky. p 258.

¹⁵⁹ Rasool, E. (19 February 2007) Commemorating 150 years of Dutch diplomatic presence in South Africa. [Online] Available from: <http://www.gov.za/e-rasool-commemorating-150-years-dutch-diplomatic-presence-south-africa> [Accessed on 20 July 2015].

¹⁶⁰ Government of the Netherlands. (no date) Partner and focus countries in development cooperation. [Online] Available from: <http://www.government.nl/issues/development-cooperation/partners-in-development> [Accessed on 15 August 2015].

¹⁶¹ Kingdom of the Netherlands. (no date) Relations the Netherlands-South Africa. [Online] Available from: <http://www.government.nl/issues/international-relations/south-africa> [Accessed on 20 July 2015]: "Until the end of 2011, South Africa was one of our development partner countries. Since it has now achieved the status of middle-income country, the Netherlands will be phasing out the development relationship over the next few years."

reoriented toward trade¹⁶² although targeted funds for capacity-building in areas of Dutch expertise is not entirely off the cards. Since 2014 The Netherlands has sought, through a program entitled 'Cocreate SA', to make specific contributions in health, water management, agriculture and food security, renewable energy and logistics¹⁶³.

In addition to representation in the CoT and Cape Town, The Kingdom of the Netherlands maintains an honorary consulate in Durban (KwaZulu-Natal).

4.2.4 Conclusion

Since rational foreign policies stand as the basis of interaction between states the relations of each chosen foreign mission with the South African state cursorily mapped above have morphed in mostly logical or predictable ways. How this may matter to the placemaking of the site and substantiate the cultural diplomacy choices of missions is addressed next.

4.3 Sites and interactions from cultural and public diplomacy

During apartheid, South African chanceries abroad testified to the manner in which values could be attached to the site. As a ready audience – not only of the state in question but also of those who associated with it – they are prime locations for protest. While these are accommodated in the space around the site, the threatening presence of numerous bodies on an otherwise untouched site carries a concern for violence. Consider, for instance, the 2012 killing of the U.S. Ambassador to Libya. Then again, in June this year “200 students protesting against President Pierre Nkurunziza's attempts to run for a third term in office managed to break into the US embassy in Burundi after police threatened to break-up their camp outside the compound”¹⁶⁴. Chanceries are thus sites of contention; simultaneously a refuge and rankling resentment.

They can be both of these because they are not neutral or isolated sites, but rather relate to other city elements. The microgeography of diplomacy in the city – its proximity

¹⁶² Martens, J.L. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (28 May 2015).

¹⁶³ Kingdom of the Netherlands in South Africa. (no date) Dutch Public Diplomacy Strategy in South Africa. [Online] Available from: <http://southafrica.nlembassy.org/key-topics> [Accessed on 20 July 2015].

¹⁶⁴ Aljazeera. (25 June 2015) Burundi student protesters seek refuge in US embassy. *Aljazeera*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/06/burundi-student-protesters-us-embassy-150625191421021.html> [Accessed on 23 July 2015].

to nodes frequently traversed by *cityzens* and its competition with other striking architecture in the built environment – is important to the manner and extent to which diplomatic sites impact the spirit of the city and *cityzens*. This is clear in a comparison between the CoT and Riyadh where the mediation of diplomatic presence in the latter city results in less immediate cultural significance for *cityzens*, but that is also the intention of the Saudi state¹⁶⁵.

This section links the sites of the chosen chanceries with each country's cultural diplomacy activities in order to describe in more exact terms the indirect and direct interactions these missions maintain with *cityzens* of the CoT. To this end, in-person interviews with Mr. Edward J Monster (Cultural Officer, Embassy of the United States of America in South Africa), Mr. Antonio C. França (First Secretary, Embassy of Brazil in South Africa) and Mr. Jeroen-Louis Martens (Cultural Officer, Kingdom of the Netherlands in South Africa) have been invaluable to understanding the cultural activities and significance of their chanceries in the CoT.

4.3.1 The U.S. chancery and *American Spaces* in the City of Tshwane

4.3.1.1 *The Inman report and securitization of U.S. foreign missions*

Suddenly thrust to the fore on the world's stage in the post-war period, it was seen as necessary that “the United States...establish a strong strategic presence around the world”¹⁶⁶. As Loeffler¹⁶⁷ describes, the idea was to generate goodwill and communicate democratic principles through design. The so-called International Style was adopted for this purpose of conveying transparency and openness through its characteristic balance and diminished ornamentation in favour of the form-follows-function dictum. Even while being fit to the cultural context of the receiving state in their regard for local themes and traditions, chanceries designed in the heyday of the Office of Foreign Buildings Operations' building program (1954 -1964) were prominent statements of American

¹⁶⁵ Bombacci In Glasze G. & Alkhayyal A. (2002) Gated housing estates in the Arab world: case studies in Lebanon and Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 29. p 326: “Saudi government policy promoted this development, and obliged foreign companies with more than 50 foreign employees to provide housing for their workforce, not least in order to limit and control the cultural influences of Western foreigners on Saudi society”.

¹⁶⁶ Loeffler, J. C. (2004) In E. G. Lui. *Building diplomacy: the architecture of American embassies*. Cornell University Press: New York. p 36.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p 37, 39.

identity. They were maximally accessible sites welcoming of the public and located in close proximity to key government buildings. However, as chanceries and diplomats from 1965 increasingly became targets of violence, access control became more important and architecture even more functional than artistic. The recommendations of Admiral Bobby Ray Inman reporting on the 1983 bombings of U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut became the model of a new approach to U.S. presence in the city. It represented a withdrawal to the city's periphery and the setting of standards for perimeter barriers, surveillance, prescribed distance from roads and so forth. It had a profound impact on architecture, Pretoria's chancery being one among many of the so-called "Inman projects".

Former U.S. chanceries in Pretoria were located in the city's Central Business District (CBD). The relocation to its current site just outside of the CBD in 1993 gave Inman's report due regard, but the move may additionally have been justified by cost, size, and trends in chancery micro-geography in Pretoria generally¹⁶⁸. The current chancery, designed by the Argentinean modernist architect Eduardo Catalano¹⁶⁹ (*Image 4.1 & 4.2*), is located in Arcadia between Pretorius and Francis Baard Streets, two main roads directing traffic into and out of the CBD respectively. The chancery occupies most of the block between Orient and Eastwood Streets opposite Venning Park. The entire site is enclosed by a combination of a low concrete wall, a small distance behind which is a few meters high grey perimeter fence. There are two guard houses which serve as pedestrian entrances on the north-east and north-west corners respectively; the former for visitors from the public with its own parking area, and the latter more frequently used by officials connected to a sectioned-off staff parking lot. Another public parking area is situated on the west side of the block in Eastwood Street. At, and between each entrance, security infrastructure is evident in the form of surveillance cameras and guards on foot protecting a chancery premises which from an aerial view (*Image 4.3*) bears some resemblance to a baseball field. The south-west corner of the block is occupied by the Indian High Commission.

¹⁶⁸ Monster, E.J. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (1 June 2015).

¹⁶⁹ Lui, E. G. (2004) *Building diplomacy...* p 80.



Image 4.1: U.S. Embassy, Arcadia, City of Tshwane (Main entrance)
Photograph taken by Elizabeth G. Lui
In (2004) *Building diplomacy...* p 41



Image 4.2: U.S. Embassy from Pretorius Street
Photograph by NGO Pulse



Image 4.3: U.S. Embassy, Arcadia, City of Tshwane (aerial view)
Google images

What does the site communicate in the city space? U.S. chanceries have become exemplary for the security concerns they integrate. Though prominent in the city space, this U.S. chancery has not seen frequent foot traffic onto the site and especially into the building because very uniquely for U.S. missions throughout the world, it has never been charged with consular duties¹⁷⁰. The consulate in Johannesburg has instead served that function.

If granted entry to the building one would find artworks of American and South African origin side-by-side communicating the idea of diplomatic work; to bring disparate peoples closer to one another. Their symbolism is unlikely to escape the notice of the casual visitor but the reminder they are to their daily appreciators, diplomats and chancery staff, of their role in the foreign mission contributes to the placemaking of the chancery. Those who are aware of the rotating art and curious about it will find the collection documented in the State Department's publication *Art in Embassies*, downloadable online¹⁷¹. There is thus a measure of access.

The U.S. chancery in the CoT in the past maintained an on-site information resource centre, but it welcomed few visitors except those searching intentionally for material about the country not available to them elsewhere¹⁷². Due to a lack of space to accommodate the rest of the chancery's operations the centre was closed in September 2014. The consequence has been a far cry from the open approachableness of the post-war era mentioned above. While everything together reiterates the "fortress America" image with which one is familiar from lived experience – as visitors to this chancery, U.S. consulates or other chanceries – and reaffirmed in the portrayal of the country in news media, the U.S. mission has made notable strides to move into the city where person-to-person interaction is not only possible but encouraged.

¹⁷⁰ Monster, E.J. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (1 June 2015)

¹⁷¹ Department of State. (no date) *Art in Embassies Exhibition: United States Embassy Pretoria*. [Online] Available from: <http://art.state.gov/filepassthru.ashx?af=files/exhibitions/Pretoria+Publication+2014.pdf> [Accessed on 20 July 2015].

¹⁷² Ruth Koko. (10 June 2015). Personal communication.

4.3.1.2 Exchanges and information in U.S. cultural and public diplomacy

Publically, the U.S. and South Africa have a strong relationship, but it is neither as strong as it could be¹⁷³, nor for that matter as robust as South Africa's relationship currently with Brazil or the Netherlands. There are a number of areas where the two have not seen eye-to-eye in the past. U.S.-South Africa relations were particularly treacherous during the Mbeki-Bush years; at the height of Mbeki's Aids denialism the President's Emergency Plan for Aids Relief was launched (2003), but the U.S. had also just invaded Iraq and Afghanistan¹⁷⁴. Yet, in such times when government-to-government relations take strain the benefits of public diplomacy, especially educational exchanges, reap dividends. As U.S. ambassadors and diplomats have noted¹⁷⁵, whether or not one comes to an agreement with South African stakeholders there is a palpable understanding in interactions when the person across from whom they sit at the table has been a Fulbright scholarship holder, or otherwise had a first-hand encounter with the United States. Fulbright is but one of twenty eight different exchange programs between South Africa and the United States actively promoted by the mission¹⁷⁶. The premise of a public diplomacy focused on educational exchange is: given greater opportunities to travel or study in the U.S., future South African leaders will return with a more positive or at least realistic view of the United States. When a real disagreement between the two countries arises one could ultimately fall back on the earlier established interpersonal relationship; "agree to disagree, hopefully politely and respectfully, and move on,...you see a lot of that in the South African-US relationship"¹⁷⁷.

As much as this type of diplomacy demystifies nations it is without accurate record-keeping challenging to measure the impact of exchanges on the CoT and its *cityzens*. The personal origins and trajectories of alumni are simply not documented so that answering a question about the number of Fulbright recipients from a particular

¹⁷³ Mataboge, M. (13 August 2015) Diplomatic fracas brews over NGO Freedom Now. *Mail & Guardian*. [Online] Available from: <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-08-13-diplomatic-fracas-brews-over-ngo-freedom-now> [Accessed on 19 August 2015].

