Integration between dividing lines:

the spatial and social integration of African immigrants in post-apartheid Cape Town

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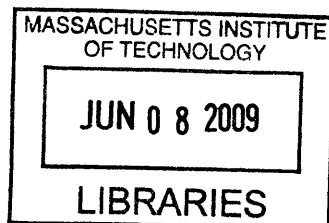
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Abstract

Over the last fifteen years since the demise of apartheid South Africa, under a new democratic dispensation, has become host to several million immigrants from the rest of the continent. This has been paralleled by a rise in violent acts of xenophobia against an increasingly diverse immigrant population by those who consider themselves "legitimate citizens" of the new post-apartheid nation.

As with immigration worldwide, this is a particularly urban phenomenon. Yet in contrast to the urban theories on immigration which have developed in parallel with the emergence of the industrial city, specifically in the Chicago School writings of the 1920s, the South African city has a very particular cultural, historical and physical geography, deeply embedded with notions of race and belonging, and heavily influencing the perception of its new immigrants.

The question thus arises as to whether the international urban theories have any explanatory purchase in the South African case. Through analysing Cape Town according to these theories and examining the historical urban-planning responses to immigration and the "other" that have been employed since the colonial era, a few sites are identified in contemporary Cape Town in which a certain level of integration is occurring between immigrant communities and their host societies. It is argued that these sites show strong urban commonalities in terms of the formal and social environments they are able to provide.

One of these urban neighbourhoods, Mowbray, is examined in detail against a series of hypotheses drawn from the international theories and the metropolitan and historical understanding of the city. These relate to the specific aspects of urban space, grain of fabric and land markets present, the specific ideologies that have guided the making of the neighbourhood, and the effects of civic institutions and organisations in aiding the building of place-based social networks.

The analysis of how each of these aspects play out across the spatial and social landscape of the neighbourhood then informs the building of an urban theory and response to the spatial promoters of environments of integration in the city, recognising that while immigration is a very complex phenomenon, its urban location represents an opportunity for urbanism to be brought to bear on making the experience of immigrants less hostile.

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Mowbray

Wynberg

Muizenberg

Simonstown

By Claire Abrahamse

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List of Illustrations

List of Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
ASSET	Association for Educational Transformation
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
HBI	Historically Black Institution
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
HWI	Historically White Institution
IDASA	Institute for Democracy in South Africa
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IJR	Institute for Justice and Reconciliation
MIRGE	Mowbray Inter-Race Group
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SAMP	Southern African Migration Project
SAPS	South African Police Service
SASO	South African Student Organisation
SCOB	Somali Community Board of South Africa
UCT	University of Cape Town
UN	United Nations
VOC	Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*)

A note on terminology

The use of terms such as Black, White, African and Coloured in this work are recognised as ethnic labels and racialised categories. The capitalisation of the initial letters is intended to suggest as much. At the same time, the work employs the nationalised categorisation of people in a similar way, recognising that under conditions of immigration the terms South African, Nigerian, Somali and so forth are more fluid.

The terms under which people were racialised have shifted in South Africa over time, and the use of the terms "Kaffir" (in quotations), African and Black South African describe the same group of people according to the chronological use of the terms, just as Malay and Coloured are both used. Concerted attempts have been made to frame these terms so that their use in the text is unambiguous.

The term xenophobia, defined as "a deep antipathy to foreigners" in the Oxford English Dictionary, is necessarily used in a fluid way in describing the South African city, as many of the racialised groups of people who now identify themselves as South African were, for centuries, treated as immigrant "others" by the White minority who controlled urban space within the nation. The dismantling of apartheid brought with it a paradigm shift in the construction of those who are seen as foreign within the South African city. However, the hostility towards whichever group is constructed as foreign remains, and thus the term "xenophobia" is used throughout the text.

Cape Town here refers to the city centre, its suburbs and its municipality, and again it is hoped that any ambiguities are excluded in its use within the text.

Introduction

Integration between Dividing Lines

Cities have always formed the context for our encountering of the foreigner, the immigrant and the "other". More often than not, this encountering has been framed by hostility and superstition: strangeness is always initially threatening to the maintenance of the existing social order. However, the meeting of different cultures through the process of human migration has often also allowed for the exchange of ideas and the mutual advancement of both the immigrant and host society in ways that serve to instil a level of tolerance, if not integration, within the city. Urban history and theory, however, have been strangely silent regarding the study of the emergence of spaces of tolerance between immigrant groups and their host communities within cities. The work undertaken here attempts to trace and understand this more positive and tolerant encountering of the "other" within cities, and in particular the physical, spatial and institutional urban environments that facilitate integrative responses to immigrant communities.

With the emergence of the industrial city, and the heightened concentration of urban cultures and immigrants it brought about, a new urban and societal challenge emerged: how should society respond to the presence of the immigrant "other" in the space of the city. Thus, this paradigm shift brought with it new ways of thinking about the foreigner in the city, and of using urban space and planning regulations as tools to legitimise the control and segregation of immigrants in order to lessen the threat that they were seen to pose to orderly urban life.

The study of the social reform of urban "others" through the spatial reform of the city was initiated at this time. Early sociological studies like Friedrich Engels' *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1844), Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* (1861) and Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1889) initiated a new understanding of the urban "other". Identifying, understanding and mapping the "other" within the city allowed for a certain perception of control, which formed the basis for the extension of urban reform campaigns into the space of the city in an attempt to sanitise the urban "other". All this was underpinned with the belief that the social and physical systems of the city were interlinked, and that the modification of the one would have implications for the other. Such urban interventions were thus undertaken to make the immigrant less foreign, more "like us" ("us" being the power-holding classes). While the attempt to assimilate the immigrant into the dominant urban culture has been heavily questioned in contemporary theory, more than a century later it is clear that, even despite this, the urban tools that have been developed in order to make the immigrant less "foreign" have certainly not served to put an end to the intolerance of difference in cities.

Clearly, the hostile urban encountering of the immigrant "other" continues to this day, and has only been heightened through the forces of globalisation.

The impact of technology has always been a central aspect in enabling human migration, and in our twenty-first century context technological advancement is once again acting to bring about an increasingly global economy, anchored in the so-called global cities, and the heightened accessibility of these cities to a far more diverse range of people (**fig. i-1**). The United Nations Population Division records that there are almost 200 million international migrants worldwide,

① **1918 - 1919 :** Eastern Europe to USA and Canada

② **1918 ⟶ :** Britain to Australia, South Africa and New Zealand

③ **1930 - 1940 :** Russia to Siberia

④ **1940 ⟶ :** European Jews to USA

⑤ **1945 ⟶ :** Turkey to Germany

⑥ **1947 ⟶ :** India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka to UK

⑦ **1950 ⟶ :** Mexico and Central America to USA

⑧ **1950 - 1960 :** North Africa to France, Spain and Italy

⑨ **1950 - 1960 :** West Indies to the UK

⑩ **1973 ⟶ :** Ugandan Asians to the UK

⑪ **1975 ⟶ :** Vietnam to Malaysia, Australia and USA

FIG. i-1. MAJOR TRENDS IN HUMAN MIGRATION.

twice the figure they recorded in 1980 .[1] This increase has lead to the forefronting of immigration on urban and political agendas the world over; renewing the debate on the threat that the urban immigrant might pose to the wellbeing of his host society. In cities throughout the world, incidences of hostility and xenophobia towards immigrant communities have occurred (and escalated) over the last century, highlighting the need for urbanists to re-examine frameworks for thinking about and responding to the presence of "foreigners" in our urban societies in more tolerant ways.

This exploration seeks to do this within a less-studied arena of contemporary immigration: the immigration of foreign Africans into South African cities. The dismantling of apartheid fifteen years ago heralded the unprecedented immigration of foreign African nationals into the country, attracted by the most developed economy on the continent. Flocking into the cities where this economy is centred, these foreign Africans have come into contact with a host society still attempting to come to terms with its own, new multi-racial national identity. The urban encountering of these often very poor South African communities and the new foreign immigrant groups, with whom they must compete for work, have become increasingly hostile and violent.

This hostility reached a climax in May 2008, when over an eighteen-day period a series of xenophobic riots rolled through South Africa's cities. Immigrants' shops and homes were looted and burnt, and many were violently assaulted and killed. This heralded some of the most severe and publicised xenophobic urban attacks to have occurred on the continent within the new century, and the first series of xenophobic riots to occur on such a national scale (without state organisation, and due to the perceived economic threat the immigrants posed) since the anti-Chinese riots along the west coast of North America a century ago (**fig. i-2**).[2]

Yet the reports and images of these riots were at odds with my personal experiences of the African immigrant community in South Africa. During 2006 and part of 2007, my involvement in the design of student housing and commercial spaces for a Cameroonian property developer in the Cape Town suburb of Mowbray, to the immediate east of the city

FIG. i-2. MAY 2008 SOUTH AFRICAN XENOPHOBIC RIOTS.

centre, convinced me that a community of tolerance, and even of integration, had emerged there (**fig. i-3 overleaf**). The tenants for this new development were a mixture of African immigrants and South Africans, and my impression was that this mix extended to other buildings and institutions within the neighbourhood. The lack of violence, or even of reports of xenophobia in this neighbourhood wedged between the working-class, inner city neighbourhoods of Observatory and Woodstock and the wealthier Southern Suburbs of Rondebosch and Newlands seemed to corroborate my understanding of it as a zone of integration (**fig. i-4 overleaf**).

The juxtaposition of my own experiences and the xenophobic violence of May 2008 led to the formulation of questions regarding the existence of spaces of integration between African immigrants and South Africans in the post-apartheid city. Why do the conditions for tolerance and integration seem to exist in some urban neighbourhoods, while the worst conditions of intolerance exist in other areas not five kilometres away?

This paper hypothesises that zones of tolerance and integration do exist between immigrant and local communities, and that the physical aspects of the city – its institutional landscape, its connectivity and accessibility and the particular urban fabric of which it is constituted – have real impact on the promotion of environments of tolerance. It uses the neighbourhood of Mowbray, in Cape Town, to centre the study, to explore how such zones of tolerance and integration come about and to identify the crucial urban agents at work in creating such environments.

This is achieved through first outlining the wider theory related to immigration and urban space, stemming from the first rationalisation of the immigrant in the city, through to the outlining of the contemporary theory of urban conditions for integration and tolerance between immigrant and host societies. With this framework in mind, the wider urban design and planning response to the immigrant "other" over time in the city of Cape Town is explored in order to ascertain general trends, and then a detailed exploration of Mowbray is undertaken. This neighbourhood exploration focuses on the way these broader urban approaches and the creation of institutions to control the immigrant "other" were distorted

FIG. i-3.
MOWBRAY LIES TO THE EAST
OF THE CITY CENTRE OF CAPE
TOWN, AT THE JUNCTION OF
THE EASTERN AND SOUTHERN
MOBILITY CORRIDORS. IT
ABUTS THE MOUNTAIN TO THE
WEST.

and mitigated in the particular environment of Mowbray, eventually creating a space of tolerance. From this, several key urban influences of zones of tolerance are distilled, and finally the findings of this localised neighbourhood study are used to re-examine the initial theories, and advance a new, modified urban design approach to the creation of environments of tolerance and integration between immigrants and their host societies in contemporary cities.

In this way, while an examination of the conditions of the integration of foreign Africans in contemporary Cape Town is undertaken here, it is recognised that this exploration must be set within an international framework of the urban theories of "otherness" and immigration, and an historical understanding of the attempts to manifest these urban planning theories in the space of the neighbourhood. The unique conditions that led to the creation of a zone of tolerance in Mowbray are uncovered through understanding how the physical site and the ideological measures of control of "otherness" came together in the space of the neighbourhood. Thus, in some ways this thesis could be seen to employ an historical reading of urban space in order to examine the lineage of a contemporary phenomenon. However, rather than a totalising history, told from within the frameworks of power, this study of tolerance within Mowbray is formulated around several different "threads". Together, these "threads" track how ideological, imposed urban controls and institutions were inverted as they shifted and settled into the community space of the neighbourhood, and reveal the influence of the urban "others" whom they were meant to control as active agents in mitigating the intended effects of these urban planning controls. Clearly this study, like the theories that influence it, sees the physical and social systems of the city as interlinked: the social condition of tolerance is shown to be strongly reliant on the influence of spatial factors, such as accessibility and institutional density.

The text begins with a brief discussion of the relationship between urban theory, immigration and the encountering of the "other" in urban space. It draws on the positivist theories of Georg Simmel, from the German School, and the Chicago School theorists Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess in order to outline early twentieth century understand-

FIG. i-4.
THE LOCATION OF MOWBRAY ALONG THE SOUTHERN MOBILITY CORRIDOR. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IS LOCATED IN THE TRANSITION ZONE BETWEEN THE INNER CITY AND SUBURBAN AREAS.

ings of how the physical location of the immigrant within the space of the city was seen to be crucial to his eventual peaceful assimilation into his host society. These theories were groundbreaking in that they explored immigration not as a dangerous and threatening phenomenon, but as an ultimately positive, necessary and dynamic process, which was absolutely integral to the emergence of the modern city and urban culture. However, the very fact that they posited these urban theories against an ultimate goal of the assimilation of the immigrant into the culture of the host society served to undermine the very real frictions many urban immigrants experienced in their host societies due to racism, prejudice and their heightened exposure to crime and violence. These prevented them from assimilating, and as a result they often found themselves to be "stuck" in Park and Burgess' otherwise dynamic system.

These omissions in the theory are then examined within the framework of the contemporary theories of urban integration that have emerged in response to the Chicago School hypothesis. The text examines the understanding of the conditions for tolerance and integration between different urban groups in the writings of South African anti-apartheid activist Steve Biko, as well as several international postcolonial urban theorists such as Jane M. Jacobs, Ash Amin and Ashutosh Varshney. It briefly explores the forefronting of identity politics within the contemporary city, and the emergent urban theories that see the peaceful integration of the immigrant coming about within the space of the city, not through cultural assimilation, but rather through the building of social networks within neighbourhood institutions, or "micropublics" of the city, that permit a banal encountering of the "other" in everyday situations.

Having established these two urban lenses, the one in many ways a response to the omissions of the other, an examination of the spatial controls of the immigrant and migrant other within the city of Cape Town is undertaken, highlighting the different approaches of outright ghettoisation, urban reform and assimilation which were used at different times to control different "others". The spatial and historical tracing of these urban controls is then overlaid with the spatial distribution of African immigrant communities within the contemporary city. This reveals the continuation of all three earlier

systems of immigrant control, brought about not through official urban policy, but rather through the continuing influence of that policy in its past shaping of urban space. It becomes clear that the older spaces of control of the immigrant "other" within the city have been the sites of hostile and violent responses to contemporary African immigrants. However, a new urban condition is exposed in the mapping of present immigrant communities within the city. This condition, located in three neighbourhoods "between the lines" of the Main Road and railway line which make up the southern urban mobility corridor, seems to embody conditions of tolerance between immigrant and South African communities.

Mowbray forms one such neighbourhood, and the urban agents of the integrative environment it provides are explored through the examination of five ideologies that the successive urban power-holders of the Muncipality and Government attempted to inscribe into the space of the neighbourhood. This analysis forms the main body of the thesis and draws upon empirical data from the neighbourhood and its representation and documentation over time. Each exploration highlights the evolution of five primary urban elements that directly impact integration within the neighbourhood. These include understanding the importance of the neighbourhood as an "ideological territory" during successive eras of rule, and the way these ideologies were asserted through the creation of public institutions; the influence of the establishment of the University of Cape Town as an international institution on the edge of the neighbourhood; the spatial constriction of the neighbourhood over time, reducing its population and increasing its institutional density; the increasing physical connectivity of the neighbourhood through the building of public transport infrastructure; and the retention of a finer grain of commercial and residential fabric within the neighbourhood.

The first exploration, the "Hollandse Thuijn", investigates the physical manifestation of Dutch control on the landscape during the seventeenth century, and the confrontation with the "other" that underpinned the creation of this ideology of control. It documents the inclusion of Mowbray into the "civilized" systems of European land ownership, and yet reveals that the attempt to create a particularly Dutch and White space here was actually in response to the continued and necessary presence of "non-White", "non-European" slaves in this landscape.

The study of the development of these urban controls during the period of the municipal rule of the British elite shows the continuation of the attempt to construct Mowbray as a "White space". Their use of urban reform and sanitation campaigns and the building of civic, religious and educational institutions to create a landscape reminiscent of England as well as a respectable "urban underclass" from the ancestors of the ex-bonded, Coloured slaves is examined. The English presence within the neighbourhood had been made possible by their building of the suburban railway line in order to escape the threatening "foreignness" of the crowded inner city, and thus their encountering of the "other" in the space of the neighbourhood was relatively unthreatening: they formed a White, English majority that had complete control of the neighbourhood. The text examines how the absence of the threat of difference and foreignness during this time resulted in the increasing acceptance of the transgression of social norms and engagements with the "other". This can be traced in the emergence of a neighbourhood identity associated with the bohemian London neighbourhood of Chelsea.

The study then goes on to examine Cecil John Rhodes' construction of an imperial landscape on the mountainside of Mowbray. It reveals the conceptual, controlling connections to Africa and the "civilized realm" of Europe that this landscape was mean to instil in the populace through their experience of the physical monuments and institutions Rhodes created. It examines how his intentions for the University of Cape Town campus were defended in its spatial and architectural placement and design, and how this contrasted with the creation of the medical school and teaching hospital, which were connected to the space of the neighbourhood and city.

The implications of the spatial choreography of this landscape for the neighbourhood during the period of apartheid are then examined. The inversion of the spatial autonomy and international networks that Rhodes established for his university so that they could rather be used to resist the forces of apartheid are examined, as is the building of transport infrastructure within the neighbourhood in order to evict its "non-White" urban population. The implications of the increased

accessibility of the neighbourhood due to the creation of a new apartheid transport infrastructure are investigated, as they allowed the evicted Coloured residents to continue to participate in Mowbray's local institutions, and created a new, racially diverse commuter population which passed through the neighbourhood twice daily. The implications of this daily transgression of the "White space" of the neighbourhood are examined in the role they played in catalysing the development of a non-governmental institutional layer in the neighbourhood, in constricting the expansion of the neighbourhood and in keeping property prices suppressed, thereby excluding large-scale development.

Finally, the implications of the development of the institutional and spatial environment of the neighbourhood for contemporary African immigrants are examined. The research for this section is largely comprised of interviews with African immigrants in the neighbourhood, as well as some initial studies of African immigration within Mowbray undertaken at the University of Cape Town. It reveals the combined impact of the development of these spatial and urban elements in attracting an African immigrant community and creating an environment of tolerance and integration between them and the existing neighbourhood community. The text continuously illustrates how the tools and mechanisms intended to control and reform the "other" within the neighbourhood had real impact on the shaping of the urban landscape through the creation of institutions, infrastructure and the social make-up of the populace itself (through Acts such as the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Immigration Act of 1902). However, it also shows that the ideologies which guided the creation of this urban landscape were not embedded within it, and were constantly challenged and changed by the way the "other" made use of Mowbray's public institutions and infrastructure.

In the last chapter, the lessons from this detailed study of Mowbray as an urban environment of tolerance are distilled and are used to reassess the foundational theories with which this study began, and to offer a new, modified urban theory for identifying, understanding and intervening in urban sites of tolerance and integration. A conceptual urban design response is undertaken in order to illustrate how such an urban theory might guide urban design intervention, aimed at strengthening and extending the urban conditions of tolerance found in these sites to other, less tolerant areas in the city.

Endnotes

1   United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, "International Migration Report 2006: A Global Assessment," (report prepared for the United Nations Population Division, New York, 2006), xiv.

2   Kay J Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875 – 1980* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

Chapter 1

Immigrants, Difference and the City

> Social differences are gathered together in cities at unique scales and levels of intensity. From the beginnings of the modern industrialized city, commentators have been enthralled by this diversity: some rejoicing at the energy it injected into everyday life in cities; others blaming it for a loss of community – what they saw to be the modern condition of alienation.[1]
> – Jane M. Jacobs and Ruth Fincher, *Cities of Difference.*

Mapping the Trajectory of Immigration in Urban Theory

The notion of difference, of being a stranger, an outsider or an immigrant to a place, takes on a very specific meaning with very specific spatial and social implications within the city. Georg Simmel points out that throughout history the stranger appears everywhere, most often as a trader.[2] The pilgrims of the Middle Ages, Marco Polo and the traders on the Silk Road and Spice Route, and the sailors on the Voyages of Discovery of the Portuguese and the Dutch were mostly engaged in religious and economic journeys that framed the stranger as a nomad – someone who was passing through, a wanderer who comes today and is gone tomorrow.

This notion of the stranger-nomad has its own history but within the city it was another concept of the stranger that began to affect social and spatial relations. Like the nomadic stranger, this urban stranger was often seeking greener economic pastures and better opportunities for himself, yet unlike his counterpart he did not leave.

Simmel notes that the position of the stranger stands out more sharply if he settles down in the place of his activity, instead of leaving it again.[3] If the stranger chooses to remain within the social and spatial boundaries of the city, his position there will most likely be coloured by the fact that he has not belonged there from the beginning, has not grown up among its citizens and has imported certain qualities into the city that did not and could not have stemmed from within it. In this way, his position as stranger is heightened through his permanence in that space.

This particular type of confrontation with difference found its genesis and arena within the city. It demanded very particular social, spatial, economic and political responses from those who, through encountering the stranger and identifying difference, needed to simultaneously identify themselves collectively as the people who belonged and were not "outsiders". The emergence of the first ghetto in sixteenth century Venice marks a paradigm shift in the urban encounter of the stranger, as the establishment of the Jewish ghetto within the city required the employment of state-decreed and -enforced restrictions upon the engagement of the Jewish population in the systems of economy, politics and urban space. This represented a heightened use of urban controls to denote, segregate and fix the position of the individual and group within the city as "strange".

The term "ghetto" re-emerged at the end of the nineteenth century in popular use within the American city. Used initially to denote those areas where immigrant Jews lived and then more broadly to describe any area where there was a concentration of urban immigrants in the more poverty-stricken urban neighbourhoods, its resurrection is perhaps

unsurprising when considering the dramatic changes in the relation of society and the city that came about during the Industrial Revolution.

Industrialisation heralded the growth and expansion of cities to a degree previously unknown, and their growth came not only from within through internal population increases, but also through the large-scale migration of people from external regions, pulled into cities by an insatiable demand for labour, and pushed off agricultural lands through changing farming methods and crop failures, among other factors. As Richard Sennett has noted:

> This human migration, unsettling in itself, was conjoined to a new means of labor by which the experience of time, motion, and human relatedness became altered in men's lives. This new labor cannot simply be identified with the growth of "the factory" or of "capitalism," for extensive factory systems had existed in medieval towns and Renaissance cities, and the process of orderly capital formation was more institutionalized, more coherently understood, in 14th-century Venice than in 19th-century Manchester. Something tangled and complex was involved in these industrial cities, something to be explored as a problem of itself, something that could not be understood by the use of a few easy labels or categories.[4]

This new system of labour required the division and segmentation of inputs and tasks, and seemed to permeate and divide the space of the city itself. Of course, urban segregation was nothing new, but at this particular moment it was realised at a dramatically larger scale due to the sheer geographical and population size of the industrial city. These new spatial divisions were catalysed by negative reactions to strangers, the disease and poverty that accompanied a vast and rapid influx and concentration of urban immigrants and through the emergence of planning and an architectural and urban canon that itself sought the separation of functions within the city as a response to this new urban condition (embodied in Le Corbusier's notorious "Live, Work, Play, Move"). The new city became segregated to such a degree that in 1961 Lewis Mumford described the American suburb as "a segregated community... a sort of green ghetto dedicated to the elite".[5]

These social and spatial changes were paralleled by the emergence of a new view and theory of the city. The emerging urban discourse attempted to understand the processes of the new city as both economic and social, as stemming not only from the new forces of capitalism but also from certain noneconomic conditions that were specific to the city. These conditions centred on the notion of difference and the encounter with the stranger as fundamental to the creation of a new urban culture.

Many of the theorists of the day sought to engage with and understand the city from a very humanist and practical point of view. In perhaps the two most influential urban schools to emerge during and after the Industrial Revolution – the German School and the Chicago School – there was a real attempt to explore the good in the new, vast and impersonal metropolises of the world; to engage with the banal, the ordinary and the strange, and see what could come of it rather than attempting to mould cities through some utopic vision.[6] These schools provided a tradition and foundation for many writers on urban difference today, such as Richard Sennett and Leonie Sandercock. They also provided the tradition against which the Los Angeles School reacted, seeking to place the urban margin at the core, but also acknowledging the continuing perception of Los Angeles as "The Great Exception".[7]

However, the emergence of the Los Angeles School coincided with the general resurgence of the study of urban immigration, perhaps not coincidentally given they city's proximity to and relationship with Mexico. This resurgence was certainly an event-driven process, paralleling a new expansion in the immigrant populations of the United States and Europe and growing concerns about the consequences of the presence of these newest immigrants in Western cities. Many of these studies developed the ideas established by the German and Chicago School urban writers, particularly with regard to urban social networks, as can be seen in the work of theorists such as Saskia Sassen and Alejandro Portes. While some of this work has presented a more global view of the immigration process, the simultaneous urban

immigrations occurring in Southeast Asia and Southern Africa have received less critical attention in the new literature.

Thus the solid foundation most contemporary writings on the urban immigrant find in the German and Chicago Schools makes it imperative that a broader understanding of this theoretical framework be achieved in attempting to examine Southern African urban immigration.   This recent phenomenon is seen as the result of the conjecture of three events: the dramatically increased African migration to South African cities, now under a democratic and "free market" system; the economic and political failure of many nations in the rest of Africa; and a particular South African urban and socio-political heritage which was grafted with European and American notions and theories of the city, but eventually formulated a particular method for controlling difference and the stranger in the city through the system of apartheid.

The framework arising from the conjecture of these three phenomena could provide a conceptual sieve through which the area under study here can be drawn, so that a particularly urban and spatial understanding of urban immigration and the social processes at hand can be achieved.

The writings of Simmel, from the German School, and his student Robert E. Park, perhaps the most influential member of the Chicago School will form the primary sources for the creation of this broader conceptual framework.

From the work of Simmel and Park are highlighted theories of urban immigration and the encountering of the stranger within the early twentieth century city.   Several threads are pulled though from their insights into discussing how the South African city, and particularly Cape Town, came to respond physically to the stranger, informing a continuing social, urban and formal response that has greatly contributed to the city's structure today, and which creates the immediate, broader context for the neighbourhood study.

Georg Simmel and The Stranger

It is the ideas expressed in *The Metropolis and Mental Life* (1903) that Simmel is perhaps better known for, but the development of these ideas in *The Stranger* (1908) is of particular interest here.

Both works deal with the new, simultaneously experienced conditions of proximity and distance that were possible in the metropolis, and the psychological mechanism that Simmel saw as going into effect whenever large numbers of people lived together and therefore needed to protect their selfhood and human identity from the excess stimulation and nervous onslaught the concentration of people within the city provided.

For Simmel, all social interactions could be framed by the relative degree of proximity and distance among individuals and groups. With the increasing proximity of people in the city, personal space and identity needed to be managed. This necessitated the creation of boundaries for social interaction, which were "not a spatial fact with sociological consequences, but a sociological fact that is formed spatially".[8] Social boundaries provided certain configurations for experience and interaction in physical space. With the concentration of people in cities, the creation of distance through the establishment of social boundaries afforded individuals some protection from the frequency and pace of urban interaction with "others".

As Simmel saw it, in order to accommodate the rapid changes and contrast of phenomena encountered in the city, the metropolitan man needed to *create* a distance between himself and others that would protect him from the "threatening currents and discrepancies" that the urban environment provided. This very act of distancing was seen as a mental exercise; a specific type of intelligence catalysed by new forms of urban life.

> Metropolitan life, thus, underlies a heightened awareness and a predominance of intelligence in metropolitan man. The reaction to metropolitan phenomena is shifted to that organ which is least sensitive and quite remote

from the depth of the personality. Intellectuality is thus seen to preserve subjective life against the overwhelming power of metropolitan life.[9]

Simmel sets this intelligence of metropolitan man against the small town, rural man: "The metropolis extracts from man as a discriminating creature a different amount of consciousness than does rural life. Here the rhythm of life and sensory mental imagery flows more slowly.... [and] the sophisticated character of metropolitan psychic life becomes understandable – as over against small town life which rests more upon deeply felt and emotional relationships... rooted in the more unconscious layers of the psyche".[10] In this way, Simmel's position ties into and reinforces an established rural-urban trope, which sees the metropolitan being as intellectually superior to his rural counterpart, who does not have the intellectual capacity to protect himself from the frenetic city.

It could be argued that the confluence of this position and the realisation of the need for social and spatial boundaries within the city in order to preserve a self-identity merged to prejudice the recently urbanised migrant. Even if the immigrant had arrived from another city, his unfamiliarity with the societal norms and the language of his host city would be enough to cast him as "rough" and intellectually inferior. While Simmel never directly expresses such a view (his Stranger is positioned at the point of having spatial proximity with others from whom he is also socially distant – both outside a group and confronting it – rather than as an immigrant to the city *per se*), he writes of a reserve in the mental attitude of metropolitans toward one another, that is not only indifference but "more often than we are aware, it is a slight aversion, a mutual strangeness and repulsion, which would break into hatred and fight at the moment of a closer contact, however caused. The whole inner organisation of such an extensive communicative life rests upon an extremely varied hierarchy of sympathies, indifferences, and aversions of the briefest as well as of the most permanent nature."[11]

Simmel's urban Stranger is in many ways an element of the group itself, but his nearness is also threatening. This is because the Stranger embodies a particular synthesis of nearness and distance, in that many of the common features held with him are general enough to be held by many people in many different relationships (Simmel gives the examples of nationality, social occupation or human nature), resulting in a specific tension that arises with the consciousness that only the quite general is common, *simultaneously stressing that which is not common*:

> In the case of the person who is a stranger to the country, the city, the race etc... this non-common element is... nothing individual, but merely the strangeness of origin, which is or could be common to many strangers. For this reason, strangers are not really conceived as individuals, but as strangers of a particular type: the element of distance is no less general in regard to them than the element of nearness.[12]

It is this element of a connected type of distance between people that allows for the loosening of the "centripetal unity" of their relationships. The rigidity of the original demarcations against others is softened through reciprocal reserve and indifference, and through this the individual gains a specific individuality and freedom from customs and norms. But within this distance and indifference we can begin to sense the beginning of a stereotyping with the stranger losing his individuality and rather being understood as belonging to a particular "type", who collectively require a certain amount of distancing.

While Simmel in no way deals with immigrants and marginal members of society and the stereotyping, racialization and segregation that began to emerge in society's dealing with them in the city, he does emphasise the idea of "strangeness" as a new element within urban society which began to underpin all social relationships in the space of the city to some degree. Simmel, with a kind of prophetic insight, establishes his stranger as one for whom "spatial relations are not only determining conditions of social relationships among people, but are also symbolic of those relationships".[13]

Robert E. Park and The Marginal Man

It was Park who cast Simmel's Stranger as the immigrant and the marginalised within American cities. Park was one of the primary theorists in the emergence of the Chicago School after the First World War and had completed his doctoral work in Germany where he had been greatly influenced by Simmel's teaching.

The Chicago School urban sociologists were situated both in a new university struggling to gain academic recognition and simultaneously in one of the fastest-growing cities of the century – a new industrial metropolis where man's greatest technical achievements seemed to co-exist with endemic crime, the vicious exploitation of the vulnerable and the most undignified and inhuman living conditions. The new field of urban sociology provided a wedge into the academic world for the new university, and its laboratory would be the city in which it was located. This also gave the Chicago School enormous political clout, for as long as the American city was seen to include the "problems" of the immigrant and the slum; the research undertaken there was assured an influential platform.

The Chicago School sociologists were writing at a time when anti-immigrant sentiments within the United States had reached another peak. Once again, in the 1920s, immigrants were flocking to the north-eastern cities. Only this time they were not only Irish and Chinese, but also Polish, German, Greek, Italian, Turkish and Black migrants from the Southern States. The new anti-immigrant hysteria was fuelled by newspaper reports on crime in the tenements and slum areas where they lived, and the old fears of urban epidemics stemming from the filthy living conditions of these poverty-stricken areas were resurrected.

However, the Chicago School in general, and Robert Park in particular began to advance a new, more positive idea of the urban slum and the immigrants who inhabited it. This idea stremmed in part from Park's interpretation of the potential for heightened freedom and civilization in Simmel's Stranger, and also through a uniquely American understanding and reading of the city, which was evolving through the University of Chicago scholarship.

Park, like Simmel, used the concept of a division of labour in the new economic system to describe the way in which men lived in a fragmented relationship to each other and were able to extend this separation and distance to their social relations as a form of emotional defence. But for Park, this system of division and distancing was carried through to the physical arrangement of the city itself, which was to be understood both as a place and a "moral order". The city was to be seen as having its own 'ecology' that eluded simple mappings of where things were and how they worked, but added up to something greater than its parts – a life-force in and of itself.

Park wanted to understand how the physical parts of the city shaped the emotional, human experience of men, and as Sennett points out, explicit in this task was the assumption that the psychic and moral (cultural) conditions for living in a city would reflect themselves in physical ways and as tangible urban artefacts.[14]

> The city is rooted in the habits and customs of the people who inhabit it. The consequence is that the city possesses a moral as well as a physical organisation, and these two mutually interact in characteristic ways to mould and modify one another.... Structure and tradition are but different aspects of a single cultural complex which determines what is characteristic and particular to the city.[15]

For Park, this relationship represented a connected type of separation, similar to Simmel's synthesis of nearness and distance in the Stranger, which had an immense impact on the way behaviour could be controlled in the city and thus freedom achieved.

