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## **Postcolonial Cityscapes**

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### **Introduction**

The cityscape seems to be a versatile phenomenon that reflects the specific communal, temporal, and more importantly, the psycho-cultural needs of its people. It is constructed to answer its citizens' demands. In this logic, the architectural designing of the city of Milendo arises out of necessity to suit local, communal and cultural contexts: the square plan of the city is scaled in rigorous proportion, to the six-inch inhabitants of the city, and their needs<sup>1</sup>. Milendo is more-or-less an autonomous self-sustaining city that holds highly its vision of physical space drawn from its rich traditions and historical experiences. As explains Gulliver, the protagonist of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, of his visit to Milendo:

The city is an exact square, each side of the wall being five hundred foot long. The two great streets, which run cross and divide it into four quarters, are five foot wide. The lanes and alleys, which I could not enter, but only viewed as I passed, are from twelve to eighteen inches. The town is capable of holding five hundred thousand souls. The houses are of three to five stories. The shops and markets well provided<sup>2</sup>.

The different themes and approaches associated with ideology, history and modernism present in Milendo are pertinent to the way we understand the city of Cape Town. Imagined by technocrats of the officialdom, Cape Town is a city that is modeled to perfection like that of Lilliput's Milendo. By comparing and contrasting fictitious Milendo and the carefully planned city of Cape Town, patterns and mechanisms of polarisation, fragmentation and alienation become reflective of the way cities loaded with historical disaffections and violent memories become fragmented as a result of colonial and apartheid policies.

Architectural and town planning policies of the colonial and apartheid era are revealing of the contemporary fabric of the city of Cape Town. Shifting discourses impact on the cityscape, configuring Cape Town as that space that incessantly explores its modernism along sometimes contradicting or conflicting lines of representation, lifestyles, identity, ideologies, and ways of consumption, amongst other things. Development trends further tend to reinforce spatial division and fragmentation, and deny the poor majority from accessing economic and social opportunities<sup>3</sup>. As a result, there is a widening gap between Cape Town's affluent areas and impoverished townships. Today, the city of Cape Town harbours two cities.

As in various brochures, one of the ‘cities’ of Cape Town is presented to the world, as follows:

Cape Town is one of the most beautiful cities in the world, with its historic harbour silhouetted in the waters of the Victoria Basin and the backdrop of Table Mountain. It is a city of unlimited possibilities – Kirstenbosch Gardens, Robben Island where Nelson Mandela was imprisoned, the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront for some of the best shopping in the country or an adventurous trek up Table Mountain<sup>4</sup>.

Still a city in the making, Cape Town seems to be the open recreational area of the rich or normative structure, the officialdom, geared towards tourism. The city that is strategically exposed to the world is the new, urbanised, delectable, perfumed, beautiful, quieter, normative and official city. The ‘second city’, referred to, throughout this essay, as the deviant structure, constantly engages in conscious and unconscious struggles for hegemony of tastes, feelings, desires, sights, and sounds: they constantly try to assert what they feel is theirs and fight to take ownership of their own lives as bona fide citizens within the city. The deviant structure is the hidden city, the poor, malodorous, disillusioned, noisy, deviant and ‘unattractive rest’. As will be shown in this article, the officialdom’s attempt to present and ‘sell’ the official city to a wider public and, more importantly, to its own residents, highly diminishes the deviant structure’s value: the latter becomes the second city, the one that is less appreciated.

### **Manufacturing Otherness**

Milendo is an imaginary city, described by Jonathan Swift in *Gulliver’s Travels*. At once a folk-myth and a children’s tale, Milendo is a prototype of the modern city life; it is the Capetonian officialdom’s doppelganger. Milendo is very secure, is capable of holding five hundred thousand inhabitants, forms an exact square encompassed by a wall, and harbours well-provided markets and shops<sup>5</sup>. Citizens of Milendo embrace beauty, modernity, knowledge and morality. *Prima facie*, is flawless; all individuals, except members of the royal family, are equal; there exists no poverty, no conflict, no segregation, and no discrimination; resources are abundant and are fairly distributed amongst inhabitants; the economic system is thriving; the land is luxuriant and fertile; and the people could not be any happier<sup>6</sup>.