¹⁷⁴ Pillay, V. (15 September 2014) How the US and South Africa became friends again. *Mail & Guardian*. [Online] Available from: <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-09-15-how-the-us-and-south-africa-became-friends-again> [Accessed on 20 July 2015].

¹⁷⁵ Monster, E.J. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (1 June 2015).

¹⁷⁶ Monster, E.J. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (1 June 2015).

¹⁷⁷ Monster, E.J. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (1 June 2015).

university is even difficult. While this effect is unknown, certain types of exchanges do have greater potential to affect the city. One such example is the study tour of the Mayor of the CoT and the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Pretoria with other individuals from both institutions to the U.S. in May 2015. The purpose of the visit was to learn about town-gown relations; how cities and institutions of higher education there work together because the Tshwane 2055 vision seeks to take advantage of the many research generating institutions in the city. Such tours encourage mutual learning with potential consequences for ways of doing and being. This particular collaboration is revisited later.

Besides exchanges, the U.S. mission runs three cultural programs: the Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation, American Music Abroad, and Arts Envoy Program.

The pervasiveness of U.S. cultural products, budget constraints on the cultural arm of the chancery and a local market strong enough to attract notable American artists together create an environment that discourages the chancery from a preoccupation with inviting show-stopping acts to impress South African audiences. The mission instead prefers to bring various types of artists (producers, actors, dancers, musicians, poets, writers, curators) to South Africa into contexts where they can have greater impact on society through knowledge-sharing and capacity-building projects with smaller groups of individuals¹⁷⁸. In September 2012 the Battery Park Dance Company conducted dance workshops¹⁷⁹ with young people at the CoT's State Theatre, a first experience for most of them with the world of professional dance. Local groups have also been incorporated into similar culture-broadening, skills-building experiences with youth in local communities; in celebration of Freedom Day this year Pretoria Street Photographers conducted workshops with youth at the Mae Jemison U.S Science Reading Room in Mamelodi. This reading room brings us to the third type of public and cultural diplomacy of the U.S. Mission in the CoT and the one that most directly reaches *cityzens* where they already are instead of convincing them to engage with the aloof and security-alert site of the chancery.

¹⁷⁸ Monster, E.J. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (1 June 2015).

¹⁷⁹ Letlhaku. M. (2 October 2012) U.S. Dance Company and S.A. dancer make S.A. debut. *United States Diplomatic Mission to South Africa*. [Online] Available from: http://southafrica.usembassy.gov/news_pta_20121002.html [Accessed on 22 July 2015].

American spaces, as they are called, are sites for “in-person engagement with foreign audiences...[h]osted in embassies, schools, libraries, and other partner institutions worldwide”¹⁸⁰. Two exist in the CoT: the above mentioned Mae Jemison U.S. Science Reading Room (Mae J) existing since November 2008, and the most recent addition at the Es'kia Mphahlele Community Library in the CBD, which accommodated the material that was previously at the chancery’s information resource centre, open since January 2015. The spaces are aimed at two different audiences. Mae J, based at the University of Pretoria’s Mamelodi campus in the north-east of the CoT, is orientated towards science and technology which complements the same focus of the satellite campus. It supports high school students in achieving their matric (school leaving certificate) by providing a library service (*Image 4.4 & 4.5*) – access to relevant books, magazines and the internet – assistance with homework and a place to study. It is a venue for recreational learning as much as school-curriculum related studying. Students have access to games; watch science-themed films; are introduced to American pastimes like baseball, and; attend tailor-made workshops and lectures on science, technology, mathematics and environmental studies. The standard operations and specialised events are coordinated by three full time staff members and a group of volunteers with sporadic involvement of U.S. citizens living in South Africa. Approximately one hundred and fifty visitors pass through this *American space* on a daily basis. Entrance to the space is on a membership basis (free), with that number reaching over one thousand in the log books.

¹⁸⁰ Department of State. (no date) About American Spaces. [Online] Available from: <https://americanspaces.state.gov/home/about> [Accessed on 22 July 2015].



Image 4.4: Mae J U.S. Science Reading Room, Mamelodi Campus, University of Pretoria (entrance)
Photograph by Chané J Rama Dahya



Image 4.5: Mae J U.S. Science Reading Room, Main library room
Photograph by Chané J Rama Dahya

In contrast to Mae J, the Space at the Es'kia Mphahlele Community Library on Sammy Marks Square (*Image 4.6 & 4.7*) targets the existing users of the library; a young adult and adult audience. It came into being after a proposal to convert unutilised space into an “American-style public library” was presented to the CoT on the foundation of a long-standing relationship between the library and the U.S. chancery. Following input from a Smithsonian design-team, its three separate auditoria and two rooms for regularised use were refurnished by the chancery and the Space opened in January 2015 (*Image 4.8 & 4.10*). Setting up Mae J followed the same principle of the partner institution providing space and the chancery responsible for its furnishing. Similarly to the process at Mae J, visitors have access to the *American Space* after signing up for free membership. Programmatically, it is just as active; film and documentary screenings take place weekly, *Coffee with a Diplomat* events monthly, while seminars and workshops engage the public about entrepreneurship, management, job search skills, computer literacy and studying in the U.S. This Tier One ranked *American Space* was additionally earmarked as a networking site for alumni and others interested in benefiting from the continent-wide and local community of the Young African Leaders Initiative launched in 2013. Users of the library benefit from the addition of 20 computer workstations, only four are available outside of the Space. Various workspaces enable individual or group work and should one be interested or need such information, an array of books and magazines about the U.S are at one’s disposal. At this stage it is estimated that the Space receives over two hundred and fifty visitors per day, five days a week, with an average age of 24. It should be noted that this day-to-day data includes repeat users of the Space.



*Image 4.6: Sammy Marks Square, Corridor to Es'kia Mphahlele
Community Library (10 June 2015)
Photograph by Chané J Rama Dahya*



*Image 4.7: Sammy Marks Square (July 2005)
Photograph by the City of Tshwane*



*Image 4.8: Library space earmarked for the "American Corner" (January 2014)
Photograph by Paula Kitendaugh*



*Image 4.9: Es'kia Mphahlele American Space Workstations (10 June 2015)
Photograph by Chané J Rama Dahya*



*Image 4.10: Es'kia Mphahlele American Space Reading Corner (10 June 2015)
Photograph by Chané J Rama Dahya*

4.3.2 Brazil and *Cbras* in the City of Tshwane

Brazilian representation in the CoT has been situated in an office park on Lynnwood and Dyer Roads in Hillcrest since 2009¹⁸¹ where they share a block with the Colombian chancery. Both countries' flags are hoisted in the inner courtyard of the park and therefore primarily visible from within (*Image 4.11*). Compared to the U.S. chancery there is a distinct lack of symbolic embellishments; the chancery's presence is not noted in the usual office park signage and even while the southern side of the building on Lynnwood Road boasts a mounted flag pole, it is not easy to detect from a moving vehicle due to its position hidden between two trees. The lack of visibility need not be concerning, except, when the chancery is also a site for cultural diplomacy. This is the case of the Brazil-South Africa Cultural Centre (henceforth referred to as *Cbras*"the Centre") based in the chancery. Additionally, given the high estimation of the bilateral relationship between South Africa and Brazil it seems counterintuitive to not draw attention to the chief site of diplomacy, but this may or may not be intentional. Its accessibility is however superior to the U.S. chancery as those who intentionally seek it out will encounter easy, unmonitored access to it on foot and monitored access by car from the park's two entrances.

¹⁸¹ França, A.C. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (26 May 2015).



Image 4.11: Brazilian chancery (28 July 2015)
Photograph by Chané J Rama Dahya

Lack of visibility has repercussions for the attraction of new audiences to Cbras. A walk-in centre by design¹⁸², it offers the public general information about Brazil, but its primary purpose is to encourage learning of Brazilian Portuguese. In further support thereof it houses a small collection of Portuguese literature, but few to no select works of the same translated into English. Cbras has further goals of disseminating Brazilian literature and sharing various forms of music, art and cultural expression with foreign audiences in support of the chancery¹⁸³. The Centre in the CoT has in the past participated in large scale cultural fairs, but after 2011 cultural diplomacy of this kind has been suspended due to budget constraints¹⁸⁴. Cbras has thus become more central to the chancery's cultural and public diplomacy approach. It is indicative that in the last year the Centre has officially been accredited as a Portuguese language testing centre. Since its establishment in October 2009 by the then Ambassador it has received and estimated six hundred students (30 this year)¹⁸⁵, but many more visitors. Demographically half of all students are South Africans and the remaining half of individuals are from other countries¹⁸⁶, especially African countries but also Spain and Portugal. Students range in age from 25-45. They include diplomats from other foreign missions, spouses/partners of Brazilians, children from Portuguese families, individuals preparing to study in Brazil, businesspeople. The Department of Defence has an agreement with the Centre to facilitate language proficiency of military personnel. In the view of the Centre's Director, Daniela Mendonça, people from the CoT are interested only in so far as they would need the language for a definite purpose; "if they are married to..., if they have business with...", otherwise they are not inclined to engage with the centre and Brazilian culture. What one concludes from the above is that most people visit the centre intentionally after having sought out Portuguese classes. This makes the need for visibility less pressing. It is even less of a priority because students of the Centre, and to a lesser extent those taught at the University of Pretoria, remain

¹⁸² França, A.C. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (26 May 2015).

¹⁸³ Brazilian Embassy in Helsinki. (no date) The Brazilian Cultural Centers. [Online] Available from: [http://helsinque.itamaraty.gov.br/en-us/brazil-finland_cultural_center_\(ccbf\).xml](http://helsinque.itamaraty.gov.br/en-us/brazil-finland_cultural_center_(ccbf).xml) [Accessed on 27 July 2015].

¹⁸⁴ França, A.C. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (26 May 2015).

¹⁸⁵ Mendonça, D.M. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (19 June 2015).

¹⁸⁶ França, A.C. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (26 May 2015).

the prime audience for the cultural activities of the Brazil-South Africa Cultural Centre which include film screenings and culinary competitions.

The chancery's public and cultural diplomacy has since 2011 additionally developed to pursue particular collaboration with tertiary academic institutions in order to affect longer-term benefits¹⁸⁷. Appointment of a Portuguese language lecturer at the University of Pretoria has been an important realisation of the reorientation to educational institutions. Supporting and exchange in the other direction, similar to the U.S. and Netherlands but on a reduced scale, the chancery promotes scholarships to encourage South Africans to study in Brazil. The goal is to facilitate increased knowledge exchange between South African and Brazilian universities, but also contact between the two peoples.