But while Simmel believed metropolitans could achieve freedom by separating their identity from the routine of city life, Park went a step further and really explored the idea of a fragmented existence in the city, where individuals could belong to so many networks that no one of them would be able to or have the power to dictate the acts of another beyond

those conditions which would allow them to both exist. In this way, if immigrants of a certain nationality belonged to ten different occupations in the city, it would be very difficult to organise them to achieve a single occupational goal, such as organising a strike, without resorting to violent coercion. The outcome of these crossed loyalties that urbanites were able to hold represented, for Park, an impossibility of enforcing uniform standards of behaviour in the city, which on one hand created in urban environments a "moral range" of deviant behaviour, but also allowed man to innovate and free himself from old cultural restrictions. The freedom that allowed "regions in which a divergent moral code prevails" to exist in the city was also the freedom that allowed genius to flourish and great human advances to be made.

In this way the urban slum, which the immigrant inhabited, was recast in the Chicago School discourse as an ultimately positive and functional part of the city, and the immigrant himself seemed to be a particular embodiment of this new urban freedom. In writing about *Human Migration and the Marginal Man* (1928), Park expressed the view that migration was an essential aspect of all advances in human culture, because new relationships established between men served to free the individual from cultural norms, allowing for an intense period for the building of new enterprises and associations under conditions of competition, conflict and co-operation.[16]

This position reinforced a particularly bourgeois American view of the unique urban conditions brought about through the blending of democracy and capitalism in the American city, which were contrasted with the cities of the Old World. From the American viewpoint, the immigrant was not coerced or forced into the city, but came of his own free will and because of the opportunity available to him to improve his life – opportunity afforded through a dynamic American urban economy hungry for labour, but also through the social freedoms of democracy that allowed the immigrant to transcend his social position. In contrast to the English industrial cities, where the migrant poor had little chance of bettering their position in life due to the rigid class system, and would thus forever remain in the working-class slum, in American cities the immigrant was seen as a temporary inhabitant of the slum, as the process of his migration was simultaneously his civilization:

> One of the consequences of migration is to create a situation in which the same individual... finds himself striving to live in two diverse cultural groups. The effect is to produce an unstable character – a personality type with characteristic forms of behaviour. This is the "marginal man." It is in the mind of the marginal man that conflicting cultures meet and fuse. It is, therefore, in the mind of the marginal man that the process of civilization is visibly going on.[17]

For Park, these new migrations were, in contrast to older tribal migrations, largely individual affairs led by varied motives. He saw urban migration as a process of diverse, individual people and families flocking daily to the city, united only loosely through the desire to seek out better conditions of life. Thus Park framed immigration less as an invasion than as a "peaceful penetration" that catalysed a process of contact between differing cultures, with the resultant liberation from previous social customs and norms, and the release of energies that come with this personal emancipation.[18] The individual nature of this release was important for Park, for he saw that when this emancipation was followed by the reintegration of individuals over time into a new social order, certain changes would have taken place in the character of the individuals that would have not only emancipated, but enlightened them. Here Park draws heavily on Simmel's Stranger, and notes that "[t]he emancipated individual invariably becomes in a certain sense and to a certain degree a cosmopolitan. He learns to look upon the world... with something of the detachment of a stranger. He acquires, in short, intellectual bias."[19]

For Park and the Chicago School sociologists, the slum and ethnic ghetto were the physical artefacts of this new cultural hybrid, allowing those who lived within them to share intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two peoples, never quite breaking with the past society and never quite accepted in the new one. Park and the Chicago sociologist believed that over time the immigrant and "native" urbanites would become integral parts of one, new urban society. Their shining example to the attainment of such a state was to be found in the Irish immigrant, who had gone from being

stereotyped as a despised and deviant urban invader at the time of the Civil War, to the stereotypical example of the urban cop or fireman, seen to embody a particularly American type of "civic-ness". Simmel drew on his own experience as a Jew in Germany in the construction of his Stranger, but both the Jew and the Irishman, while seen to be racially different due to their religions in their respective European contexts, were seen in a different light in a society that had increasingly begun to construct its racializations on the basis of colour. Park himself acknowledges that in his view of the role of the slum, the "chief obstacle to the cultural assimilation of races [is not in] their different mental, but rather their divergent physical traits."[20]

Within this admittance is perhaps a hazy prophecy of what America's ghettos were to become, but in early twentieth century Chicago all manner of people had no choice but to live in the urban slum, and it was to this particular urban and social space that the Chicago sociologists assigned a type of nurturing function, succinctly expressed by Park when he describes the immigrant's restless wavering between "the warm security of the ghetto... and the cold freedom of the outer world".[21]

> The movement and migration of peoples, the expansion of trade and commerce, and particularly the growth, in modern times, of these vast meltingpots of races and cultures, the metropolitan cities, has loosened local bonds... and substituted for the local loyalties the freedom of the cities... the rational organization which we call civilization.[22]

Ernest W. Burgess and The Growth of the City

It was Ernest W. Burgess who, within the Chicago School, realised this idea spatially in his famous diagram representing the city as a series of concentric circles. His model reflects the *spatial* separation that he saw as accompanying the concentration and proximity of people in urban areas. In it, he positions the immigrant slum relative to and in connection with the other spaces of the city.

For Burgess, individual migration, assisted by the new technologies of "locomotion", was the single most important catalyst of the growth of the city and the specialisation and division of labour (as well as the spaces where that labour would occur). Like Park, his was a dynamic understanding of the city, where humans were recognised to have the power to select a habitat and to control or modify the conditions of that habitat.[23] This dynamic and adaptive process was embodied in the description of "human ecology" as advanced by Burgess' colleague, Roderick D. McKenzie:

> Human ecology is fundamentally interested in the effect of *position* in both time and space, upon human institutions and human behaviour. 'Society is made up of human individuals spatially separated, territorially distributed and capable of independent locomotion' (Robert E. Park). These spatial relationships of human beings are the products of competition and selection, and are continuously in process of change as new factors enter to disturb the competitive relations or to facilitate mobility.[24]

With immigration and the growth of the city a continuously dynamic process would be catalysed which sought to maintain an equilibrium of "population adjustment to the economic base" and vice versa. In this way, as the urban community increased in size "specialization [took] place both in the type of service provided and in the location of the place of service".[25]

Of course, this idea also extended to urban communities and sites for living within the city. The Chicago under which Burgess developed his urban model had increased its population almost twenty-fold between 1860 and 1910, due primarily to the arrival of ethnically diverse immigrants from overseas. It was inevitable that the immigrant, his position in the city and his assimilation would be a central aspect of this model.[26]

The model consists of five concentric zones through which the city would dynamically expand, with each zone being denoted by the primary activity located there (**Fig. 1-1**). All the zones were seen as connected to and dependent upon the others in a way that allowed for a dynamic urban equilibrium to develop. Burgess then linked these zones to the social organisation of the city in his "Urban Areas" diagram (**Fig. 1-2**).
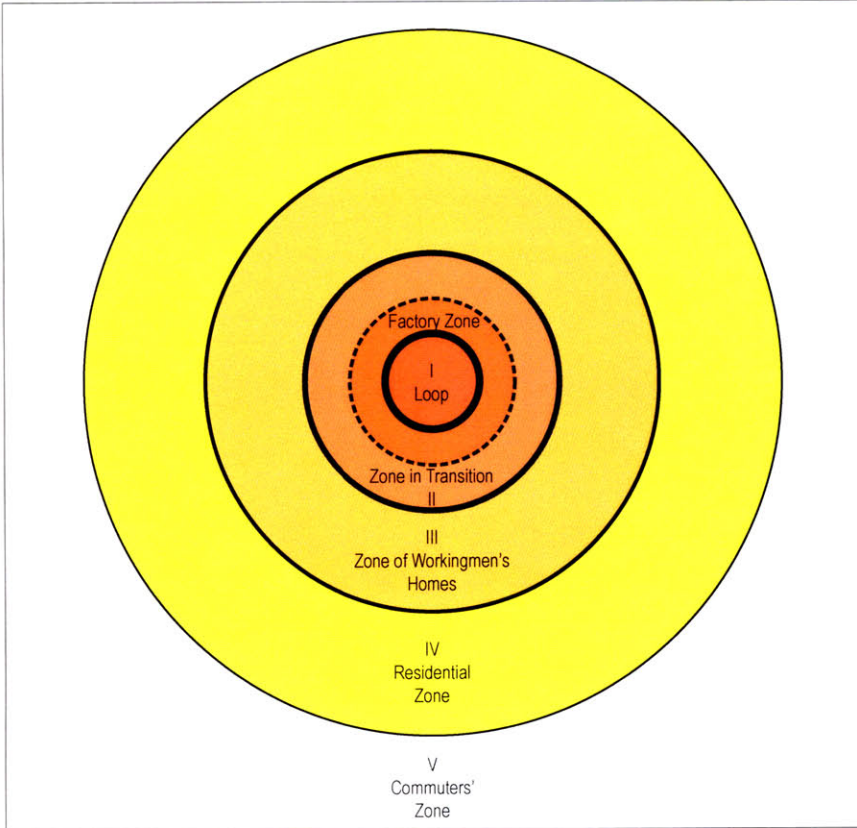
FIG. 1-1.

PARK/BURGESS CONCENTRIC RINGS MODEL.

THE GROWTH OF THE CITY.
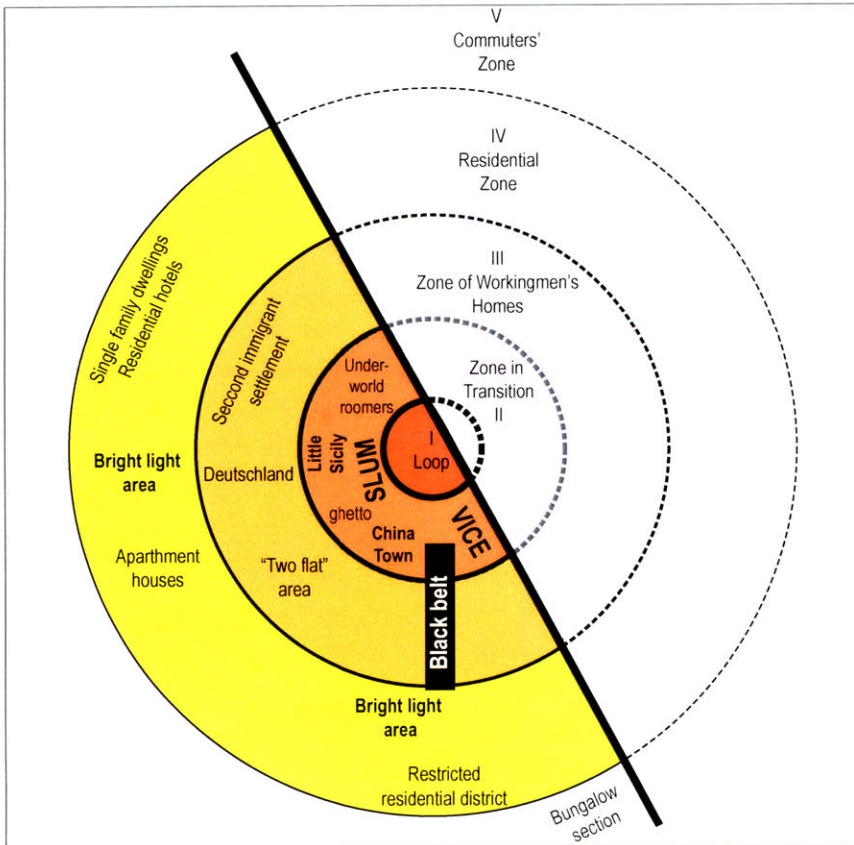
FIG. 1-2.

PARK/BURGESS CONCENTRIC RINGS MODEL.

URBAN AREAS.

In addition to divisions of labour, here Burgess examines the cultural separation of urbanites living in segregated areas, which he, like Park, sees as functioning "to integrate the individual through group life and situation to the overall ecological process of the city".[27] Thus the "zone in transition" around the core Central Business District is seen to accommodate both light industry and business, as well as the "slum" and its associated social "vice". To Burgess, then, the "zone in transition" accommodates a heterogeneous population of first-generation immigrants, separated into ethnic pockets and ghettos, which he highlights by using labels such as "Chinatown" and "Little Sicily". The third circle is identified as the "zone of workingmen's homes" and is seen as the area into which immigrants from the zone of transition will move once they become more prosperous and acclimatised to urban life. While this area is labelled the "second immigrant settlement" and Burgess notes the location of certain ethnic enclaves here ("Deutschland"), it is predominantly an area where families and shop workers who have managed to prosper sufficiently to escape the zone in transition but who still need cheap and easy access to their workplaces would locate. The fourth and fifth zones are the residential and commuters' zones respectively, and make no reference to segregated ethnic areas, although those who prosper in the third zone would presumably attain the social mobility to move into them. Social (and physical) mobility enables individuals to locate in the city in a way that is distant to the urban core, but still provides access to it.

Thus Burgess is able to spatially represent in his urban model what Park had stated in his discussion of the Marginal Man: the separation of social classes and cultural groups in the city serves to keep the human ecological system in a state of equilibrium. New immigrants would keep on arriving in the 'zone in transition' and would finally emerge in the outermost ring as fully formed, urbanised (American) individuals. In this way, the Chicago School, reliant on the insights of Simmel, constructed a very optimistic, dynamic and temporal view of the immigrant's position and prospects in the city.

The First Conceptual Sieve

Both Simmel and Park construct positive views of the freedom that the modern metropolitan condition of distance affords the Stranger. Indeed, he is constructed as the central character of metropolitan life, with strangeness and foreignness seen to exist in all urbanites and to underpin all relationships within the new city. His freedom is attained through the construction of boundaries, both social and spatial, and through belonging to a fragmented multiplicity of social networks that afford him a measure of protection from the bombardment of "strangeness" within the city. Through such fragmentary action, he is able to distance himself from those who would unsettle him.

However, what both describe as a process of liberation is also a process of alienation if not equally attainable by all people. It becomes clear that the city does not provide an equal field of resistance to all and that the democratic process and opportunity of Park's American city does not extend equally to all urban places and people. If urban man is liberated through his contact with the "other", which frees him from his old cultural norms and creates the conditions for the cultural amalgamation of his own experiences and those of the "other" into a new urban culture, what happens to these cultures if they do not meet on equal terms?

The positive view of the urbanisation of the immigrant established at the Chicago School is in many ways appropriate: immigration is ultimately underpinned by an optimistic view that the benefits of movement to a new place and society will far outweigh the trauma of moving. However, while this dynamic model of immigrants moving into ethnic enclaves in the central city, being acclimatised, achieving the appropriate level of psychological distancing, social networking and affluence, and moving on to Burgess' outer rings has certainly happened; the Chicago sociologists were naïve to believe that individuals did not encounter significant obstacles and friction to what they saw as a highly dynamic, linear process. They were naïve to believe that such a process, if successfully carried out, would, in the end, have much influence on personal feelings of alienation, as research undertaken in Boston by Sennett and Cobb has pointed out.[28]

In the Chicago of their time, the sheer volume of immigrants lent dynamism to their model. Along with this, the emphasis on recent Irish immigrants' pace of assimilation discounted the fact that the Irish had been arriving in Boston and New York since before the Civil War, and while American society certainly had a different view of Irish immigrants during the early twentieth century, their apparent ease of assimilation had in reality taken decades. Indeed, Park hints at assimilation taking a single generation, but little evidence is given of the cultural markers that might indicate successful assimilation, or how conflict (among many other factors), might hinder such a process, stemming the dynamic equilibrium that the sociologists posited and trapping people in particular urban places and particular social categories.

It is clear that many descendents of immigrants to the Chicago of Park and Burgess' time still face much hardship and discrimination in the city, and yet there is little discussion in the Chicago School writings of how the model might *not* present itself as quite so frictionless in reality, and of how immigrants arriving in the cities might be exposed to their ecological urban model of cultural assimilation in unequal ways.[29] An understanding of these potential hardships and limitations for the immigrant are critical to attaining an understanding of the position of the Stranger in South African cities, where the immigrant experience is typically fraught with conflict and friction.

The first and most obvious of these is race, and its increasing reliance on perceived physical and colour differences within the American city. The impact of race on the position of the Stranger was explored by W. E. B. Du Bois in his work, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), a series of essays that examined America's struggle with race. Du Bois had studied sociology in Germany where he had been exposed to Simmel's views. In this work, Du Bois strives to illustrate "the strange meaning of being black... in the dawning of the Twentieth Century... for the problem of the Twentieth Century is the color-line."[30] For Du Bois, the position of being Black at this time created a kind of dual reality in which the individual perceived his position as problematic within the new American society, and yet was helpless to change it.

> After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son... gifted with second-sight in this American world, – a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, – an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.[31]

This double consciousness is strongly reflected in Park's Marginal Man, but because of the transferral of racial prejudice to matters of physical and colour difference between people, the Black urban migrant had far less chance of becoming "a co-worker in the kingdom of culture", or of "attaining a self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self."[32] Du Bois thus describes his uneasiness with the idea that the amalgamation of cultures could create something new and American, when the "native" culture had so strongly been defined through its Whiteness.

The second aspect of inequality in the Stanger's process of liberation and contribution to urban culture is latent in both Simmel and Park's writing: both continue the longstanding trope of the simplicity of the rural man in contrast to the intelligence of the urban one. This would serve to prejudice those who were seen as migrating into the cities from rural areas due to the perceived lack in intellectual facilities they possessed to distance and protect themselves from the harmful aspects of urban life on the human psyche. This trope also takes on specific meaning in the apartheid context where, as we shall see, Black urban migrants were framed as always-temporary visitors from a rural "homeland" which was seen as their true home. This patronising, "Noble Savage" ideology also served to discount and restrict the contribution of Black Africans to an urban culture.

Lastly, Park notes that the freedoms of urban man are responsible for the creation of both the most deviant spaces in the city, as well as the spaces of brilliance and intellectual advancement, and he therefore justifies the existence of one

through the creation of the other ("the city, in short, shows the good and evil in human nature in excess"). [33] However, he discounts the real handicap those "areas of deviance" might have on certain poorer urban migrants in distancing, liberating and amalgamating themselves and their culture within the city. In the Chicago of Park's time, the slum was characterised "not only by mean streets and ramshackle buildings, but by well-defined types of submerged humanity". [34] While Park's urban slum provided the Marginal Man with an accommodating social world, it also exposed him to drug lords, organised crime, and one of the highest unsolved murder-rates in the country. Such violent living conditions certainly restricted the freedom migrants might have found within themselves.

With these inequalities in the theories of the Stranger and Marginal Man in mind, an examination of the historical treatment of the urban migrant to Cape Town will be undertaken, in order to construct a canvas onto which this latest urban migration of "foreign Africans" is now occurring. However, before undertaking this, it is imperative that an understanding is gained of alternatives to the uneven processes and problems of cultural amalgamation in cities.

In the Chicago School a particularly spatial process was revealed in the immigrant experience of cities, and it is certainly evident that, while their model makes many assumptions, there is a crude machinery in the migration of people to cities the world over. However, unlike the Chicago School it is recognised that this process cannot be frictionless and thus the task of the urbanist is to keep observing this process and to keep refining the theories – the "machinery" – through which it is understood and acted upon. To this end, an understanding of integration must be achieved so that lessons can be drawn from those urban areas where the "machinery" appears to be running fairly smoothly.

Endnotes

[1] Jane M. Jacobs and Ruth Fincher, *Cities of Difference* (New York The Guilford Press, 1998): 1.

[2] Georg Simmel, "The Stranger", in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, Kurt Wolff (Trans.), (New York Free Press, 1950), 402.

[3] *Ibid*

[4] Richard Sennett, ed , *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities* (New York: Meredith Corporation, 1969), 4.

[5] Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: its origins, its transformations, and its prospects* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), 493

[6] Richard Sennett, 10

[7] Michael Dear, "Los Angeles and the Chicago School· Invitation to a Debate," *City and Community* 1:1 March (2002)· 7 – 9

[8] David Fearon, "Georg Simmel· The Sociology of Space," Centre for Spatially Integrated Social Science, http://www csiss.org/classics/content/75

[9] Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*, ed. Richard Sennett (New York. Meredith Corporation, 1969), 48

[10] *Ibid*

[11] *Ibid*, 53

[12] Simmel, "The Stranger," 408

[13] David Fearon.

[14] Sennett, 13-14.

[15] Robert E. Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment" in *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*, ed. Richard Sennett (New York· Meredith Corporation, 1969), 91-2.

[16] Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man" in *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*, ed. Richard Sennett (New York: Meredith Corporation, 1969), 131-2.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid*, 136

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *Ibid*, 140.

[21] *Ibid*, 141-2

[22] *Ibid*, 139

[23] Robert E Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick D McKenzie, *The City* (Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 1920), 64.

[24] *Ibid*, 63

[25] *Ibid*, 73.

[26] Michael Pacione, *Urban Geography – A global perspective* (New York· Routledge, 2005), 142.

[27] Andreas Hess, *Concepts of Social Stratification· European and American Models* (New York. Palgrave, 2001), 75

[28] Richard Sennett and Jonathan Cobb, *The Hidden Injuries of Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972)

[29] See, for example, Arnold R. Hirsh, *Making the second ghetto: race and housing in Chicago 1940 – 1960* (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1998).

[30] W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1.

[31] *Ibid*, 2-3.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Park, "The City," 130.

[34] Harvey Warren Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 1983), 135-6

Chapter 2

Defining Integration

The attraction of the metropolis is due in part... to the fact that in the long run every individual finds somewhere among the varied manifestations of city life the sort of environment in which he expands and feels at ease; finds, in short, the moral climate in which his particular nature obtains the stimulations that bring his innate dispositions to full and free expression.

    –   Robert E. Park, *The City.*[1]

Defining Integration

While the writings of the German and Chicago School are crucial to the framing of this study, the intention of this paper is not only to understand the recent urban phenomenon of African immigration into South African cities within a wider and specifically urban literature. It also attempts to examine an urban neighbourhood within Cape Town that has exhibited certain levels of tolerance to and integration with African immigrants – a fact that makes it something of an anomaly.

Such an examination calls for another layer of conceptual sifting to try and discern the particular urban, social and spatial trends that seem to be aiding this process. Clarification of the terms "tolerance" and "integration" are needed, particularly within urban and spatial discourse, as well as the spatial articulation of social network theory, which had its genesis in Simmel and Park's writings. The omissions of the Chicago School model with regard to issues of race, notions of entrenched superiority and inferiority, and the real, practical impact of "deviance" on the immigrant experience must be addressed as key agents in an examination of immigration in the context of South Africa.

Two sources are drawn upon here to frame how these notions might be understood. The first, specific to South Africa and its urban and social past, comes from the writings of Steve Biko of the Black Consciousness Movement, a political movement that emerged in the 1970s in South Africa. The interpretation of Biko's writings on integration focuses on the particular spatial aspects of his argument. The second source, which dovetails neatly with Biko's call for a more politicised understanding of tolerance, integration and self identity within the city, comes from post-colonial urban writers such as Jane M. Jacobs and Kay Anderson.

These writings are, in many ways, responses to the negative urban spaces and associated social practices that resulted from ideologically-driven responses to the urban stranger, or "other". They attempt to project how such negative urban situations might be moderated in order to create cities that are more tolerant and inclusive towards those they identify and narrowly cast as strangers, recognising, as Simmel did, that the position of urban stranger allows for a very specific and positive kind of participation in society.[2]

It is the framework drawn from their understandings of tolerance, identity and urban form that will be used to guide a critical analysis of the tolerant urban neighbourhood of Mowbray.

In-groups, out-groups: self-identity social networks

For Park, the small community simply *tolerates* eccentricity; the city rewards it. Benevolent tolerance of non-conforming individuals in small communities effectively led to their social isolation. This he contrasted with urban networks that, while separate from each other, allowed people to move between them, "from one moral milieu to another", spreading their interests, finding their niche, and "producing new and divergent individual types".[3]

Evidently for Park, mere tolerance does not create the conditions for the freedom he envisioned as attainable through the new social and spatial environment of the city. The definition of tolerance does not imply acceptance, but rather signifies a strained endurance of those who are categorised as "other" while in no way engaging with or being influenced by their "otherness". For the city dweller and immigrant to attain true freedom, and to contribute to a new urban culture, he would need to be more than just tolerated by others.

Thus the immigrant and the urban area he inhabited could not predominantly be defined by "out-group" criteria – a situation which arises when the spaces in which the immigrant groups live are defined by external forces alone, typically by the powerful class or cultural group in the city who tended to have more control over the property market. In such a case, the identity of the immigrant and the area he inhabits is distilled primarily through a comparison with that which he is not. This inevitably leads to a situation of exclusion, if not outright ghettoisation, which is contrasted to those areas and communities who are predominantly defined by "in-group" processes of voluntary definition with the power of ethnic consciousness and pride such definition embodies.[4]

Of course, even "in-group" definition might not lessen the spatial segregation such groups were often forced to endure, but as Hass describes, even when such an in-group definition resulted as a response to new waves of immigrants to the city who posed a threat to the older immigrant enclaves, "older immigrants looked down upon the newcomers and ethnicity became a means of preserving some sense of common origin and identity".[5] It is exactly this kind of positive self-identity that is the very genesis of social networks, which Portes describes as "sets of recurrent associations between groups of people linked by occupational, familial, cultural or affective ties. Networks are important… because they are sources for the acquisition of scarce means, such as capital and information".[6] Such networks have value because they produce a sense of community and security within the group that both creates a space for participants to invest their time, skills, information and knowledge; and also grants them a measure of social capital – a capacity to command scarce resources and information by virtue of their membership in the group.

In this way the participation in just one social network gives the individual the capacity to join many more, as well as come into contact with individuals within other organisations and communities in the way envisioned by Park. Ethnic self-identity can be seen as a kind of social currency, an initial instalment in a wider and more meaningful form of urban integration with associated opportunities for social mobility in the future. This stands in stark contrast to those groups who are identified by "out-group" forces as "others", or as "left-overs, as it were, [who endeavour] to make the best of a bad job and to try and find in adverse circumstances as many social resources as possible within a circumscribed area."[7] Such out-group definition can thus be seen to forestall any process of self-identity, network creation and meaningful urban integration.

Of course, systems of segregation that completely ghettoised those designated as "other" are perhaps the most extreme example of out-group definition. The system of apartheid (1948 – 1994) is one such case, and gave legal and spatial form to the complete segregation of people in the city based on the colour of their skin, which was seen to evidence their differing "races". The racialization of people on the basis of their skin colour, and the many problems this socio-cultural classifications structure encountered in its attempted enforcement in the spaces of the city, and particularly in Cape Town, will be discussed. Despite its problems, this spatial segregation was successful in one of its aims:

it completely precluded the possibility for the meaningful development of cross-cultural or -ethnic social networks of any sort throughout South African cities.

The segregative policies of apartheid sought to keep Black South Africans as perpetual rural migrants within the city. The creation of a significant Black urban population, however, many of whom had been born within the city, catalysed strong protest against these restrictions to the development of their own urban culture and identity. Black urban South Africans began, in the mid-1900s to assert their right to the city and to an urban culture.

Steve Biko and Black Consciousness

The Black Consciousness Movement was born in the political vacuum created by the banning of both the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) in the 1960s. Black Consciousness attempted to under-stand the South African city and urban society in terms of the potentials that might lead to the creation of a self-identity for those people whose presence and identity in the city had been completely controlled by out-groups, and through this lead to cross-cultural associations, which could bridge the colour-line.

While Black Consciousness leader, Steve Biko's political stance and the more militant aspects of Black Conscious-ness are controversial, what is significant is his identification with and commitment to an African present. Biko was interested in a modern African culture that "used concepts from the white world to expand on inherent cultural charac-teristics", characteristics which were *not* a basis for a cultural segregation, but rather for a situation where "Africans can comfortably stay with other people of other cultures and be able to contribute to the joint cultures of the communities they have joined".[8]

Such a statement embodies Park's notion of multiple membership across social networks. The Black Consciousness Movement, in direct contrast with the apartheid state apparatus which cast Black South Africans as ultimately rural peo-ple, sought to grapple with the "problems of... industrial South Africa in light of how the past ha[d] contributed in shaping those problems".[9] In order to do this they looked for inspiration in the broader, international discourse that was emerging in the 1960s. The term Black Consciousness stems directly from Du Bois's evaluation of the double consciousness of Black Americans.

A central aspect of Black Consciousness, which is seen as its primary legacy today, was to understand that Black liberation would not only come from fighting for structural political changes, as the ANC did, but also from the psychologi-cal transformation in the minds and consciousness of Black South Africans themselves, whom Biko saw as "reduced to obliging shells", subjugated by a White power structure to accept a seemingly-inevitable social position.

Biko initiated his political life through the emerging anti-apartheid student organisations at South African universities, but he criticised the arrogance of White liberal students in their insistence that the problems of the country could only be solved through a bilateral approach between Black and White, as the integration such multiracial organisations promoted was formed by people who had been extracted from various segregated societies with inbuilt complexes of superiority and inferiority. Such artificial integration lacked common ground beyond the purely ideological. Rather Biko, like Du Bois, saw it as essential that Black people and communities be empowered first:

> One does not need to... actively encourage real integration. Once the various groups within a given community have asserted themselves to the point that mutual respect has to be shown then you have the ingredients for a true and meaningful integration. At the heart of true integration is the provision for each man, each group to rise and attain the envisioned self. Each group must be able to attain its style of existence without encroaching on or being thwarted by another. Out of this mutual respect... and complete freedom of self-determination there will obviously arise a genuine fusion of the life-styles of the various groups. This is true integration.[10]

For Biko, as long as South African Blacks were defined primarily through an out-group identification system, they would be "useless as co-architects of a normal society where man is nothing else but man for his own sake". In this particular piece of writing, which strongly echoes Du Bois, it seems that Biko believes the outcome of true integration to be non-racialism, where no one would be oppressed due to his or her categorisation under a racial, colour category, but could still self-identify under the strong and positive cultural characteristics of their common ethnicity. This understanding is implicit in the term "integration", which is defined as follows:

> Integration n. 1. the combining of diverse parts into a complex whole. 2. a complex state the parts of which are distinguishable. 3. the harmonious combination of the different elements in a personality.[11]

The way Black Consciousness went about working towards such a state was through its grass-roots focussed Black Community Programmes, which included the organisation of community medical clinics, aiding entrepreneurs and holding "consciousness" classes and adult education literacy classes. Such an approach required insertions of these new social institutions into urban space, the creation of new social networks of people, and the emergence of new community leaders. This grassroots and small-scale approach is of particular interest, as it uses civic organisations and the creation of urban community spaces to promote group self-identity and the creation of social networks.

What is interesting in Biko's view of in-group identity and integration, as well as the parallel views of his contemporaries, is that while in the American ghettos of which Park was writing the problem was one of "assimilation" – the foreign element in the population was to assimilate American culture, which was overwhelming defined as a White culture – in Biko's understanding, such a process should occur without one having to give up certain identities which did not "fit" the ideal (where this was even possible). Indeed, the self-definition of the group through these differences was seen as the primary catalyst in the process of a wider urban integration. This heralds a new understanding of urban integration, strongly influenced by postcolonial discourse, and highly present in urban literature today.

Postcolonial Urban Theory and the Discourse of Identity and Difference

Contemporary commentators on urban difference recognise that there remain distinctions between people in the city, marked through gender, race, ethnicity, age, life course, sexuality and any number of other factors, but more likely through a combination of these. Anderson and Jacobs refer to the Chicago School urbanists as first recognising ethnic enclaves, ghettos and "deviant spaces" as part of the city's internal logic of growth and development, as important and functional as its pristine suburbs. While they highlight this recognition as one of the first engagements with social difference and urban spatiality, they also emphasise the assumptions latent in these writings, with categories like "race" being viewed as uncomplicated, stable givens and certain racialised groups being designated as problematic within a hierarchical system.

> These "problem" groups deviated from the white, heteronormative ideal embodied in the "clean and bright" outer suburbs. In this sense, the Chicago sociologists actually produced an assimilationist model of the city. It assumed that under the right conditions these "deviant" groups would conform to the characteristics embodied by the suburbs and then the city would become fully healthy.[12]

Such concepts of identity are at odds with current views that distinctions like "race" are subjective and socially constituted. Unlike the Chicago School urbanists, current thinkers do not see identity as reducible to one single attribute. Rather, they view identity as multiple and dynamic: individuals might be simultaneously racialised, classed and gendered, among numerous other potential axes of difference.

In recognising that identity is not a fixed, indisputable "given", the embeddedness of identity-giving classifications of

people in frameworks of power, in institutions, and in structures of government becomes evident. It is this embeddedness that allows these classifications to become regulated and repeated, until they gain the appearance of substance. This process embodies out-group identification systems, where the classification of people demarcates the privileges, rights and general social mobility that they as individuals might enjoy in the city. As we have seen, the marking of difference in this way has a significant effect on the material conditions of peoples' lives.

Some postcolonial thinkers have pointed to the urban politics that might form around such identity categories, with certain groups of people being placed in very limiting spatial and social positions because of their categorisation, but subverting it to become their "common ground" and rally cry to protest their situation. However, the reality remains that negative identification processes are more difficult to establish as rallying points, as they cannot provide the group security and social capital that positive processes of self-identification do. Thus, Saskia Sassen is able to write of the social polarisation still evident, and perhaps more pronounced in cities in the Developed and democratic world, where economic disparities still show specific ethnic, racial or gender characteristics. With the resurgence of immigration into these cities, Sassen's research shows that in the case of New York, "the poor are disproportionately black and Hispanic" and large numbers of these poorer households are led by a single, female parent.[13] Indeed, immigration has not ceased and still provides many personal hardships and frictions, which are more likely to trap individuals in marginal situations than spit them out in the "clean and bright" suburbs of Park and Burgess' model.