The city is delectable, perfumed, peaceful, elegant and quiet: it is what Milendo’s citizens need. Milendo’s officialdom, similar to Cape Town’s affluent areas, is an autonomous and absolute fortress; it thrives whether an outside world exists or not. Embracing urban modernism, Milendo’s officialdom prioritises aesthetic appearance; its city is spacious, uncluttered, efficient, clean, and does not have poor people and informal activities. The routes within the city walls are wide but offer limited intersection with roads outside the city and with the outside world. The land is separated into specialised areas, including areas for residence, retail, commerce and industry<sup>7</sup>.

Despite its apparent modernity, the city of Milendo harbours a very traditional society that refuses critique, and believes itself to be perfect in a fashion identical to that of Cape Town. It sees no evil, tolerates none, and seemingly produces none. In fact, citizens of Milendo do quite the opposite: allegedly wise and extremely talented builders are on a constant quest for knowledge, in order to promote what they believe to be an epitome microcosm, Milendo. Through their allegiance to maintaining an ideal community, citizens of Milendo voluntarily ignore, and refuse to admit influence and critique, and build up an absolute and autonomous city. Raised communally and collectively, citizens of Milendo bear a limited and, perhaps, a much coerced understanding of the world outside the walls of the city. Milendo is the depiction of a utopian cityscape governed by those who tend to privilege a particular group and a particular lifestyle that ought not be smothered or bothered by foreign affect.

Milendo is a paragon of modern alienation, silencing and denial. Many imagined and fictitious cities such as New Delhi, Istanbul and Cape Town, amongst others, voluntarily forget or ignore the existence of the world and other living beings outside their walls. They perhaps do not need to know of the rest of the world either, since they are self-sufficient. As premised throughout *Gulliver's Travels*, Gulliver, the giant foreign to Milendo, endures repeated failures to integrate into a society to which he does not belong. Milendo is not the land of the giants; it belongs to an unadulterated and apparently superior group of people.

Although Gulliver does not explicitly expose his profound loneliness, the cynic, embittered and anti-social person that he becomes, as he tries to find his place in the city of Milendo, is a clear portrayal of an isolated individual who does not seem to fit in the picture-perfect official Lilliputian society. The misanthropic veracity of alienation that Gulliver faces when in Milendo is a despairing vision of the reality of urban cityscapes such as that of Cape Town; a particular set of ideologies upholds the social and political system, reflecting the walling and fierce protection of the officialdom and the latter's particular vision of what the cityscape ought to encompass.

Citizens of Milendo and Gulliver, represent each a distinct and extremist polarised structure in one same city: citizens of Milendo live in perfect idealism, whilst Gulliver, the giant lives in complete despairing misrepresentations. Life, for the inhabitants of Milendo, is perfect within their official, idealistic urbanised, fortified city, shielded by physical as well as theoretical walls. Outside those walls, there exists another world, a deviant structure that is constantly denied, rejected and silenced both from public memory and narrative; it is Gulliver's story, the one about the 'other' inhabitant of Milendo. The very existence of that other inhabitant could shake the foundations of Milendo: Milendo's officialdom is not aware and, most importantly, does not need or want to be aware of the existence of such people as Gulliver, and any other form of human life outside of Milendo. As a result, the official city fails to accommodate a huge part of its population within its walls. Gulliver, the other inhabitant of the city of Milendo, is socially and spatially marginalised. He is excluded from the formal, and more 'appropriate' city, quite simply because he is not from

Milendo's officialdom. Unable to enter Milendo as a bona fide citizen, Gulliver lives on, just like the 'rest' of the Capetonian population, alongside and beyond the normative and official city, creating and occupying a vast and very particular informal space outside the walls the urbanised city.

The successful areas of Cape Town silence and deny, especially from the Capetonian historical narrative, the Gulliver-like 'giants' that live beyond their official walls, the townships. As in official Milendo, beautiful and modern Cape Town 'sees no evil, tolerates none, and seemingly produces none'. We could also add to that, the claim that the normative Cape Town 'sees no problem, hears no problem, and speaks no problem'. Numerous informal settlements have been formed at the periphery of the city, as a result of failed attempts by large groups of poorer people, to enter into the official city as *bona fide* citizens. The first township established was Ndabeni at the turn of the twentieth century, and was, like other townships, designed to be easily controlled by the authorities of the time<sup>8</sup>. Nyanga and Gugulethu followed in the 1950s<sup>9</sup>. Khayelitsha was created later on, and today holds more than one million inhabitants, living in shacks<sup>10</sup>. Moved beyond the borders of the modern city, townships are today one of the "two cities" within Cape Town, the other being the official, urbanised and normative city itself.