Seminars turn venues at universities into sites for diplomacy, one such occasion hosted at the University of Pretoria's Senate Hall – a prestigious venue which regularly welcomes members of the diplomatic corps as audience members – was “Brazilian lectures” (2012). Described by the outgoing First Secretary Antonio Carlos França as an event which sparked an interest in a similar discussion about South African society, it is hoped that “South African lectures” will be materialised by his successor¹⁸⁸. In another collaborative effort, this time specifically with the Capital Cities Programme at the University of Pretoria, the Brazilian embassy facilitated the visit of a Professor of Architecture from the University of Brasilia for a conference on *Capital cities in Latin America, the Caribbean and Southern Africa* organised jointly with the Group of Latin American and Caribbean (GRULAC) Embassies and High Commissions in South Africa. Her visit to a building with elements designed by the leading architect Oscar Niemeyer reiterated architectural affinities between the CoT and Brasilia. This type of collective cultural diplomacy of the GRULAC bloc is not uncommon; particularly the annual Latin American and Caribbean Film festival which celebrated its tenth edition in 2014 and since 2010 the GRULAC school soccer championships. Both receive the support of the University of Pretoria in the form of provision of secure venues suited to their purposes.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

The cumulative audience for such events in the CoT is difficult to estimate, but they are an academic crowd of professors, lecturers and students. In the case of the soccer tournament, the children and teachers of the primary schools each Embassy and High Commission has adopted. Events separately have clear target audiences; children, students and an older academic crowd. Notwithstanding that, the film festival has struggled to attract noteworthy numbers, even though its venue, a theatre at the Hatfield (main) campus of the University, provides parking, is safe, free and accessible to students.

4.3.3 The Netherlands and *Shared Cultural Heritage* Program in the City of Tshwane

A stand-alone property on the corner of Florence Ribeiro Avenue (formerly Queen Wilhelmina Street) and Muckleneuk Street in Nieuw Muckleneuk is the new home of the chancery of the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the CoT (*Image 4.12*) after relocation from the suburb of Arcadia closer to the CBD. The purchased office space falls into the category of chancery building that has been adapted to security and partitioned space requirements of diplomatic operations. On the western face of the building the site is clearly marked as belonging to the Dutch mission and two flag poles hoist the Dutch and EU flags respectively on the south-western corner. Erected on plinths of the few meter high grey perimeter fence are five distinct sculptures with the collective title “Guardian Angels” (2006) by the Dutch artist Hans van Bentem¹⁸⁹ (*Images 4.13-4.17*).

¹⁸⁹ van Bentem, Hans. (2006) Commissions. [Online] Available from: <http://www.hansvanbentem.nl/work/85> [Accessed on 24 August 2015].



Image 4.12: Netherlands chancery (28 July 2015)
Photograph by Chané J Rama Dahya

Hans van Bentem, 2006, "Guardian Angels"
Photographs by Chané J Rama Dahya



Image 4.13



Image 4.14



Image 4.15



Image 4.16



Image 4.17

Aesthetically, their immediately unapparent theme and unequal size increase the conspicuousness of the site on the well-travelled Avenue. There are three armour themed sculptures: a green boot with bronze-coloured finishing, winged silver scale breastplate with red finishing and green Greek chalcidean style helmet with red plume. The larger fourth and fifth sculptures fuse armour and European royal ceremonial robes with animal and human elements. Especially these portray artistically the merger of two diverse cultures which is the consistent concern of diplomacy. The chancery aims through them to communicate the “give and take” relationship it seeks to cultivate with South Africa¹⁹⁰. Given the historic relations between the counties these representations give prominence to the site.

“The Netherlands occupies a unique position in South Africa thanks to...[their] cultural and historical ties, including the Afrikaans language.”¹⁹¹ Cultural effects are the most profound at the annual National Arts Festival¹⁹² in Grahamstown and Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunsfees (KKNK) which receive Dutch and Flemish artists every year. The extent of their cultural cooperation was publically recognised when they received the Business and Arts SA Award in the category Diplomacy in the Arts in 2014¹⁹³. Dutch international cultural policy has altered its emphasis over the years:

In the eighties, international cultural policy served primarily to reinforce the international status of Dutch culture. In the nineties, the accent was transferred to cultural cooperation; not only promoting understanding between peoples, but also enriching both parties and clarifying the Netherlands’ international profile. Current Dutch international cultural policy has four objectives: (1) the presentation of Dutch culture abroad, (2) the enrichment and inspiration of Dutch culture by means of encounter and collaboration with other cultures and artists from abroad, (3) testing

¹⁹⁰ Martens, J.L. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (28 May 2015).

¹⁹¹ Kingdom of the Netherlands. (no date) Relations the Netherlands-South Africa. [Online] Available from: <http://www.government.nl/issues/international-relations/south-africa> [Accessed on 20 July 2015].

¹⁹² Kingdom of the Netherlands in South Africa. (11 June 2014) Dutch support to NAF 2014. [Online] Available from: <http://southafrica.nlembassy.org/news/2014/june-2014/dutch-support-to-naf-2014.html> [Accessed on 25 August 2015].

¹⁹³ This category of award is given in recognition of foreign missions which contribute to the development and preservation of the arts in South Africa as well as the continued prioritization of cultural diplomacy between South Africa and the international community.

*the level of quality and the relevance of Dutch artistic and cultural practices against international criteria, and (4) preserving the cultural heritage the Netherlands shares with other countries.*¹⁹⁴

That said, at the chancery level “[t]he guiding principle of the International Cultural Cooperation policy of the Netherlands is that cultural institutions and artists are responsible for shaping their own international activities abroad”¹⁹⁵. As a result, the chancery has disengaged from the active promotion of Dutch culture through visiting artists¹⁹⁶ because similarly to the market for cultural products from the U.S., sufficient demand exists for them to appear in South Africa without assistance from the country’s official representation. Once in the country the chancery is however usually able to facilitate the building of specific relationships which enrich the artists’ visits. It is also very much the case that a constrained budget discourages large-scale expression of their national culture solely for culture’s sake and in which they are the sole instigators. It is more likely when it does occur, for cultural diplomacy to be undertaken on a partnership basis. Jeroen-Louis Martens, Cultural Officer of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in South Africa, aptly described this as “brokering instead of financing”¹⁹⁷. Two examples of this preference are a reception which the Netherlands hosted for the European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC) Lab on Convening New Audiences¹⁹⁸ and the chancery’s repeat participation in the European Film Festival.

An important act of cultural diplomacy by the Dutch chancery in the CoT has occurred under the framework of the *Shared Cultural Heritage* program¹⁹⁹. A project of the Netherlands Cultural Heritage Agency and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the SCH aims

¹⁹⁴ Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. (2006) Dutch cultural policy. Boekmanstudies: Amsterdam. p 149.

¹⁹⁵ Kingdom of the Netherlands in South Africa. (no date) International Cultural Cooperation (ICB). [Online] Available from: <http://southafrica.nlembassy.org/key-topics/culture> [Accessed on 21 July 2015].

¹⁹⁶ Martens, J.L. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (28 May 2015).

¹⁹⁷ Martens, J.L. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (28 May 2015).

¹⁹⁸ Act Creative Conference. (26 May 2015) EUNIC Lab 2015: Convening New Audiences. [Online] Available from: <http://www.creativeconference.co.za/eunic-lab-2015-convening-new-audiences/> [Accessed on 26 July 2015].

¹⁹⁹ Kingdom of the Netherlands in South Africa. (no date) Dutch footsteps. [Online] Available from: <http://www.dutchfootsteps.co.za/index.html> [Accessed on 27 July 2015].

to “promote the preservation of Dutch heritage abroad”. SCH identified ten countries²⁰⁰ with whom to partner on maintaining traces of Dutch heritage by:

[E]ncouraging partnerships between Dutch and foreign institutions and experts, exchanging knowledge, supporting foreign initiatives and broadening the circle of interested parties. This includes making the archives of the Dutch East and West India Companies available, recommissioning historic buildings, attention for intangible heritage and providing training in underwater archaeology²⁰¹

Applications for funding restrict Dutch financial assistance to 60% of the total project budget²⁰². In South Africa, SCH has most notably co-funded research on Dutch architectural influence in the country in the 19th century, a significant portion of which is to be found in the CoT. Church Square in the CBD (*Image 4.18*) is just one such site, but it is arguably the most prominent and frequented by *cityzens*. It culminated in 2014 the publication of *Eclectic ZA Wilhelmiens: A shared Dutch built heritage in South Africa* edited by Karel A Bakker, Nicholas J Clarke and Roger C. Fisher²⁰³.

²⁰⁰ Dutch Culture. (2015) Fact Sheet - Shared Cultural Heritage 2013–2016. [Online] Available from: http://southafrica.nlembassy.org/binaries/content/assets/postenweb/z/zuid_afrika/netherlands-embassy-in-pretoria/import/the_embassy/press_cultural_affairs/sch-factsheet-shared-cultural-heritage-2013-2016.pdf [Accessed on 23 July 2015].

²⁰¹ Kingdom of the Netherland in South Africa. (no date) Shared Cultural Heritage. [Online] Available from: <http://southafrica.nlembassy.org/key-topics/culture/shared-cultural-heritage-sch.html> [Accessed on 23 July 2015].

²⁰² Kingdom of the Netherlands in South Africa. (18 June 2015) Call for Proposals: Shared Cultural Heritage programme. [Online] Available from: <http://southafrica.nlembassy.org/news/2015/june-2015/call-for-proposals-shared-cultural-heritage-programme.html> [Accessed on 25 August 2015].

²⁰³ University of Pretoria. (2015) Publication: Eclectic ZA Wilhelmiens. [Online] Available from: <http://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/Legacy/Architecture/News/Roger/argitektuur-wilhelmiens-finals.zp37960.pdf> [Accessed on 26 July 2015].



Image 4.18: *Palace of Justice, Church Square, Pretoria*
Photography by Pierre Andre Leclercq

In a second form of cultural diplomacy, this time directly affecting the lives of a select group of *cityzens*, the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands has been a collaborator of *YouthZones*, a “partnership with the 2010 World Cup LOC [Local Organising Committee] to ensure a sustainable impact of the...[tournament] in the lives of South African youths” through life-skills, computer literacy and of course, participation in football. An estimate of the children thus far involved in the *YouthZone* in Stoffelpark, Mamelodi reaches 300²⁰⁴. It is however not possible to fix a number for others reached indirectly beyond those 300 school-age children; their families and communities.

Lastly, a Nuffic-Neso office (since March 2015) – the first in Africa – contributes to the chancery’s public²⁰⁵ and cultural diplomacy through “forging and expanding alliances and capacity building...promoting staff and students (sic) exchanges, traineeships and work placements, searching for and mediating in new sources of finance and the dynamic involvement of students and alumni”²⁰⁶. As in the case of the U.S. chancery’s educational exchanges it is difficult to determine impact on the CoT due to lack of data and therefore will not be explored in more detail now. It should however be a topic for future research.

4.3.4 Summary

This section has described on the one hand, the sites, and on the other hand the cultural and public diplomacy activities of the chosen chanceries. The former has been shown to contribute an irreplaceable character related to the impression of a global society in the cityscape, while the latter unmistakably responds to a need *cityzens’* have to learning and expand their individual capacities while providing exposure to ways of thinking and being removed from the circumstance of the present society.

When the chancery site is also the venue of cultural diplomacy its design could facilitate or hinder the humanist intentions of intercultural learning, contribute to the attraction of

²⁰⁴ Martens, J.L. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (28 May 2015).

²⁰⁵ Boeren, A. (27 June 2011) Scholarships forever?. *Nuffic*. [Online] Available from: <https://www.nuffic.nl/en/news/blogs/scholarships-forever> [Accessed on 26 July 2015].