Of course, it is exactly this new manifestation of the old problem that has prompted the re-emergence of immigration and aspects of difference as a research area in urban theory. The Chicago School urbanists' prediction that the poorer and more "deviant" spaces of the city were representative of a "temporary imbalance" has not come about, and urbanists are thus faced with understanding the new state of affairs, and proposing mediatory actions.

Leonie Sandercock, heavily influenced by Richard Sennett and working in London, advances that the new "global societies" must acknowledge their diversity (or "multiculturalism" as she terms it) through a recognition and facilitation of the claims of different groups.[14] She is not interested in recognising difference on more procedural terms in order to move towards a homogeneous society, but rather in a society made up of different groups between which consensus would be built while affirming their differences. How such a utopic vision might be realised is unclear, as her position assumes that culturally distinct groups can reach consensus on all urban and social issues, but her insistence that integration need not require cultural assimilation is key to the contemporary discourse.

Many theorists recognise that city life cannot be understood as a community, that it will always be a site of the "being together of strangers", joined through uneven power relations. Such a position also highlights the importance of context. It recognises that structures of power and difference are deeply embedded in city spaces and that they resist radical, universal transformations. A focus on localised city spaces has provided a way of moving from universalising spatial visions to understandings that are fine-grained. Space and place are recognised here as being far more than neutral backdrops for people's lives or containers for social relations. People's relationships with places help them to construct their identities and their own positions within class, gender and ethnic groupings. The obviousness of this statement is revealed every time an individual seeks a place to live within the city, perhaps more so when their choices are strictly limited.[15]

Such explorations are perhaps most effective in revealing those "interstitial spaces" in which it is possible for citizens to negotiate the categorisations by which they have come to be known, to connect across other groups and networks, and to leverage the opportunity and political influence gleaned from such cross-networking.

It is also important to note that such a position and view of space rejects the idea of the democratic *agora*, in which people can meet, interact and build commonalities through space. Scholars such as Ash Amin note that far from being places where diversity is negotiated, public urban spaces tend to become territorialised by particular groups: "the city's public spaces are not natural servants of multicultural engagement".[16] Rather, Amin suggests that the sites for

overcoming difference and categorisation, for habitual engagement with "others" are what he terms the "micro-publics" – churches, schools, sports clubs, committees, neighbourhood watches and numerous other networked social institutions where prosaic negotiations are compulsory. Amin realises that such initiatives do not automatically build social inclusion, that they need "organisational and discursive strategies that are designed to build voice, to foster a sense of common benefit, to develop confidence among disempowered groups and to arbitrate when disputes arise. The essential point is that changes in attitude and behaviour spring from lived experiences".[17]

Varshney, in writing about ethnic violence in cities, notes the importance of interethnic civic organisations as "[a] considerable reservoir of trust is formed out of associational and everyday interactions.... Routine familiarity facilitates communication between... communities; rumors are squelched through better communication; and all of this helps the local administration keep peace"[18]

This position is both urban and spatial, and it strongly reflects the Black Consciousness Movement's Community Programmes, except here Amin and Varshney are suggesting that such empowering "micro-publics" transgress social categorisations between groups.

The Second Conceptual Sieve

It is clear that all the authors examined above are preoccupied with the same broader questions: how can isolation and intolerance be challenged in the city? How can strangers and immigrants escape the tight strictures of their classification as "others" and become equal urban citizens without having to assimilate to the dominant cultural ideal?

It becomes clear that, more than a century after Simmel first wrote about the Stranger in the city, the process of urban immigration and the racial categorisations it helped to embed in the social organisation of cities have not magically vanished. The city is, more than ever before, the place where we encounter difference; the immigrant, the stranger, the "other"; and as our world looks to become increasingly more urbanised, the urban Stranger should remain a central concern for urbanists.

However, it is in the last half a century that the argument has become preoccupied with urban spaces and institutions. Rather than focusing on the psychology of the urban immigrant and the urban role the spaces he occupies have to play, there is an understanding of the uniqueness of each individual in the multitude of ways he is able to construct and alter his identity in the city, and in the importance of his spatial context in aiding such alterations.

The local focus that accompanies such a view has implications for urbanism and urban design. It seeks to understand how social institutions and urban spaces overlap, how the urban insertion of certain social programmes might change the social networks of a space, and thus the levels of social integration possible within it. It is advanced that through such integrated social networks, people stand the best chance of mediating conflict coming about because of difference without having to jettison their cultural differences in accordance with an assimilationist urban model.

In South Africa, international immigration to cities is occurring in a new paradigm, and urbanists and policy makers cannot draw upon a comparable depth of experience that urbanists have in the cities of North America and Europe. However, as in South Africa, the cities of the West are themselves entering a new paradigm of immigration, and thus serve not only to provide a tradition of immigration and the city in urban theory, but are also cast as co-learners in a new global process of immigration. For all urbanists, the key question is how urban studies and urban design might contribute to understanding this process and making it more elegant and frictionless.

It is from this point of view that the urban neighbourhood of Mowbray will be studied as an example that shows a level

of integration among older communities and new immigrants. The theorists examined here give vital clues as to what such an exploration should seek out within the physical and social structures of the neighbourhood: the "micro-publics" and social networks anchored in space through civic organisations and institutions.

However, before such a study is undertaken, it is important to frame the broader South African phenomenon of international urban immigration over the past fourteen years since democratisation. Indeed, very little research has been carried out regarding the particularly urban and spatial nature and implications of this new wave of immigration. Such an understanding must be framed within the international urban discourse on immigration, while recognising that the effects of apartheid and colonialism on South African cities, and particularly on Cape Town, will necessitate their own interpretations within the wider framework.

Endnotes

[1] Robert E. Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment" in *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*, ed. Richard Sennett (New York: Meredith Corporation, 1969), 126.

[2] Georg Simmel, "The Stranger", in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, Kurt Wolff (Trans.), (New York. Free Press, 1950), 404

[3] Park, "The City," 126.

[4] John Western, "Some Effects of Enforced Geographical Mobility· the Group Areas Act and the 'Coloureds' of Mowbray, Cape Town" (paper presented at the fifth workshop for Mobility and Social Change in South Africa at the Centre for Intergroup Studies, Cape Town, South Africa, June 23 – 25, 1975)

[5] Andreas Hess, *Concepts of Social Stratification: European and American Models* (New York Palgrave, 2001), 105

[6] Alejandro Portes, *The Economic Sociology of Immigration* (New York· Russell Sage Foundation, 1995), 8.

[7] Western, 2.

[8] Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978), 45.

[9] Kate Manzo, "Black Consciousness and the Quest for a Counter-Modernist Development", in *Power of Development*, ed. J. S Crush (London. Routledge, 1995), 242.

[10] Biko, 21.

[11] The Oxford English Dictionary, http·//www.oed.com

[12] Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, *Cities of Difference* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998), 6.

[13] Saskia Sassen, *The global city: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 264

[14] Leonie Sandercock, *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities in the 21st Century* (London: Continuum, 2003)

[15] Indeed, the appropriation of and ability to exert control over urban spaces by powerful groups is an important manifestation of their own identity and power
– the apartheid Group Areas Act being perhaps the most poignant example of this

[16] Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift, *Cities. reimagining the urban* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), 11.

[17] *Ibid*, 15

[18] Ashutosh Varshney, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society," *World Politics* 53 (April 2001): 388.

Chapter 3

Locating Immigration, Racialization and Segregation in Cape Town

> But last year stories began to reach us from the capital of unrest among the barbarians.... Of this unrest, I myself saw nothing. In private I observed that once in every generation, without fail, there is an episode of hysteria about the barbarians.... Show me a barbarian army and I will believe.[1]
> – J.M. Coetzee, Waiting for the Barbarians.

The exploration undertaken here is intended to frame the contemporary immigration process in South African cities, and particularly in Cape Town, within the urban tradition of immigration theory explored in the first part of this work. In South Africa – recently transformed into a democratic, capitalist society with strong economic growth – immigration has become part—and-parcel of the urban experience. The immigrant experiences of the cities of the Unites States over the last century would indicate that there is much to be positive about in this new urban immigration. However, in South Africa this new process comes on the back of an enormous legacy of urban, political, economic and social segregation along the colour line and on the construction of myths of national belonging, race and cultural inferiority in an attempt to justify that legacy. The term "race" in South Africa is implicit with colour prejudices – a fact that has been embedded in society at least since the establishment of the first European settlement in 1652. The question, then, is to what extent the legacy of apartheid has embedded itself in the actions and feelings of people and the ways they might engage with and classify immigrants in South African cities today.

The ideas of Simmel and the Chicago School sociologists, as well as some of the postcolonial urban theorists, form the broader framework against which an historical exploration of Cape Town will be undertaken. This exploration is intended to determine and map the trajectory of those social and urban components of the city which are still influential in the migrant experience today.

The influence of urban form on the social experiences of all Capetonians can be asserted because the systems of colonialism and apartheid dramatically and purposefully affected the urban landscape of Cape Town in very particular ways, and any exploration of urban immigration within the city needs to take this into account. This is particularly significant when considering that one of the spatial and social tactics apartheid urban planning employed was to consider Black South Africans as permanent immigrants to the South African city, which was constructed above all as a White space. Indeed, many of the more extreme and seemingly abstract ideas about the social and spatial control of immigrants in urban theory achieved their nearest physical manifestations in the apartheid city.

Park and Simmel, writing in the early stages of the industrial metropolises, acknowledge that urban immigration is a painful and dramatic experience. Both note that it promotes a crisis within individuals, who must negotiate two different cultures and systems of being. However, both see the city as ultimately providing the kind of diversity of people and networks that allow the immigrant some kind of protection from this experience, and their predictions of the outcome of urban immigration are largely positive. Through the Burgess concentric urban model, the immigrant is seen to enter a linear and dynamic urban process of assimilation, which begins in segregated ethnic enclaves in the inner city and eventually assimilates the individual, or his offspring, to American urban culture in the outer residential areas and suburbs of the city.

However, contemporary urban theorists who advocate that urban dwellers have a right to their differences see this idea of assimilation as highly problematic. Self-identity by immigrant groups is seen as key to the establishment of social networks, which gradually expand and overlap with other networks in a process of increased social mobility and urban integration without complete cultural assimilation. Certainly, even paralleling the writings of the Chicago School, sociologists like Du Bois were pointing out that the "ideal" society was itself a social construct and, particularly in societies which segregated along colour lines, the prospect of assimilation into a White ideal was impossible and had significant psychological effects on those who were thus doomed to marginality and dual-consciousness through their definition as "non-White". The other potential obstacles to the Chicago School model, such as the notion of an intellectual inferiority of the immigrant as embodied in the rural-urban trope, and the effects of poverty and forced intolerable living conditions for many urban immigrants have been examined and form the primary discussion points in this chapter, as they dramatically affected the way Cape Town was physically adjusted by planners, urban designers and policy makers to deal with immigration. Indeed, in many ways this exploration is framed around the way the points overlooked by the Chicago model play out in the spatial positioning of the immigrant "other" in colonial and apartheid Cape Town.

However, like the Chicago sociologists, this exploration is underpinned by an ultimately positive view of immigration. It assumes that urbanism and the space and form of the city has a significant influence on the experience of the immigrant, and can thus be seen as one element in the arsenal of prospects that can be employed to better understand immigration. To build urban-focussed theories of immigration could serve to make the process less conflicting and difficult for those who have immigrated, and also to promote urban design and planning actions which would serve to reduce such conflict, if not promote integration.

While poverty, conflict and coercion have been part of the immigrant experience the world over, immigration into South African cities throughout history, and particularly over the last fifteen years of democracy, has constantly been marked by volatility, conflict and violence. How much of the current experience of conflict has to do with the old apartheid structures, still embedded in the spaces, institutions and psyches of city dwellers? Such a question can only be answered through an exploration of the background context of immigration in Cape Town.

Exploring the Myth: Constructing identity, race and inferiority in space

A fact constantly reiterated in the growing body of Southern African immigration studies driven primarily by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) is that the demise of apartheid has created a new, only partially understood and still-continuing process of immigration to South Africa that extends far beyond the immediate Southern African Development Community (SADC) regions historically associated with migrant labour. The reinsertion of South Africa into the global economy has brought steady streams of legal and undocumented migrants into the country, and created striking new ethnic constellations within its cities.

In the new Rainbow Nation, the "immigrant question" is as much a politicised and high-stakes game as it was in the apartheid and colonial eras, being once again positioned at the very centre of a new process of dynamic societal articulation of notions of national belonging and entitlement. In a process perhaps more sinister for the de-humanising and "othering" it heralded for the majority of South Africans only a decade and a half ago, membership in the new nation is, in part, being established on the basis of the outward signs of what it excludes: skins that are too dark, languages that are from too far north.

The obvious danger here is that the ideological process of forging a post-apartheid South African national identity has tended to be informed by constructing racialised and stereotyped characteristics of non-South Africans through an out-group system, perhaps an inescapable legacy of a system that for half a century constituted identity along the lines

of race and ethnicity within the country.[2] Given such a history, it is not hard to see how newly arrived Africans would be perceived as a threat to the hard-won inclusive citizenship, rights and entitlements from which the majority of South Africans had been excluded for decades, if not centuries.

Overwhelmingly, it is in the cities that people who are constructing their identity as South Africans are coming into contact with those whose differences are being constructed as foreign. It is in the cities where Strangers are reminded of their foreignness in a myriad of small, banal, daily transactions; and it is in the cities where this process has reached its most violent expression, in the form of riots, looting of immigrants' shops and homes, personal assault and violence.

Park and Simmel both advocated that to live with some sense of belonging within the city requires a sort of self-segregation and distancing of oneself from those who seem threatening through their foreignness. Certainly, in completing the rationale of such a solution, this act would simultaneously require the identification and exclusion of "others" in a kind of spatial antagonism to their more-philosophical intentions. In post-apartheid South Africa, the non-South African "other" is overwhelmingly the African immigrant from Nigeria, The Congo, Somalia, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, among numerous other African countries (**fig. 3-1**). Of course, the old notions of defining the other along racial lines

Countries from which Immigrants Predominanty Come
(Source: Jonathan Crush, *The Perfect Storm: The Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa*, SAMP Migration Policy Paper No. 50, 2008)

0   500   1000 km

FIG. 3-1. NATIONALITY OF IMMIGRANTS TO SOUTH AFRICA

do not play out as easily in the Rainbow Nation, but the *makwerekwere* (a derogatory term for a foreigner, playing on the seemingly nonsensical sound of their languages) are still most often defined by the differences in the way they look and speak, and by their "barbarian" cultural ways.

The creation of a racialised myth of "otherness" and associated inferiority still persists in the South African city today. Under the apartheid and colonial systems such identity classification had significant spatial consequences for people and the evolution of the fabric and infrastructure of the city. It is important to establish the spatial consequences of such systems in order to ascertain their significance in the contemporary spatial urban experiences of immigrants.

Underpinnings in the British Colonial Period

Park and the Chicago School clearly set the American urban model apart from the European, and especially the British city, which they saw as so completely restrictive in its class structure that it prevented immigrants from dynamically moving towards cultural assimilation, even if they were to achieve the economic prosperity such a move would require. It was a system they saw as being in direct contrast to the underpinning of the American Dream and individual freedom through democracy and capitalism. It was also a system easily transplantable from the European Metropolis to the colonial city, where it served to maintain the authority of the minority colonist population and played a major role in how the "native other", urban poor and immigrant would be perceived, controlled, and physically and socially distanced in the colonial (and postcolonial) world.

South Africa represents one such colonial outpost. Certainly, the idea that every man is a foreigner in the city is particularly pertinent here – cities have overwhelmingly been the constructs of an oppressive colonising European minority. Thus within the South African city it was necessary for the colonial settlers to construct urban social and spatial divisions in order to distance and control the threatening "other", in the form of the native population, or other dark-skinned immigrants.

This in-group definition of self and out-group definition of everyone else simultaneously maximised notions of belonging and entitlement, and set up a power imbalance in the city. Of course, the process of enforcing the subordination of the "other" relied on the use of force. However, this affirmative self-identity as the "superior culture", and concurrent definition of the "other" as subordinate and inferior provided psychological justification for such violent acts. As Western has pointed out, a sense of Manifest Destiny justified through a logic of cultural superiority and a civilizing mission was critical to colonial expansion in all corners of the globe.[3]

However, Manifest Destiny was not just critical to the colonisation of vast territories and continents. Such processes of definition and subordination have a long history in urban studies of the migrant urban poor, from Engels' description of the "national character of the immigrant Irish" in nineteenth century England to the reception of twentieth century immigrant West Indians in the old British industrial towns providing just two examples in a rather exhaustive list of potential subjects. The exception taken to foreign ways of inhabiting the city and the link that is forged between this strangeness and an economic, health and social threat is common to perceptions of immigrant communities in cities across the globe and throughout the centuries. In all can be discerned the "old grievance": the migrants created unfair economic competition because of their lower standards of living, associated with their lower level of "civilization".[4]

When Engels describes 'Little Ireland' in Manchester, he draws attention to the deplorable condition of the urban Irish, noting that:

> heaps of refuse, offal and sickening filth are everywhere interspersed with pools of stagnant liquid. A horde of ragged women and children swarm about the streets and they are just as dirty as the pigs which wallow happily

on the heaps of garbage and in the pools of filth. The inhabitants live in dilapidated cottages... [t]he creatures who inhabit these dwellings and even their dark cellars, and who live amidst all this filth and foul air... must surely have sunk to the lowest level of humanity.[5]

This seeming preference for filthy urban living conditions led Engels to conclude that "[t]he Englishman, who is not yet wholly uncivilized, needs more than the Irishman, who goes about in rags, eats potatoes and lives in pigsties. This does not prevent the Irishman competing with the Englishman and gradually dragging down his wages and standard of living to his own level."[6] For Engels, the danger posed to the English working classes was twofold: their exploitation by capitalists, and the wage undercutting caused by the uncivilized Irish immigrant.

If Engels' work represented a typical social view of the Irish in the British industrial city, and illustrated the processes of self-identity and the distancing of "others" who were seen to be unlike the self, it was also at this time that poor urban immigrants were being spatially mapped within the city. Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London, 1886 – 1903* marked a paradigm shift in social mapping and in the conception of the immigrant as being part of a social group, rather than an individual. This heralded a new, more abstract conception of the city and of urban problems. Not only was the immigrant being given an "out-group" identity, which resulted in his social distancing, but he was also being given a spatial location, which with the emergence of sociology and planning would lead to his simultaneous physical distancing (**fig. 3-2, 3-3**).

Booth's mapping intended to understand where labourers lived in relation to their places of work, with the lowest class being shaded black and labelled "vicious, semi-criminal", and subsequent classes becoming lighter shades of pink and yellow.[7] The effect is a conception of the city as a landscape with certain "diseased" parts, both socially and physi-

FIG. 3-2. CHARLES BOOTH'S SOCIAL MAPPING, LONDON CITY AND EAST END, 1886 - 1903.

cally, which could be attributed to the inferior characteristics of those social groups who inhabited them. It created a new spatial abstraction of the immigrant, and established the possibility for using broader models of urban space, and not just the old ghettos of the European city, to understand the immigrant problem, to control it and through this to solve it.

This idea was transmitted by the British from their Metropolises (where Engels had written about the Irish in 1844) to their colonial outposts, as well as to the East Coast cities of the United States that were receiving large Irish immigrant populations at the time. That these paradigm shifts in the spatial conceptualisation of urban immigration would underpin the work done in Chicago fifty years later is evident, but in the colonial context the element of control through urban planning, and of ensuring that the immigrant class remained quite "static" and did not transcend their social and spatial position and thus threaten a very established and old class system was a central factor.

When in 1886, with British Cape Town in the midst of an economic boom associated with the Mineral Revolution, the Agent-General for the Cape Colony in London noted that: "Unskilled native labour is plentiful, and European labour finds it difficult to compete with the natives who are able to subsist on lower wages", he was reinforcing a social understanding of race, civilization and the "proper" economic position for those classified according to these categories within the city.[8]

By the 1895 municipal elections in Cape Town, this idea had taken a spatial bent, with the overcrowding of the inner city urban areas singled out as a primary issue. It should be remembered that Cape Town, to this day, has a minority Black population, with more than half her inhabitants being described (or describing themselves) as Coloured (**fig. 3-4 overleaf**).[9] Thus this period marked the first significant migration of Black Africans to the city. Whereas before Black Africans had arrived under conditions of slavery during Dutch rule, the outbreak of the Rinderpest in the Eastern Cape at the time wrecked havoc among cattle-based rural societies and caused them to lose their economic independence and

FIG. 3-3. CHARLES BOOTH'S SOCIAL MAPPING, DETAIL.
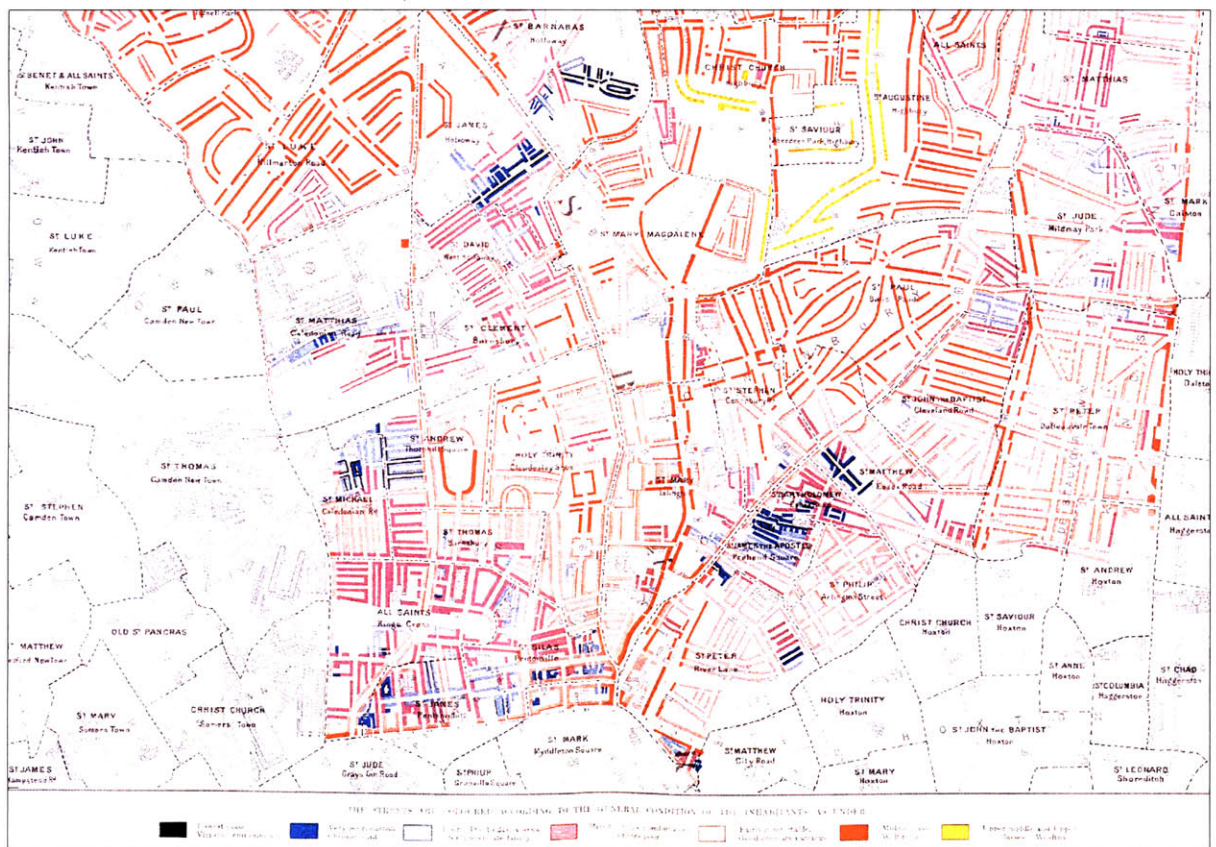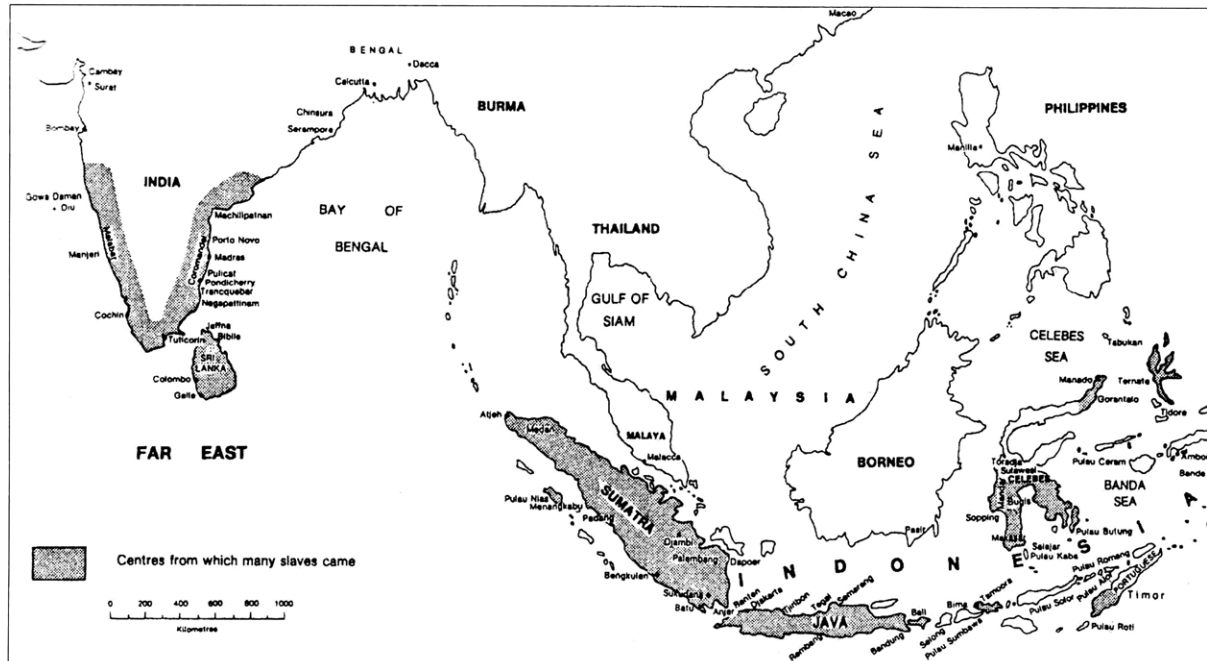
FIG. 3-4. ORIGINS OF THE CAPE MUSLIMS (DUTCH EAST INDIES).

migrate into the city in search of work, which they mostly attained as loaders on the docks.

The new Black migrants were blamed for the slum conditions evident in the city, as "Kaffirs were unwilling to pay much rent and were quite content to live in the slums at a few pence a week" in areas "unfit for the habitation of respectable working classes".[10] This "invasion" was widely seen to be directly responsible for the creation of urban conditions reeking in filth and vice. Many called for the Cape government to look to the mining cities of Kimberley and Johannesburg and their methods of controlling the influx of migrant labour through imposing a registration fee on Africans entering the workforce and forcing migrants to live in labour camps when in the city.

The Cape Liberals, who were in power at the time, were reluctant to impose these measures which would go against their ideology – a kind of 'evolutionary racism' which held that people "Other than White" could acquire the benefits of European culture through exposure to "civilizing" agencies such as education, Christianity and hard work, a process which they saw as necessary for the economic development of the Colony.[11] This view categorised the African as inferior to the European, but did not completely racialise him, as it held that he could culturally assimilate; that he was not doomed by his nature to inferiority.

This was a similar view to that which underpinned the Chicago School writings on immigration in the early twentieth century, and essentially the Cape Government of the day was faced with a choice between two systems of urban control of immigrants: a dynamic process of cultural assimilation through the patronising influence of the "better class", or a static system which limited the physical and economic opportunities available to the migrant under the strictest systems of urban control. Ultimately, as will be explored, they chose both; but the systems were applied unequally to groups of people according to their racial classifications.

On the issue of Black African migration to the city, the Cape government was hopelessly indecisive. Meanwhile, the argument for the creation of locations for Africans in the city was gaining momentum among the bourgeoisie, when "in a logical continuation of the theory of urban degeneracy, it became a commonplace in the arguments of the bourgeois pro-

fessionals that contact with the evils of the city was debilitating for the 'Noble Savage'."[12] Thus a view began to emerge which completely racialised Africans as it held that they would, by their inferior nature, be corrupted by the city and would not be able to make positive choices for themselves.

Once such views of entrenched inferiority were held, they easily became the justification for the social and spatial distancing of those who were seen in this way (from a decidedly Manifest Destiny viewpoint). Thus, with a more racialised view of African immigrants emerging at the Cape, the political opposition during the municipal election saw that they had sufficient popular support to establish a Native Location Commission in order to investigate the nature and possible solutions to the urban problems generated by the "Kaffir Invasion". Their report – full of sanitation-syndrome rhetoric – recommended the establishment of two locations in Cape Town, one in Maitland (where the city's graveyards had recently been relocated after successive smallpox epidemics) and one at the docks.

However, in the end the arrival of bubonic plague at the Cape Town docks in February 1901 proved the deciding factor, and the Colonial Secretary's office enforced the residential segregation of Africans in the manner envisaged by the Commission. Central government financing of the locations, combined with the racist hysteria generated by the plague, overruled any lingering objections among representatives of local government. After considerable African resistance to their removal, the government passed the Native Reserve Locations Act in 1902. Africans were now legally forced to live in locations in Cape Town.[13] This legislated segregation was but the first step in a long process of the residential separation of people according to their "race" in the city (**fig. 3-5**).

The urban sites for these new locations were chosen quite deliberately. The docks were the place of employment of almost all Black Africans in the city, and thus followed Burgess' model of locating immigrants in the "zone in transition"

FIG. 3-5. FIRST FORCED REMOVAL OF BLACK AFRICANS FROM THE CITY TO A LOCATION ON THE EDGE OF CAPE TOWN, 1901.

where they would live among the industries that employed them. Maitland, however, was on the very outskirts of the city, and effectively cut off from it by the southern railway corridor, constructed from 1864 to 1890, and northern railway corridor, completed in 1863 (**fig. 3-6**). These lines effectively formed the new frontiers of the city and connected the central urban area with the outlying villages on the more fertile surrounding mountain slopes (**fig. 3-7**). This marked a divergence from the Burgess model that seems, in the consciousness of its decision, quite unique to South African cities: the Black immigrant poor would be relegated to the urban periphery of the South African city and transportation infrastructure, instead of assisting the dynamic movement of people in the great urban ecological system the Chicago School sociologists had imagined, would be used both as a divisive element between racial ghettos and a way to get Black Africans to their places of work while reducing their contact with other groups (**fig. 3-8 overleaf**).
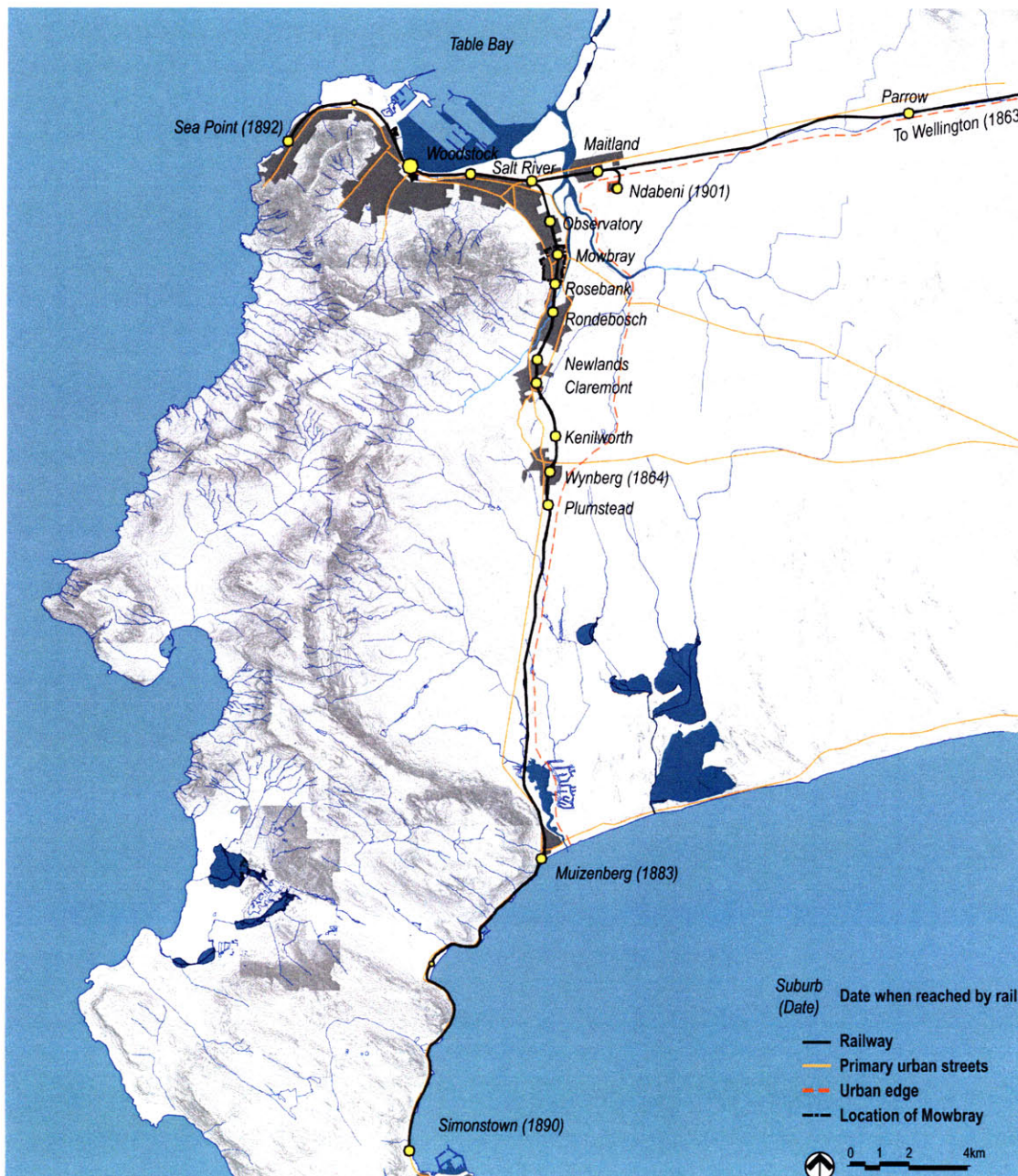
FIG. 3-6. DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRITISH RAILWAY LINE IN CAPE TOWN.