A Milendo-like official network of organised control and organised chaos pertaining to social, legal, ideological and material spaces characterises the city of Cape Town. One part of the city is the official one, bearing wealth, beauty, no formal recollection of past suffering and favouring a culture of silence; it is Cape Town's officialdom. The other part of the city of Cape Town includes the townships, and is but a mere cluster of a deprived people. Spatial practice is more than a physical boundary and barrier in Cape Town; it is a planned and purposeful curtailed space of isolation that is entrenched in social memory, especially since the period of colonisation. Alienated Gulliver-like township inhabitants form an isolated group that does not seem to fit in the official, picture-perfect Capetonian society. Their incapability to fit in the city as *bona fide* citizens is revealing of the walling and fierce protection of a particular vision maintained by the officialdom, as in Milendo. The acclamation of the officialdom is acclaimed, however results in the creation of a structure meant to accommodate 'otherness' - everything and everyone that does not fit in the officialdom.

The way that people are positioned within narratives of Cape Town's colonial past and modern present, trace the processes of identity-formation in Cape Town. Spatial demarcations have resulted in two groups of people in the city: 'us' and 'the others'. The normative structure shapes important features of society, including identity. Through affirmations of whiteness, blackness, rich and poor, the staging of identities demonstrates two separate identities. Cape Town promotes a 'normative' identity, 'us' in opposition with the 'others', the deviant and almost abnormal living beings outside of its modernised boundaries ((Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004: pp349-355). As in Milendo, the modern city of Cape Town constructs a polarised set of identities, one more powerful than the

other. Rich, modern and legitimate Cape Town exists in opposition with poor and dangerous Cape Town.

### **Bi-Polarity in the City**

Cape Town is, *prima facie*, very beautiful; to the South West of the city is the Atlantic Ocean, to the South East is the Indian Ocean, and to the north is a breath-taking mountain range. As in Milendo, the economic situation of Cape Town is not unpleasant; the vegetation is luxuriant; peace, freedom and fairness seem to prevail; there seems to be no segregation and no discrimination, at least, that is what is presented to the world; and resources are abundant and appear to be fairly distributed amongst inhabitants. The infrastructure is modern, the roads are excellent, and hotels offer world-class service. Obsessed with aesthetic success, the beautiful and decorous suburbs of Cape Town are founded on an idealistic vision that is beyond the reach of many<sup>11</sup>. One can also not deny that the city's history is also marked by ongoing struggles under the de-humanising system of racial and spatial segregation, against the monologue of distorted and selective memory promoted by the normative structure, that is, the officialdom.

At first glance, the city of Cape Town expresses characteristics of a modern, first world and, ideally, a post-colonial society. However, Cape Town's officialdom conceals the true nature of the city, whilst upholding an authoritative, 'pre-1994'<sup>12</sup> segregationist idealism. Originating from Cape Town's first colonial settlements, architectural racial segregation is an extreme case of an economy of exclusion expressed in a bi-polar pattern in the Capetonian cityscape. Spatial ordering has been brutally enforced throughout the city of Cape Town, linking racial ideology to modernist urban planning. Policies of separate development have further institutionalised the city's segregationist history: the design of the city laid out in the early years of colonisation remains the basis of contemporary Cape Town, and the racial segregation strategies that reinforced residential planning under the apartheid era have not changed.

The social construction and deconstruction of Cape Town's bi-polar identity happens in the form of real and constructed Milendo-like notions of owner-squatter, rich-poor, normative-deviant, official-unofficial, and true-inexistent, creating the representative space of the city of Cape Town. Shaped by more than a mere colonial history, Cape Town holds a particular historical perspective that silences and fences unofficial, poor and deviant spaces and people, in order to promote good business and tourist packaging, in the form of gated communities and other European models of luxurious spaces such as Century City and the Waterfront. The 'rest' remains alienated from many parts of the city that are too often unaffordable and inaccessible to them, either financially or culturally. They are Cape Town's 'giants', hidden behind walls built as an end goal of development projects. As a result, the existence of townships is often hidden from the officialdom.