²⁰⁶ Nuffic. (26 March 2015) Nuffic Neso opens up at Dutch Embassy in Pretoria. *Nuffic*. [Online] Available from: <https://www.nuffic.nl/en/news/nuffic-news/nuffic-neso-opens-up-at-dutch-embassy-in-pretoria> [Accessed on 26 July 2015].

new audiences or be a factor of dissuasion. The *American Spaces* in the CoT are apt examples of the accessibility and approachableness of the foreign mission when located in city sites already well traversed. As the Department of Public Works describes, Sammy Marks Square in the CBD:

*...is the current core of commercial activity of the Inner City. This precinct is a prime example of active public space integrated into the cityscape of Tshwane and serves as catchment node in terms of public space, movement, business and government*²⁰⁷

The Space in the Es'kia Mphahlele Community Library is thus placed for almost seamlessly integration into city life. In the case of Mae J, a semi-public site that provides a safe place for high school students in a community context otherwise unable to provide them with the tools, skills and support that enlarge and enable their personal aspirations.

The traces of Dutch heritage on Church Square and elsewhere are places *cityzens* engage with on a daily basis, albeit perhaps with a diminished sense of the buildings' architectural roots. This explains the importance of the chancery's initiative "Dutch footprints"; a website that seeks to fulfil the need for information to which the buildings will be linked via QR codes. Yet, access is a matter of concern, because it is unknown how many current users of the Square own devices able to process the codes. At the same time there is a question of safety when using such devices in an area about which people have been warned against the threat of theft²⁰⁸. The effort may therefore attract new audiences instead of ignite the curiosity the Square's regular users.

If one speaks of architecture, then the U.S. has had a similar but less noted impact on cities around the world, the CoT is no exception in this respect. As the U.S. Pavilion at the 2014 Venice Biennale "*OfficeUS*" tried to highlight critically, the modernist design of the office park is an American cultural export. Both the chanceries of the Netherlands

²⁰⁷ Department of Public Works. (no date) Sammy Marks Precinct. [Online] Available from: http://www.rekgabisatshwane.gov.za/precincts/content_sammy.html [Accessed on 22 July 2015].

²⁰⁸ Van Zuydam, L. (6 May 2013) Warning as crime wave hits Pretoria. *IOL*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/warning-as-crime-wave-hits-pretoria-1.1511027#.Vdyeafmqgko> [Accessed on 25 August].

and Brazil find themselves encased in architecture frequently thought of as non-descript but are in actual fact forms of U.S. architecture, whether or not they are recognised as such. Nevertheless, there is a spectrum of visibility of the chancery sites, the U.S. being the most prominent, followed by the Netherlands and finally Brazil. All three are located on major roads, but their diverse manifestation in the cityscape is a combination of uniqueness of the chancery building, evidence of security architecture, allotted space for public use (sidewalks, parking, public places in close proximity), their varying degrees of visibility, presence of national symbols and other attention-attracting embellishments to the site some of which relates to foreign ministry policy and others which originate in the city's role as their host.

As far as interactions that allow for the embodied placemaking of chanceries, the U.S. and Dutch chanceries encourage spectatorship. Both are stand-alone sites and made more noticeable for the conspicuous security and artful installations respectively appearing alongside the expected symbolism of flags, coats of arms and signage. Casual passers-by in their notice-taking are likely in their cases, rather than that of the Brazilian chancery, to contribute to the embodied placemaking of the site.

Personal observation has made evident that visitors to each chancery site will also interact directly with the sites in varied ways. The comparatively more stringent security guidelines for visitors to the U.S. chancery, with for instance all electronic devices disallowed beyond the entrance, results in greater loss of their personal liberty; they are especially drawn away from their everyday freedoms into an inescapable etiquette that serves as a condition for engagement on the site. Visitors to the Dutch chancery by contrast, face fewer restrictions and those to the Brazilian chancery even less so. In keeping with the above, the antechamber-like organisation of space is most evident at the U.S. chancery followed by the Dutch and Brazilian embassies, in that order.

Speculating about the identity/profile of these visitors is important for contemplating the impact of the sites. The U.S. chancery, in absence of a consular division and due to the restrictions on personal liberty would have the smallest and most select group of visitors when compared to the other two chanceries. There is in fact a preference for venturing

out of its confines to meet with captains of industry, government and other partners²⁰⁹. The Dutch and Brazilian chanceries have consular divisions. Individuals interacting with these for visas and other documents are likely to have specific reason to do so i.e. expatriates, and/or the financial means to travel abroad. A similar class distinction is likely also the case for those who take meetings with diplomats at the chanceries, as well as the visitors to the Brazil-South Africa Cultural Centre.

In a society as unequal as South Africa's, the same question applied to cultural and public diplomacy activities of these chanceries pictures a less exclusive interaction. *American Spaces* and the developing-communities-through-football initiatives of both the Netherlands and Brazil in South Africa all reach less privileged *cityzens*, most of them children and young adults. The *American Spaces* together represent direct added value to the lives of approximately four hundred individuals each day. The Dutch support of *YouthZones* has since its inception directly reached approximately three hundred children in Stoffelpark, while the Brazilian participation in the GRULAC football tournament allows them to partner directly with at least twenty *cityzens* (the school children which constitute the Brazilian team and their teachers) each year, this is not to speak of other occasions similarly reaching *cityzens* who are not so-called influencers. As indicated by Mr. Martens, one can yet only speculate how many more individuals these activities reach indirectly.

4.4 Cultural organization and affective ties: how diasporas interact with missions

In chapter three the question was posed if chanceries are monuments, to what and whom are they one? As to 'what?', the nation is the simple and expected answer since their existence reifies the state and its imagined community²¹⁰, but who is inclined to grant them consideration? Their audience – which does not include chancery officials because they act symbolically together with the site – may be 'insiders' or 'outsiders' to the promulgated notions of the nation. Foreign publics as a the larger group of 'outsiders', may have an awareness and affective orientation toward the site, however it is expatriate communities of those nations in the receiving state that one would expect

²⁰⁹ Monster, E.J. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (1 June 2015).

²¹⁰ Anderson, B. (2006) *Imagined Communities*. Verso: London.

to have more emotive, be they positive or negative, reactions to the chancery. After all, they have legitimate cause to make certain requests for assistance of their nation's representation in a given country:

*...governments see professional consular assistance as the combined result of the responsibilities that come with statehood and the moral rights that are inferred by their nationals' citizenship.*²¹¹

In spite of this, whether and how they choose to interact with the foreign mission of their own country abroad is their own prerogative²¹²; the need may simply not arise.

In its early history the consular institution was “a means of creating and maintaining order in a foreign merchants' community”²¹³ and the consular officer “was responsible for looking after the interests of collectivities of traders in foreign lands...his...role was to protect his compatriots”²¹⁴. Even so, when Anderson talks of “‘Empire’ which attempted to weld dynastic and national community”²¹⁵ it causes one to think of a further role of envoys in the consolidation of national identity, community and culture²¹⁶ in far off settler colonies. The previously mentioned role of South Africa's diplomatic representation in Argentina, Angola and Belgian Congo strengthening the expatriate community in order to further their agenda of a (white) South Africanisation of Africa²¹⁷ comes to mind.

However that role existed in the past, it does not persist as much explicitly today outside of National/Independence Day celebrations.

The Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands annually facilitates the gathering of the Dutch community and others in the CoT for the “biggest national event in Holland”, King's Day (27 April). In past times the newspaper advertised invitation was

²¹¹ Melissen, J. et al. (2011) Consular affairs and diplomacy. Koninklijke Brill NV: Leiden. p 4.

²¹² Melissen et al. (2011) Ibid. p 4: “consular work has become increasingly service-orientated and the citizen calling on the MFA is nothing less than a ‘consumer’ of products and services delivered by the government”.

²¹³ Melissen et al. (2011) Ibid. p 15.

²¹⁴ Melissen et al. (2011) Ibid. p 3.

²¹⁵ Anderson. Ibid. p 150.

²¹⁶ Dirks, N.B. (1992) Colonialism and culture. The University of Michigan Press: Michigan. p 4: “Culture was imbricated both in the means and the ends of colonial conquest...”

²¹⁷ Wheeler, T. (2005) South African Department of Foreign Affairs, p 85.

supplemented with personalised invitations posted to Dutch nationals in the city²¹⁸, today however emails and facebook are the media of choice. The western face of the chancery site is covered with orange drapes and the gates are opened to every holder of a Dutch passport. An occasion like this also reaffirms ties to the nation and the Dutch community in the CoT. There doesn't seem to be a great impetus to do similarly in the case of the Embassy of the U.S.A in South Africa for the 4th of July. Due to the large number of U.S. citizens in the CoT makes it impractical to do so²¹⁹, but it also seems unnecessary to coordinate activities of a community whose individual members integrate well into the social fabric of the city. The Embassy of Brazil issues an invitation for a gathering of the Brazilian community in the CoT for the celebration of their Independence Day on 7 September each year²²⁰.

These occasions are nevertheless exceptions in facilitating citizen's participation in national rituals/traditions of cultural affinity. The manner in which chanceries through consular sections currently relate to expatriates diminishes the possibility of their incorporation into cultural diplomacy. Not all expatriates have contact with the missions of their respective countries. What, if anything, the chancery may mean to expatriates is likely just as inconsistent as in the case of directly unassociated *cityzens*. While consular sections of missions provide documentation services and facilitate the participation of citizens in national elections, if their laws so permit, the individual's need for these is only every few years.

These factors do not bode well for the hypothesis that through cultural diplomacy the missions counteract anomie of the city by becoming facilitators of subcultural enclaves. As all three interviewed diplomats confirmed, cultural and public diplomacy as carried out by their missions is aimed at foreign publics, and any contact they may have with expatriates is not primarily intended for their inclusion in such events²²¹. However, whether missions facilitate ties to the national community can depend on a variety of reasons such as the size of the mission and the expatriate community in the receiving

²¹⁸ Martens, J.L. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (28 May 2015).

²¹⁹ Monster, E.J. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (1 June 2015).

²²⁰ Mendonça, D.M. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (19 June 2015).

²²¹ França, A.C. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (26 May 2015); Martens, J.L. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (28 May 2015); Monster, E.J. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (1 June 2015).

state, or the similarity of the sending state's culture to that of the receiving state so that integration is either easier or more difficult. The Embassy of the Republic of Iraq in South Africa for example is a mission with five diplomatic staff and an expatriate community not exceeding thirty in the CoT. Language and culture different from the South African context promotes a sense of community which has become connected to the chancery because of efforts by the Head of Mission to meet at least once annually with the Iraqi community based in the CoT, but also in other major South African cities. The chancery thus reaffirms the individuals and families' ties to the nation.

Though expatriates are not unwelcome participants in cultural diplomacy reaching foreign publics is the ultimate aim. Be that as it may, what chanceries are overlooking by their passive inclusion of an incomplete database of expatriates is citizen diplomacy; the ability of citizens to convey the ideals of the nation and entice the interest of others through interchanges that are entirely separate from foreign missions²²². If the spaces dedicated for their cultural diplomacy – *American Spaces*, Dutch places of *Shared Cultural Heritage* and the Brazilian Cultural Centre – were also places expatriates could envision themselves using, an environment for organic cultural sharing between expatriates and *cityzens* to reaffirm and expand their cultural horizons could be the result. It would represent a reorientation in the traditional focus on foreign audiences, but expatriate involvement could allow the activities distance from the political ideologies of the state with their potential to offend. Gienow-Hecht and Donfried argue “the more distance there is between the agent of a cultural diplomacy program and a political or economic agenda, the more likely the program is to succeed. Equally important, the more interactive the structure of the cultural diplomacy program is, the more likely it is to be successful”²²³.