Thus, the question of race was absolutely central to the way immigrants were viewed in this spatial organisation of the city. The power-holding minority in the city, in an attempt to ensure the continuity of it's power through the establishment of its own group identity as White, enacted spatial exclusionary regulations on those whom it perceived to be the greatest threat: Black African immigrating groups arriving under conditions of poverty.

The often-unfounded threat in most Western and colonial cities was that the "civilized" Whites would be outnumbered and overwhelmed by those who seemed most culturally dissimilar and strange to them, and whose material standards of living and of health appeared to be much lower than theirs.[14] Of course, these ways of living were often a direct result of the poverty under which immigrants had arrived, but nevertheless these groups were seen to require the greatest social and physical distancing from the elites, ensured through the creation of limitations to their access to jobs, educa-
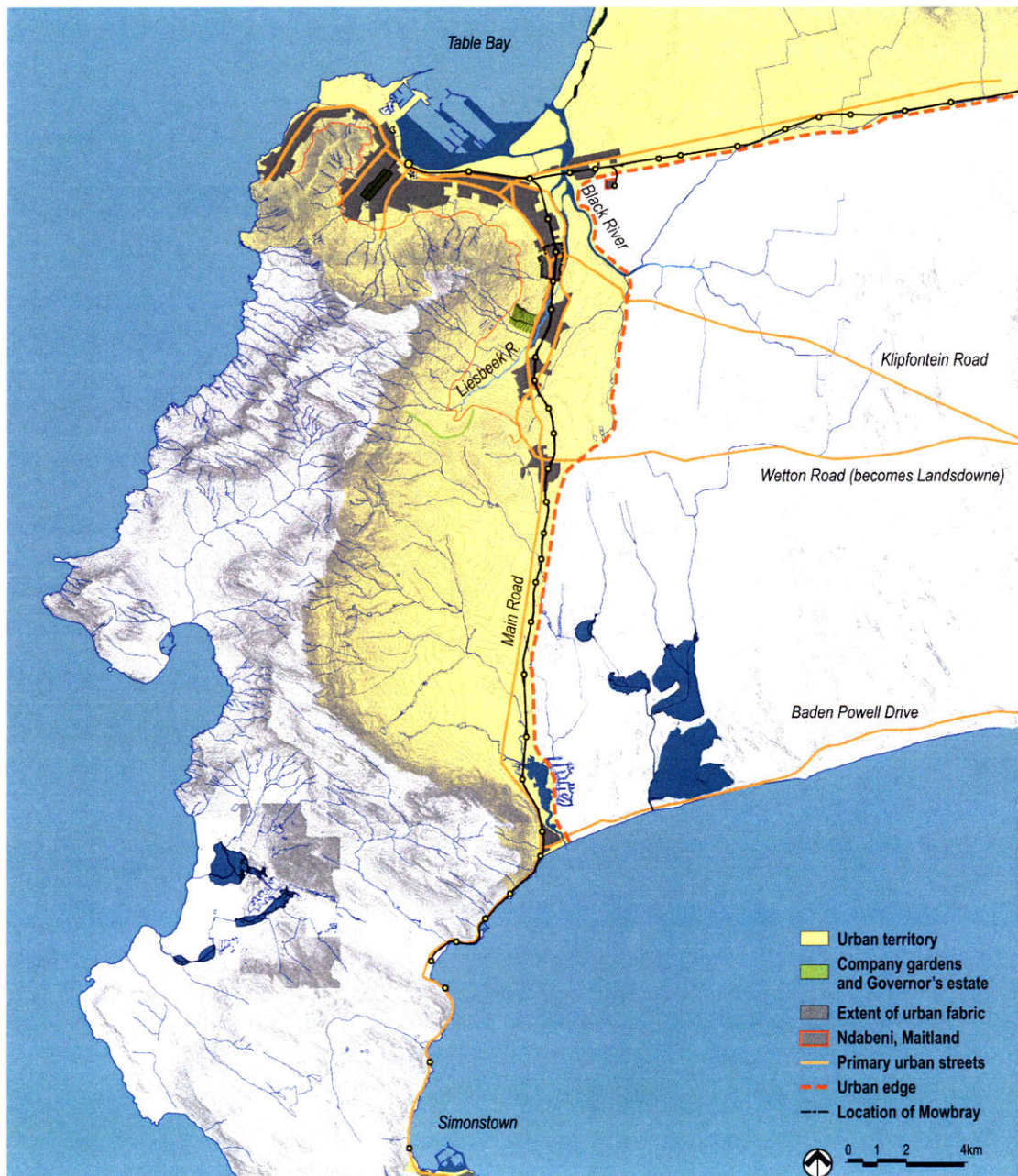
FIG. 3-7. MAP OF BRITISH CAPE TOWN, 1885.
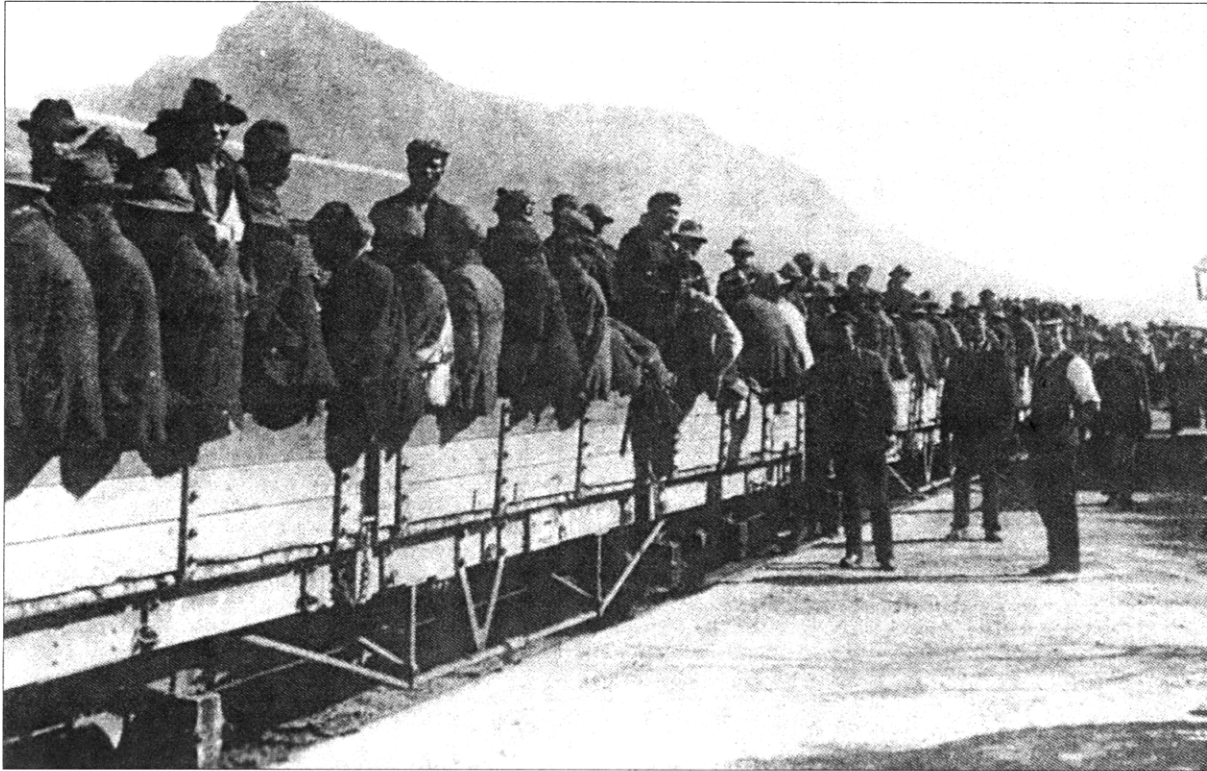
FIG. 3-8. TRAINS RUNNING BETWEEN THE BLACK LOCATION AND DOCKS ENSURED LABOUR SUPPLY, 1901.

tion, services and their physical segregation within the city. This ghettoisation simultaneously ensured the maintenance of their condition of poverty and alienation, which was the very justification for their initial segregation, and it employed urban planning and physical urban infrastructure in enforcing these divisions.

The application of these limitations required that those who were to be subject to them be specifically defined. A process of racially cataloguing and hierarchically organising human beings ensued. According to the epistemological framework through which certain immigrant groups were racialised, and from which the guardians of English and European cultural domination acted, to be "African" in nineteenth and twentieth century Cape Town was to be non-white, non-Christian and non-English. Racism emerges when signification attached to difference is predominantly negative, and this "African" classification overrode any other means of self-definition on the part of the racialised group, such as nationality, birthplace, gender and adopted city and came to signify "an essence that was external and foreign". [15]

Such out-group categorisation, and the seemingly unclean, heathen and superstitious ways in which the immigrant "other" occupied the city thus led to their *structural* isolation within the city: not just in a slum-like area of physical decline, but in a politicised area of simultaneous social and economic limitation and decline.

But such structural isolation had unintended consequences, which would be revealed more fully in the urban studies of the next century with the rise of urban social networking theory. The racialization and restriction of the freedoms of the immigrant Black African population in many ways also served to galvanise the creation of a common ethnic self-identity. Shared experiences of migrancy, sometimes from the same geographic regions, and of employment in the least-desirable jobs created a strong and iterative ethnic- and class-consciousness among new immigrants. This sense was heightened by their spatial segregation: ghettoising a group made them easier to control, but it could also heighten their sense of solidarity:

In forcing Africans into either the docks location or Ndabeni the government was helping to create communities. Community consciousness, as so often in South African history, was welded by 'outside forces' and 'external acts of hostility'.[16]

In the first location at Ndabeni in Maitland, it became clear to Africans forced to move there that their exile would not be a temporary one when after three months the government started to charge them rent to cover the cost of their accommodation (in appalling conditions) and for transportation to their places of work. But now, instead of being spread throughout the city and seeing each other as having come from different regions and tribal clans, in their collective forced removal and spatial segregation the racialised out-group identity which had been the justification of their treatment was inverted to create a new, in-group self identity – a common ethnicity which they collectively experienced. A shared sense of wrong and of oppression produced community organisation, and with the emergence of leadership, facilitated a communal response to government action in the form of rent and train boycotts in 1901 and 1902.

That such in-group identification systems and the social networks they created produced a primary threat to the apartheid government will be explored in the next section, as well as the intensely spatial response the regime employed in order to limit the creation of such networks. The control of the Black African immigrant produced an urban spatial response in the Cape, and in many South African cities that was quite unlike the model proposed by the Chicago School in that it sought to ghettoise the immigrant on the outskirts of the city and use transportation systems to divide and exploit him for his labour. This was more a system of heightened social control, where the central government determined the position, movement and opportunity of the Black migrant in all facets of his presence in the city, than the "human ecological" systems of equilibrium governed by democratic and capitalist systems they had envisioned. However, it is critical to note that this dynamic system did exist in Cape Town, and was occurring simultaneously to the processes of the segregation of Black urban immigrants described above.

Again, race categorisations would be critical in determining which groups of people would be exposed to each system. While the central government had ensured the physical and social segregation of Black Africans in the city, Bickford-Smith notes that there was little employer interest among the dominant merchant class in residentially segregating Coloured workers. The reluctance of the local Cape government in instituting the systems of racialised urban locations has already been noted, and as the Coloured population was nationally limited to the city and its provincial hinterland, central government had little to say on how Coloureds would fit into this new racialised urban system. Coloured presence in the city was as old as European, and associations between people from each group had a history rooted in slavery under Dutch colonisation, rather than through a completely racialised categorisation.

This, when combined with the continued support of the Coloured vote at the Cape during Unionisation (Africans lost their already-limited franchise in 1936) and the successful lobbying by Coloured politicians for Coloured labour preference at the docks (arguing that Coloureds deserved preference because they were 'natives' of the city) served to create a three-tiered social hierarchy of White, Coloured and African in the city.

The arrival of Eastern Cape Africans as migrant labour on the docks had led to the dismissal of local dockworkers, and there was much hostility towards the newcomers. Indeed, in 1898 when a butcher from the inner-city area of District Six became the first Coloured person to stand for the town council, his candidature was partly a response to the increased African migration: "he argued that African migrant labour was unnecessary, and equally that Africans worked 'for low rates' and subsequently threw 'others' (implicitly Coloureds) out of work."[17] When the White elite started implementing legislation that discriminated specifically against Africans, the ex-bonded Malay elite (predominantly Muslim former Dutch slaves from Malaysia) saw it fit to make common political cause with their Christian counterparts in Cape Town to ensure that they would escape similar classification. They did so under the banner of being Coloureds, and thus were able to ensure that they were not completely disenfranchised in the new social order – a response that was

FIG. 3-9. MAP OF CAPE TOWN
HIGHLIGHTING THE LOCATIONS
OF DISTRICT 2 AND DISTRICT 6.
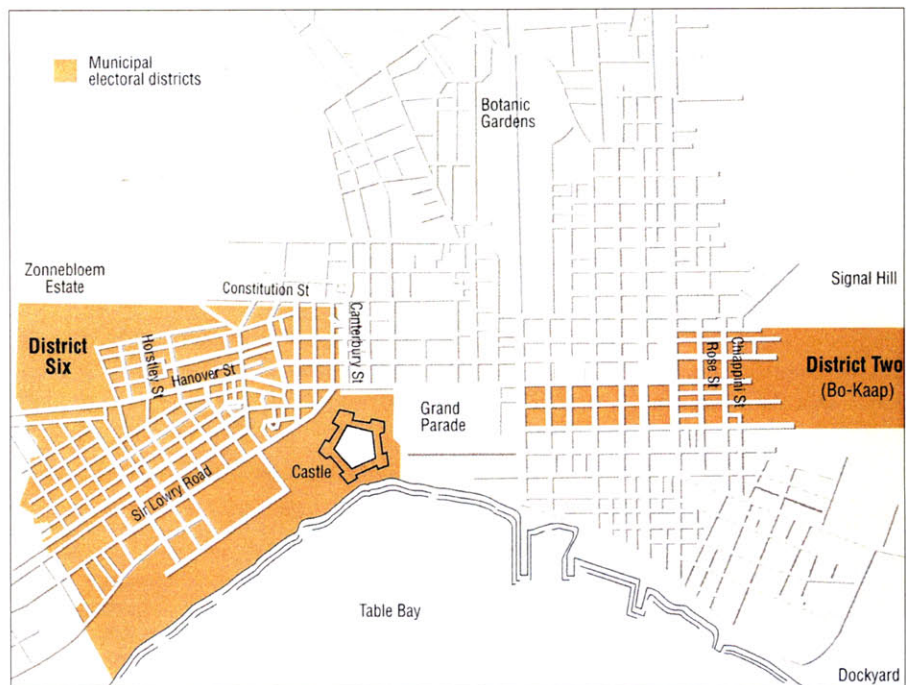
both an in-group identity-building process and a necessary reaction to an out-group labelling as "non-Whites" in the city.

The creation of a Coloured identity and the reliance of the White merchant class on the skills of the largely working-class Coloured population had a very different spatial result in the city. Rather than outright segregation, Coloured communities were largely consolidated in two regions of the city – District Two or the Malay Quarter on the slopes of Signal Hill, where the first freed slaves had settled after emancipation due to its easy access to employment on the docks, and District Six immediately to the east of the old Dutch Castle, close to the Rogge Bay Docks and to the railway yards (**fig. 3-9**). In 1878 these were very much the "zone of workingmen's houses" of Burgess' model, with a residential zone being established both on the slopes of the city bowl in Gardens, and beyond these eastern and western districts in Woodstock and Greenpoint. With the extension of the suburban railway to Wynberg village by 1864, the bourgeois classes had escaped the city entirely into a new, linear belt of a "commuters' zone".

However, by 1909 the economic situation of the city had altered significantly, as the Cape Railway Line had reached Johannesburg in 1892, three years ahead of its rival from Natal. This opened Cape Town as a gateway to the goldmines, and the improved economic position of the city helped to raise loans on the London market at a reasonable rate, which in turn enabled more money to be spent on the development of infrastructure. Between 1891 and 1902 the Cape government spent almost £3 million on improving Table Bay harbour, £200,000 on Cape Town's railway station, and opened the new dock at the Victoria Basin, which all attracted trade via Cape Town rather than the other coastal cities. Imports through Cape Town rose from £3 million in 1891 to £14 million in 1902.[18]

Such prosperity also heralded a new period of immigration to the city, with arrivals from all corners of the empire, heightening racial anxieties and the importance of maintaining Whiteness within the city for the ruling class (**fig. 3-10**). The social engineering response to such racial anxieties is described by Arnold White in his book, *Problems of a Great City*, where he wrote: "Distress in London is not the distress of a great city – it is the distress of a great Empire".[19] White believed that the flight of the poor to English cities should be deflected to the colonies, thereby solving the colonial problem as well. These colonial problems were explicitly expressed John X Merriman, the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, in correspondence with Sir Charles Mills, the colonial agent in London in 1891: "The whole question of getting
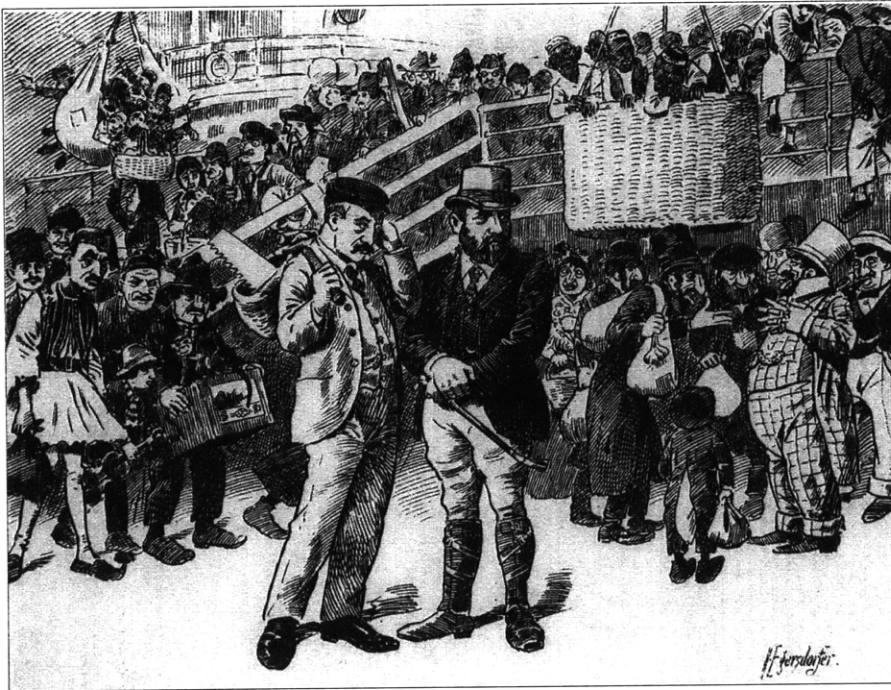
FIG. 3-10. CARTOON OF IM-MIGRANTS ARRIVING IN CAPE TOWN BY H. H. EGERSDORFER, 1902.

an increase in our white population is at... once of the greatest importance and of such complication that it makes one despair. I have induced Sivewright [the minister of railways] to go in for Scotch plate-layers and gangers instead of the [Chinese indentured labour] we employ so largely".[20]

A desire to maintain Whiteness among immigrants to the city was formalised in the 1902 Immigration Act, which required that all immigrants were literate in a European language.[21] In 1906 the General Dealer's Act was introduced to protect the "European trading class" from Indian competition, and the Chinese were singled out in the 1904 Chinese Exclusion Act, which excluded all Chinese who were not British subjects.[22] Yet while immigration and economic restrictions were applied, the government did not enforce spatial segregation as it had for Black African migration, and during this time District Two, and more predominantly District Six became the location of a mixed immigrant community. Closely following the Chicago School model, with economic growth and population expansion through immigration, the old "workingmen's zone" shifted outwards to Woodstock, Salt River, Observatory and some parts of Greenpoint, while District Six as well as the lower reaches of District Two around the dock area became the "zone in transition". The residential zone moved outwards to the edges of Seapoint and from Mowbray southwards. As in the Chicago model, the outer zones were largely White, but the inner ones showed a considerable degree of racial mixing and the establishment of very strong inter-ethnic social networks between the new, diverse immigrant population and the Coloured and White working classes.

Thus the apartheid state would similarly see such "zones in transition" as a threat, and the forced removal of people living here and the complete demolition of the urban fabric of District Six in the 1970s under the Group Areas Act are seen as being among the most traumatic episodes in the history of the city.

It thus becomes clear that two separate systems were at work for the spatial regulation and control of immigrant groups to Cape Town during the British colonial period. The application of each system in terms of the spatial location and thus access to employment, educational and recreational opportunities of the immigrant was based solely on the colour of his skin – or his perceived "race" where this was unclear (as it often was). Membership in different racial groups thus came to mean different life experiences, with the material position of most Africans in Cape Town continuing to be

worse than that of most Coloureds, which in turn was worse than most Whites.

Yet the adoption by Cape Town's dominant class of racially determined patterns of proletarianisation would also give rise to ethnic and community mobilisation which would cut across class cleavages. The rhetoric of White superiority at the Cape encouraged belief in the mutual economic and political interests of the bourgeoisie; justified unequal access to the resources of the state; encouraged White ethnicity above English, Afrikaaner or class identity; provided a solution to the 'Poor White problem' during the depression years; and encouraged White immigration from Europe during times of economic boom.

On the other side of the establishment of this myth of racial superiority, Black or "non-White" inferiority justified the social and spatial segregation of Black African migrants in peripheral locations, with highly limited employment opportunities and no access to education. Their urban positioning was designed to keep them as "static" sources of labour in the city, with minimal chances of achieving any prosperity or social mobility. Yet their concentration in ghettoised areas also served to create a self-identity that slowly began surmounting some of these restrictions through social networking. However, the excessive limitations to their presence in the city ensured that Black Africans remained a minority population within Cape Town, and many members of the multi-hued petit bourgeoisie stood to benefit from the reservation of manual labour for Black Africans – it in many ways sheltered the majority of Capetonians from bearing the full brunt of the new industrial system. This in turn had an effect on the creation of their own self-identities, which were the most racially integrative of all, as they were based largely on networks springing from commonalities of employment, religion and so on.

Formalisation under apartheid

The three-tiered system of racial classification in Cape Town was gradually entrenched through the century, and by 1980, at the height of apartheid, government ideology had ensured that the Western Cape became a "Coloured Labour Preference Area" and had attempted to reduce "African urban influx" through applying harsher controls and investing very little in those areas to which African labour was residentially restricted within the city. By the time the Group Areas Act of 1950 had been legislated, all citizens had to be classified under the labels White, Black, Coloured or Indian/Asian, and live in the urban spaces assigned to each group, with associated exclusive civic, education and recreational facilities.

Apartheid, being based on race which, like class, ethnicity and community is a conceptual, "imagined" construct, was never really reflected in urban space with the rigour of its depiction in colour-coded patches across plans of cities, provinces and the nation itself. These maps were but the visual, highly diagrammatic representational devices of race in segregative urban planning policies. Science itself had for decades been struggling with the contrastive nature of race: "any representation of race could only be understood in explicit or implicit relation to another, through a process that highlighted the signs of difference. Such racial contrasts were often expressed with the greatest visual clarity via diagrams, precisely because in them points of difference could be emphasised, distracting 'noise' (variation) eliminated and essential contrasts made visible."[23]

The myth of race was perpetuated through the power of the line on paper in urban plans for apartheid's Group Areas Act. This is not to say that the majority of South Africans did not suffer atrocities, as they still do, because of these concepts. However, the spatial effects of apartheid are still too often perceived in a conceptual, diagrammatic way, which hinders a deeper understanding of the mechanisms of structural urban isolation that it was able to bring about, and the social tools people classified under restrictive banners used to overcome them.

Apartheid and the Group Areas Act was theoretically conceived under the banner of "separate but equal", and were

supposedly designed to minimise friction between defined racial groups. Such a position assumed that people of different colours in fact represented different races, with opposing needs and ways of living and occupying urban space.[24] While there had to remain a common economy in South African cities where racial mixing could not be avoided, the city was to be designed to allow for complete segregation along all other lines. Residential areas therefore had to be unambiguously segregated. A concentric-zone model with commerce being located at the centre of the city did not adequately serve apartheid's purposes; such an arrangement would entail the crossing of "other" racial spaces on journeys to and from work. Western notes that the planners of apartheid cities were quite aware of the frictions that could potentially arise from such arrangements, as "incidents [had been seen in] American cities... where a Black child being struck by a White commuter's car could spark off civil unrest if the citywide situation were already tense."[25] Instead, the sectoral plan was employed as the ideal urban arrangement, minimising the need for different racial groups to cross each other's areas on the way to and from the centre (**fig. 3-11**). Such a model also required separate transportation systems for each group.
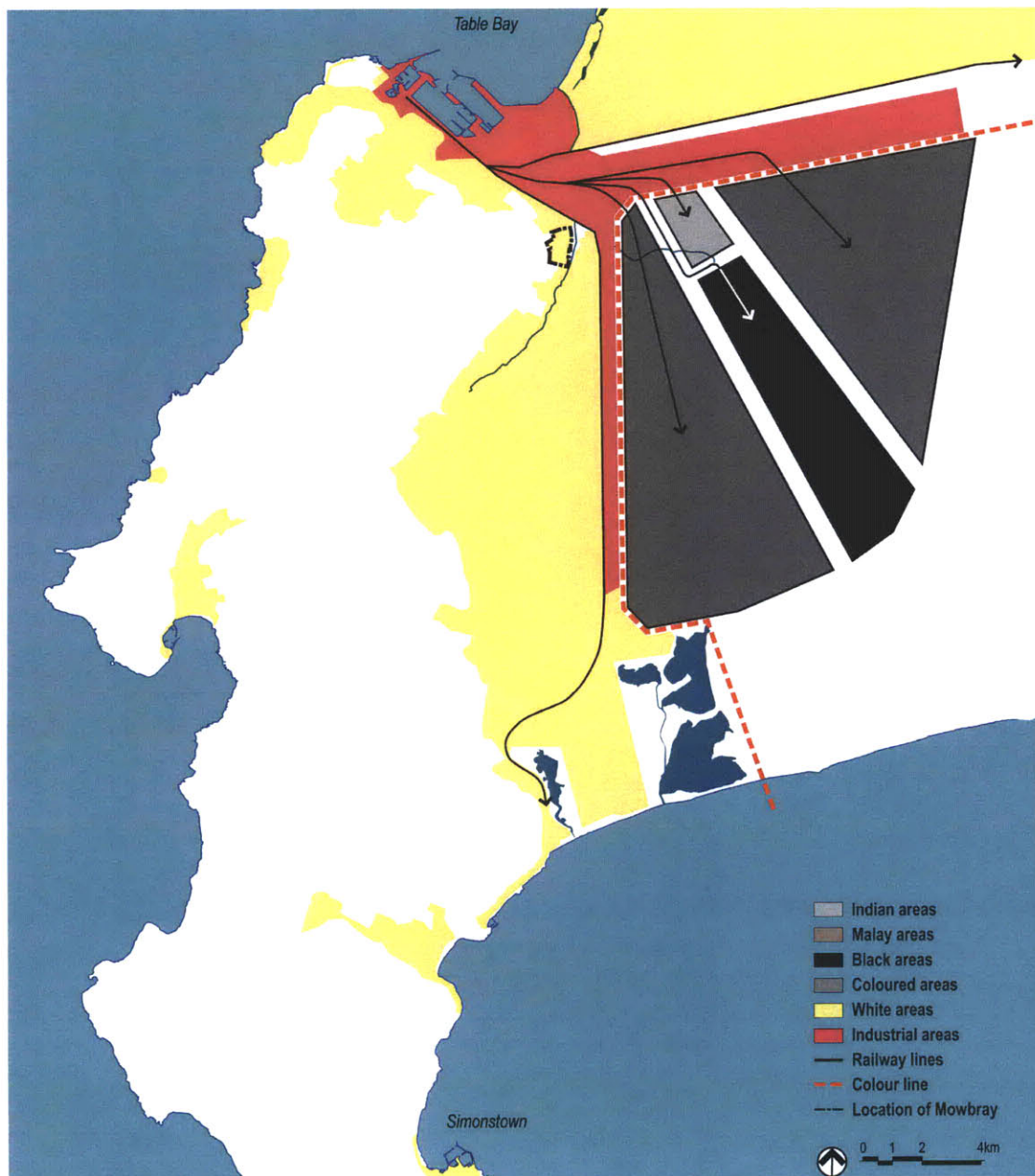
FIG. 3-11. HYPOTHETICAL PLAN FOR THE IDEAL GROUP AREAS, CAPE TOWN

So how did this idealised model play out on the actual landscape of the city? Apartheid's effect in Cape Town under the Group Areas Act was to completely eradicate the class/colour continua, which had been present in the city prior to and during British colonialism, and force all racial groups to submit to specific urban locations, as Black Africans had been half a century before. Until the Group Areas Act, this class/colour continua had tended to be graded along two axes: the distance from Cape Town station (in the Burgess concentric rings system) and altitude (the higher one lived, the better). As has been explored, the "commuters' zone" and the higher altitude residential areas were overwhelmingly occupied by the White bourgeoisie, but the working class in the city had still maintained a diverse ethnic, cultural and racial mix.[26]

Even with the irregular geography of the city already undermining any possible manifestation of an abstract Group Areas plan in Cape Town, in practice the implementation of Group Areas was also socially and racially unequal. With the
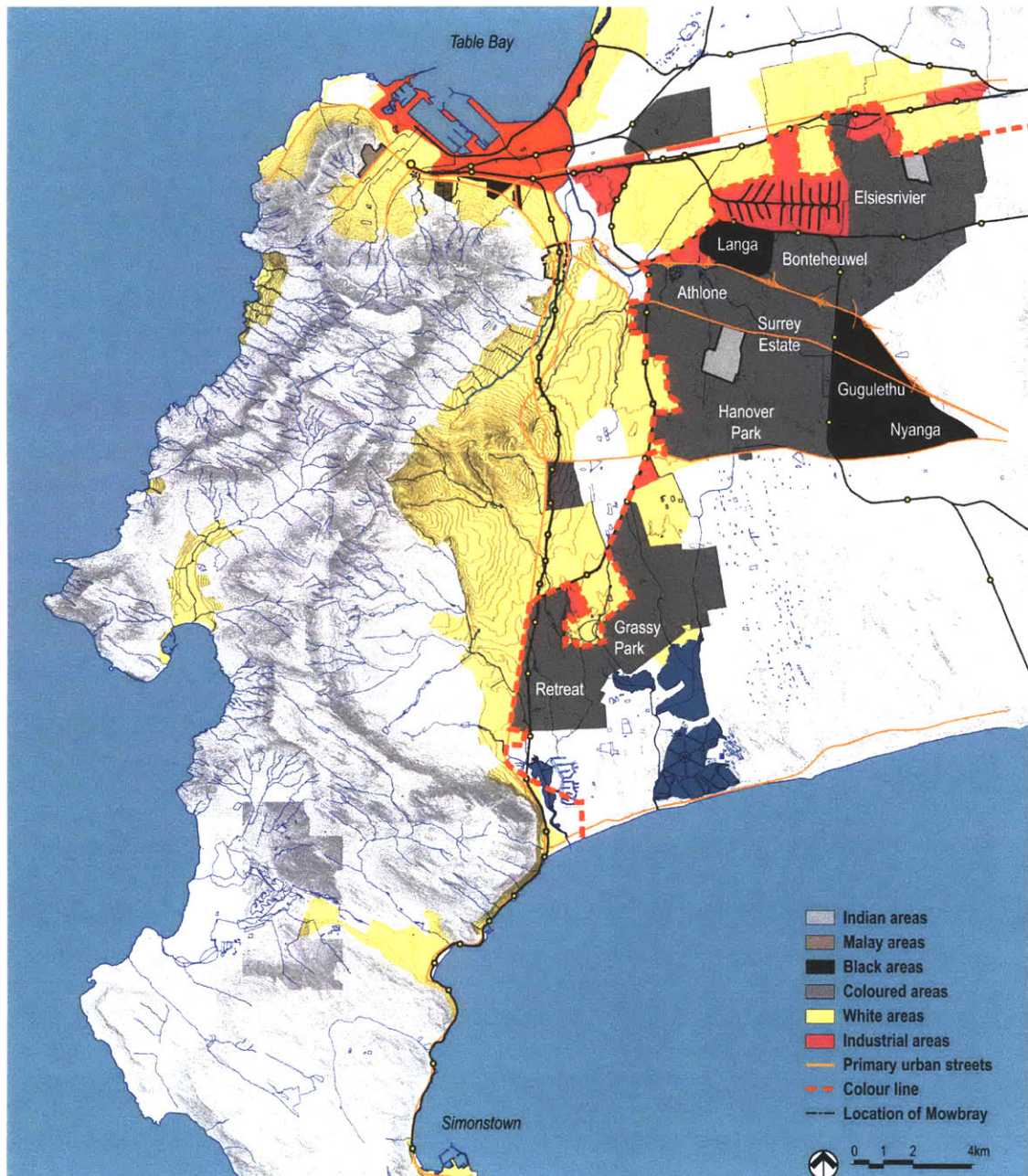
FIG. 3-12. ACTUAL GROUP AREAS PLAN, CAPE TOWN 1979.