The city is still separated and divided into racially-divided group areas, creating discreet pockets of suburban environments and mono-functional housing

estates<sup>13</sup>. Whilst development schemes promoted by the officialdom have modernised the appearance of the city, prevailing attitudes favouring spatial and racial segregation, have furthered the development of large shanty towns, or townships throughout the city<sup>14</sup>. Townships are today, synonymous to fringe 'poor African spaces', spaces specially dedicated to what the lawful, modern, innocent, rich and hence 'normative' define as the poverty places of transgressors, the poor, inappropriate and dangerous, hence, the 'deviant'. Poor people have become the wrongdoer, the transgressors, and the rich are innocent. Identities have been inversed and re-invented, and the deviant structure of Cape Town can claim no right to their own space, their own cityscape. Cape Town's rich areas have become the site of the South African contemporary heterotopia, representing townships as poor (not only financially, but intellectually, morally and socially) and dangerous areas, as is the rest of Milendo to its officialdom. The townships have become the localised place to which the officialdom separates the lawless, informal and poor transgressors, in order to protect the lawful, formal, modern and innocent rich.

The symbolic inversions of the body and place of transgressors in Cape Town reveal the existence of two different spaces which are seemingly unrelated, but which are each other's screen memories. Cape Town bears an embarrassingly vast scar of more than 340 years of dispossession stark on the cityscape: immense townships exist outside and alongside of the official and normative city's walls and testify of the atrocities and mechanisms of alienation and segregation that have also been forced onto the giant, Gulliver in Milendo, for the cityscape to be a picture-perfect representation of a postcard packaging of a fictitious and imagined city. Gulliver represents the masses that have come together, afflicted by poverty, inadequate infrastructure and services, and neglected and hidden by the officialdom and government.

There seems to be a direct relationship between legitimacy and the costs of the Capetonian officialdom's course of action; the greater the legitimacy, the easier it is to convince others – whether it is the rest of the world, or the Capetonian citizens themselves - to co-operate with certain policies and ideals. In achieving such legitimacy, official Cape Town proves to itself and to others, that it is acting according to, and is pursuing the values of the broader neo-global community of Cape Town. Winning international and not necessarily national support and sympathy satisfies the interests of the normative structure. When that very structure's interests are satisfied, the city of Cape Town's honour and pride are boosted.

The production of interests and policies based on specific desires satisfies the official structure but, at the same time promotes energy destructive to the deviant structure. Whose tastes, smells, feelings, desires, sights and sounds prevail define the character, ownership and experience of Cape Town. As such, the vision for and ownership of the city of Cape Town that occurs through public discourse becomes a means of controlling and 'owning' the city. Anchor points for public narratives revolve around the normative structure's idealistic notion of what is tourist-appropriate and meaningful to the local officialdom. The poor majority,

then, has no sites of memory and identity, as the city presents a history that is not theirs: the officialdom has the ability to force the deviant structure to produce identities and interests that limit their ability to control their fate in the city. Official understandings of what the city of Cape Town represents are conflictual in the Capetonian historical narrative. Whilst some streets have been renamed and memorials have been placed, it is not sufficient in claiming to remember the disavowed, disillusioned and segregated groups of people in Cape Town. The Gullivers of the city are merely depicted against the officialdom's identity, rather than recognised; they do not see their symbols and memories in the official city. They are excluded, and thence cannot be involved or participate in the functions of the public realm. Since they cannot be erased, the memories of the disavowed in cities such as Cape Town are concealed behind walls, figurative and literal ones, to avoid the constant reminder of the distress that can be unleashed. Townships and Gullivers become controversial symbols in the official city's memory and identity. But they also become that 'other' part of the bi-polar city that confirms the existence and identity, and perhaps even the legitimacy of the officialdom.

### **Town planning**

Planning in Cape Town has been largely shaped by ideas that were imposed and borrowed from the global North<sup>15</sup>. Usually ill-suited to Southern contexts, those ideas about urban development are articulated with local, political, economic and cultural aspects of the city, which are used, abused and misused in the process, in order to promote the normative structure's desire to be part of the larger globalisation and urbanisation processes. Conflicting with the deviant structure's urge to remember, Cape Town further seems in a hurry to ignore and forget the past, and to forge a truly post-colonial, post-apartheid future. Played out in battles over preservation, development of the urban landscape of the colonial city, the desire to forge a national identity overwhelms and overlies the memories of the dispossessed and deviant structure. The various groups of the Capetonian 'rainbow nation' cannot live side by side, in harmony. The realities that stem from increasing economic inequality due to urbanisation mechanisms enrich the normative structure (the officialdom) and bolster separate development. The need of various people to feel included in the different presentations, economies and mechanisms of the city can be conflictual<sup>16</sup>. The officialdom then chooses to do what seems best, but often disregards the deviant structure in decision-making processes and in the city's symbolic infrastructure and spaces.