Much of how cultural diplomacy is carried out cannot be reduced to a simple inclusion of expatriates. It depends on policy directives to pursue active engagement with the community, the liberty of the head of mission, capabilities of the cultural officer and course the budget allocated to its implementation. Democratic intent behind their

²²² Constantinou, C.M. (2013) Between statecraft and humanism: diplomacy and its forms of knowledge. *International Studies Review* 15. p 141 & 159.

²²³ Gienow-Hecht, J.C.E. & Donfried M.C. (2010) Searching for a cultural diplomacy. Berghahn Books: New York. p 4.

inclusion as well as in the routine participation of *cityzens* is important to set a tone for conversations that could lead to mutual understanding, the goal of cultural and public diplomacy. *Coffee with a Diplomat* events at the Es'kia Mphahlele Library's *American Space* being an example of a platform where casual and critical engagement on U.S. foreign policy and diplomacy is made possible.

At the same time recognition needs to be given to the frequent volitional contact consular sections have with the public. As Melissen et al argue, “the whole array of consular services offers a chance for diplomats to demonstrate that they are not an alienated elite”²²⁴. Therefore, a more intentional link between consular and cultural diplomacy could result in more impactful contact with *cityzens* because:

*[T]he diplomatic efforts underpinning consular work [as with cultural diplomacy] stand in the wider context of diplomacy's societization. In all sorts of ways, tomorrow's diplomats will become more tied up with the societies that they represent and the societies where they are represented*²²⁵

Since the foreign mission is in a position of power relative to *cityzens* – inward-facing sites intimidate and impose behavioural restrictions – their integration into the city fabric through an outward-facing orientation which invites in and goes out, rests largely in their hands. Architecture – which has great catalytic potential to encourage social change²²⁶ – of the spaces designated for cultural diplomacy can go a long way to structuring interchanges on more equal, participative terms.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to establish the dual impact of the U.S., Netherlands and Brazilian representation in the CoT on the one hand, in the built environment through affect rising out of by the primary diplomatic sites of their chanceries, and on the other hand, through specific cultural and public diplomacy activities. The greatest challenge to determining this is a lack of data about *cityzens'* perceptions of chanceries and

²²⁴ Melissen et al. (2011) Ibid. p 6.

²²⁵ Melissen et al. (2011) Ibid. p 8.

²²⁶ Combrinck, C. (29 July 2015) Social justice and urban planning, presented at the Capital Cities Program Reading Group. University of Pretoria.

incomplete data collection by chanceries about the audiences they engage in public and cultural diplomacy. The numbers listed above do not include even half of the activities (film festivals, countless seminars, meetings, workshops, etc) in which diplomats interact with *cityzens* of the CoT. Nevertheless, there are four points worth emphasising in conclusion: (1) the frequent human development rather than cultural display focus of cultural diplomacy; (2) the unquantifiable influence of *cityzens'* exposure to different ways of thinking and general social practice; (3) a lack of expatriate *cityzen* incorporation and therefore little to no community formation function, and; (4) the city as a space geared for cultural and public diplomacy.

In U.S. support for educational exchanges, *American Spaces*, the Stoffelpark *YouthZone* suggest and even in the Brazil-South Africa Cultural Centre there is a discernible human development focus. Cultural and public diplomacy simultaneously linked in some shape or form to development is a means of support engaged in by many other foreign missions of various means to further commitment on critical issues facing communities that also align with their own national interests. Without exploring their intent, like civil society movements, NGOs, NPOs and others they prove eager to struggle against societal maladies in developing countries.

Disregarding the individual events and projects, the meaning of cultural diplomacy in the city is the expanded possibility for *cityzens* to be, think, do and explore 'the Other' and their 'otherness' and because the self-concept is also referent, when faced with difference *cityzens* may reconsider their own identities²²⁷. Public and cultural diplomacy, are the conceptual home of diplomacy's humanist aims; to bring together peoples in knowledge sharing, learning and understanding. Where better to do so than in the city, a place of diversity?

As it currently stands missions have little impetus to be agents of community formation. On the one hand, the post-colonial period's preservation of national cultures abroad in order to cement some dominance in the foreign society is an abandoned project. On the other hand, distance narrowing information technology allows expatriate *cityzens* to

²²⁷ Burggraeve, R. (1999) Violence and the vulnerable face of the other: the vision of Emmanuel Levinas on moral evil and our responsibility. *Journal of Social Philosophy* 30(1).

maintain connections to home and virtual platforms, like Facebook, make it easy for expatriates to find one another in another country. Community is therefore less in need of diplomatic support. National day celebrations may complement this, but as observations of the Colombian Independence Day celebrations this year may also indicate, they are simultaneously a justified platform for cultural extravagance simultaneously wooing invited South African guests.

The city as a place where pluralism thrives²²⁸, not only offers a convenient location for foreign representatives to reach foreign governments and to provide the most amount of people with consular services, it can also be the most effective place for cultural diplomacy due to a larger, more diverse audience. Troublingly for the efficacy of expanded cultural opportunities in the CoT facilitated by foreign missions is the view shared between the interviewed diplomats of *cityzens*' disconnection from and disinterest in the culturally novel. Reasons may range from an alterable reality in safety and transport to the relatively stable nature of personal interest and maybe even city habit/culture. Other explanations for the problematic (for chanceries) lack of cultural-openness of *cityzens* may be rooted in the cultural boycotts of the apartheid²²⁹ era. Both present challenges and opportunities to the CoT for consideration as they pursue Vision 2055" and strive to become a 'complete' capital city...[by] proactively reconfigure[ing] the hard (physical) and soft attributes (culture) of the City"²³⁰ without perpetuating a politics of exclusion.

The first relates to public safety and security and the extension of public transport so that in a transformed cultural environment citizens are able to access new cultural centres and feel safe no matter the hour. The interviewed diplomats reiterated the concern that attendance of cultural activities is limited when it takes place after hours due to a lack of safety and transport. If the urban regeneration of the CoT rests on

²²⁸ Moroni, S. & Chiodelli, F. (2014) Introduction: city, pluralism and toleration. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 36 (2). p 164.

²²⁹ History. (no date) Musicians boycott South Africa. *A&E Networks*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.history.com/speeches/musicians-boycott-south-africa#musicians-boycott-south-africa> [Accessed on 26 July 2015].

²³⁰ The City of Tshwane. (2013) Tshwane Vision 2055: remaking South Africa's capital city. City of Tshwane: Pretoria. p 88.

transformed public expressions of culture, the role foreign missions play and/or might be interested in playing, outside of the existing Diplomatic Fair, should be considered for complementarity of aims. Certainly some of the cultural and public diplomacy activities mentioned in this chapter already contribute to improved facilities and/or opportunities available to *cityzens* which simultaneously address the challenges of the present society.

In the second place, addressing *cityzen* disinterest in the cultural work of foreign missions attributed to culture in other words habit, or lack thereof, what *American Spaces* demonstrate well is that being what *cityzens* need, where they need it and the mission's public cultural and public diplomacy need not be mutually exclusive. As Vision 2055 considers modifying soft (cultural) characteristics of the CoT the experience of chanceries can contribute valuable lessons about the integration of activities into the everyday. At the same time one might consider a way to attract further participation of chanceries in the city along the same lines. The CoT therefore has a facilitating role to play in ensuring like at the Diplomatic Fair, that the benefit of diverse foreign representation reaches broader segments of *cityzens*. What the CoT stands to gain through a renewed culturally-focused partnership with the diplomatic corps is cultural initiative of missions wanting to leave their mark on the city and eventually the soft power – the power to persuade individuals to want to live, work and invest in the city – that may be generated from closer links.

The motivation to review partnership between the CoT and the diplomatic corps should be marked by a critique on the role of culture in urban regeneration and whether providing an environment better suited to cultural diplomacy will be addressing the needs of current and future *cityzens*.

In the next chapter I present the perspectives of collaborators, who are not diplomats, in the cultural diplomacy activities of the U.S, Netherlands and Brazil mentioned in this chapter. I revisit the idea of the annual Diplomatic Fair at the Union Buildings trying thereby to understand whether and how through it stronger relations between the CoT and the diplomatic corps could be formed. Finally, I contemplate the limitations of this paper and divergent thematic streams for further research.

Appendix

Principal Researcher: Chané J Rama Dahya

Interview

Schedule

Title: *Locating the cultural significance of foreign diplomatic representation to the city: the cases of the U.S., Dutch and Brazilian missions in the City of Tshwane*

Questions are divided into six sections: (1) The Embassy, (2) Policy, (3) Activities, (4) Individual reflections, (5) Audience, and (6) Miscellaneous.

1. The Embassy

- How long has your country had representation in South Africa?
- If applicable where have Representative Offices and/or the Embassy been located in that time?

2. Policy

a. State Policy

- What are the general policy prescriptions for public and cultural diplomacy made by your Ministry of Foreign Affairs?
- Which policies are vibrant in the South African case? What dictates this?

b. Embassy Priorities and Budget

- How do budgets guide public and cultural diplomacy?
- How much (average percentage) is spent on this in comparison to other policy priorities of the Embassy?

3. Activities

- What public engagement and cultural events has the mission in hosted itself in the City of Tshwane during your posting (roughly the last five years)?
- How has the Embassy partnered with South Africans in the City of Tshwane in cultural activities in the last five years?
- What community social development projects has the Embassy spearheaded and/or supported in the City of Tshwane in the last five years?

- What has been the most successful project/collaboration? How did it come about?
- What role has education exchange played in the mission's public diplomacy strategy?
- Has the Embassy participated in the Diplomatic Fair? When? What has been your experience?/What is your opinion on the platform?

4. Individual role

- What changes in public and cultural diplomacy have you observed during your posting?
- In which projects have you played an instrumental role in the city?
- Which are you especially proud of?
- What recommendations would you leave behind for your successor?
- How does your experience here relate to your previous postings?
- What lessons will you take away?

5. Audience

a. Audience

- Which platforms are being made use of in public and cultural diplomacy to draw audiences?
- Do you collect information about your audiences? Do you know who engages with the Embassy (which members of society)?
- What is the profile of your audience according to gender, race, nationality, class, and potentially other categorizations?

b. Self-perception of role

- How do you see the role of the Embassy acting in the city space?

c. Activity organisation

- What has been challenging about cultural diplomacy in the City of Tshwane?
- What has been easy about cultural diplomacy in the City of Tshwane?

6. Miscellaneous

- Number of local appointed persons employed by the Embassy in Pretoria
- Their importance in the continuity of the Embassy's operations
- What values and ideas of this city resonate with those of your home country's national capital?

The U.S. representative was additionally asked particularly about the American Spaces and Fulbright, while the Brazilian and Dutch diplomats were asked about Cbras and Shared Cultural Heritage respectively. Other questions about the chancery sites, for instance on their design and readiness to welcome visitors from the public, were also posed.