National Party having come into power by the slightest of margins, it could not afford to alienate White voters and therefore avoided the removal of as many Whites as possible. This meant that everyone who was classified as "non-White" would have to move (the blatant out-group categorisation of the term itself revealed the bias). Even when Whites were living in areas that would hypothetically be classified as a different Group Area, they were rather encircled with electrified and fenced-in railway lines than moved (**fig. 3-12**).

The apartheid planners largely continued the idea the British had had when establishing the first Black location at Ndabeni: the existing railway system, following the old Main Road and Voortrekker Road, and bolstered by the building of freeways, would serve as the primary racial barrier in the city. Thus, in 1955 the (White) town council of Bellville "made the drastic proposal that all Non-White residents should move out of the present developed suburbs to an area across the railway line, in Bellville south".[27] Although this idea might have seemed drastic, it is in fact what happened, with all of Bellville north of the railway line (and including the most developed urban areas) being declared White, and the sparsely populated and underdeveloped southern area being declared Coloured. A similar concept guided the segregation of the city along the southern railway corridor, with all areas to the west along the fertile mountain slopes being declared White, and all "non-Whites" being removed to areas east of this barrier on the sandy and undeveloped Cape Flats. Virtually all the Southern Suburbs, the majority of which were racially mixed prior to apartheid, were declared White areas, with one minor exception in Lower Wynberg.

It was thus clear that Group Areas was far from an equitable system of urban organisation. As Dr. R. E. Ross wrote in the *Cape Times* on the 23rd of February 1961:

> For the Coloured [of the Cape Flats].... The matter of the inequity of practical provision of facilities, of distance from work, of schools, hospitals, police protection, roads, lighting, sewerage, to mention but a few of the many respects in which the displaced Coloured persons will find discrimination, serve only to emphasise the unfairness of the entire conception of the proclamations.[28]

The negative effects on social networks the removal of people under Group Areas had within Cape Town is explored by John Western when he questions whether forcing people out of the developed, walking-distance neighbourhoods in the established parts of the city to the west and north of the railway lines and onto the distant Cape Flats in a fairly random manner resulted in their attempting to "play the city-wide 'networks game', where physical space is supposedly immaterial".[29] He notes that the removed people, broadly representing the working class of the city, were overwhelmingly without the means and the lifestyle to play "the non-place urban realm" social network game.[30] Rather, their social networks were associated with fixed spatial positions at the local church or mosque, at their children's schools, and at nearby shops, restaurants and places of work.

The loss of these kinds of civic spaces and organisations in the desolate residential areas for "non-Whites" represented a profound social and economic loss for those people who had been physically removed from the spatial, institutional anchors of their social networks. Of course, this aspect of the loss of social networks through movement was a necessary and traumatic aspect of urban immigration, and the Chicago School saw the ethnic enclave as crucial in providing a place for re-establishing these commonalities and networks. Through membership across social networks the individual would be able to expand his social reach and connection through the city, becoming increasingly independent of geographical place in the maintenance of these connections and thus assuming his place in the dynamic, outward moving "human ecology" of the city.

While those spatially relocated under Group Areas were not immigrants, the experience of losing spatially anchored social networks is common to both experiences. Those who were less prosperous within the city required a social rooting in their access to civic organisations and the social networks and the benefits that came from them. But they also needed to be directly adjacent to those places providing work opportunity, as this would allow them the possibility of achieving

the economic prosperity also necessary for increased social mobility.

This element of achieving greater economic prosperity was essential to the dynamism of the Chicago model. Through locating people at the undeveloped urban periphery, further away from civic amenities and employment opportunities, apartheid essentially reversed the model and made it static. People could not be allowed to transcend the urban environments they were located in, as this would necessarily transgress the racial organisation of space. In this way, urban space, infrastructure and low densities of civic structure were used to achieve the structural isolation of people in ghettoised, racialised urban areas.

Yet structural isolation at such a large scale could never be absolute. As has been show, the spatial and economic segregation of Black African migrants in Cape Town under British rule precipitated the establishment of some of the social mechanisms immigrants the world over have used to create community and opportunity in very restricting situations. Spatial segregation did often allow for the creation in-group identities and of new social networks, and these networks became important sources for the acquisition of scarce means such as capital and information, particularly under conditions of limited physical and civic infrastructure. In short the Group Areas necessarily began to transform to become more than mere racial locations, but rather cultural spaces in which Black Africans and Coloureds were constructing a particular social history.

As Bozzoli notes in her work on social capital in African townships and locations, even prior to the advent of apart-
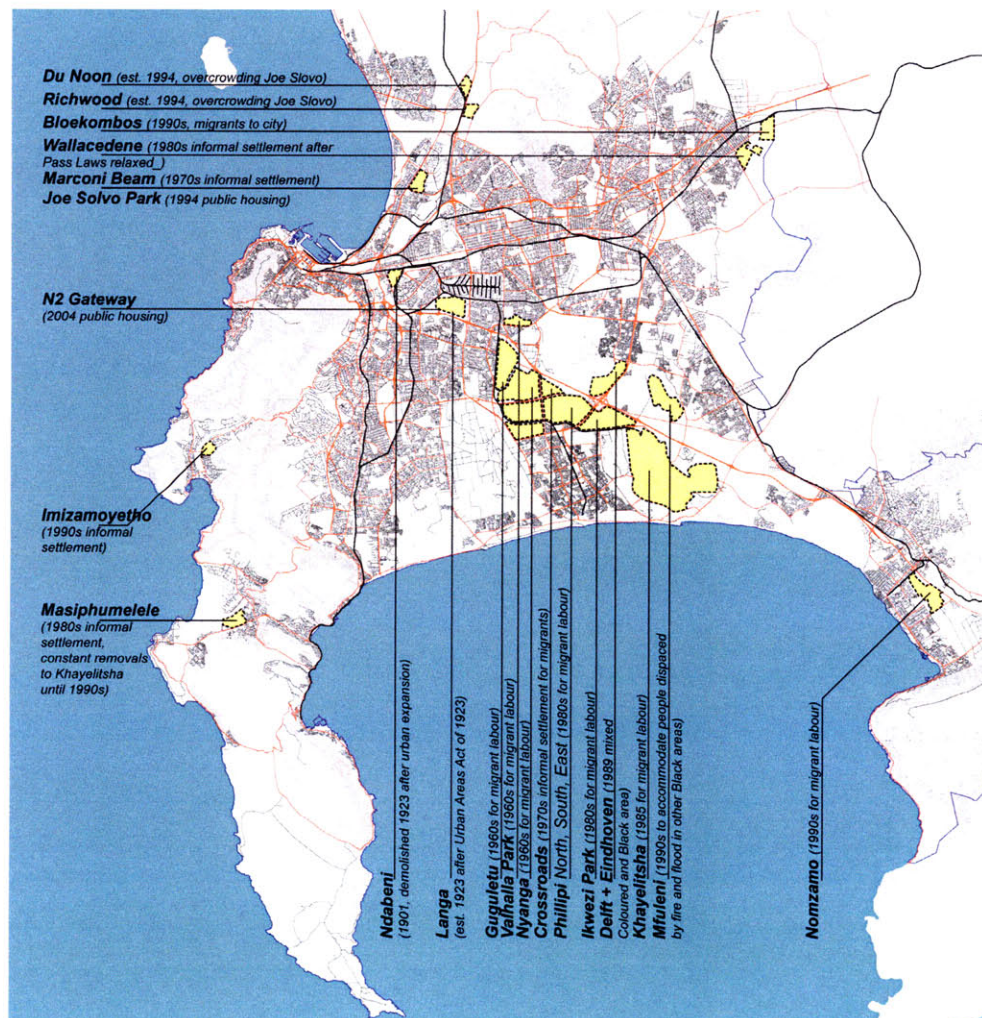
FIG. 3-13. MAPPING BLACK SPACE IN APARTHEID CAPE TOWN.

heid such areas were characterised by poverty, but also by a fairly dense world of social networks and "institutionalised cultural life which found expression in shebeens, schools, gangs, families, sports and many other forms."[31] Mangcu, in writing about culture and development in such townships describes how they were all too often seen as nothing more than sites of poverty and oppression. While they certainly were spaces of physical deterioration, "despite the harshness of the political and economic conditions, people carved out spaces of cultural creativity and material survival through a process of syncretic adaptation."[32]

The emergence of such community building, self-policing and politically galvanising cultural networks in the locations and ghettos of apartheid Cape Town were, of course, a threat to the very ideology that had managed to create such spaces in the first place. In 1948 when the National Party came to power on the radical ticket of apartheid, it instituted legislation that attempted to limit the threat of such social organisation by outlawing political protest and banning political organisations. But this was not enough to maintain the complete structural isolation and "staticness" of these spaces, and the state once again effectively looked to spatial intervention to control the Black African population (and to a lesser extend the Coloured population) and limit their urban freedoms.

Thus, throughout the apartheid era in Cape Town, as in the rest of the country, the physical reminder to the "non-White" Capetonian of his continual status as foreigner was achieved through iterative removals – the continuous redefinition of his "spatial boundary" (**fig. 3-13, 3-14**).
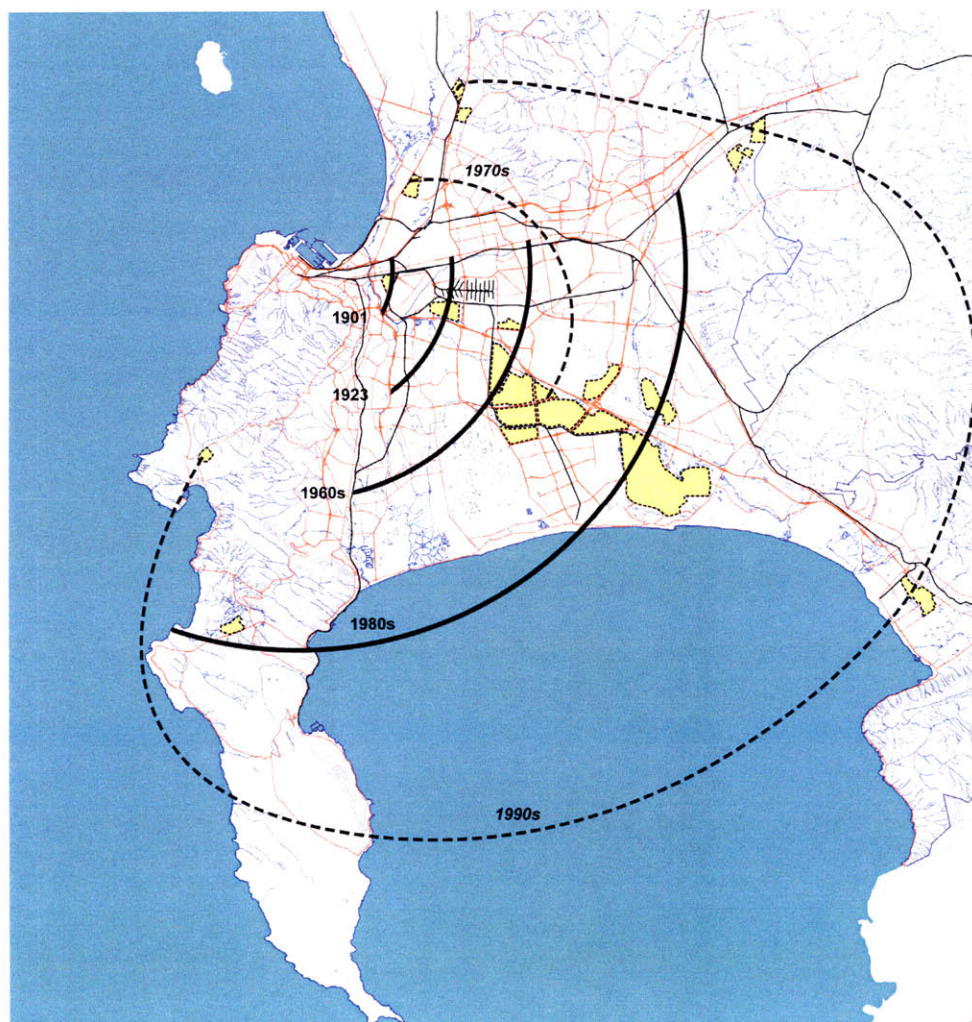
FIG. 3-14. MAPPING THE CONTINUAL REMOVAL OF BLACK PEOPLE IN CAPE TOWN.

Each time Cape Town grew out and enveloped the previously distanced 'locations', the Black Africans were moved. The location at the docks has been razed; so too has the next one established, Ndabeni. Then they were moved out to Langa, which today houses only a small proportion of the Black Africans in greater Cape Town. Today, most Black Africans live in the *presently* peripheral Nyanga and Gugulethu townships... the most effective plan for societal control by spatial manipulation in apartheid is that of *continual removal*.[33]

In this way, government policy was aimed specifically at "maintaining urban Africans and Coloureds in as insecure a capacity as the needs of a white-dominated economy could tolerate".[34] Such constant removal served to ensure that very few social networks and very little social capital were able to accrue in these communities. People were removed before they were able to become too organised and collectively provide a wide range of social services and resources that might serve to give them the tools for resistance to their segregation.

In the "non-White" spaces of the city there thus emerged another spatial axis to compliment those that had developed in the older parts of the city. As one Coloured woman explained, when recognising her lack of choice in the matter of removals, she nevertheless exploited what little room she had for manoeuvre: "we left when we knew we were going to have to go: the longer you wait, the further in to the Cape Flats you'll have to go. Now they're building out at Mitchell's Plain".[35] The further out you lived, the less physical infrastructure and civic structure you were likely to have to build any resemblance of a social network on, and the greater the spatial friction you would experience in accessing economic opportunity. Thus the further away from the divisive railway lines you were relocated; the greater your structural isolation. This was reflected in the hierarchical racial preference given to Coloureds in the city, who were situated closer to the now-White areas of the older, established neighbourhoods.

It also served to create a very interesting "gradient" across the railway lines themselves, as the White spaces to the west and north of the rails had a physical gradient (on the slopes of Table Mountain in the west and the Durbanville foothills in the north) with the most desirable areas being further away from the railways and at the higher altitudes. Thus the areas between the railway lines and the Main Road were less valued for residential uses, and became almost exclusively commercial in nature. Those residential areas that did exist here were characterised by smaller, dense row houses for working class White families. Where the divide of the railway line and Main Road was bolstered by the location of light industry, the "flattening" of the curve was more pronounced, but in some older areas the location of important urban institutions close to the railway lines, and older White areas on the other sides created a much sharper profile. As has been described, on the other side of the racial barrier, a similar curve developed, with those areas closest to the railway line and therefore more established with better civic networks and accessibility being the most desirable, and the largely unserviced shantytowns of the urban periphery being the most structurally isolated spaces in the city.

By the 1980s the pace of African migration into the city had increased to such an extent that government control of the locations was in dire straits. As the new locations established further out to accommodate this urban influx were completely informal, with no services and at the very periphery of the city, it meant that the majority of Black Capetonians found themselves to be structurally isolated from urban life, with no chance of bettering their position. The difference was that those who lived in these ghettos now represented a significant urban population, and the sheer pressures this density of people created meant that the system had to be subverted.

This was done surreptitiously in some instances, as illegal "squatter settlements" were established in the White areas farthest from the Black locations where commuting was not an option yet labour was required. Hence the establishment of the Marconi Beam settlement for those working as grooms at the Milnerton Race Track, or Imizamoyethu in the White area of Hout Bay, which supplied labour to the fishing industry.

Yet much of the resistance to this urban condition was violent. It was from these peripheral urban locations that the 'young lions' of the 1980s sought to make the country ungovernable by substituting mass mobilisation for organisation

building, particularly against the local authorities that the apartheid government had established in 1982 in order to better control Black urban spaces. Of course, the very institution of these municipal positions for former "non-White" spaces indicates that they could no longer be considered "peri-urban" and that the government was loosing its absolute authority in these urban ghettos. Political mobilisation was the catalyst such areas needed, and civic movements became a powerful, destructive force: organising rent boycotts, consumer boycotts and work stayaways. Increasingly White councillors and business people, in lieu of legitimate local authority structures, entered into discussions and negotiations with civic leaders in the locations, establishing their power as community organisations, but also starting the dialogue which would contribute significantly to apartheid's eventual demise.

Thus the tradition of resistance that emerged from the peripheral locations in the 1980s served to counter the static urban system apartheid had created. Africans began to resist their continual removal within the city and demand civil rights. The riots that were widespread through Cape Town from 1976 (the start of the Soweto Riots in South Africa) until the demise of apartheid between 1990 and 1994 were overwhelmingly located in the Black and Coloured spaces of the city. Particular targets for riots and arson were the symbols of the apartheid system within these spaces: the Bantu Administration offices, Black African beer halls, government schools, housing offices, police stations (**fig. 3-15**).

A reporter for the London *Guardian* wrote of the riots in Cape Town (2nd September 1976):

> The pattern of unrest has become menacingly similar. Pupils gather at schools to demonstrate, the police arrive to disperse them with tear gas, the pupils retaliate by stoning the police and their vehicles, the police then make baton charges, parents protest and start shouting abuse at the police, and in no time the whole community is involved.

The response, once again, was to move protesting Coloured and Black communities to new locations at a "safe" distance, further from the city centre than their current location, causing them to lose their territorial and community roots through being relocated to urban spaces that were little more than anonymous, concrete housing blocks on the sandy dunes (**fig. 3-16**). Yet despite this, some form of social cohesion was being built in these "dynamic ghettos" which would significantly influence the downfall of apartheid:

FIG. 3-15. APARTHEID RIOTING, 1976.

FIG. 3-16. APARTHEID-BUILT BLOCKS IN BISHOP LAVIS, 1979.

Although all the Coloureds consider this human removal humiliating at best and robbery at worst, there are some young militants who foresee that the government's plan will backfire. "In Cape Town we thought of ourselves as Capetonians," a young man told me. "Whites lived in District Six and Woodstock, and Coloureds were scattered throughout the White neighbourhoods. Now only Coloureds will be in one horrible slum. This will prove to my dense people once and for all where we stand in this country. The Sand Flats are natural breeding grounds for a revolution".[36]

Connections to the new wave of immigration

When considering that it is still these former peripheral urban locations and "squatter settlements" which have hosted the most violent xenophobic conflict in the city since 1994, the question must be asked as to whether this form of in-group social cohesion under the banner of resistance is desirable in the post-apartheid city. Can this type of identity and social networking operate in times of peace, or can it only be mobilised in forms of resistance? Does it not show too many aspects of reliance on an out-group definition of identity, which both Du Bois and Biko saw as precluding any meaningful contribution of the group so defined to a new, integrated urban culture?

Over the last eleven years, xenophobically-motivated violence has occurred in Cape Town in the old locations at Langa, Gugulethu, Nyanga, Phillipi and Khayelitsha, and in newer informal settlements dating from the 1980s at Du Noon (in Table View), Masiphumelele (close to Noordhoek), Imizamoyethu (in Hout Bay), and in the Strand. In May 2008, amid nation-wide riots against the presence of immigrants in South African cities, similar riots broke out in Du Noon, Masiphumelele, Khayelitsha and Strand. In essence, immigrants to Cape Town today are following the urban pattern established since the 1980s, and are moving into the most peripheral urban areas of the city, which had been established under apartheid in an attempt to control new migrants through their spatial distancing. While these areas have become the location of new communities since 1994 who are not under constant threat of being removed (and indeed now have title to the land) it is nevertheless important to explore the conditions of these areas, fifteen years on, and how their physical and spatial structure might impact the establishment of social networks and the creation of integrated societies (**fig. 3-17**).

The answer is perhaps already subtly revealed in examining the second predominant spatial location of newly arrived African immigrants within the city: the inner city neighbourhoods of Lower Observatory, Salt River and Lower Woodstock, as well as Sea Point along the Main Road. While stories in the press associate immigrants here with illicit activities such as drug dealing, these areas have retained their manufacturing and commercial industries, and therefore those immigrants who locate themselves in their dense, run down old Victorian and early-modernist buildings have the spatial advantage of being situated directly adjacent to places of economic opportunity. In view of the Chicago model, this area of the city could be seen to have picked up again where it left off thirty years before, and formed a new "zone in transition" where the former Coloured and White working class areas had been located prior to the Group Areas Act removals (**fig. 3-18 overleaf**).

Such areas have a very fine-grained, if somewhat run-down civic structure of churches, mosques, inner city schools, recreational spaces and so forth – spatial "micro-publics" which are easily accessible and provide the new immigrant with opportunities to join multiple social networks and leverage substantial and diverse social capital through them.

Similar immigrant communities have been established along the southern corridor of the city, in the old British commuter suburbs of Mowbray, Wynberg and Muizenberg. These spaces are of particular interest, as they occur between the former lines of division (the Main Road and the railway line) and show even less friction with surrounding communities. In all of the newspaper articles examined in a study of xenophobia and negative views on immigration in the city, none of these areas are once mentioned, despite the spatial visibility of these immigrant communities in what are still

Du Noon (est. 1994, overcrowding Joe Slovo)
Marconi Beam (1970s informal settlement)
Joe Solvo Park (1994 public housing)

Table Bay

Seapoint

Woodstock/Salt River

Mowbray

Wynberg

Imizamoyetho
(1990s informal settlement)

Muizenberg

Masiphumelele
(1980s informal settlement, constant removals to Khayelitsha until 1990s)

Langa (est. 1923 after Urban Areas Act of 1923)

Guguletu (1960s for migrant labour)

Valhalla Park (1960s for migrant labour)

Nyanga (1960s for migrant labour)

Phillipi (1980s for migrant labour)

Simonstown

■ Zones in transition
■ Integrated communities
■ Areas with violence
— Primary streets
— Railway lines
--- Former colour line
--- Location of Mowbray

0   1   2   4km

FIG. 3-17. MAPPING XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE IN CAPE TOWN.
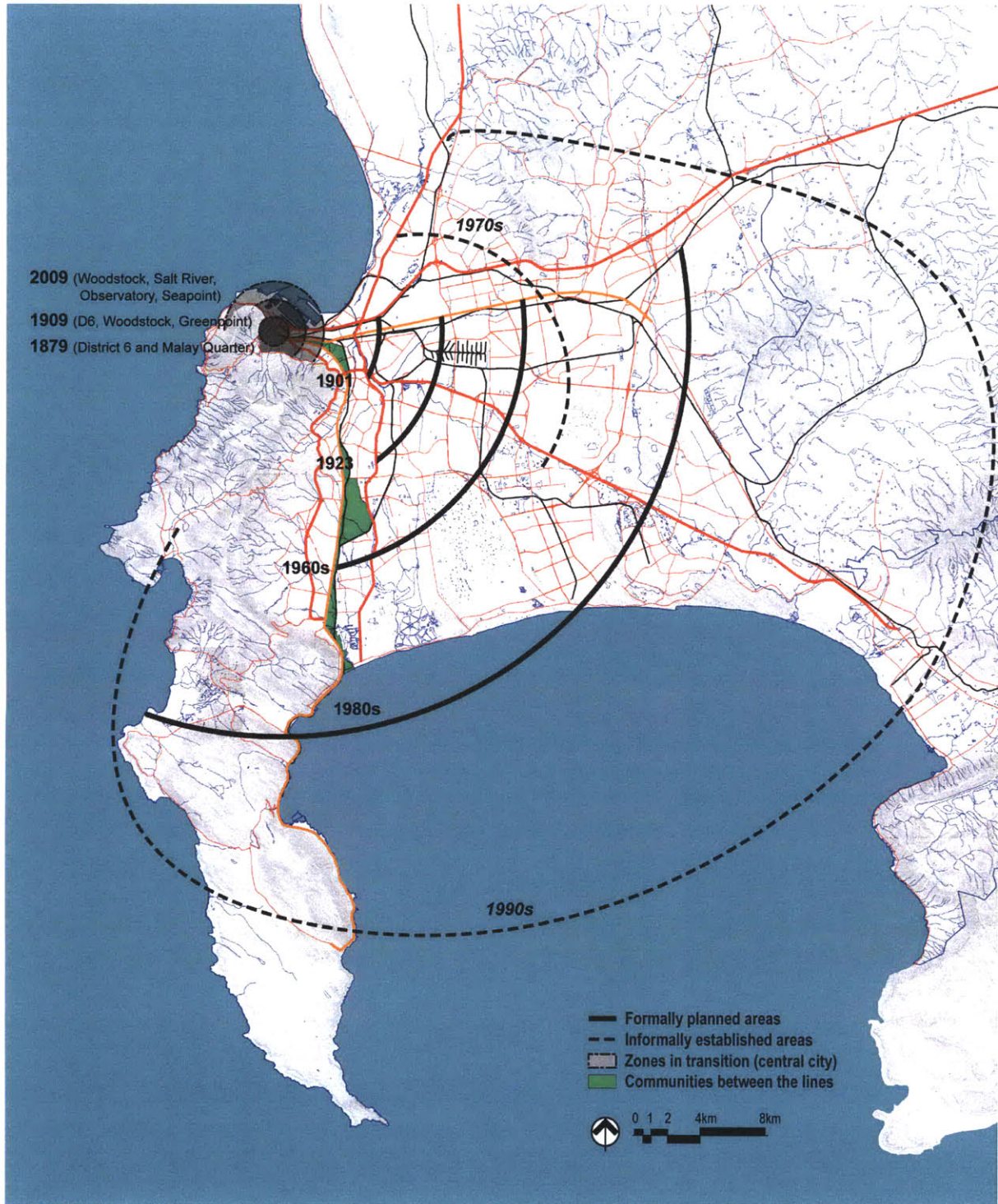
FIG. 3-18. MAPPING CONTEMPORARY IMMIGRANT SYSTEMS IN CAPE TOWN.

reasonably desirable and predominantly White areas – particularly in the case of Mowbray, which forms the major neigh-bourhood study of this work.[37] The ratio of foreign language speakers to local English, Afrikaans and Xhosa speakers in each of these areas is given in chapter 4.

Indeed, the association of inner city immigrant communities with illicit activities, while never leading to xenophobic violence here, was nevertheless fuelled to a large extent by an emerging anti-immigrant government rhetoric which would serve to promote a certain level of hostility towards these "zone in transition" communities, and would provide justification for violence against immigrants elsewhere in the city.

The migration issue has been central to the post-apartheid government's policy agenda, but its development has been continually compromised by political disagreement between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), responsible for the immigration portfolio, and the ANC.[38] As early as 1994, the IFP's leader and Home Affairs Minister, Buthelezi, depicted "illegal aliens" as a threat to the success of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the safety and security of all South Africans. He drew direct links between migrants and crime, citing "evidence" that aliens were respon-sible for "criminal activities such as drug-trafficking, prostitution and money-laundering in what can only be described as typical Mafia-activity."[39] In a budget speech in 1997, he highlighted the burden to the country's socio-economic resources being created by the presence of "illegal aliens".[40] He continued by condemning those who employed illegal aliens as being unpatriotic, as such action was "at the expense of our own people" and he called on citizens to "aid the Depart-ment and the South African Police Services (SAPS) in the detection, prosecution and removal of illegal aliens from the country".[41] Thus citizens were incited to carry out the very outdated Aliens Control Act of 1991:

> Aliens Control Units were let loose on the streets and workplaces. Citizens planning anti-foreign attacks in May 2008 need have looked no further for inspiration than the often lawless activities of these Units in the 1990s as they swept through townships; arresting people at random on the basis of vaccination marks, skin colour or the way they pronounced words; tearing up documentation; allowing local residents to help themselves to the spoils; dumping the deportees in holding centres... and loading them up like convicts on trains at Johannesburg Station for the ride to Ressano Garcia on the border with Mozambique.[42]

Hyperbole abounded in the press and in the statements of politicians, promoting the idea that South Africa was being "swamped" by Africa's poor and desperate, a position which was lent "scientific legitimacy" by a report by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) which unfoundedly claimed that there were between five and eight million "illegal aliens" in the country while painting a picture of a country inundated by impoverished "hordes" and "floods" from the rest of Africa.[43] An uncritical press took up the hysteria, unable to accept the reductive notion of "black on black" violence in a context within which the norm had been "black on white" and "white on black" for centuries. Indeed, the obvious foolish-ness of such a notion would force them to confront deeper identity, cultural, ethnic and socio-political issues, which would serve to debase the very mythology from which violence had been framed for so long. The equally-reductive but far more confusing term "xenophobia" was thus applied, allowing the South African mythology of race to continue unchallenged while creating a new blunt and bellicose mythology on African immigration. At the same time a conservative academic community did little to dispute such myths with critical research into the matter, and in this omission served to perpetuate the hostile atmosphere.[44]

The HSRC and the Department of Home Affairs also succeeded in squashing the SADC's Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons in Southern Africa in 1998. Buthelezi stated the reasons for such action: "South Africa is faced with another threat, and that is the SADC ideology of free movement of people, free trade and freedom to choose where you live and work. Free movement of peoples spells disaster for our country."[45]

It is clear that government rhetoric had pervaded the streets of the Cape Town long before the riots of May 2008, with immigrants being posed as a threat to honest, "civilized" South Africans. And yet, the violence was still carried out in a

very unequal way across the urban landscape, with hostility shown towards the Sea Point and Woodstock immigrants (but without degenerating into collective violent action), with almost no tension in the areas along the southern urban corridor, and with all xenophobic violence (and riots) being located in the peripheral and former apartheid Black urban areas, which were still dominated by a poor, Black population.

Why did violence not occur in all immigrant communities, particularly as Upper Woodstock and Observatory still have large White populations, as do the Southern Suburbs? How do such spaces and communities differ from the immigrant communities in the former Black and Coloured spaces on the Cape Flats? Why do some immigrants choose to locate in those communities that seem less tolerant of their presence? The literature on immigration shows that social networks are key in answering all of these questions. The role of social networks in building community and assisting in the social mobility of the individual has been explored, but they, and the civic organisations and structures they are anchored to, play an important role in the mediation of ethnic conflict between immigrant and host communities too.

Varshney notes that in any ethnically plural society that allows free expression of political demands some ethnic conflict is inevitable, but may not necessarily lead to violence. When there are different ethnic groups that are free to organise, there will be conflict over resources, identity, patronage and policies.

> The real issue is whether ethnic conflict is violent or waged via the polity's institutionalized channels. If ethnic protest takes an institutionalized form – in parliaments, in assemblies, in bureaucratic corridors, and as nonviolent mobilization on the streets – it is conflict but not violence. Such institutionalised conflict must be distinguished from a situation in which protest takes violent forms, rioting breaks out on the streets, and in its most extreme form civil war ensues or pogroms are initiated against some ethnic groups with the complicity of state authorities…. Ethnic peace should, for all practical purposes, be conceptualized as an institutionalized channelling and resolution of ethnic demands and conflicts: *as an absence of violence, not as an absence of conflict.*[46]

A recent dialogue held at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and hosted by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) and SAMP produced clear evidence as to the unique aspects of xenophobia in South Africa. They noted that Black people from elsewhere in Africa are the exclusive targets of these sentiments, and that Black South Africans have perpetrated the most violent xenophobic practices.[47] Crush *et al* note that the incidence of xenophobic violence in Cape Town has closely followed the geography of poverty, and it is evident that the past isolation of Black South Africans in urban ghettos which limited their access to economic opportunity, as well as civic amenities and basic urban services has not yet been overcome in post-apartheid Cape Town, with the poorest class in the city still made up of people who are structurally trapped within these peripheral spaces.[48]

That this poorest class can still be racially defined as Black is a result of the continuation of a system of poverty and
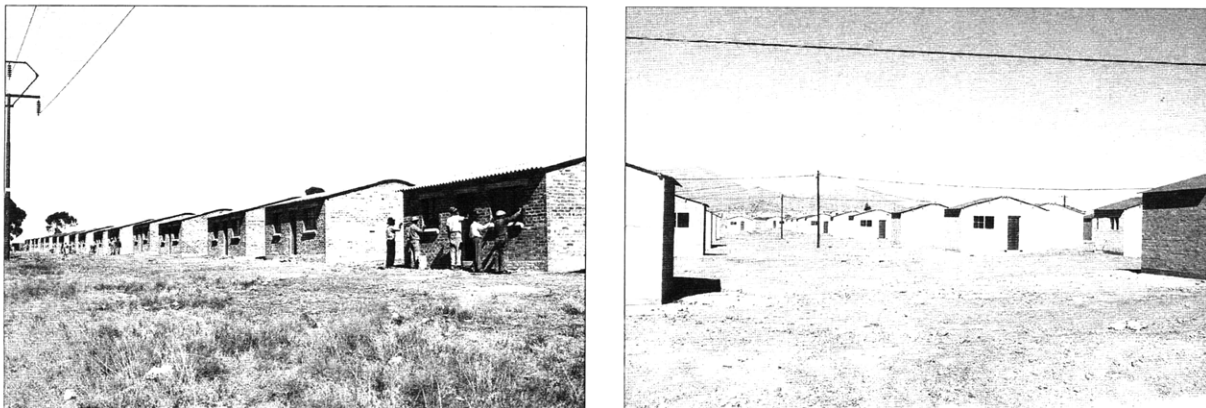
FIG. 3-19. COMPARISON BETWEEN APARTHEID-BUILT (LEFT) AND RDP HOUSING (RIGHT).

restriction to economic opportunity still largely defined by racial classification. When Varshney defines ethnic conflict in his work, he notes that in most global instances of ethnic conflict the core emphasis of the conflict is on cultural differences rather than economic, which is rather a feature of class conflict. Although ethnic conflict may indeed have an economic basis, it is never the core of the conflict. However, he also notes that "if the class into which one is born is also the class in which one is trapped until death... then class conflict takes on ascriptive overtones... and appl[ies] not to ethnic systems in general but to *ranked* ethnic systems, such as America during the period of slavery, South Africa during apartheid, and India's caste system. Ranked ethnic systems merge ethnicity and class; unranked ethnic systems do not."[49]

The development which has occurred in the former Black locations of Cape Town since the end of apartheid has come under much criticism from the planning and urban design community as interventions, such as the government's RDP housing schemes, have not served to create conditions for people which could contribute to their increased social mobility and thus break down such racially ranked class systems (**fig. 3-19**).