Since 1994, Cape Town has been in a process of transformation as a city in the developing world and placed within the new global economic order. Socio-political and economic changes have benefitted some, but poverty levels in the city of Cape town continue to rise, resulting in increasing inequality, tension and insecurity. Against this background, the city has constantly tried to mould itself into a space that would be home for all Capetonians. But self-interest is a highly persistent and intransigent pursuit within the two cities or structures of Cape Town. Finding a space to inhabit, use and promote has been an urgent need

arising within the structures of Cape Town. Spatial segregation in Cape Town has created victims who find themselves trapped within the modernist planning paradigm and the ideology of apartheid, the one reinforcing the other as a construct of separateness.

Today, the city of Cape Town experiences a division of space into zones of relative advantage zones of relative disadvantage, predominantly in terms of status and class, rather than in terms of ethnicity<sup>17</sup>. Modernism is very much the underlying driving force behind present planning practices in the city of Cape Town. Whilst planned settlements have been successful, others arose because of their failure to be integrated into successful, official areas. There exists today, an evident will to forget, fence and silence those areas that emerged as an unfortunate result of a redemptive nationalist reconstruction of history and infrastructure. There has been a conscious attempt to reinvent identity in Cape Town, in the form of visual display or spectacle.

From the slopes of the University of Cape Town, one can see the suburbs sprawling from the edge of Devil's Peak, through the Cape Flats, towards Khayelitsha – but this is not what the officialdom seems to advertise. Normative areas of Cape Town are embedded with a wider discourse of power, whiteness, neo-globalism and multiculturalism that is sought to sell and attract. Postcard views of Cape Town stretch from Table Bay, including Devil's Peak, Table Mountain, Lion's Head to Signal Hill, promoting a discourse of tourist packaging, with the city centre located between the mountains and the bay. To promote such an ideal, the normative structure of Cape Town chose to hide townships, not only within the spaces of public memory and narrative, but also visually and physically. Townships are today walled, and hidden from sight.

The architectural and social spaces of modern city are symbolic of the interests determining the living conditions and level of happiness of the two cities within Cape Town. Regional interest and regional interest issues seem to have been erased from modern Cape Town. Today, one can notice a move towards modernisation and globalisation, with the desire to satisfy interest subjects (the officialdom). Within the normative structure of Cape Town, living state interests and human living environment interests intersect at the individual, familial, kindred, enterprise and community level, seemingly promoting the interest of the nation, towards modernisation and globalisation. Interest relations are the core of human political, legal, economic and social activities, and the Capetonian wake of interest consciousness within the normative structure in Cape Town marks a move towards rationality and progress.

Manifest by the desire for modernisation and globalisation interests serve as motives for the normative structure's Lilliputian value orientation, behavioural rules and decisions. However, modernisation as a process of globalisation holds immense risks and threats to the deviant structure, and eventually fails to provide common experiences to all. Insufficient attention has been given to the deviant structure of Cape Town, and problems such as poverty, hunger, crime and ignorance within the deviant structure are still unsolved, and disturb the

normative structure. The deviant structure is forced to move beyond the boundaries of Cape Town's Milendo, in order to promote the normative structure's interests, regarded to be higher than those of the deviant structure.

The growth of the normative structure is highly dependent upon occupying and denying the deviant structure's interests: in order to promote its own process of globalisation, modernisation and human civilisation, the officialdom cannot afford to help or include others.. Cape Town promotes strategic social construction as an attempt to change the norms that subsequently guide and constitute group identities and interests<sup>18</sup>. Promoters of modernisation try to encourage compliance with their endeavours to create modern infrastructures in Cape Town, by naming and shaming those who do not comply and violate the normative approach to modernisation, and by encouraging individuals to identify with certain norms. The normative structure adopts the model of 'naming and shaming' in order to re-assert its legitimacy, internally and externally. It seems to truly believe that its actions are rightful and dutiful towards the advancement of the city.