Chapter Five

The Diplomatic Corps, Cultural Diplomacy and Tshwane's Vision 2055

5.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapters a history of the diplomatic corps in the CoT evidenced the dramatic increase in the number of countries with foreign representation in the city since 1994. At the same time it clarified that the CoT is rivalled by many other diplomatic cities including Washington D.C in sheer numbers of missions.

Taking the U.S., Brazilian and Dutch chanceries as case studies, it proceeded to show how regardless, the embodied presence of chanceries alter the spirit of the city through the iconicity of their sites in the build environment. At the same time the varied active cultural and public diplomacy of these chanceries make contributions to the social life of *cityzens*. An accurate impression of the latter would not have been possible without the willing participation of cultural diplomats from each mission. Through this, a deeper understanding for the potential impact foreign representation may have in the CoT has been gained. Yet, because of the novelty of the study's investigations, many questions remain. Taking a discursive approach in this chapter, I draw together earlier findings while addressing some gaps in the study.

In the first instance I revisit the importance of sites in diplomacy. Building on the conceptual foundation established in chapter three, I recognise specifically how foreign missions carrying out cultural and public diplomacy at universities turning them into diplomatic sites in their own right. This segues into a recounting of two collaborative experiences from the perspective of *cityzen* collaborators in two earlier mentioned cultural/public diplomacy activities: the City of Tshwane/University of Pretoria U.S. Study Tour and the *Shared Cultural Heritage* (SCH) program with the University of Pretoria's Department of Architecture. Taking off from there, I imagine a future for

cultural diplomacy in the CoT and finally list some limitations of the study as a basis on which to recommend questions for further investigation.

5.2 Universities and public diplomacy

As previously established, a necessary condition of active cultural and public diplomacy is their occurrence in the city space outside of the chancery. Firstly, because the targeted audience is the public, and secondly, security or space (in the sense of room) concerns often necessitate their occurrence elsewhere. Universities were distinguished as one such site of diplomacy in the CoT in, for instance, relation to the conference *Changing capital cities in Latin America, the Caribbean and Southern Africa* which the University of Pretoria hosted with the Group of Latin American and Caribbean High Commissions and Embassies in April this year. Also the annual Latin American and Caribbean Film Festival by the same grouping (GRULAC). These are examples at opposite ends of the spectrum from public to cultural diplomacy. Seminars, panel discussions, workshops and similar activities associated more closely with the former and traditional forms of cultural expression through language, art, music and food associated with cultural diplomacy.

In other cases just over the last few months of 2015, the British High Commission sponsored a South African tour of its land speed record-setting vehicle the Bloodhound²³¹ which was exhibited in the University of Pretoria's main library in April. The Czech Embassy organised an exhibition of the works of Jan Hus²³², and the Georgian Embassy similarly showcased national heritage and art (*Image 5.1*)²³³, while the Japanese embassy has put on an exhibition about the challenges of a developing

²³¹Ndlazi, S. (14 April 2015) Rocket car creates a stir at tuks. *IOL*. [Online] Available from: <http://www.iol.co.za/motoring/motorsport/rocket-car-creates-a-stir-at-tuks-1.1844660#.VcZSAfmqqko> [Accessed on 6 August 2015].

²³² Embassy of the Czech Republic in Pretoria. (24 May 2015) The exhibition on Jan Hus in South Africa a success. [Online] Available from: http://www.mzv.cz/pretoria/en/culture_and_education/cultural_events/in_cape_town_and_pretoria_the_exhibition.html [Accessed on 6 August 2015].

²³³ Embassy of Georgia to the Republic of South Africa. (26 May 2015) Information on the celebration of the Independence Day of Georgia in the Republic of South Africa. [Online] Available from: http://rsa.mfa.gov.ge/index.php?lang_id=ENG&sec_id=913&info_id=30763 [Accessed on 6 August 2015].

urban landscape in that country in the 1960s (*Image 5.2*)²³⁴. Other than their seemingly spontaneous occurrences in the above forms, on an annual basis the University of Pretoria's International Day in October (an initiative of the student organisation *UP International*) – with participating chanceries organised in and exhibition booth structure similar to the Diplomatic Fair - allows casual engagement with diplomats and their national cultures. These, and potentially numerous other not as widely publicized collaborations in meeting rooms, have taken place at the University of Pretoria's main campus located amid the chanceries of the foreign diplomatic corps (*Image 5.3*).

²³⁴Embassy of Japan in South Africa. (July 2015). Up & coming Japanese architect - Mr. Akihisa Hirata, [Online] Available from: http://www.za.emb-japan.go.jp/en/events/lecture_for_exhibition.pdf [Accessed on 6 August 2015].



Image 5.1: Eduardo Villa Museum, Merensky Library, University of Pretoria



Image 5.2: Department of Architecture, University of Pretoria

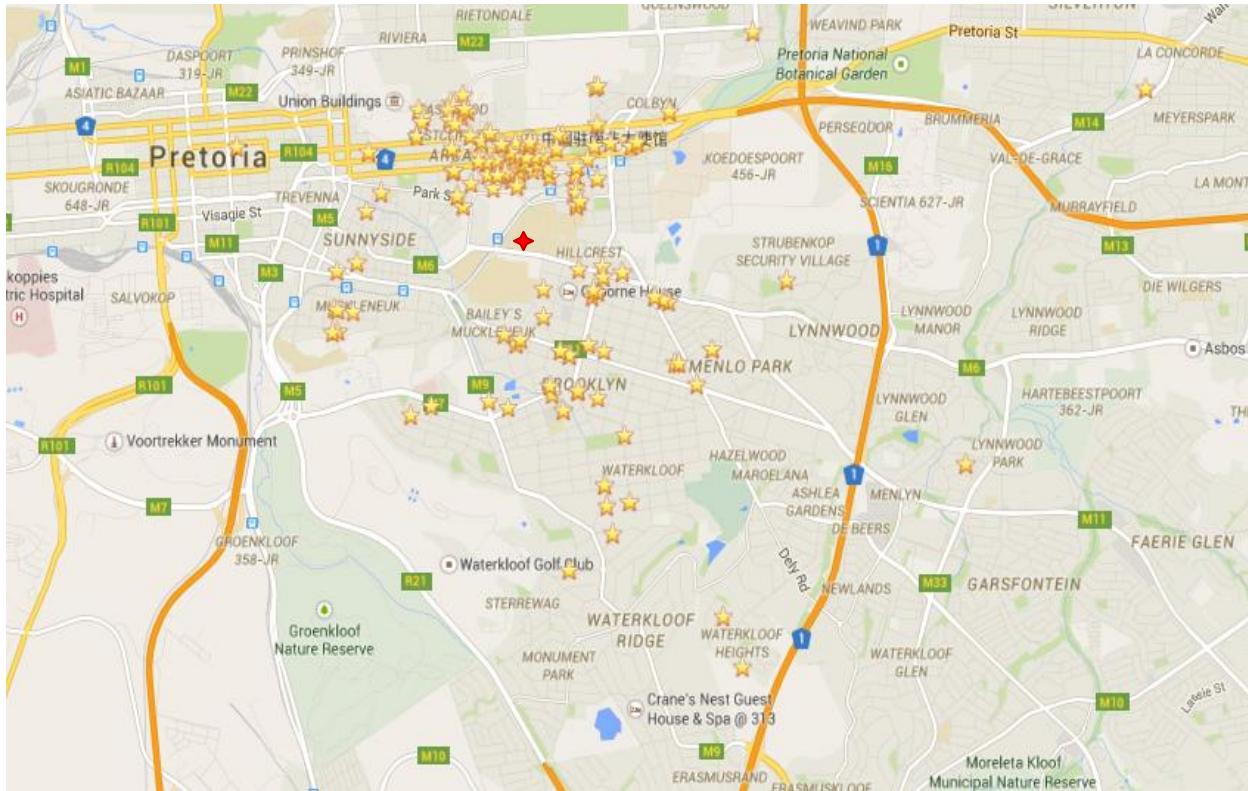


Image 5.3: University of Pretoria Hatfield (main) campus in relation to the diplomatic corps

Such interactions with institutions of higher education in the CoT are an effort of chanceries to reach certain groups of *cityzens*, students, where they already are in semi-public places with minimally restricted access. “General incremental changes in the global social environment within which diplomacy functions”²³⁵ reinforce the revival of cultural and public diplomacy in contemporary diplomacy, specifically the need to communicate with foreign audiences. This, diplomacy’s knowledge-sharing²³⁶ character makes educational institutions natural partners. As Iver Neuman states: “[a]n important aspect of diplomacy is to inculcate into another party some kind of vision of how things could be different”²³⁷. Universities are homes for ideas. A closer examination of two collaborative experiences of Departments of the University of Pretoria briefly mentioned in the last chapter reveal how cultural diplomacy – rather than the form of art exhibitions, music performances, sport events – when it takes the shape of knowledge-sharing can

²³⁵ Neumann, I. B. (2013) *Diplomatic sites: a critical enquiry*. Colombia University Press: New York. p 1.

²³⁶ Constantinou, C.M. (2013) *Between statecraft and humanism: diplomacy and its forms of knowledge*. *International Studies Review* 15. p 143.

²³⁷ Neumann. (2013) *Diplomatic sites...*p 7.

similarly bear consequences for the lived environment in the CoT should ideas come to fruition.

5.3 Partnering with chanceries

5.3.1 City of Tshwane/UP Study Tour to the U.S.

In May 2015 a team of eight individuals went on an 8-day study tour enabled by the State Department's International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP) to discover successful models of town-gown relations in two U.S cities. The existing relationship between the University of Pretoria and CoT was raised in a meeting between the current U.S. Ambassador to South Africa, Patrick Gaspard and Vice-Chancellor Prof. Cheryl de la Rey. Ambassador Gaspard consequently recommended that cases of particularly close town-gown relations in some U.S. cities could prove instructive. Five individuals from the administrative hierarchy of the University of Pretoria and three from the CoT, among them Prof. de la Rey and Executive Mayor Kgosietsi Ramokgopa took meetings with universities and city governance structures in Detroit and Philadelphia.

According to Prof. Denver Hendricks, a participant in the study tour in his capacity as Director for University Relations, both cities exhibited intentional integration of universities into the community in order to assist under-capacitated local government²³⁸. An immediate benefit to the universities being, the promise of professional experience for students through their involvement in local governance structures to work on solutions to the city's challenges. Some of which were put forth, approved and implemented, while a larger majority were selectively valuable but nevertheless useful to the students' learning. In the long term, universities profited from a more desirable and liveable city to attract higher achieving students and staff.

The study tour seems to have sparked much enthusiasm among the participants, with both the university and city counterparts eager to implement policy for the development

²³⁸ Hendricks, D. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (30 July 2015).

of their own mutually beneficial relationship. At least three core lessons exist as possibilities for the University of Pretoria's relationship with the CoT²³⁹:

- Outward facing orientation toward the community
- Jurisdiction of university security in the areas surrounding campus
- Student and staff research to target city challenges

As the reasoning goes, in a divided and unequal society the optic of a public institution as a privileged, isolated community is problematic²⁴⁰. Therefore, a first step towards the desired outward-facing orientation is removal of barriers separating the university campuses from the city. The first concern raised at this proposal is security, and therefore the next step would be to capacitate campus security by considering an extension of their jurisdiction and powers²⁴¹. The last of the immediate aims, supposedly already geared for initiation, is for students of the University of Pretoria to take up internships in the CoT as a means of generating useful knowledge in the city and developing urban expertise in the University.