Mangcu notes that there was significant pressure shifted to civic leaders to deal with the practical problems of everyday life in the townships after the fall of apartheid. Increasingly, the civic organisations that had promoted fierce resistance from within these isolated communities came to rely on technical assistance from mainly White academics from major universities. "Within a short period of time, the central urban actors were those with the technical expertise to participate in the planning forums that were sprouting all over the place. Urban politics had permanently shifted from the life world of social movements to the systems world of bureaucrats and technical experts".[50] The ANC itself adopted a system of top-down, modernist reconstruction through the RDP, which would see human needs being met through the rational and efficient delivery of services and the construction of small, concrete-block public housing, which strangely resembled the infamous E51/8 semi-detached house which the apartheid government had built in Black and Coloured areas (**fig. 3-20**).[51] After an initial two-year rollout, the RDP Ministry was closed and in its place came a market-based
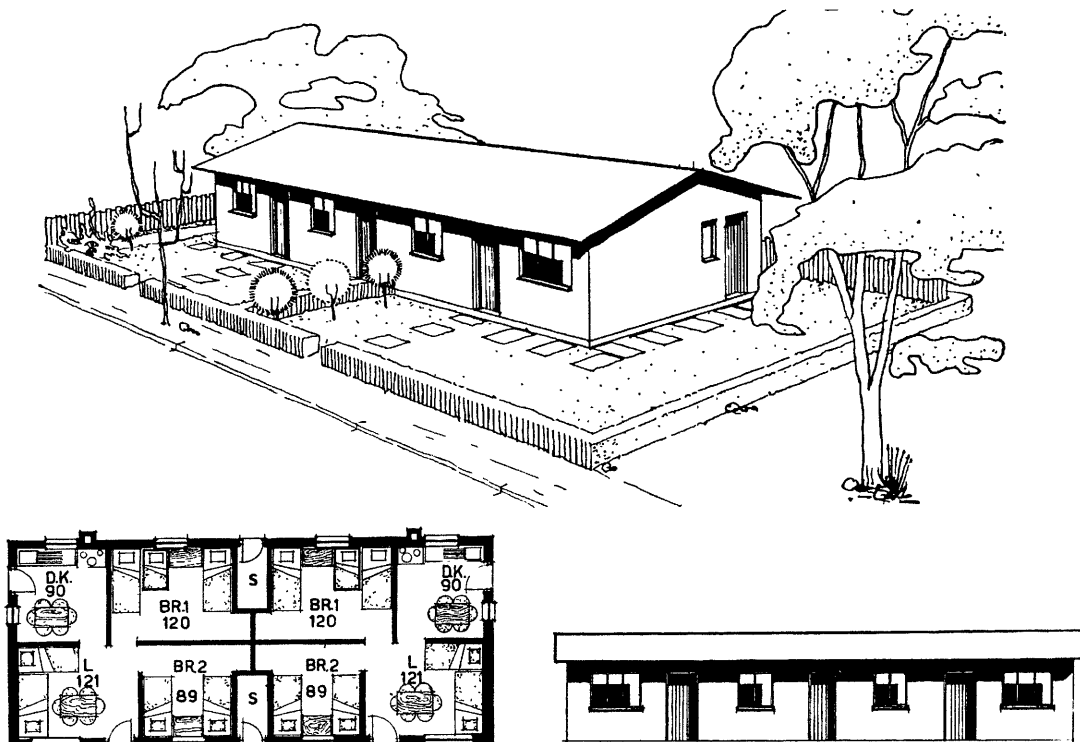
FIG. 3-20. APARTHEID-DESIGNED SEMI-DETACHED HOUSE E8/51

approach to urban development within an increasingly conservative economic framework favouring the privatisation of service delivery.

The adoptions of these systems meant the simultaneous adoption of assumptions about how land would be viewed (as an economic commodity rather than a communal resource), that community divisions could be overcome and consensus reached on urban planning issues for neighbourhoods through community participation, that the involvement in such processes by civil, society-based groups could put pressure on the state to act more responsibly, and that collaboration would provide a learning environment and build social capital within communities.[52] Instead, it became clear that the effects of splitting families into individual, formal housing units on plots of land to which they felt no particular sense of ownership, and which were far from economic opportunity and the dense spatial networks of civic amenities of the older urban neighbourhoods, was actually breaking social and family networks and probably doing a great deal more to destroy social capital than build it.[53]

Such systems of post-apartheid planning of former locations, although they intended to rectify some of the imbalances of the past and help to break down the system of racial segregation, significantly failed to understand the cultural survival strategies of those who were forced to occupy marginal urban spaces. Specifically, they did not take into account the creation of dense webs of personal networks and reciprocal relationships created around physical places of civic organisation (churches, mosques, schools, laundries) in order to overcome resource-poor and marginal situations. Thus, these areas remained spatially and economically isolated, despite the formalisation of their physical structures and the provision of services like water and electricity.

While the government was grappling with a programme of service delivery and the spatial reform of the old locations, the lift of African states' boycotts on South Africa established it as an attractive destination for a household survival strategy which had been developed on the rest of the continent. Here the decision to send one member of the family to find work in another country was deliberated by family members, who contributed to the cost of the journey and chose individuals who were most likely to find work and thus be able to support their family back home. Rarely did the whole family emigrate – a base was maintained in the country of origin and households were thus able to spread their risk and optimise the resources available to them.[54]

The evident "social network logic" underpinning this system is further reinforced by the immigrant experience on arrival in South African cities, where most migrants will stay with friends from their countries of origin, through whom permanent accommodation is attained (again through a network of friends and relatives), "job opportunities are created, 'papers' (South African documentation or visas) are sorted out, loans become available, security is provided, rules and regulations are established, and compliance is sought".[55] In short, a "typical" and strong immigrant social network absorbs the newcomer, with all the opportunities for social capital and the obligations of reciprocity and conduct that it entails, the connections of which spread to countless households in Zimbabwe or Somalia, Angola or Nigeria.

Why is it, then, that despite these strong immigrant social networks, some of these foreign African communities choose to locate in the still-isolated peripheral areas of the city which do not support dense social networks and employment opportunities, while others locate themselves in the supportive "zone in transition" spaces and, more interestingly, on the dividing lines of former Black and White spaces, where civic structure density is high and economic opportunities great.

Perhaps the answer can be found in the work done on the economics of immigration by Portes. When immigrant networks become as developed as they seem to be in Cape Town, where a Ghanaian can arrive at the docks and simply ask the first foreigner he meets to direct him towards the Ghanaian community who establish him in the city within a week, they begin to show some fairly sophisticated articulations.[56]

These Portes terms "middleman groups" and "ethnic enclaves". Such articulations arise out of conditions of wide spread self-employment among the foreign-born, with social capital being employed primarily to propel individuals and groups forward in a spiral of accumulation and innovation grounded in mutual support. While immigrant entrepreneurship is in part a response to a hostile labour market, research has revealed that engagement in independent enterprise has overwhelmingly proved to be far more profitable than seeking salaried work.[57]

Middleman Minorities

Bonacich employed the term "middleman minorities" to refer to those groups who exploit the economic spaces abandoned or disdained by mainstream businesses among an urban population that is numerically large but impoverished.[58] These middlemen are distinct in nationality, culture and ethnicity from the groups to which they provide services. They accept considerable risk in conducting business transactions in highly marginal urban areas in exchange for the higher profits they can glean there. In the United States, Jewish and Italian immigrant groups in the North East, and Chinese and later Korean immigrants on the West Coast have historically played this role. In South Africa, and particularly in Cape Town, this role is fulfilled by Somalis, who open shops in the former Black and Coloured peripheral locations, which through their very spatial planning are distant from more formalised services in the more highly developed parts of the city. Somalis have become synonymous with shopkeeping within the city, to the extent that the community that he serves will nevertheless refer to a Nigerian who owns a cornershop as a Somali (**fig. 3-21, 3-22**).[59]

The Somalis are also one of the most highly organised immigrant groups in the country. The Somali Community Board of South Africa (SCOB) sees to daily matters and represents the community, while seeking to provide "information, awareness, integration, re-integration and community upliftment".[60] Legal and security issues of community members are also among the primary concerns of SCOB, which engages directly with the government on behalf of the community.

FIG. 3-21. SOMALI SHOP, MASIPHUMELELE.

FIG. 3-22. SOMALI SHOP INTERIOR, MASIPHUMELELE.

This tight social network, however, has the effect of socially isolating the Somalis within the communities they serve. Such ethnically-based organisation forms a situation of *bonded* social capital, where engagement is intra-ethnic and channels of mediation and communication between ethnicities are not opened. Varshney notes that such conditions are highly vulnerable, and "small tremors (unconfirmed rumors, victories and defeats in sport) can unleash torrents of violence."[61] Add to this the fact that Somalis are dealing with stocked goods and cash, and the vulnerability and risk associated with such entrepreneurship becomes evident. This goes some way towards describing why Somalis are the most frequently assaulted immigrant group nationally and particularly in Cape Town.

In 2007, a spate of attacks on Somalis saw one hundred people lose their lives, and many more shops and businesses looted and torched.[62] Estimates show that the Somalis have been the victims of 471 "xenophobically-motivated" murders in South Africa over the past eleven years.[63] While the exact number of Somali immigrants in Cape Town is unknown, SCOB's Annual Report for 2008 reveals that, 3821 new Somali arrivals gained legal status in South Africa during the course of the year and in the Western Cape Province 1400 Somali shops were looted and 3000 pre-emptively evacuated by their owners.[64] Numerous Cape Town communities have at times evicted their Somali community, and looted and burnt their shops and homes, only to request their return a week or two later after South African shopkeepers have inflated their prices in the absence of competition, or people have realized that the extra taxi fare they have to pay to get the goods the Somalis had provided at the nearest formal shopping centre would significantly dent their daily expenditure. But it is only a matter of time before the old resentments rise again, and the Somalis are once again accused of taking jobs that should be given to South Africans (despite the obvious entrepreneurial nature of their businesses), that their complicit dealings with other Somalis allows them to accrue goods at lower prices and thus prevent South African businesses from being competitive and, paradoxically, that they are exploiting South Africans by charging high prices under conditions of limited competition.

Ironically, the presence of these "middleman minorities" is providing the kind of small-grained, place-based civic services that the government has failed so dismally at delivering, and which are so crucial in providing an urban space fertile for the creating of community networks. Urban designers and policy makers would do well to support such efforts by immigrants, as the services they provide could become the anchors and catalysts to new social networks in the former locations, greatly reducing their structural isolation.

Ethnic Enclaves

The second articulation of immigrant social networks Portes describes is the ethnic enclave, which he defines as "spatially clustered networks of businesses owned by members of the same minority".[65] Spatially, ethnic enclaves are not thinly dispersed among ethnically dissimilar populations, as middlemen are, but rather cluster both together and close to the residential areas settled by members of their own cultural group. This is because the genesis of ethnic enclaves is always in serving the culturally defined needs of their co-ethnics, and only gradually branching out to the broader market.

Thus, the first stage of ethnic enclave formation is signalled by the spatial transformation of certain urban areas, which begin to acquire a "foreign" look when commercial signs are hung to advertise the specific ethnic services being offered, and the physical layouts of businesses are altered in accordance with the group's cultural practices.

These enclaves are also always economically diversified, and the goods and services that can be traded and manufactured at these sites are always a blend of those specific to the ethnic market, and external goods and services from the wider city region. In this sense ethnic enclaves, rather than being ghettoised areas, become spaces of unique integration in cities which are not racially hostile to their presence. Although some enclaves do, in exceptional cases, become "institutionally complete", allowing newcomers and older members to live their lives entirely within the confines of the ethnic community, such cases are rare and short-lived, seldom lasting more than one or two generations.[66]

Table Bay

MOWBRAY

WYNBERG

MUIZENBERG

Simonstown

Spaces between the lines
Adjacent green open space
Zones in transition
Integrated communities
Areas with violence
Primary streets
Railway lines
Former colour line
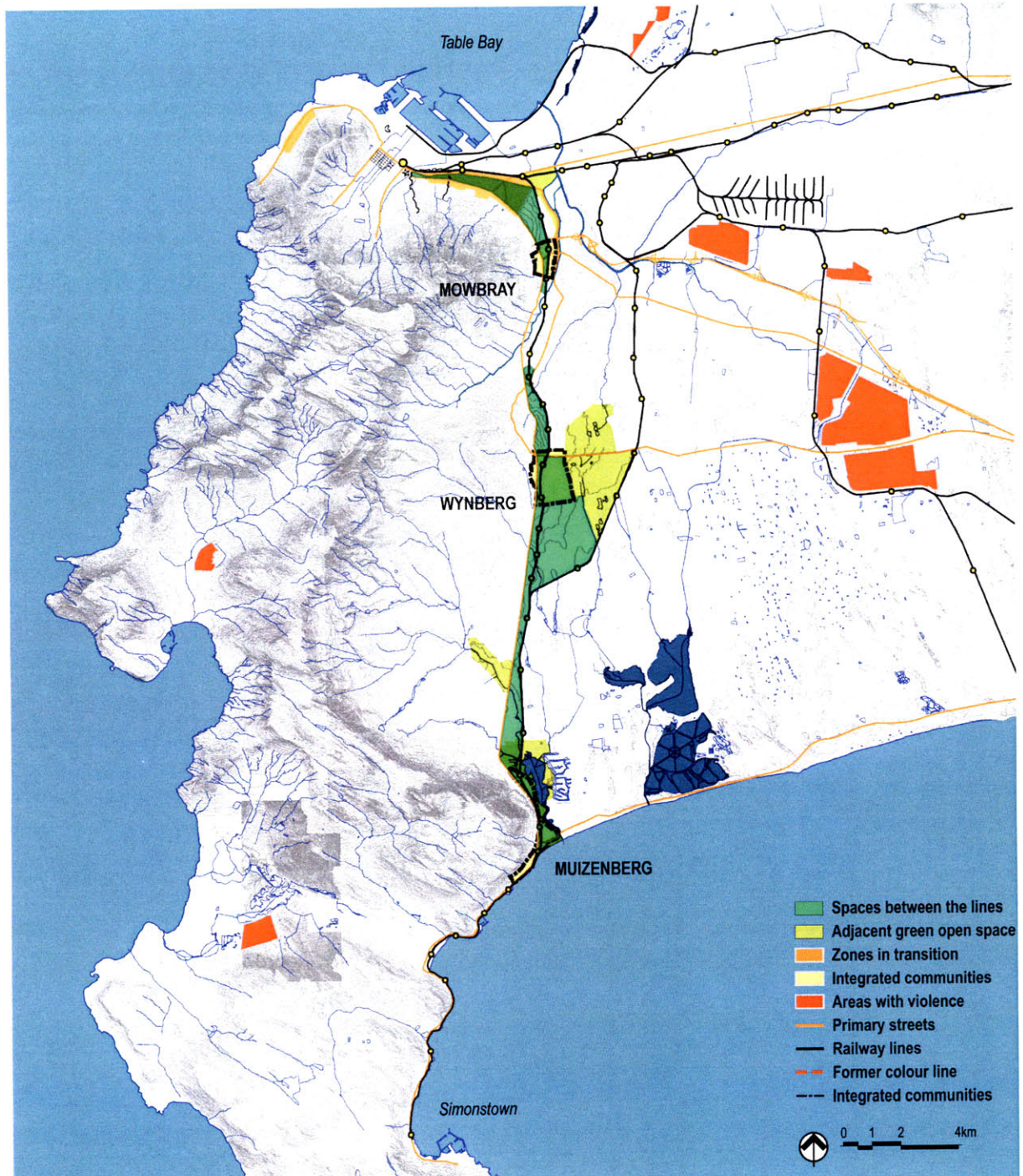Integrated communities

0   1   2   4km

FIG. 3-23. MAPPING THE COMMUNITIES "BETWEEN THE LINES": MOWBRAY, WYNBERG AND MUIZENBERG.

It is this type of social network articulation that appears to be at work in the immigrant communities at Muizenberg, Wynberg and particularly at Mowbray, situated between the railway lines and the Main Road of the southern urban corridor (**fig. 3-23**).

That it is this string of three communities along the railway line that seem to show the most integration between the immigrant community and the existing residential populations is interesting, as they do not fall into the typical spatial locations of the 'zone in transition' of the Chicago urban model, or the isolated peripheral edge model of the apartheid spatial system. Rather, all three fall directly on the line of division between the two systems – the one embedded in the developed city centre and urban corridors which had represented the British city and White space during apartheid; and the other playing out on the formerly "non-White" space of the Cape Flats.

Similarly, each of these communities has located at points where the strong north-south urban infrastructure of the railway and Main Road is bisected by east-west running roads, which had been established as major crossing points far before the apartheid structuring of the city was implemented. These cross roads run in a hierarchy, with Klipfontein Road at Mowbray being a primary artery into to city from the Cape Flats, Wetton and Landsdowne Road being significant, and Baden Powell Drive, running along the coastline into Muizenberg being the least trafficked.

It is clear that there is a meta-urban structuring to these three spaces that fall outside the models already explored. The question, then, is what makes these places so attractive to immigrant communities, and what makes them so much more integrative. Why do these neighbourhoods, within an otherwise ethnically violent city, show very little intolerance, despite the nation-wide rhetoric and ideologies that frame how immigrants should be viewed and treated in urban space?

In parallel with an international focus on the urban analysis of immigration at the neighbourhood level, there is a need within the body of work on Southern African immigration to collect more nuanced information through local case studies which set out to be place-based and quantitative. While sociologists and urbanists have recently undertaken some such studies, the focus has always been on areas of conflict. This leaves an obvious gap: what might be learned from the detailed study of those urban areas that have continued to show a level of integration with immigrant communities, despite the violence raging elsewhere in the city?

Endnotes

[1] J. M. Coetzee, *Waiting for the Barbarians* (London. Vintage Books, 2004). 9.

[2] Maxine Reitzes, "'There's Space for Africa in the New South Africa (?)". African Migrants and Urban Governance in Johannesburg,' in *Under Siege Four African Cities – Freetown, Johannesburg, Kinshasa, Lagos*, ed Okwui Enwezor, Carlos Basualdo, Ute Meta Bauer, Susanne Ghez, Sarat Maharaj, Mark Nash, Octavio Zaya (Ostfildern-Ruit· Hatje Cantz, 2002), 215.

[3] John Western, "Africa is Coming to the Cape," *Geographical Review*, Vol 91, No 4 (Oct , 2001). 617

[4] Kay J Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 112.

[5] Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), 71.

[6] *Ibid*, 89.

[7] Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1969).

[8] Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town. Group Identity and Social Practice, 1875 – 1902* (Cambridge· Cambridge University Press, 1995), 65.

[9] The term 'Coloured' in South Africa came to denote those people of mixed blood who were, as Western describes them in *Africa is Coming to the Cape* (2001). "descendents of the amalgam that proceeded from the Dutch East India Company's establishment of Cape Town in 1652. Within five years the Europeans had grabbed tracts of land from the local Khoisan people, reducing [them] to servitude and bringing in slaves from other places touched by their far-flung maritime empire – East Africa, Madagascar, Ceylon, Bengal and the East Indies. The Coloured people had their origin in the throwing together of all these groups in Cape Town"

[10] The "Clean Party" view, as reported in the *Cape Argus*, 7th September 1895 Cited in Bickford-Smith, 154.

[11] Bickford-Smith, 26 – 27

[12] *Ibid*, 159

[13] *Ibid*, 160.

[14] John Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press, 1981), 45.

[15] Anderson, 132.

[16] Belinda Bozzoli, "Class, Community and Ideology in the Evolution of South African Society," in *Class, Communitiy and Conflict: South African Perspectives*, ed Belinda Bozzoli (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1987), 26-7.

[17] Bickford-Smith, 200-1.

[18] *Ibid*, 129

[19] Arnold White, *Problems of a Great City* (London Remington and Co Publishers, 1887), 226

[20] Cited in Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town: The Making of a City* (Cape Town. David Phillip Publishers, 1998), 218.

[21] Largely through the efforts of a Jewish lawyer, Morris Alexander, did the government later accept Yiddish as a qualifying language.

[22] Worden *et al*, 218.

[23] Nancy Leys Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 94

[24] Of course, the seeds of this trajectory can easily be seen in the British colonial treatment of Black Africans when they first migrated to the city in the late nineteenth century, when it was argued that the culture of Black Africans was not suited to urban living, and a location was first created within the city.

[25] Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 87. This reference is interesting as this exact scenario played out in Crown Heights, a neighbourhood of Brooklyn, as recently as 1991 See Henry Goldschmidt, *Race and Religion among the Chosen Peoples of Crown Heights* (New York. Rutgers University Press, 2006).

[26] Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 38

[27] Murial Horrell, *The Group Areas Act – Its Effects on Human Beings* (Johannesburg. South African Institute for Race Relations, 1956), 75

[28] Cited in Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 133.

[29] Western, *Some Effects of Enforced Geographical Mobility*, 8

[30] *Ibid*.

[31] Belinda Bozzoli, "The Difference of Social Capital and the Mobilizing and Demobilizing Powers of Nationalism: The South African Case," (unpublished manuscript, 2000), 3.

[32] Xolela Mangcu, "Johannesburg in Flight from Itself. Political Culture Shapes Urban Discourse," in *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspective on the Postapartheid City*, ed. Richard Tomlinson, Robert A. Beauregard, Lindsay Bremner and Xolela Mangcu (New York: Routledge, 2003), 282.

[33] Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 46.

[34] Julian Beinart, "Government-Built Cities and People-Made Places," in *The Growth of Cities*, ed. David Lewis (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1971),187.

[35] Western, *Some Effects of Enforced Geographical Mobility*, 12.

[36] James O'Toole, *Watts and Woodstock. Identity and Culture in the United States and South Africa* (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1973),144

[37] See David A. McDonald and Sean Jacobs, *Understanding Press Coverage of Cross-Border Migration in Southern Africa since 2000* (Cape Town. Institute for Democracy in South Africa, 2005) and the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) Migration News Archives, http //www queensu ca/samp/migrationnews/index php, an online archive of migration-related newspaper articles collected on a weekly basis from all of the major newspapers in South Africa.

[38] Richard Black, Jonathan Crush, Sally Peberdy with Savina Ammassari, Lyndsay McLean Hilker, Shannon Mouillesseaux, Claire Pooley, Radha Rajkotia, *Migration and Development in Africa: An Overview* (Cape Town: Institute for Democracy in South Africa, 2006), 119

[39] Mangosuthu Buthelezi, "Budgetary Appropriation 1994, Review of Policy: Introductory Speech By Minister M.G. Buthelezi, Minister Of Home Affairs", 30 August 1994.

[40] Mangosuthu Buthelezi, "Minister of Home Affairs, Introductory Speech: Budget Debate, National Assembly", April 17, 1997

[41] *Ibid*

[42] Jonathan Crush, *The Perfect Storm. The Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa* (Cape Town. Institute for Democracy in South Africa, 2008), 18

[43] For an analysis of the report see Sally Peberdy and Jonathan Crush, "Histories, realities and negotiating free movement in southern Africa," in *Migration Without Borders: Essays on the Free Movement of People*, ed. Antoine Pécond and Paul de Guchteneire (New York: UNESCO and Berghahn Books, 2007), 188 – 9.

[44] Jonathan Crush, *The Perfect Storm. The Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa*, 17. Also see David A McDonald and Sean Jacobs, *Understanding Press Coverage of Cross-Border Migration in Southern Africa Since 2000* (Cape Town: Institute for Democracy in South Africa, 2005), 306.

[45] Mangosuthu Buthelezi, "Keynote Address by M.G. Buthelezi, M.P., Minister of Home Affairs," (speech presented at the SAMP Conference on After Amnesty: The Future of Foreign Migrants in South Africa, Pretoria, 20 June 1997).

[46] Ashutosh Varshney, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society," in *World Politics* 53 (April 2001), 366

[47] Institute for Security Studies, "Quarterly Report, no. 2 of 2008," http://www. issafrica org/Pubs/reports/2008Q2 pdf

[48] Jonathan Crush, *The Perfect Storm The Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa*, 13.

[49] Varshney, 365.

[50] Mangcu, 287.

[51] *Ibid*, 287-8

[52] Vanessa Watson, "Engaging with Difference: Understanding the Limits of Multiculturalism in Planning in the South African Context," in *Desire Lines. Space, memory and identity in the post-apartheid city*, ed Noeleen Murray, Nick Shepherd and Martin Hall (New York: Routledge, 2007), 71

[53] *Ibid*.

[54] Caroline Kihato, *NEPAD, the City and the Migrant* (Cape Town: Institute for Democracy in South Africa, 2004), 5-6.

[55] *Ibid*

[56] Vincent Williams (Southern African Migration Project Manager at the Institute for Democracy in South Africa), personal communications, 21 January 2009.

[57] Alejandro Portes, "Economic Sociology and the Sociology of Immigration: A Concepual Overview," in *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*, ed Alejandro Portes (New York Russell Sage Foundation, 1995), 25.

[58] Edna Bonacich, "A Theory of Middleman Minorities," *American Sociological Review* 38 (October 1973): 583 – 594

[59] Vincent Williams, personal communications, 21 January 2009.

[60] Somali Community Board of South Africa, http.//www.somalisouthafrica.com/

[61] Varshney, 379-80

[62] Jonathan Crush, *The Perfect Storm. The Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa*, 21.

[63] The Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) Migration News Archives, http://www queensu ca/samp/migrationnews/index php and Cape Times, 28 May 2008

[64] Executive Committee of the Somali Community Board of South Africa, "2008 Yearly Report," (report prepared for the Somali Community Board of South Africa, 31 December 2008)

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[66] *Ibid*, 28.

Chapter 4

Investigating Integration in Mowbray

> The dominant impression one receives in looking closely at Mowbray is that it would have been bigger, had
> its fate been more propitious. Situated as it is on the long spur thrown out by Devil's Peak, commanding
> a view of both the far Southern suburbs and the Flats, as well as of the Cape Town side of the Peninsula,
> Mowbray would seem to have been marked out for a larger influx of population. With its direct road to
> the highway of the East and North, with its general advantages, it is so convenient a dwelling-place that it
> required the constricting influence of Groote Schuur on the one side, and the marshes along the river on the
> other, to limit its expansion.
>
>   -   "The Nursery Suburbs: A Stroll in Mowbray-Rosebank".[1]

The preceding chapter explores the spatial ramifications of the continuous distancing of Black urban migrants and immigrants within Cape Town since British rule. It highlights the fact that the spatial system of apartheid treated all people seen to be "non-White" within the city as outsiders. The urban policy of ghettoising "non-Whites" in spaces on the urban periphery continued the British system of isolating Black migrants in isolated locations. A mapping of the spatial sites of incidents of violence against contemporary African immigrant communities would suggest that the peripheral locations created during apartheid still limit the social and economic mobility of those people living within them. Correspondingly, living in these poorly resourced areas heightens the likelihood of immigrant communities encountering xenophobic violence and antagonism through the competition for limited livelihood opportunities.

The distancing of the immigrant on the urban periphery is a spatial response to immigration in complete contradiction to the position held by the Chicago School theorists. They saw the location of the immigrant ghetto in the centre of the city, close to labour-intensive industries, as essential to the achievement of economic and social mobility in the host society, which would lead to the immigrant's eventual liberation from the ghetto. Yet apartheid sought to prevent the economic and social mobility of its urban "outsiders", as this would lead to the transgression of their racial ghettos. This necessitated the creation of a very specific urban landscape that enforced the distancing of the "racial other" from the urban centre in spaces that remained formally and institutionally underdeveloped.

This chapter will show that Mowbray has always been something of an anomaly within this segregative landscape. As a neighbourhood presenting significant levels of integration in a city that has been effectively ghettoised on a metropolitan scale, a study of Mowbray must surely reveal important urban lessons for understanding integration in all cities.

In the post-apartheid period, where regulations governing the location of immigrants have fallen away completely, it is nevertheless evident that the position of the immigrant in the contemporary city is not solely governed by the dictates of the land market. There are still significant social and political factors at work that overlay the movement, location and opportunities of the immigrant within the city, and have at times erupted into xenophobic riots. Mowbray's immigrant community has escaped such violent reactions to their presence. Yet just as it has been necessary to historically contextualise earlier spatial responses towards immigrants and racial "others" in the city, the emergence of a foreign African

community in Mowbray must be understood relative to the ideologies and attitudes that have guided the formation of the neighbourhood, and created its particular urban and institutional environment.

The argument advanced in this exploration sees the ideologically-guided moulding of physical space and building fabric as a primary contributor to environments of tolerance. It asserts that physical mobility and connectedness, a dense and clearly defined neighbourhood territory, and a well-developed institutional landscape have very real impacts on perceptions of belonging, community, social networks and neighbourhood integration. It holds that urban form and civic and institutional structure, although perhaps created under a particular ideology of White power, is in fact independent of that ideology, but not of its publicness. It examines the way communities are able to negotiate racial prejudices and ethnic identities through the publicness of these institutions, and through this create dense, integrative social networks.

The power of these types of urban environments in attracting the immigrant "other", promoting the fostering of specific attitudes towards him and moulding his own responses to the host community is explored here. This is undertaken in the hope that certain urban aspects of this integrated neighbourhood can be distilled, and can contribute towards an appropriate urban design and policy response to the ongoing phenomenon of African immigration in the city.

Introducing Mowbray

In mapping the contemporary landscape of urban immigration, it is clear that Mowbray occupies a specific spatial location between the immigrant spaces on the urban periphery and those closer to the light manufacturing and commercial zones on the dilapidated edges of the inner city. Mowbray is one of a handful of urban neighbourhoods with exceedingly few reports of incidences of xenophobia and violence against immigrants, despite having a visible immigrant presence.[2] A mapping of the neighbourhoods with the least violence against their immigrant populations (Mowbray, Wynberg and Muizenberg) reveals certain spatial continuities (**fig. 4-1, 4-2, 4-3 overleaf**).

Firstly, all three are located at intersections between the north-south mobility corridor and the primary eastward running roads that traverse the Cape Flats. While these infrastructural lines came to represent the psychological frontier between White and "non-White" space in the city during apartheid, the old village centres which had developed under Dutch and British colonialism often *bridged* these railway lines and roads. As the intersection points for old east-running road systems, they became significant public transport nodes in the apartheid city. The eastward-running roads had preceded apartheid spatial planning, and therefore transgressed the segregated landscape, creation a daily convergence point for a racially diverse population of commuters. This convergence of commuters supported the establishment of commercial centres, which even during apartheid could not be racially segregated, and came to form racially ambiguous, highly developed and interstitial spaces within the apartheid landscape. While they were demarcated as White spaces on apartheid spatial plans and in property ownership records, during the day they hosted a racially diverse population in transit that made use of the nearby commercial and institutional facilities. Mowbray, being closest to the city centre, has always been the primary of the three commuter intersections.

It is also clear that the immigrant communities which are embedded "between the lines" are all located in neighbourhoods that are formally well developed enough to support the "physical anchors" of dense, public social networks; such as schools, hospitals and religious buildings. Like the other neighbourhoods embedded between the transport and communication lines on the north-south mobility corridor, all three areas were declared White spaces during apartheid and continued to be developed formally and infrastructurally throughout the half-century of apartheid domination. Perhaps because of the public spending invested in them at the expense of the "non-White" urban spaces, all these neighbourhoods are restricted in their urban extent and population size by public green open spaces along their edges.[3]

For all these spatial similarities, it is in assessing the importance of civic buildings and institutional density in the

Observatory

Rhodes' Estate

Black River

Klipfontein Road

Liesbeek River

Rondebosch Common

Rosebank

U.C.T.