Planned cities such as Cape Town tend to sweep the poor away through a range a complex and interlinked processes that fail to address primary urban issues such as poverty and unsustainable development. In some cases, city planning is implicated in worsening poverty and the erasure of groups of people. Prioritising aesthetic appearance, the modern city of Cape Town is spacious, uncluttered, efficient and ordered, but fails to accommodate the way of life of the majority of inhabitants. Urban planning serves to exclude and erase the poor from the officialdom, directly contributing to social and spatial marginalisation, often leading to high levels of illegality in terms of land use.

### **Conclusion**

Many cities are deliberately designed as tools of representation. Their institutions and associated rituals, visions and practices can be let to speak for themselves. Planned cities such as Milendo and Cape Town are designed by the officialdom, with expressive and unifying symbolism, colonising, absorbing or rejecting, but never including the rest of the people. Cape Town, for instance, is not home for all Capetonians. It is an African city, it is also a European city, it is racist, but multicultural, and it is a First World and a Third World city. More importantly, Cape Town holds Milendo-like elite that enjoys power and privileges against the backdrop of the historically disadvantaged, silenced and alienated majority. Memory, history and modernism trends further reinforce spatial division and fragmentation, and deny the poor majority from accessing cultural, economic, political and social opportunities.

As Milendo, Cape Town official memories, histories and modernist mechanisms are realised by technocrats and the normative structure. The creation of two distinct structures is a voluntary act, promoted by the officialdom, in order to alienate whoever they believe do not 'fit in' their imagined idea of a perfect city.

If Cape Town looks good, then there is no need to give meaning or importance to any issue that might exist alongside and outside that picture-perfect planned city. And although deviant structures are the outcomes of the seemingly do-gooder official structures, the past stays in the past, and the present is equal to beauty, peace and urbanisation, in the modern.

The themes explored throughout this essay are far from exhaustive and are selective. They only cover a few aspects of modes of remembering and silencing that are overshadowed by the constant need to re-shape the city of Cape Town. The pressure of short-term delivery and a crowded agenda result in the absence of an inclusive and coherent urban policy of reconstruction of the nation. The controversial memories and identities of Capetonians make it even more difficult to produce equal and functional outcomes, widening the gap between affluent areas and impoverished townships – a gap further assisted by urban planning strategies acclaimed by the officialdom, spatial division and patterns of forgetting and silencing groups of people in public memory and history.

The meanings attached to the different structures of the city of Cape Town are not natural. They are applied by reinforcement methods and inevitable conventions of symbolism, acting as cues that suggest what stories specific groups find themselves in. Townships are quickly fenced or beautified under grand and almost disrespectful developmental projects that tend to eye-wash and paint-coat poverty and segregation, in order to create and showcase a more normative society. The normative structure, on the other hand, is proudly maintained to reflect the dignity and good tastes of its official and appropriate citizens, consciously in distinction to their rowdy neighbours in townships. It is obvious then, that Cape Town does not bear the rainbow nation that it so eagerly promoted in its early days of independence, and never will have one since monetary value is nowadays ascribed to identity and representation in the urban city. If one is not valuable, then he will be excluded from the city.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Swift, J. (ed. 1994) *Gulliver's Travels*. London: Penguin Popular Classics. p.40

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p.7

<sup>3</sup> McEarchern, 2001: pp.220-226

<sup>4</sup> Abercrombie & Kent Ltd (2012) *Cityscape*. St George's House, Ambrose Street,, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire GL50 3LG, UK. Pp.10-13. Brochure accessed online at <http://www.abercrombiekent.co.uk>

<sup>5</sup> Swift, J. (ed. 1994) *Gulliver's Travels*. London: Penguin Popular Classics. p.40

<sup>6</sup> Swift, J. (ed. 1994) *Gulliver's Travels*. London: Penguin Popular Classics.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>8</sup> McEarchern, 2001: pp220-226

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>11</sup> Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004: pp349-355).

<sup>12</sup> Pre-1994 refers to that period of South African history that precedes the 1994 South African Independence.

<sup>13</sup> Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004: pp331-355

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*,

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<sup>15</sup> Miraftab, 2007: pp.602-626

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>17</sup> Turok and Watson, 2001: pp.119-138.

<sup>18</sup> Miraftab, 2007: pp.602-626