By contrast the CoT will play its role in integration. Vision 2055 makes plain a purpose to move the city along by: “anchoring itself within its knowledge institutions, especially its institutions of higher learning”²⁴². In supporting the integration into the city of the University of Pretoria and other institutions in the knowledge belt it has the task among others of coordinating and extending public transport networks and the roll-out of bicycle lanes with the larger aim of discouraging personalised motorised transport.

One can certainly argue that the study tour was not necessarily the point of origin for these ideas, neither are they exclusive to Detroit and Philadelphia. Notwithstanding that, should they come to fruition, the landscape and life in the East of the CoT will change drastically. The study tour could then be credited as a significant event to spur on the

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid.: The University has in mind the creation of a “Hatfield Precinct”, an initiative to draw a larger community of *cityzens* in the suburb of Hatfield from the L.C. de Villiers Sport Grounds to the main campus of the University into a closer relationship with the university and allowing these to benefit from the access to the services and space generated as a result.

²⁴² City of Tshwane. (2013) Tshwane Vision 2055: Remaking South Africa's capital city. City of Tshwane: Pretoria. pg 163.

undercurrents of university-city integration and propose means by which to do so. Paradiplomatic relationships have through the effort been established between the CoT, Detroit and Philadelphia as well as interuniversity partnerships which will continue in the future to assist implementation. The eagerness of the Embassy of the United States of America in South Africa to continue to lend support to the efforts is further acknowledgement of the impact the visit has made and potentially will have on city-university relations in the CoT. The users, for better or worse, will be *cityzens*.

5.3.2 UP & *Shared Cultural Heritage*

Collaboration between the University of Pretoria's Department of Architecture and the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands on this particular project came about in approximately 2011. A proposal for funding of research on Dutch architecture made by Prof. Karel Bakker and Dutch counterparts to Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in South Africa was successful under the framework of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' *SCH* program. The research culminated in the 2014 publication of *Eclectic ZA Wilhelmiens*²⁴³, which was co-funded by the University of Pretoria. The significance of the lengthy research collaboration has been²⁴⁴:

- its contribution to highlighting the Wilhelmiensian rather than British architecture in South Africa during the so-called Victorian era (1880-1900);
- documentation of many previously undocumented buildings;
- cooperative relationships established between the University of Pretoria and Dutch partners, specifically Delft University.

The resultant publication answered long held questions but posed several more about architecture of the same period and thereafter. Plans for a second volume focusing on the early 20th century are thus in the pipeline. This exercise in academia also bears some consequence for the management of heritage in the CoT. According to Johan Swart, lecturer in architecture at the University of Pretoria, as a recorded declaration of the importance of the buildings a precedent is created for their preservation. Searching

²⁴³ Bakker, K.A. et al. (eds.). (2014) *Eclectic ZA Wilhelmiens: a shared Dutch built heritage in South Africa*. Visual Books: Pretoria.

²⁴⁴ Swart, J. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (3 August 2015).

for direct impact on the lives of *cityzens*, rather than the Wilhelminian architecture of Church Square, a potentially significant example can be seen in the *SCH* program's preliminary academic contemplations in the area of Westfort, west of the CBD:

When leprosy afflicted the young Boer Republic of the Transvaal (South Africa) at the end of the 19th century, a decision was made to erect an asylum at a distance from the capital city in order to shelter the affected. The Westfort Leper Colony was constructed by the Public Works Department, under the supervision of the Dutch-born architect S.W. Wierda. The architecture the department chose [sic] followed a Continental, Dutch tradition to distinguish it from the Victorian architecture favoured by the British opponent. Once medical science had managed to control leprosy, the colony was abandoned at the end of the 20th century. Soon after, the site was occupied by squatters, who found a relatively comfortable shelter there. Today, however, the living conditions are hardly bearable, due to a lack of facilities like electricity, water and sanitation and on-going dilapidation. At the request of the University of Pretoria, the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands (RCE) and the Technical University (TU) Delft supported a workshop on the future perspectives of the site. The provisional outcome of the workshop is that living conditions of the Westfort Colony can be improved by making use of its historical features. As such, the workshop may offer a new perspective for current municipal development plans. To elaborate on the provisional findings, the University of Pretoria and TU Delft decided to continue their collaboration in September [2015]²⁴⁵.

Four thousand is the approximate number of inhabitants currently living in Westfort. Should the initial groundwork of the individuals from the *SCH* program gain traction in the governance structure of the CoT, a triangular relationship would be established between the *SCH* program, the City and the University of Pretoria to address heritage maintenance and the needs of the *cityzens* at the site. At this stage the collaboration with the University of Pretoria is useful to make links with the CoT for an eventually realization of the expertise they could contribute to further work at Westfort once the ownership – and therefore the right to engage in heritage preservation – of the site has been clarified.

²⁴⁵ Cultural Heritage Connections. (23 April 2015) Of lepers and paupers. [Online] Available from: http://www.culturalheritageconnections.org/wiki/Of_Lepers_and_Paupers [Accessed on 03 August 2015].

As with the study tour, one could level ideological criticism at the boldness of Dutch cultural preservation in the CoT and elsewhere. Dutch support of the anti-apartheid struggle may stifle such critique in order to allow for collaboration to continue. Wherever their heritage preservation expertise finds its place, especially in Westfort, it will affect the environments in which *cityzens* find themselves. Therefore this type cultural diplomacy is of particular tangible significance for the character of the city.

5.3.3 Summary

Both the U.S. Study Tour and *SCH* partnerships foreshadow future changes in the built environment creating social effects in the CoT. Monitoring these collaborations as they progress will reveal what impact is made on the lives of *cityzens*. While it is at this stage, as far as *cityzens* are concerned, a diplomacy of ideas – the likes of which even South Africa employs when it brands itself a model case of reconciliation and therefore a reputable teacher – these can translate into gains as seen in the example of the bus rapid transport system in Johannesburg. Rea Vaya, launched in 2009, received Colombian input when in 2006 the Embassy of Colombia facilitated a fact finding mission in 2006 to cities in that country where the BRT systems were studied as models for the design of the Johannesburg version²⁴⁶. A similar system was launched in the CoT in 2014.

In the examples above it stands to reason that though the direct beneficiaries are initially not *cityzens*, the more public the institution engaged in the collaboration with foreign missions the more likely policy changes will eventually result in alterations of *cityzens'* interactions with their environment. In the case of the International Visitor Leadership Program, the process was initiated by the Embassy, while funding from *SCH* came after such association was sought. Foreign missions are often regarded as potential funders of projects, an inescapable association made with the large coffers of nations and one not dissuaded by the perceived prestige of diplomacy. How partnerships are initiated in respect of the three chanceries selected for this study seem to matter less than whether there is a shared purpose evident in collaboration. Partners at the University of Pretoria in both of the previously mentioned cases describe their

²⁴⁶ Martha Cecilia Pinilla Perdomo (16 July 2015) Colombian Independence Day Celebrations, Pretoria Country Club.

experiences in a largely positive light and see great benefit in continued association. Successful cultural and public diplomacy in this sense is about being a versatile broker facilitating complementary links while “capturing imaginations”²⁴⁷. It asks more questions about the demand for expertise and supplies what it claims to be its comparative skills advantage. The above examples of the U.S. and Netherlands missions, but also the Brazilian mission in South Africa evidence this approach. After all, Cbras originated as a response to a concrete need for language training of South African²⁴⁸. Knowledge sharing may however frequently trigger scepticism about valid transference into local contexts. Precisely because of such doubt an underlying question of this study has been *quo bono* (who benefits?). If, as this paper has found, cultural and public diplomacy maintains a principle of mutual benefit and *cityzens* are beneficiaries of missions’ activities, should one facilitate such meeting points of *cityzens* and foreign missions? If so, to whom should such a task fall and how shall it be done? This seems to be desired from the point of view of the Executive Major of the City, Councillor Kgosientso Ramokgopa: “the City has not sufficiently exploited its position as the nation’s capital,...[it] is continuously positioning itself to benefit from economic opportunities that come with being host to so many missions”²⁴⁹. The next section considers the future potential of cultural and public diplomacy in the CoT.

5.4 Future of cultural diplomacy in the City of Tshwane

Something to notice about the cultural and public diplomacy of the three missions focused on in this paper is that theirs have largely been practices of knowledge and skills transfer. One is often weary of how this can contribute to an entrenchment of power relations in line with a North-knows-best mentality (even though Brazil is strictly speaking a nation of the global South) and therefore it is worth thinking about philanthropic intent and whether it meets the philanthropic expectations of *cityzens* when they are the primary targets.

²⁴⁷ Leonard et. al. In Jönsson, C. & Hall, M. (2003) Communication: an essential aspect of diplomacy. *International Studies Perspective* 4. p 204.

²⁴⁸ Mendonça, D.M. Interviewed by: Rama Dahya, C.J. (19 June 2015).

²⁴⁹ Unnamed author (January 2014) Executive Mayor engages the diplomatic community. *My Capital City*. City of Tshwane: Pretoria. p 13.

In speculating about the form of interchange between *cityzens* and diplomats at greater frequency and intensity, one should consider not only how foreign missions may judge their time and energy well spent, but also what can interest and be to the benefit of *cityzens*.

The CoT and the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) have made an effort in that regard with the annual Diplomatic Fair hosted at the Union Buildings. Initiated in 2012 the Fair is intended to:

*...celebrate South Africa's rich heritage...create an environment to establish partnerships with different cultures from around the world....[and] provide Diplomatic Missions in South Africa an opportunity to showcase their history, heritage and culture through languages, food, literature, music and art.*²⁵⁰

Though the publicness of the forum is to be celebrated – it grants unusual audiences access to a part of foreign missions' work – its format may be revised to make interaction more meaningful and worthwhile of the participation of all missions. In 2013 it attracted less than half²⁵¹ of all foreign missions in the CoT. The U.S. mission participated in the inaugural Fair, but after a mismatch in expectation and reality, was unconvinced about the usefulness of further participation. The Brazilian Embassy and the Kingdom of the Netherlands have withheld participation, but the latter is considering that possibility in the future. If the CoT seeks to give substance to its African city of note aspirations a key may be to develop stronger collaborations with the diplomatic corps through which diplomats would benefit from access to *cityzens* who are part of the larger society they have the task of understanding.

It has the potential to be a platform for inter-cultural learning and exploration, in order to do so its facilitators must understand what both *cityzens* and foreign mission might expect out of the exchange. The incorporation of strategic participation of *cityzens* leading up to the event may result in more meaningful interaction at the Fair. An

²⁵⁰ Department of International Relations and Cooperation. (07 March 2012) Diplomatic Fair for South Africa and the International Community to showcase and celebrate Diversity. [Online] Available from: http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/2012/dipl_fair0307.html [Accessed on 27 July 2015].