Groote Schuur

Rondebosch

1901

1923

1960s

1980s

Kenilworth

Kenilworth Race Course

Wetton Road

Military Base

Royal Cape Golf Club

Constantia

Plumstead

Westlake Golf Club

Muizenberg Mountains

Muizenberg Beach
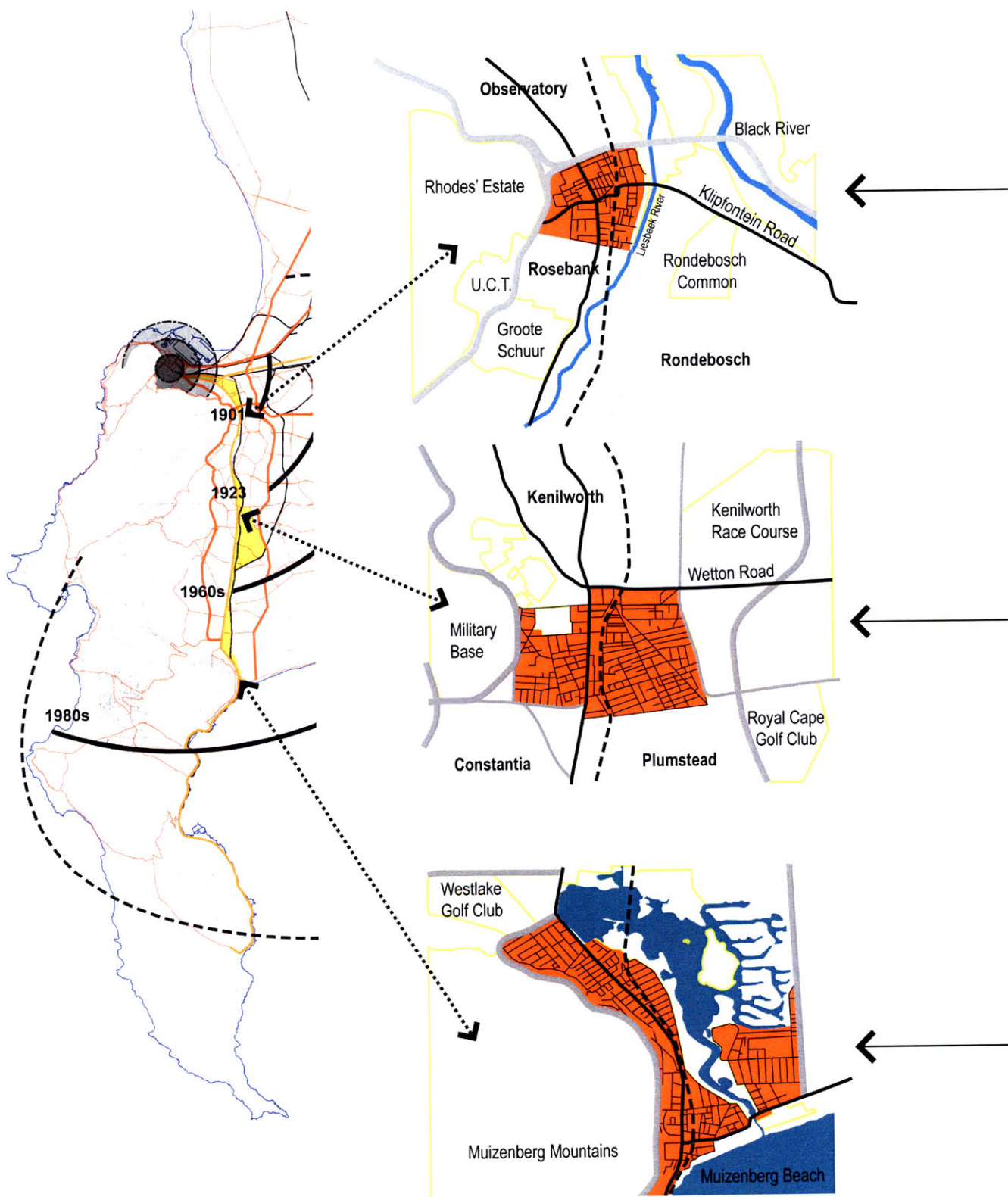
MOWBRAY

Ethnic Group	Male	Female	Total	%
Black African	1,017	1,019	2,036	46.62
Coloured	295	320	614	14.06
Indian/Asian	49	66	115	2.63
White	760	842	1,602	36.68
Total	2,121	2,246	4,367	100

Language	Male	Female	Total	%
English	1,060	1,189	2,250	51.52
Afrikaans	140	156	296	6.78
Xhosa	439	518	957	21.91
Other African	438	322	760	17.40
Other	44	60	104	2.30
Total	2,121	2,246	4,367	100

FIG. 4-1. DIAGRAM OF MOWBRAY AND 2001 CENSUS DATA.

WYNBERG

Ethnic Group	Male	Female	Total	%
Black African	561	519	1,080	8.42
Coloured	2,890	3,496	6,387	49.82
Indian/Asian	749	781	1,530	11.93
White	1,706	2,118	3,825	29.83
Total	5,907	6,914	12,821	100

Language	Male	Female	Total	%
English	4,573	5,388	9,961	77.69
Afrikaans	876	1,091	1,967	15.34
Xhosa	265	306	570	4.45
Other African	120	84	204	1.59
Other	73	45	118	0.92
Total	5,907	6,914	12,821	100

FIG. 4-2. DIAGRAM OF WYNBERG AND 2001 CENSUS DATA.

MUIZENBERG

Ethnic Group	Male	Female	Total	%
Black African	1,660	1,383	3,043	26.65
Coloured	2,006	2,103	4,109	35.99
Indian/Asian	84	76	160	1.40
White	1,929	2,178	4,106	35.96
Total	5,679	5,740	11,418	100

Language	Male	Female	Total	%
English	2,545	2,679	5,224	45.75
Afrikaans	1,822	1,848	3,669	23.13
Xhosa	1,007	995	2,003	17.54
Other African	164	114	278	2.43
Other	141	104	245	2.15
Total	5,679	5,740	11,418	100

FIG. 4-3. DIAGRAM OF MUIZENBERG AND 2001 CENSUS DATA.

creation and anchoring of integrative social networks in neighbourhoods that a study of Mowbray becomes particularly interesting. Of the three "integrated" immigrant communities in the city, Mowbray is the most developed in terms of its institutional density, despite being the most spatially constricted. This institution landscape includes not only fine-grained, local organisations such as churches and mosques, but also large-scale public institutions of citywide, if not regional and national importance, such as the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the University Medical Campus and teaching hospital.

The university has had an enormous impact on both the physical and social development of its adjacent urban neighbourhoods. Its specific role in the creation of a highly graded and fine institutional, civic structure in Mowbray must be examined as key to the integrative possibilities it is able to offer new immigrants. While the urban neighbourhoods of universities tend to accommodate concentrations of students and faculty whom, through their access to higher education are seen to be more accepting of cultural difference, this in itself has often not been enough to prevent the exclusion of working-class and immigrant communities. Such communities often occupy less-expensive land and degraded building fabric, and thus present the most feasible option for university expansion.[4] However, in a more ideological vein, Mamphela Ramphele has noted that university education by its very nature demands the transcendence of all boundaries, be they physical, cultural, imaginary or real. The "universality" embodied in the word indicates that the fundamental role of the university is "the pursuit of truth and the advance, growth and dissemination of knowledge" across humanity.[5] How these attitudes manifest in urban space, neighbourhood social networks and the diversity of population in Mowbray is one of the concerns of this chapter.

Key to this argument is an attempt to show that a racially-based ideology of nationhood and power has had a very particular influence on the urban formation of Mowbray. While the urban manifestation of apartheid was so counter-intuitive to land economics and transportation efficiency that its underpinning racial ideology was immediately apparent, the apartheid government was also the inheritor of a spatial planning system that sought to physically manifest an ideology of power and submission in the city for its colonial masters. It is this tradition that urbanists and civic authorities must now understand and react to in the post-apartheid city.

The story of the creation of an integrative neighbourhood for foreign African immigrants in Mowbray needs to take account of both the unique geographical, urban and physical aspects of the neighbourhood, and the weaving together of the ideologies that guided the creation of those spaces. This includes understanding the ideological underpinning of the physical aspects of the creation of "in-group" and "out-group" social identities, the treatment of immigrant groups and "others" in the neighbourhood over time, and the role of civic institutions in physically rooting different ideologies in the space of the neighbourhood and in creating social networks and support structures that promote the creation of civic "micro-publics".

Five urban ideologies form the nexus around which the spatial and social stratigraphy of the neighbourhood is examined: the Dutch "Hollandse Thuijn", the period of Cape Liberalism and the creation of a "colourful" English village, the imperial landscape created under Cecil Rhodes, apartheid's spatial planning apparatus and the anti-apartheid struggle centred at UCT, and coming to terms with Africa in the post-apartheid period.

De Hollandse Thuijn

The landscape that now includes Mowbray was first permanently settled during the Dutch colonial period, although the nomadic Khoisan people who periodically inhabited the area before it was claimed by European colonists would have used the Liesbeek River floodplain for grazing and watering their cattle.[6] While Mowbray became part of the spatial continuum of urban Cape Town in the late nineteenth century during British colonisation, there are two aspects of the Dutch settlement of the area that clearly illustrate an attempt to graft a framework of power onto the land. As the initial

European possessors of the land, for the Dutch this process was heavily embedded in mapping, naming and physically demarcating their new territory.

Van Riebeeck, an official of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), was sent to establish and govern a settlement at the Cape in 1652. The primary purpose of the settlement was to provide a refreshment station en route to the East Indies from Europe, where sick sailors could recuperate and fresh water and food taken on board. In 1646 when two Company officials drew up a report recommending the establishment of the settlement, they described it in quite physical terms: it was to be a "Fort ende Thuijn" – a fort and a garden.[7] In the particular context of that time, the word "thuijn" could be translated literally as vegetable plots and orchards, or as a fenced enclosure, embodying notions of "shelter, enclosure, keeping together, shutting out, protecting, defending, establishing a presence and ensuring its survival" (**fig. 4-4**).[8]

The idea of the garden occupied a very particular place in Dutch culture and its motifs at that time. It represented a highly articulated and "worked" landscape, which through diligent, measured labour could project order onto the chaotic natural wilderness, and delineate a rational and useful space from the irrational "exterior". The cultural space of the Dutch garden represented an attempt, through the action of cultivation, to recover Eden's luxurious variety and pristine harmony.[9] This biblical association created, in the Dutch Calvinist mind, a "spiritual legitimisation" to the land which increasingly came under the control of its expanding empire – land that it was able to subdue, order, make fertile and thus harvest through the spatial mechanism of the "thuijn". While the image of a garden might seem rather too benign to be loaded with notions of Manifest Destiny, in the landscape of the Low Countries such meticulous, rational ordering of the land was the very thing that made it useful and distilled it from the surrounding, threatening waters.

FIG. 4-4. PANORAMA OF CAPE TOWN FROM TABLE MOUNTAIN, 1742.
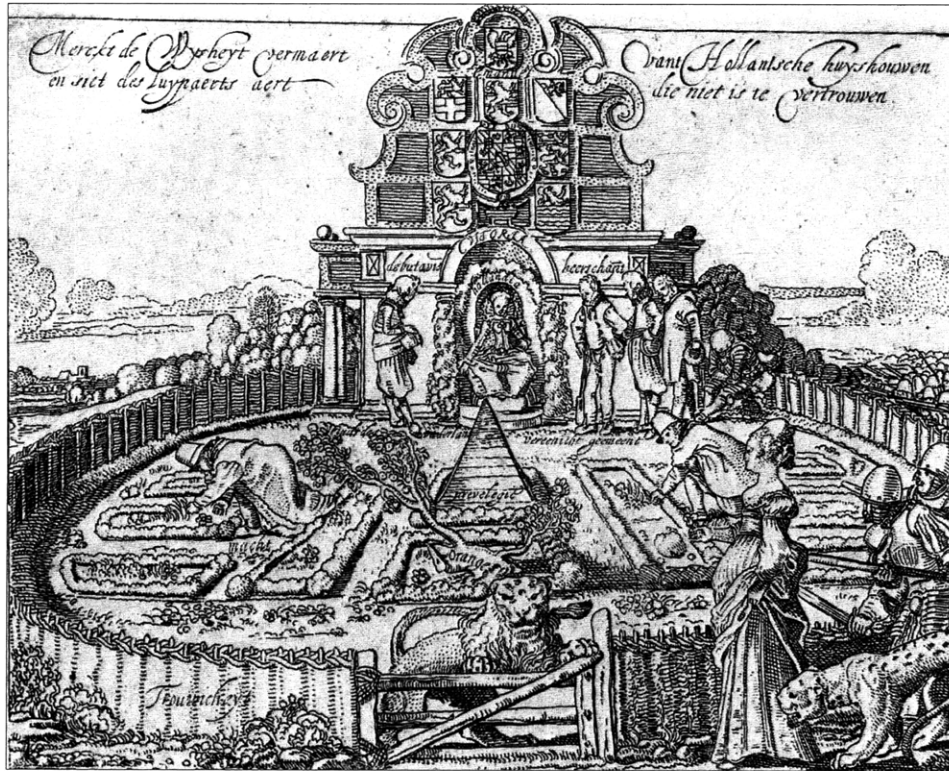
FIG. 4-5. DE HOLLANDSCHE THUYN, 1615.

The ideological power of the garden is revealed in *De Hollandsche Thuyn*, an emblem that had been widely published since its first appearance in 1615 in Amsterdam (**fig. 4-5**). As a popular image it embodied the Dutch understanding of the relationship between nationhood, social order and the order of the garden. In this motif, a Dutch maiden was depicted, enthroned within an enclosed and verdant garden. Flanking her were the figures of a citizen, a merchant, a farmer and a soldier, while in front of her was planted a tree symbolising the Branch of Orange stadtholders – the hereditary heads of state of the Dutch Republic. The Dutch lion stands guard at the gate. While the enclosed garden of this motif represented Holland, there was also a clear social division between "high" and "low" culture within it, with two labourers depicted crouching down and attending the plants on the margins of the scene, spatially and symbolically removed from the centre of power.[10] Yet as Park has described, the rigorous social system and associated conventional modes of behaviour under which the Dutch colonists had been governed in Holland were broken through the very act of migration, giving them the freedom to create new social and cultural relations.[11]

This process was made evident in the granting of land to certain colonists in Mowbray. When it became clear to Van Riebeeck that the garden he had established was not sufficiently productive to re-stock passing ships and feed the Company's employees, initial attempts at keeping the colony entirely within the immediate vicinity of the fort were abandoned. Instead, farms were established in the wind-protected and fertile lands along the Liesbeek River to the east (**fig. 4-6**). The free burghers who would be granted ownership of this land in order to farm it were selected from the resident Company employees, and released from their contracts.

Their establishment as landowning farmers bolstered the agricultural productivity of the settlement, yet the Company employees who were given land along the Liesbeek River in 1657 were effectively also given a new social status. The people making up that first settlement were overwhelmingly "[p]easants, farming people and townspeople from the Low Countries, North Germany or Scandinavia, [and] largely illiterate.[12] Slaves were imported to the colony in the year follow-
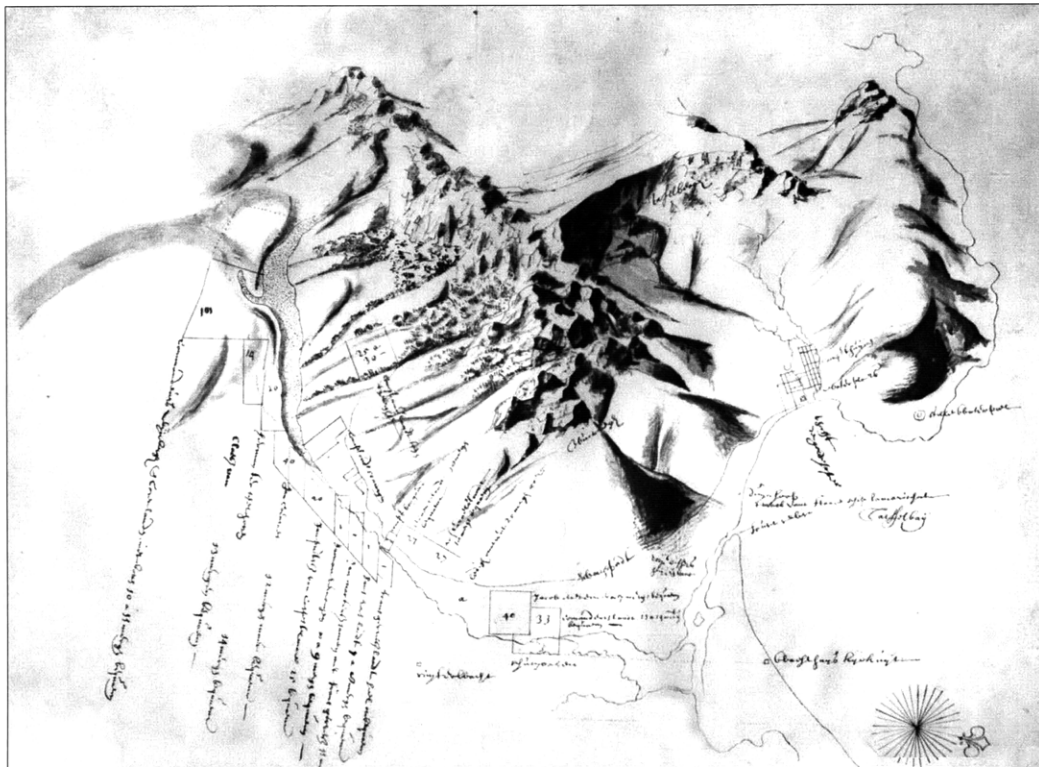
FIG. 4-5. THE FIRST LAND GRANTS IN THE LIESBEEK VALLEY, 1657.

ing the first land grants, and the new status of the grantees as free burghers; slave owners and landowners represented a rise in the social order that would have been unattainable in the Dutch Republic itself. But, having migrated to the "margins of civilization" and under such practical conditions of want, previous social norms could be easily transgressed.

While Van Riebeeck's official farm, the "Coornhoop VOC Colonie" lay to the north of present-day Mowbray, with its southern boundary in the vicinity of Durban Road, it is the farm immediately south of this, and encompassing the rest of Mowbray and the land southwards to present-day Rondebosch, that was farmed by the first five free burghers. This piece of land they named the "Hollandse Thuijn Colonie", and it encompassed their farms: Welgelegen, Varietas, Zorgvliet, Vredenberg and Rygersdal. The naming of this first piece of privately owned property clearly indicated the particular ideology that would guide the cultivation and settlement of the land, and provide a sense of legitimacy for these actions. Within the protective enclosure of Van Riebeeck's dense wild almond hedge and the Liesbeek River, they would create a garden that would be ordered, fertile and, above all, Dutch.

However, these farmers were confronted daily by "foreignness" that threatened to undermine the "civilization" they were attempting to bring to the land (and their own social identities) through its cultivation. They were on the very frontier of the settlement, and wild animals, resistant Khoisan and even their slaves from East Africa and the East Indies – the ancestors of the Coloured people – were constant reminders that they, in fact, occupied the position of foreigner in this landscape. The Manifest Destiny that they saw as being embodied in the creation of a particularly Dutch landscape in the Mowbray area was, in fact, too benign an action in this new landscape to ensure its submission to their particular ideology of civilization. The single element that made these individuals colonists, as opposed to immigrants, was their ability to use force in ensuring their power over their new environment; in forcefully creating an authoritative "in group" identity within the valley.

Such displays of force by the Dutch are well recorded in the main settlement in what would become central Cape

Town. This tiny settlement had two gallows – one on the parade ground beside the Castle, and one at Gallows Hill on the western edge of the city where ships most often docked. Mirroring their colonial metropolis, Amsterdam, the governors of Cape Town indicated to all who entered that their settlement was a place of civilization and the rule of law through exhibiting their tools of punishment (and often also their victims) at each of its gates. Mowbray is the only other point within the Dutch landscape where public execution is recorded as having been made use of as a public display of the force of "civilization". In 1723, Johannes Beck obtained a licence to open a tavern at the intersection of the Welgelegen farm road and the Main Road to Wynberg. The execution of three runaway slaves from Welgelegen was carried out here in 1724, and their heads impaled for public display on the roadside. The tavern immediately became known as Driekoppen ("three heads") and it formed the nucleus of a hamlet that, during Dutch occupation, grew into a small village (**fig. 4-7**).[13] The village would go by this name, or by the incorrect English translation "Three Cups", for more than a century.

Such processes of naming, delineating, planting, building and punishing left very definite traces in Mowbray, which can still be discerned today. The physical location of Mowbray lies between the abstract borders of three Dutch farms and a site of execution. The Dutch ideology of the garden and the associated "spiritual right" to the land under their cultivation both influenced the way the colonists imagined and recorded the land in the Liesbeek River valley, but more practically it guided the way they structured that landscape. While it was clear that they were seeking to carve out a particularly Dutch space in the Mowbray area, it is also evident that the colonists never inhabited or created a completely White space in this valley. But two centuries later this would still be the ideological intent guiding urban planners' intervention in the neighbourhood.

The landscape the Dutch crafted and the little hamlet of Driekoppen was as much an embodiment of a Dutch ideal as the outcome of the labour and punishment of the "non-White", non-European slaves they enslaved. It was also a claim-

FIG. 4-7. PORTION OF L. M. THIBAULT'S GENERAL PLAN OF THE MAIN ROAD, 1812.

ing and defence of space against the ancestral title of the indigenous Khoisan population. While Mowbray represented the physical meeting point of racially and culturally diverse people, the identity categories of slave, master and savage formed the wider framework within which this racial and cultural juxtaposition occurred. During the British period, this process of inscribing a particular image of Whiteness into Mowbray's developing urban form would gather momentum, although the presence of a large and ex-bonded Coloured community here would need to be rationalised in a new way, inscribing new urban patterns into a changing human, physical and ideological landscape.

"Cape Liberalism", bohemia and the creation of a "colourful" English village

The most aggressive period of urban expansion in Mowbray was catalysed by economic growth associated with the Mineral Revolution, which marked the latter stages of British colonialism. The area would be transformed from farmland into a landscape of orderly urban blocks with engineered drainage, water supply and access to public transportation. All this would be carried out under a particularly English ideology of urban reform.

The discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1870, and gold in Johannesburg a decade later, initiated a period of rapid demographic growth in Cape Town through increased immigration.[14] While some of this influx was made up of Black migrants from the interior, most of the new immigrants were from England. Many of them were well versed in the social studies and urban reform rhetoric that was sweeping London and the British industrial towns at the time.[15] English-speaking journalists and doctors in the city drew constantly on the "Mother country's" experience of urbanisation. They issued dire warnings of the outcomes of overcrowding, water shortages and abysmal sanitation in numerous articles appearing in the three dominant English newspapers: the *Cape Times*, *Cape Argus* and *Lantern* (**fig. 4-8**).

FIG. 4-8. FAILURE TO DEAL WITH CAPE TOWN'S SANITARY DEFICIENCIES, 1882.
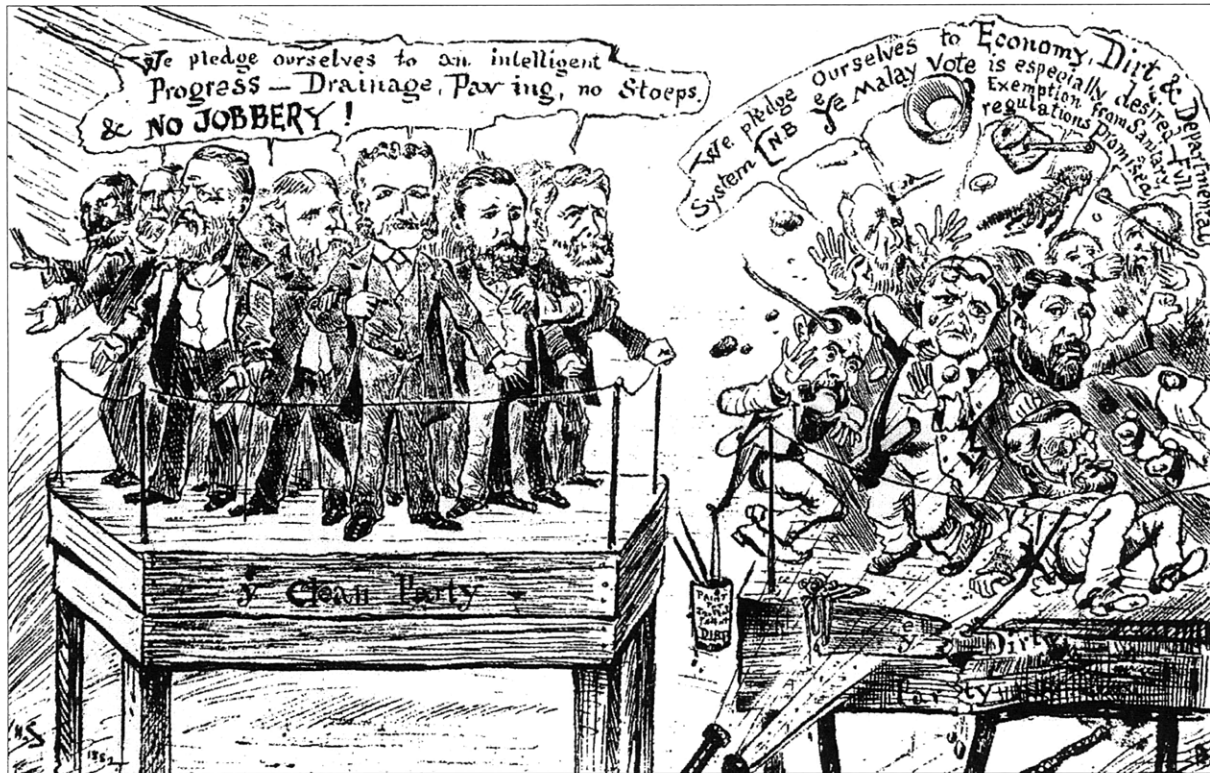
FIG. 4-9. CARTOON OF THE DIRTY AND CLEAN PARTIES.

The inner city overcrowding and squalor that accompanied the rapid immigration of a labouring class thus came to be perceived as problematic by the local wealthy English bourgeoisie, who lived in the distant suburbs. Their rather practical response was to look to the institution of the town council, seize power of it and reform it to better respond to these new urban challenges. The victory of their Clean Party under the banner of urban reform in the 1882 elections not only won them control of local government, but "signalled the emergence of a dominant class in Cape Town that was not only White and bourgeois but also predominantly English".[16] Englishness in this colonial context was largely about white skins, the English tongue, support of the Empire and Victorian respectability; achieved through thrift, hard work, respect of property, deference to ones' superiors and above all, cleanliness.

Their victory in the local elections was at the expense of a group of powerful property owners whose land and homes were situated within the central city, and who derived most of their income from rent. They were all opponents of sanitary reform in the city, as they were wary of the implications of "improvement" for rates and additional expenditure on their land. The campaign to reform the town council and to improve sanitation and infrastructure within the city had by this time become synonymous with the promotion of Englishness. This made it fairly easy to position this group of ancestrally Dutch, inner-city property owners as opposed to *English* values and the "metropolitan science" of the British Motherland. By 1878 they had been given the sobriquet of "Dirty Party" by the English press (**fig. 4-9**).[17]

This delineation of Capetonians along the lines of "English" and "other" was given further impetus when the Malay population threw their weight behind the Dirty Party during the 1882 smallpox epidemic, and refused on religious grounds to undergo the vaccination or hospitalisation demanded by the Cleans. They also protested against the closing of the graveyards on the edge of the city, a development that they felt undermined Islamic burial practice, but which the Clean party saw as important to the sanitary reform of the city.[18] It was clear that, for the Cleans, the urban and social problems of the day were located in the urban centre of Cape Town.

The central city was home to the poorer working classes, the majority of the Malay and Coloured population, and many of the new Black and European immigrants to the city. They resided here in un-segregated and overcrowded conditions. Black migrants to the city were ghettoised in 1900, and increasingly the urban problems of Cape Town's inner city were seen to be attributable to the Coloured population, who had lived there since European colonisation. As they could not be framed as urban immigrants and thus segregated in the same way as the city's migrant Black population, the Cleans problematized the presence of the urban Coloured working class though sanitation rhetoric.

This is made evident in the writings of English commentators in the late nineteenth century. In the tradition of slummer journalism, which was *en vogue* in the Empire's capital, they ventured into the narrow lanes and alleys of the dilapidated parts of the city and reported on the filth and overcrowding they encountered (**fig. 4-10**). Reports of the conditions of dock labourers in the city described single rooms occupied by ten to fifteen individuals, while some were without formal housing at all.[19] Journalists often claimed that these urban conditions were attributable to the nature of those who lived in them, as outlined in an editorial for the *Cape Times*, which stated that "reeking yards [are a] mere reflection of the mental condition of those who create them".[20] Yet the influence of the Cape liberal tradition on many of the Cleans was also apparent, as they often denied that poverty was a permanent problem in the city, and instead asserted that people who lived in overcrowded conditions and in shacks were forced to do so only because of the *temporary* housing shortage.[21] In these statements they publicised their support for an urban programme that would make Cape Town sanitary, orderly, and respectable.

This urban programme was underpinned with a view that any Capetonian, no matter his race, could become "respectable" through the acceptance of English values, standards of living and cleanliness. Under their urban reform campaign, the Cleans sought to extend this English respectability to the working classes by constructing paved roads,

FIG. 4-10. LATE 19TH CENTURY PHOTOGRAPH OF COFFEE LANE IN DISTRICT 1, ONE OF THE NOTORIOUS AND UNSANITARY "BACK ALLEYS" OF THE DAY.

drainage, reliable water supplies, public transportation and "sturdy" housing. Of course, that the reformed, respectable working classes would remain socially inferior to the powerful men who held these "liberal" views was an underlying assumption: even loosely racialised categories conformed to divisions of labour and class in the liberal mind. In a form of "out-group" identity creation, the acceptability and mobility of individuals in the working class would be proportional to the levels of Englishness to which they conformed. The continuation of a race/class continuum was thus ensured: as in the Chicago School theories of immigrant assimilation, certain socially constructed markers of this English acceptability, such as Whiteness, could not be attainable by some.

Yet despite the re-casting of their identities in English terms, this approach also represented real material gains for the working classes as far as urban development was concerned. In conforming to the expectations of the English elite, they received employment, housing and urban services, which had real impact on the health and well being of their families. It was this tension that seems to have been at work in most of the Southern Suburbs at this time, and particularly in Mowbray.

Since 1806, when British occupation had been secured in the colony, the hamlets along the Main Road to Simonstown had been steadily growing into suburban villages. This growth had been aided by investment in transport infrastructure by private merchant capital. A railway line reached as far south as Wynberg in 1864. The men who funded this suburban transport system did so for their own escape: property from Mowbray to Wynberg was almost exclusively owned by members of their class and allowed them, in a Burgessian manner, to distance themselves from the crowded inner city where their warehouses, banks and offices stood. By 1865, with increased economic prosperity and immigration, this 23-kilometre stretch was home to 12,000 of Cape Town's 27,000 strong population.[22] Thirty-nine years later, in

FIG. 4-11. PLAN OF MOWBRAY MUNICIPALITY WITH BUILDING FOOTPRINTS, 1885.

1904, the city was home to 77,668 people, while the suburbs had grown to accommodate 91,873 individuals. 9,587 of them lived in Mowbray.[23]

These suburbs were the stronghold of Clean Party members, and were "exceedingly beautiful, [where] many of the principal inhabitants had built elegant mansions, to which they retired after the business of each day to escape the heat, dust and smells of the town".[24] English dominance here was unchallenged by the Dirty Party. However, the British emancipation of slaves in 1834 presented another obstacle to the Englishness of these villages. Most of the ex-bonded Coloured families had continued working for Whites in the area as their paid servants and gardeners, and had built humble cottages set slightly apart from the manor houses and villas of their employers. While the White, English bourgeoisie held the political and economic power in these neighbourhoods, this suburban stretch was certainly not a White space.

The creation of a municipality in Mowbray in 1890 was tied to attempts to physically assert English authority on the neighbourhood. Their task was to ensure that all those who were seen to be outside the spectrum of Englishness and Whiteness in the neighbourhood assumed their expected social roles and spatial positions in a way that would uphold English order and authority (**fig. 4-11**).[25] That English municipal authorities established much of the institutional structure of Mowbray suggests that, in a similar vein to their urban reform projects in the city centre, space and the construction of a new built environment were crucial to the realisation of English authority in the neighbourhood.

Under the influence of English urban reform, Mowbray lost its agricultural character and became increasingly residential. Urban reform here, "whether conscious or otherwise, [served] to create a landscape reminiscent of England: English country villas, with the appropriate gardens and trees, Victorian architectural styles, Anglican churches, cricket and rugby clubs, and English... pubs all became characteristic features of the area" (**fig. 4-12, 4-13**).[26] An urban read-

FIG. 4-12 AND 4-13. NEWLANDS CRICKET GROUND AND THE CANALISATION OF THE LIESBEEK RIVER, c.1880 AND 1890.
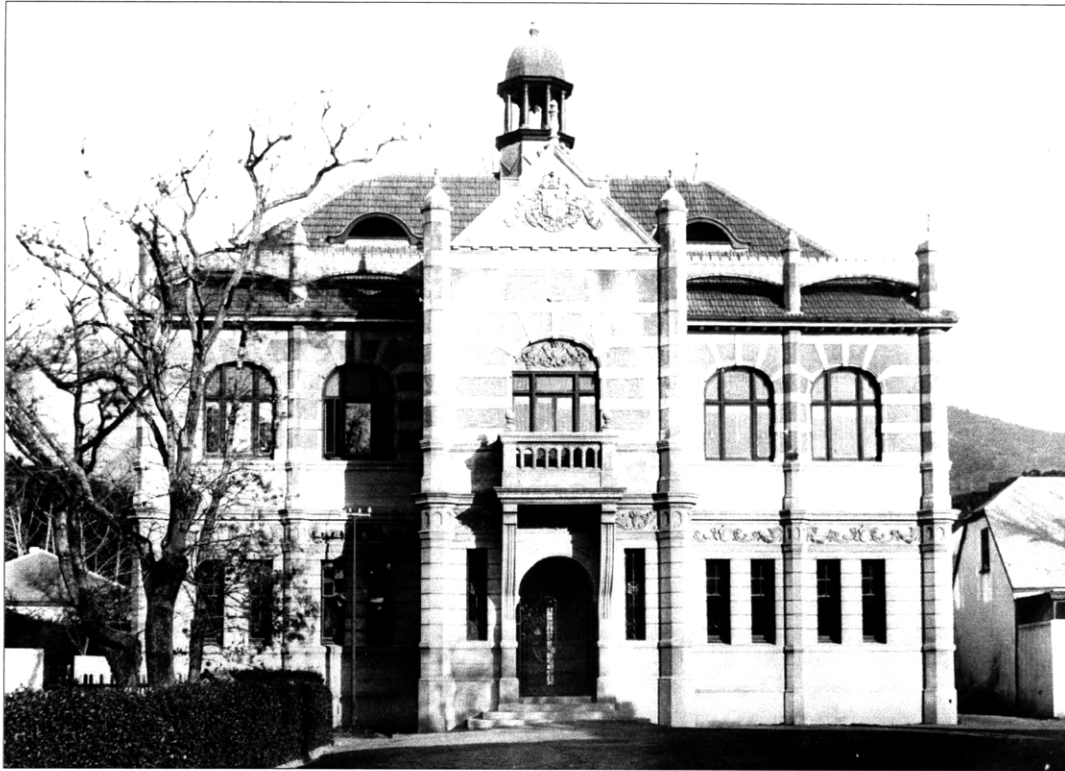
FIG. 4-14. MOWBRAY TOWN HALL, c.1900.

ing of the material transformation of the central city at the same time would suggest that this English landscape along the Liesbeek was quite consciously created, and was part of a wider attempt to promote a new material order in the city.