²⁵¹ Ibid.

initiative in Washington D.C. that succeeds in connecting *cityzens* with foreign missions is the Embassy Adoption Program which:

*[A]nnually connects 1,500 fifth- and sixth-grade students in 50 schools in all D.C. wards with 52 embassies. Embassy officials and teachers design an individualized curriculum based on the culture of the country, the embassy's resources, D.C. Public School curriculum standards, and needs of the students. Diplomats visit the schools to give students a personalized understanding of their nation's positions on various world issues.*²⁵²

This is but one suggestion for greater interaction which could invigorate the platform. Closer ties with the diplomatic corps could be valuable in the CoT's aim to "position itself as the home of the African renaissance, bringing together cultural and intellectual perspectives from within South Africa and the continent as a whole"²⁵³, but it will require more frank discussion between the City, the corps (each mission with their own different, sometimes complementary and at other times contradictory, interests) and DIRCO about what is possible and at the same time worthwhile.

Priorities of individual missions in cultural diplomacy alone can vary because cultural offices vary in human capacity or do not exist at all, as in the case of the majority of African missions in the CoT²⁵⁴. Though this should not automatically be taken to mean they do not engage in cultural diplomacy at all.

The personal experiences of the diplomats interviewed in this study in relation to changes in cultural diplomacy during their terms, serve as a reminder that diplomacy is a practice carried out by individuals with particular backgrounds and skills. They nevertheless concurrently portray the long-term orientation that most such efforts take and the inherent struggle of maintaining consistency in a changing policy environment.

As the CoT plans reconfiguring its spatiality to be more culturally vibrant²⁵⁵, one of the U.S. study tour's core lessons of outward-facing institutions of higher learning would

²⁵² Washington Performing Arts. (no date) Embassy Adoption Program. [Online] Available from: www.washingtonperformingarts.org/education/kids/embassy/index.aspx [Accessed on 10 August 2015].

²⁵³ City of Tshwane. (2013) Vision 2055...p 93.

²⁵⁴ Department of International Relations and Cooperation. (no date) Foreign Representation in South Africa. [Online] Available from: <http://www.dfa.gov.za/foreign/forrep/index.htm> [Accessed on 21 July 2015].

²⁵⁵ City of Tshwane. (2013) Vision 2055...p 88.

affect cultural and public diplomacy by inviting a larger public in to the activities that are already taking place on campuses. Security would be an immediate factor for consideration where foreign representatives are concerned. Should it however be managed adequately, many missions stand to engage a wider audience of *cityzens*. Whether this is always desirable is another matter because the larger the audience the more general the message needs to be in order for it to carry.

Why should this task facilitating *cityzen*-diplomatic corps interaction in the field of cultural diplomacy matter? Certainly a point of attraction for the City of Tshwane looking ever enviously at its southern sister city Johannesburg, may be the promise of generating soft power that causes people to imagine and desire a life for themselves in the city, to invest here and draw others further afield into the same city association. Yet while we try to quantify and justify cultural exploits in the above manner we may fail to notice its actual value.

Achille Mbembe in a seminar on South Africa's Fanonian Moment²⁵⁶ expressed disappointment at the disregard for the office of Arts and Culture in the state through treating it as a home for demoted cadres and burdened with the post apartheid tendency to reduce governance to an act of accounting. He argues there is a confusion of worth so that only what is quantifiable is valued. This is problematic, he says, because apartheid in order to fix domination suppressed the human sensorium, and incapacitated the deepest human abilities of the majority. In his view the rehabilitation of the post apartheid human sensorium is indispensable to the resurrection out of objecthood into personhood and culture (art, music, theatre and other creative expression) is the only possible rehabilitating agent.

A perusal of texts accompanying the permanent collection of the Pretoria Art Museum on the History of South African Art revealed:

Stringent censorship laws allowed for anything from the banning of books, film, theatre and literature, to the closure of art exhibitions. Art education facilities for black children was

²⁵⁶ Mbembe, A. (20 August 2015) South Africa's Fanonian Moment. Department of Sociology Seminar. University of Pretoria.

almost non-existent, they learned only those subjects which would prepare them for lowly jobs in the labour market. Art certainly did not feature in the curriculum.

On the other hand another text told of the activities of individual Europeans involved in creating and running art schools to support black South African art and artists. A noteworthy example for the context of this paper is the Evangelical Lutheran Church Art and Craft Centre at Rorke's Drift which was established by the Swedish Committee for the Promotion of African Art in the early 1960s. It later became a Fine Art School training black artists from 1968-1982.

The extension of access to places of cultural expression and the development of South Africa art in the 21st century is on the agenda in a post apartheid South Africa. Therein lies the value of cultural diplomacy, as a means through which missions can become supporters of South African art. The Dutch Ambassador's presentation of an award to Zanele Muholi last year for her artful photographic portrayal of LGBTQI individuals in South Africa is exemplary of how cultural diplomacy and the South African art scene can be brought together²⁵⁷.

5.5 Limitations and future research

As a first approach to the cultural significance of foreign diplomatic representation in the CoT a prime limitation of the study has been representing the magnitude of what the diplomatic corps undertake. It has aimed neither to be comprehensive in the coverage of the activities of the chosen chanceries nor those of the remaining 120 missions in the CoT. The intention has been to rather stimulate further investigation. Before I suggest such further points of inquiry, there are a few critiques to level against the present research:

Firstly, the need to focus narrowly on three chanceries has been to the exclusion of many smaller missions. Secondly, the centrality of the University of Pretoria is not to the intentional disregard of cultural and public diplomacy activities carried out at other

²⁵⁷ Kingdom of the Netherlands in South Africa. (21 February 2014) Ambassador Haspels presents Zanele Muholi, artist and LGBTI activist with the Prince Claus Award. [Online] Available from: <http://southafrica.nlembassy.org/news/2014/february-2014/ambassador-haspels-presents-zanele-muholi-artist-and-lgbti-activist-with-the-prince-claus-award.html> [Accessed on 26 August 2015].

institutions of higher learning in the City. Rather the interviews led to particular collaborations interesting for the potential impact on the lives of *cityzens*.

Thirdly, the limitation to the cultural and public diplomacy activities of chanceries excludes those of consulates, even though they are significantly less frequent because the primary duty of the consulate is the issuing of visas. It has not sufficiently dealt with the symbolic weight of diplomatic plates²⁵⁸, consulates and residences. As concerns residences, most chanceries nowadays maintain a separate residence for the head of mission to receive guests. Therefore, the residence is usually connected symbolically to the chancery and the nation. It is too a site for diplomacy. Fourth, in the same way, the diplomatic agent could have been given greater attention.

Fifth, it has not been possible to review at length other aspects of foreign diplomatic representation in the city that nevertheless alter the city environment. The existence of a policing unit dedicated to the diplomatic corps is one example. Another that falls into the spectrum of the everyday is the policy variation allowing for adjusted terms of membership at fitness clubs in suburbs where diplomats are represented in larger numbers, the same is uncommon at other clubs throughout the country. This is something for future investigation. Other sites and forms of diplomacy in the city – restaurants, hotels, and conference venues – have also not been addressed in depth due to their more exclusive character and alignment with the political and economic instead of cultural.

Sixth, the exploratory nature of the study which has given rise to more questions than answers about the effects foreign missions generate in the city. Recommending further research on the basis of these criticisms lead to the following points of inquiry:

- Sites and perception:
 - What is the comparative symbolic agency of various diplomatic sites? (the chancery vs. the consulate vs. residence vs. diplomatic license plates)
 - Can diplomacy continue as effectively without the iconicity of official diplomatic sites?

²⁵⁸ diplomatic plates can provoke irritation; as a recent incident in which a diplomat became the target of xenophobic slurs at an upper-middle class shopping centre show, their presence is not unanimously welcomed because the assumed privileges associated with their office can seem unjust.

- What are the perceptions of *cityzens* about chancery sites?
- What are the perceptions of *cityzens* about diplomacy?
- What is the agency of *cityzens* in various diplomatic sites?

- Culture in the city:
 - How can reform of the Diplomatic Fair bring about greater integration of the diplomatic corps into the CoT towards its Vision 2055?
 - What does a lack of cultural offices in African missions to South Africa mean for a pan-Africanist project?
 - What is the impact of cultural diplomacy on the City of Johannesburg as the home of the Goethe Institute, IFAS, Prohelvetia, British Council, Confucius Institute and other national cultural organisations?
 - What are the cultural roles of consulates in Cape Town?
 - What can be the role of cultural diplomacy in urban regeneration strategies?

- Corps and the city:
 - How do the CoT and DIRCO together govern the diplomatic corps in the CoT?
 - How does the microgeography of diplomacy in the CoT compare with other world capitals?
 - How does the particular infrastructure and “spirit” of the CoT facilitate and/or impede the work of missions?
 - Diplomatic corps signifiers of capitals

- Partnerships with missions:
 - How do institutions of higher learning facilitate cultural and public diplomacy in the CoT?
 - Who are the collaborators with missions?
 - Who are the *cityzens* interested in missions?
 - What is the role of the diplomatic agent in the success of cultural diplomacy?

- How does the cultural diplomacy of foreign missions in South Africa support their economic and political diplomacy?
- How do missions in the CoT facilitate paradiplomacy?

5.6 Conclusion

This study has sketched a history of the diplomatic corps in the CoT and compared its numbers to those in other capital cities. It has explored the primary diplomatic site of the chancery as a symbolic space and showed how together with activities that take place at sites of diplomacy in the city *cityzens* are engaged on a spectrum of indirectness/directness. The primary site of diplomacy and cultural and public diplomacy activities of the U.S., Netherlands and Brazilian missions in the CoT were described in order to identify in some small measure their impact. A primary challenge was the lack of data collected by the chanceries about their own activities. Nevertheless, some estimates of select projects could be established while perspectives of their collaborators emphasized their primary contribution to be in the realm of ideas and building networks for long term collaboration. The example of *Rea Vaya*, later *Areyeng* in the CoT, is a rare example of knowledge sharing translating into tangible, recognizable, effects for *cityzens*. Policy changes that may result from the U.S. study tour and *SCH* will be especially interesting to watch. Thus, one is able to pinpoint how the socio-cultural and public diplomacy activities of the US, Dutch and Brazilian missions in the CoT is impacting *cityzens'* lives and may do so in the future. This facilitation of voluntary association is the post-political, post-economic significance of diplomatic representation in the CoT. Its relevance is indelibly tied to the capitalness of the city, but as Mabin posits:

the programme [to elevate the capitalness of the city through monumentalisation] is surrounded by the kinds of myths which seem typical of capital city development programs .In Pretoria, the exaggerated notion of the continental and global importance of South Africa, symbolized by the mantra of 'our vast diplomatic community', serves similar

*purposes and sometimes drives a notion of the need for Pretoria to be something quite different from what it has yet become.*²⁵⁹

How the presence, organisation and activities of foreign missions in the CoT will change with the role it is allocated in the Tshwane Vision 2055 is yet to be seen, but the hope is that the impacts captured in this paper will stir curiosity about the depth and changing relationship between the capital city and its diplomatic corps.

²⁵⁹ Mabin, A. (2015) Tshwane and spaces of power in South Africa. *International Journal of Urban Sciences* 19(1). p 35.

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