While the Dutch had to rely on the naming of their farms and public displays of punishment to assert their dominance in space, the Cleans, re-elected to power in 1891 when a second economic boom hit the city after the discovery of gold, had money and technology on their side when they looked to do the same. This economic upturn, again accompanied by increased trade and immigration to the city, came on the back of their earlier investment in transport and communications infrastructure. It allowed them to deliver on many of the urban reforms their predecessors had promised in 1882.[27] Many of the streets of the inner city were paved, water pipes laid and connected to the majority of houses, and a major drainage scheme was completed by 1902.[28] Yet the creation of a new material culture extended beyond the provision of a new, efficient urban infrastructure. English hegemony would create its most eloquent monuments through its new civic architecture:

> Many of this new generation of merchants had also perceived the growing opportunities for retail trade presented by the growth of Cape Town and were directly responsible for the impressive new shops that adored the city centre. Their size and the Victorian style of their architecture were symbolic of the status and origins of their owners. They stood as visible promoters of the latter's position of authority within the community, and consequently as monuments to their values.[29]

This creation of architectural monuments to Englishness found its most eloquent expression in the increasing adoption of British municipal paraphernalia over the course of the 1890s, as imposing town halls were constructed throughout the city. The new town hall at Mowbray, constructed in 1900, was one of them (**fig. 4-14**).

But despite its Anglicised town hall, Mowbray was still perceived as a "place in the country" where successful businessmen who understood "the urge of the English countryman to own his own piece of land" could retire.[30] These notions

FIG. 4-15. VIEW OF DEVIL'S PEAK FROM MOWBRAY, 1882.

would affect the creation of the neighbourhood's new English material culture, which would be fashioned after a more pastoral idea of England than the grandiose architecture of the central city.[31] This English pastoral ideology had developed in reaction to the industrialised city and had its origins in Britain in the late nineteenth century. On a global stage the Empire was in decline, resulting in the middle class rejection of the sturdy values of the Industrial north. In its place they promoted a return to country life, which appeared to offer the only answer to the urban degeneration that they saw as threatening Britain's imperial greatness.[32]

This new ideology marked a shift towards Britain's twentieth century suburbanisation, and Cape Town's middle classes embraced these notions wholeheartedly. The rolling downs, the meadows enclosed by hedgerows and the cottages clustered around the village green represented, as much for them as for their metropolitan counterparts, the lost values of order, stability and "naturalness" (**fig. 4-15**). Within their new suburbs, away from the central city where urban degeneracy was seen to be located, the English elite set out to restructure the material culture of these spaces to promote their own conception of how urban society should be ordered. Out of the ex-bonded Coloured population, they would create a "respectable" underclass through exposure to labour, church and education.

Mowbray's institutions were central to its recasting as an ideologically-English social and physical space. The high density of churches built in the neighbourhood from the mid- to late-nineteenth century was intended to instil within the neighbourhood parishioners an English moral order, both through their imposing architecture and instructive sermons (**fig. 4-16, 4-17 overleaf**). The ideological importance of the Church in the neighbourhood can be discerned in the spatial distribution of the churches themselves. While the Anglican Church, St. Peter's, dominated the central, wedge-shaped village since 1854, the older Wesleyan Methodist chapel had been constructed on the southern edge of the neighbourhood in 1843, to be replaced by a much grander and more conspicuous stone edifice in 1900 (**fig. 4-18, 4-19**). The tall stone tower of the Presbyterian Church became a neighbourhood landmark to the north of the village in

FIG. 4-16. SURVEY OF MOWBRAY, 1902.

Old Dutch Farmhouses
1.1 Coornhoop
1.2 Welgelegen
1.3 Vredenberg

Civic Institutions
2.1 Rhodes' Hostel
2.2 Princess Christian Home
2.3 Mowbray Town Hall
2.4 Police Station
2.5 Mowbray Railway Station

Religious Institutions
3.1 Wesleyan Methodist Church + Chapel
3.2 St. Peter's Anglican Church
3.3 Mowbray Mosque
3.4 Suburban Evangelican Mission
3.5 Mowbray Presbyterian Church
3.6 Baptist Church

Schools
4.1 St. Peter's School
4.2 Wesleyan Methodist School
4.3 Mowbray Public School
4.4 Remedial School/Jewish Student Centre

Hotels/Inns
5.1 Glendower Hotel
5.2 Hermitage Hotel
5.3 Mowbray Hotel
5.4 Mowbray Lodge
5.5 Standard Hotel

Speculative Row Housing

Green Space

Coloured Pockets

Main Road

Railway Line

Liesbeek River

Hare's Brickfield

Starke Ayres Nursery

Rhodes' Recreation Grounds

FIG. 4-17. INSTITUTIONAL MAP OF MOWBRAY (INTERPRETATION OF 1902 MAP).

1897 (**fig. 4-20**). Moving along the Main Road, it would have been clear that this was a neighbourhood deeply embedded with the influence of the Church.

The architectural and urban "choreography" of the neighbourhood's religious institutions according to English ideals is further revealed through the relative invisibility of the numerous other places of worship within the neighbourhood. The mosque retained its air of a cottage with a minaret attached into the 1980s, while reference is made to the location of the Mintra Hindu Temple on Mount Street from 1902 until 1983, after which it was moved to the Indian Group Area at Gatesville (**fig. 4-21**).[33] Just as invisible was Latterlyya Jewish Student Centre, located in a small hall on the plot of land adjacent to the Welgelegen homestead. It is likely that it was used as a chapel by the farm owners, as in 1880 it was donated to the Dutch Reformed Church as part of the Estate of the late Sybrand Mostert – the owner of Welgelegen farm.[34] After a new Dutch Reformed Church had been completed in adjacent Rondebosch, ownership of the building was transferred to the Mowbray Primary School in 1896, and it was used both for remedial education and as a Jewish Student Centre until its demolition in 1972.[35]

Another "hidden" community in Mowbray was the Irish. The importing of Irish labour in 1860 to cut into the steep Mowbray hill in order to lay the railway is one example of the active encouragement of European immigration into the neighbourhood.[36] However, a view of Irish inferiority had also evidently been imported to the city from the "motherland" (as it was to the East Coast cities of the United States), and Irish labour was almost always imported for dockyard or railway work, as an alternative to the importation of Black labour from the Eastern Cape. Thus a level of social, class and physical segregation of Irish immigrants occurred in the neighbourhood.[37] The establishment of St. Patrick's Catholic Church on the eastern bank of the Liesbeek river, away from the heart of the village, would indicate that many Irishmen

FIG. 4-18 TO 4-21 (CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT). ST. PETER'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, METHODIST CHURCH, MOSQUE, PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

made this isolated edge of Mowbray their home once their work on the railways was complete.[38]

While the Jewish, Irish and Hindu families in the neighbourhood were effectively "hidden" during this time, the Coloured community of Christians and Muslims was much more apparent, and provided a more visible contradiction to the "Englishness" of the neighbourhood. This was in part due to the size of the community, which was the largest of the minorities, and the high visibility of the spaces they occupied. Unlike the Irish or Jewish populations, who, with their institutions, were discreetly tucked into the other White "pockets" on the slopes of the mountain or below the river, the three Coloured "pockets" within the neighbourhood were all centred on the main transport routes.

The first of these was located next to Hare's brickfields to the north-western corner of the neighbourhood. Formal brick-making operations began in 1830 and attracted a large Malay workforce, with the adjacent housing becoming known as the "Malay Camp", or Bo-Dorp (upper village).[39] Braine and Drake's 1902-9 plan indicates that the Broad Road, Falmouth Road, Vine Street and William Street area, which made up the "Malay Camp", was largely composed of terraced workmen's cottages. The Mowbray Council was the first local governing body in the colony to complete a scheme of workmen's dwellings for their employees in 1905 (**fig. 4-22**).[40]

The primary intention of the provision of these "plain but substantially built sanitary dwellings" was to retain a better class of workmen than had been possible before.[41] The idea of attracting, or creating a "better class of workmen" through the construction of "respectable" and "sanitary" housing shows just how much confidence the English municipal officials had in the ability of their transformation of the urban environment to similarly transform the class and "respectability" of the workmen in the neighbourhood. They were physically "re-moulding" those people who did not culturally and racially submit to their idea of "Englishness" and "Whiteness" by encasing them in houses that forced them to conform to a suit-

FIG. 4-22. F. B. DRAKE'S PLAN OF MOWBRAY MUNICIPALITY'S WORKMEN'S DWELLINGS, 1905
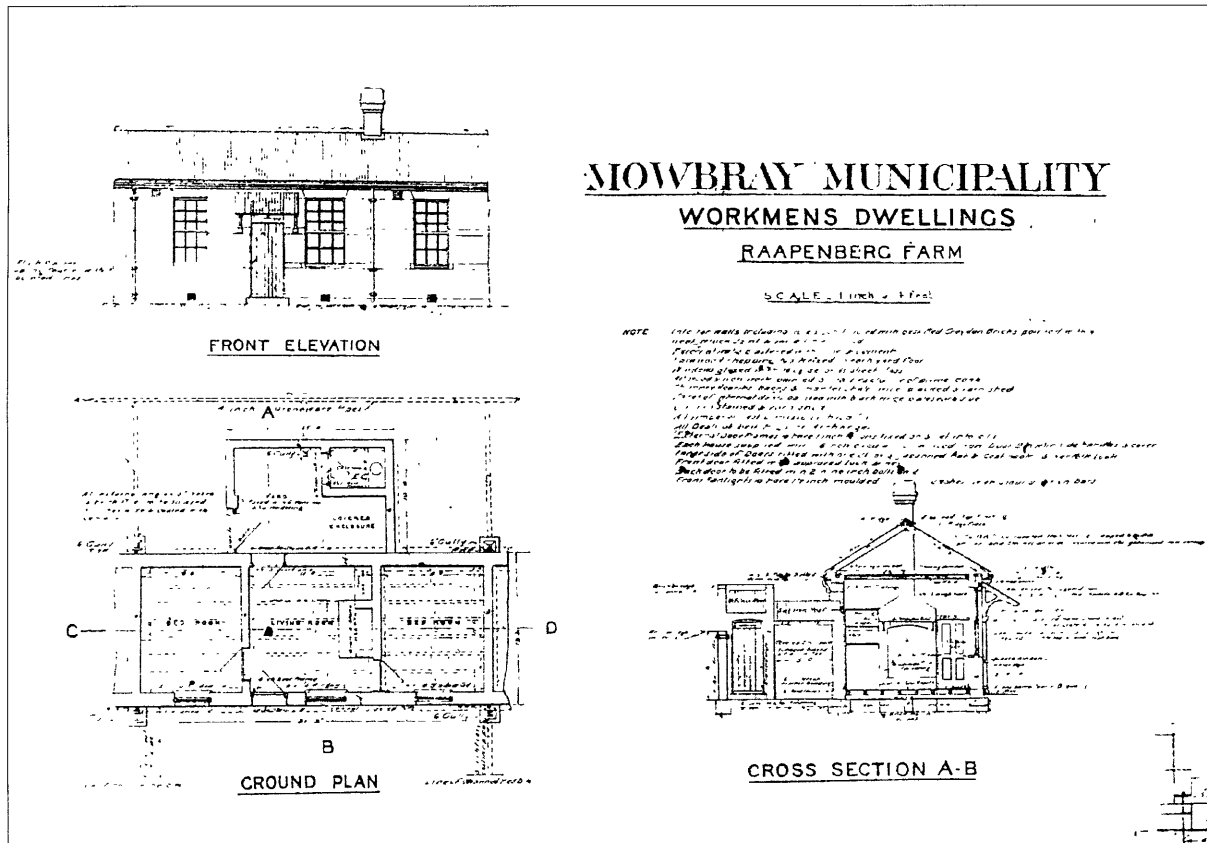
FIG. 4-23. MOWBRAY WASHERWOMEN, c.1890.

MOWBRAY MUNICIPALITY.

The Mowbray Municipal Council having erected a Washhouse along the Black River-road, leading from Mowbray, for the Washing of Clothes, &c.—Notice is hereby given, in terms of Section 9 of Act 32 of 1893, that the same will be open for public use from and after the 1st day of July 1894, after which date the Washing of Clothes in the Liesbeek River and all Tributaries thereto will be strictly prohibited.

Any Person found Washing Clothes, &c., in the said River will be prosecuted, and upon conviction will be liable to a penalty not exceeding Ten Pounds (£10) Sterling.

BY ORDER,

E. BOND,

FIG. 4-24. MUNICIPAL NOTICE, 1893.

ably "respectable" way of life (**fig. 4-23, 4-24**). That this housing was also constructed, and still stands, in the second Coloured pocket in the neighbourhood – the wedge-shaped central *Dorp* (village) – indicates that such processes of environmental reform were extended to Coloured residents not employed by the municipality or Hare's brickfields (**fig. 4-25**).

The second Coloured pocket, in common with the third pocket in the river valley, was most certainly a mixed Muslim, Christian, Coloured and White area. The Valley community, who largely found employment at Starke Ayres Nursery along the riverbanks, was interspersed among English villas and Dutch farmhouses similarly sited on the green and fertile river floodplain, while the *Dorp* was the primary commercial centre for everyone who lived within the neighbourhood.[42] However, the central *Dorp* area accommodated another form of British institution that sought to re-align the position of the Coloured population of the village according to "proper", English social norms. These institutions were the mission schools, one run by the Anglican Church and another by the Methodist Church.[43]

St. Peter's school was opposite the Anglican Church, while the Methodist school was at the eastern point of the distinct triangular piece of urban fabric that represented Mowbray's urban centre. Both schools were in operation before 1860, and the racially-mixed nature of this pocket of the neighbourhood is apparent in the list of registered pupils at the Methodist school in 1858: 67 children of freed slaves, 74 children classified as "other Coloured" and 59 White children.[44] By 1970, when these schools were closed under the Group Areas Act, *de facto* segregation was widely practiced, with many White neighbourhood children being sent instead to the aggressively English public and private schools in the area.

These schools, all established in the mid-nineteenth century, epitomised English virtues and sought to maintain the stability of the class hierarchy. Rondebosch Boys' High School, Rustenburg Girl's High School, and later Mowbray Public School, were all funded by the government and thoroughly middle-class. Diocesan College for boys, modelled on the

FIG. 4-26 TO 4-27. WORKINGMEN'S DWELLINGS TODAY, MOWBRAY PUBLIC SCHOOL, VALKENBERG ASYLUM.

English public boarding school Radley, accepted young boys from all corners of the colony and inculcated in them British class attitudes and "imperial responsibility".[45] If Coloured children were to receive an education in the church schools to equip them with the "appropriate" skills and social mobility to become active members of a "respectable" neighbourhood working class, White children were to be similarly prepared for the continuation of English hegemony in the colony.

Yet the creation of more elite schooling options for the well-off White families in immediate vicinity of the neighbourhood made the segregation of neighbourhood schools a less pressing issue in Mowbray. If, through owning property in the neighbourhood, the White community could *buy* a certain level of spatial segregation from the "unwashed" and racially-mixed masses in the central city, then the schooling system was seen in a similar light. Even after the passing of the School Board Act in 1905, which enforced segregation in schools, Mowbray Public School openly enrolled local Coloured pupils until Group Areas removals were enforced in the late 1960s (**fig. 4-26**).[46] The Mowbray authorities developed a dense institutional presence of "primary schools" (grades 1 – 7), which ensured that each child received a basic education. However, from the seventh grade onwards they would need to leave the neighbourhood to attain schooling, and they were at the mercy of the School Board Act and their parent's economic means. This effectively ensured that everyone would assume their "appropriate" place in the British racial and class hierarchy. The White, English authorities could afford to take a more beneficent, "Cape Liberal" approach to the presence of "others" within their midst in Mowbray.

The dominant White middle class of Mowbray "accepted the poor around them as part of their firmament, from the coloured residents... who provided much of the domestic labour... to the Salvation Army's Social Farm, with its invaluable dairy. The Social Farm demonstrated the strength of their rural ideology... for it was intended to rehabilitate freed criminals in a healthy environment".[47] The establishment of the Valkenberg Asylum to the northeast of Mowbray served as further confirmation of their beneficent rule (**fig. 4-27**). The socially-reforming institutions they created in the wider neighbourhood physically symbolised the establishment of modern, "metropolitan" medical science in the city, with its
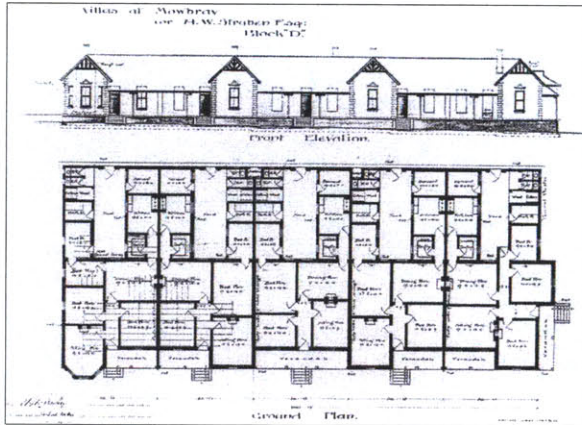
philosophy of the reforming potentials of humane care and country air. And as Simmel and Park have stressed, the controlled distancing of the "other" often served to heighten notions of belonging for the elite, who, through this, could establish a common urban identity.

The non-threatening presence of "others" was bolstered by the fact that the White population of the neighbourhood was constantly expanding. Speculative row housing was built on the eastern edge of Mowbray when Harry Strubens, one of the first prospectors to discover gold in Johannesburg, bought the Coornhoop farm. He began to subdivide and develop his land in order to meet the new demand for housing his discovery had spurred through attracting British lower middle class immigrants in the resulting "gold rush".[48] While the suburb of Observatory was the site of the majority of this new speculative housing development, those immigrants who had been particularly fortunate on the goldfields found themselves in a position of increased economic and social mobility. This allowed them, as per the Burgessian model, to move one stop down the line into Mr. Strubens' Sir Herbert Baker-designed, semi-detached "villas" (**fig. 4-28, 4-29**).

These terraced houses were typically single-storeyed and concentrated along narrow streets. They had elaborately ornamental facades, with decorative wrought iron "*broekie* lace" detailing, stained-glass window- and door-panels, and brass knockers adorning their "respectable" streetward-facing elevations. In the early twentieth century, 66 percent of this housing stock was rented. The repetition of these semis set them apart from the elaborate, freestanding villas on the western slopes of the mountain, yet they were an indication of a new, more transient population within the city, where prospecting and working on the mines was an option for all who entered the city's port, and thus a demand for increased mobility associated with rental housing and boarding houses developed.

Mowbray also became a favoured destination for a transient urban population of a different type during this time. As visitors to the city remarked on the agreeable English nature of the suburban settlements along the Liesbeek River, the area began to gain a reputation as a holiday resort within the British Empire.[49] Inns, hotels and boarding houses were established in the neighbourhood in order to accommodate the summer migration of wives and children from the arduous heat of the Kimberley diamond fields, followed by their husbands for a month or so.[50] Similarly, many "Anglo-Indian" British officers spent their long leave at the Cape, and a Swedish visitor in 1845 describes the Liesbeek River valley as boasting "a vast collection of buildings where soldiers returning from India's hot, devastating climate have a pleasant and popular resort".[51] By the turn of the century, Mowbray had clearly developed the physical fabric of hotels, lodging rooms and rental housing stock to accommodate a transient population, something that would remain a fixture in the neighbourhood into the twenty-first century.

Perhaps the most famous Anglo-Indian to make the annual journey to Mowbray at the turn of the century was the poet and author, Rudyard Kipling. In 1891 Cecil Rhodes, a friend of Kipling's and Governor of the Cape Colony, pur-
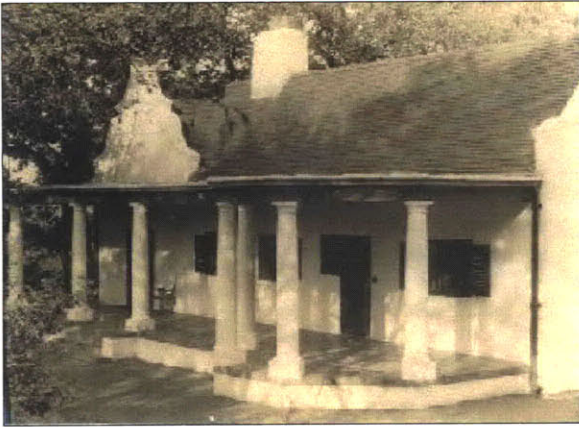
FIGURES FROM LEFT:

FIG. 4-28. PLAN OF SIR HERBERT BAKER'S MOWBRAY "VILLAS".
FIG. 4-29. THE "VILLAS" TODAY.
FIG. 4-30. KIPLING'S WOOLSACK/RHODES' GUESTHOUSE, c.1910.

chased the remaining undeveloped estates around Mowbray and along the mountainside, forming the Groote Schuur Estate of roughly 1500 acres. Rhodes requested that the imperial architect, Sir Herbert Baker, design the Woolsack, a guesthouse he built for Kipling's annual summer visits on the edge of his estate at Mowbray (**fig. 4-30**).[52] Kipling had already established a significant literary reputation throughout the British Empire by the time he assumed these annual visits in 1989.

The installing of one of the greatest imperial authors at Mowbray certainly endowed the neighbourhood with poetic associations, yet several other developments in the neighbourhood at this time reinforced the creation of a sense of artistic bohemia in Mowbray. In an environment where the English, now with the imperial authority of Rhodes heavily invested in the immediate area, could be absolutely convinced of their own cultural superiority and dominion, it seems that a psychological space was opened up for the transgression of colour and gender norms which would have been inconceivable in other spaces within the city.

One of these social transgressions occurred at the residence of Dr. Wilhelm Bleek, a German philologist who, with his family, resided at Mowbray's Charlton House from 1875, when there were no more than fifty English residences in the neighbourhood.[53] Sir George Grey, who had been Governor at the Cape, commissioned Bleek to compile a document recording the "Bushman" or San languages of the colony. Bleek, assisted by his sister-in-law Lucy Lloyd, had free access to the San prisoners held at the Breakwater Prison, where those who had been captured by the British during the Eastern Frontier skirmishes were sent for hard labour. The researchers, rather than travel daily to the prison, accommodated several San men and women at their large house in Mowbray, where they lived with the family as servants and research subjects, allowing their language and stories to be recorded.[54]

That this research was being undertaken, and that there were "Bushmen" living among them, was clearly evident to the people of Mowbray. This is affirmed in an essay by Dorothea Bleek, the anthropologist daughter of Wilhelm Bleek, who furthered his work during the twentieth century through a series of research expeditions into Basotholand (now Lesotho) and the Karoo. In 1908, on her return to Cape Town, she held an exhibition at the South African Public Library, and later at the Royal Anthropological Institute in London.[55] In the eventual publication of the work, Dorothea records her early memories of the San prisoners she had known growing up in Charlton House, particularly the first one, Stoffel, whom she remembers trying to defend himself from gangs of Mowbray boys attempting to pick a fight.[56]

The accommodation of "Bushmen" in the village, a people who were so disdained and exoticised within Victorian society as to be considered barely human, was certainly unusual and would not have been accepted were it not for the "scientific" and academic framework within which their presence was viewed and justified. That the institutional and formal frameworks of the Academy were already being used in the neighbourhood as justification for the transgression of

ANTICLOCKWISE FROM TOP:

FIG. 4-31. IRMA STERN'S JOUR-
NAL EXTRACT, 29-30. "AND
FLED FROM BURNING EUROPE
INTO THE LAND OF STRONG
COLOURS".

FIG. 4-32. IRMA STERN, *THE
MASK (MAU MAU)*, 1953.

FIG. 4-33. IRMA STERN, *MAID IN
UNIFORM*, 1955.
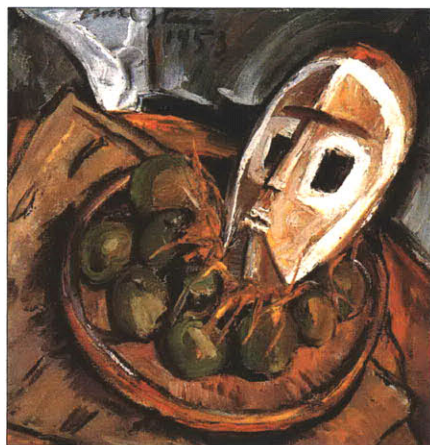
racial norms is a crucial aspect in the creation of a community of tolerance, and later integration here. The fact that Lucy Lloyd, and later her niece Dorothea, were active in undertaking this research also indicates that certain gender norms were being transgressed in the name of research.

While Dorothea Bleek would conduct several other expeditions to South West Africa (Namibia), Bechuanaland (Botswana), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Tanzania in the 1910s and 1920s, she was not the only female researcher in the neighbourhood to venture into less-chartered African territories and bring home her findings for public exhibition. The artist, Irma Stern, having similarly trained in Germany, returned to Mowbray at the age of twenty-six after sixteen years studying abroad, and purchased The Firs – close to Kipling's Woolsack (**fig. 4-31**).[57] The Firs served as her residence and studio, and housed her impressive collection of African artefacts from expeditions to Natal, Swaziland, Madeira, Zanzibar and the Congo. Her use of these artefacts as the subjects of her paintings was certainly unconventional, but so was her Expressionist style, and Arnold notes that her debut exhibition in 1922 was the first exhibition of modern art in the country (**fig. 4-32, 4-33**).[58]

FIG. 4-34. RHODES' HOSTEL, c.1905.

Although the Victorian social constraints still governing Cape Town's bourgeois society demanded that women be reticent about self-promotion, Stern deliberately courted public notoriety throughout her career. She placed her aggressively modern paintings before a public used to naturalistic scenes, where quaint depictions of the "colourful Malay community" amounted to the extent of conscious artistic exoticism and recognition of a broader African context.[59] This courting of controversy was centred at her studio in Mowbray, which today remains the Irma Stern Museum under the stewardship of the University of Cape Town.

Dorothea Bleek and Irma Stern where certainly among the most unconventional public figures in the city in the early twentieth century. Yet the unusual freedoms and independence they attained for themselves in Mowbray was actually reinforced by official government policy and the building of a new institution in the neighbourhood. Due to the gender imbalance created through predominantly male migration into the colony, the government sought to aid the migration of female domestic servants and teachers from Britain in order to increase the "White, female stock". Between 1889 and 1902, some 2000 individuals were brought to Cape Town in this way, and Rhodes' request that part of his Welgelegen estate be used to construct a hostel for recently immigrated British women would appear to be in support of this endeavour (**fig. 4-34, 4-35 overleaf**).[60] The building no longer stands, but the cornerstone, which has been preserved, reads:

> This stone, placed by Mrs. Chamberlain, wife of the Right Honourable, the Secretary of the State for the Colonies, commemorates her visit to the Rhodes Hostel, a building erected in fulfilment of the wishes of the late Cecil John Rhodes to aid the immigration of British Women, February 4th, 1903.[61]

The establishment of a hostel here indicates that Mowbray was considered a suitable neighbourhood for the accommodation of fairly large numbers of single British women on their initial arrival in the city. In examining this immigration in a Burgessian vein, it is evident that Mowbray must have been judged a favourably genteel urban environment, able to provide suitable social and economic institutions and opportunities for the successful immigration of these women.
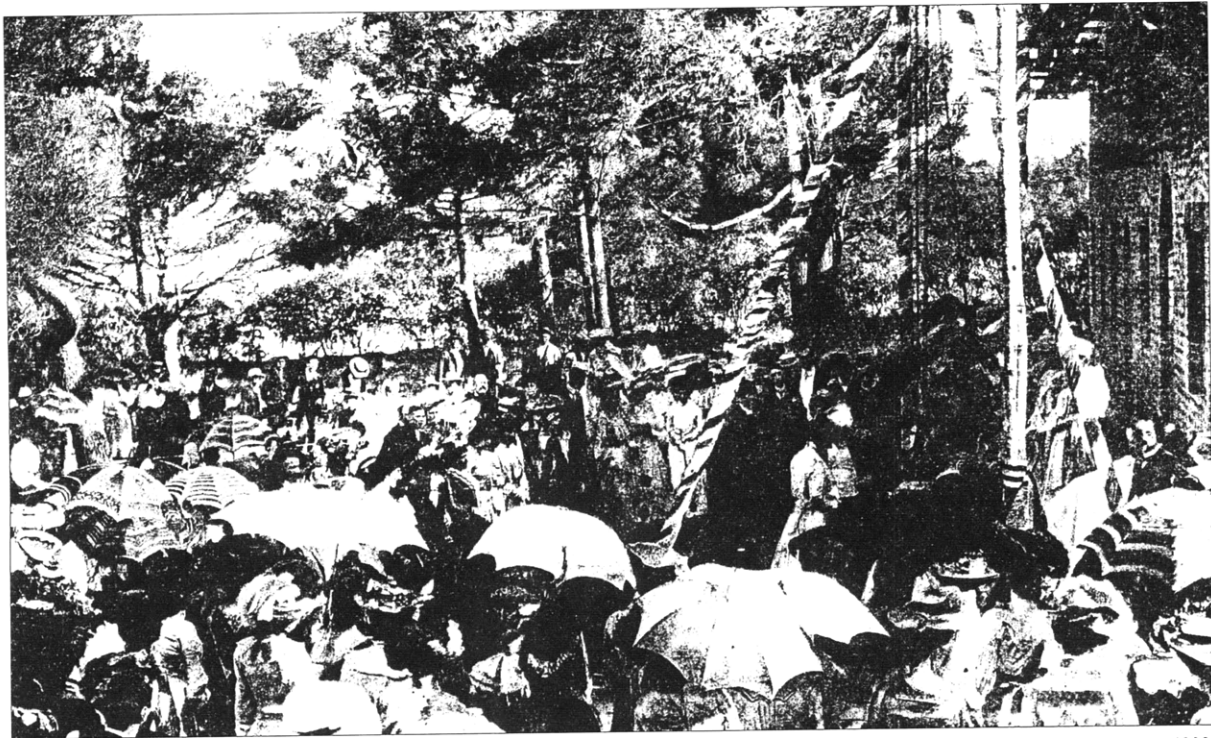
FIG. 4-35. LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE, RHODES' HOSTEL, 1903.

The establishment of the Lady Christian Nursing Home immediately adjacent to the Rhodes Hostel seems to cor-roborate this view. Founded in 1904 (with the laying of the cornerstone undertaken by Princess Christian, daughter of Queen Victoria), this institution was established to accommodate White women who had immigrated to the city, and were left without family in their old age.[62] A growing number of these women ended up destitute at the Somerset Hospital, leading doctors to appeal to the community for the creation of a nursing home. Cape Town's Chief Rabbi, A. P. Bender, spearheaded the effort to establish a non-denominational (although racially segregated) "home for incurables" in Mow-bray.

The transgression of English bourgeois social, gender and racial convention in the neighbourhood, in a way that was quite actively discouraged in the rest of the city, makes it something of an urban anomaly. This exploration holds that this development in how the neighbourhood was socially perceived is closely tied to the physical urban and institutional environment it was able to provide. In describing the development of a similarly bohemian space and gay enclave in the New York City neighbourhood of Greenwich Village, George Chauncey attributes part of its success to the Old World charm of its urban fabric, its relative isolation from the rest of the city and the social life its cheap apartments and services made possible: "it offered cheap rooms to unmarried men and women who wished to develop social lives unencumbered by family obligations and to engage in work likely to be more creative than remunerative".[63]

Offering similar urban conditions, Mowbray would develop into a space of significant political and racial non-conform-ity within the next half century. At the turn of the twentieth century, it already possessed the institutional landscape and urban fabric to support a community that would have been considered non-conformist. The bohemian reputation the neighbourhood began to develop within the city is made evident in the 1922 *Cape Argus* report. While the article refers to the English architectural style and "stiff dignity" of Mowbray's shops and houses, it also compares the neighbourhood to Chelsea, which at the time was London's recognised bohemian quarter, noting that "[p]arallel to the Main Road and leading off it, the semi-detached cottages have... a Chelsea look. During the day colour is added to the scene by the hawkers who set up their stalls along Durban Road".[64]

This established a comparative motif that would reappear in descriptions of the neighbourhood throughout the coming century.[65] Certainly, the use of a Chelsea-like artistic bohemia as a tool for understanding the neighbourhood at the turn of the century surely allowed for the accommodation of eccentric English and European personalities, a large population of single British female immigrants, smaller Muslim, Hindu, Jewish and Irish-Catholic communities and a large Coloured population within a still-"respectable" and English urban ideology. Yet its adoption must have represented a great compromise for some.

It was clear that Mowbray had, by this stage, formed something of a neighbourhood enclave for a particular level of inter-racial, -gender and -class tolerance and integration. Its civic institutional structure was already well developed, as was its urban fabric, which offered a wide range of accommodation from hostel rooms, to row houses, to extravagant villas. Yet the bending of the English bourgeois social code that was increasingly taking place in the space of the neighbourhood was juxtaposed with the creation of an imposing and utterly British Imperial landscape on the mountain side: the manifestation of the last will and inheritance of the empire-builder, Cecil John Rhodes.

Cecil Rhodes and the creation of an imperial landscape

The creation of a public estate on the edge of Mowbray by Cecil Rhodes had significant impact on the form of the neighbourhood. Principally it reduced the amount of land available for further development in the neighbourhood, enforcing a level of densification rather than expansion. This was in tension with the values commanded by the grander Mowbray villas with their expansive grounds, and so tended to reinforce the established pattern of higher densities in the so-called Coloured-pockets of the neighbourhood, where property values were lower, and a lower density of fabric in the more expensive, predominantly White pockets on the mountain slope (**fig. 4-36**).
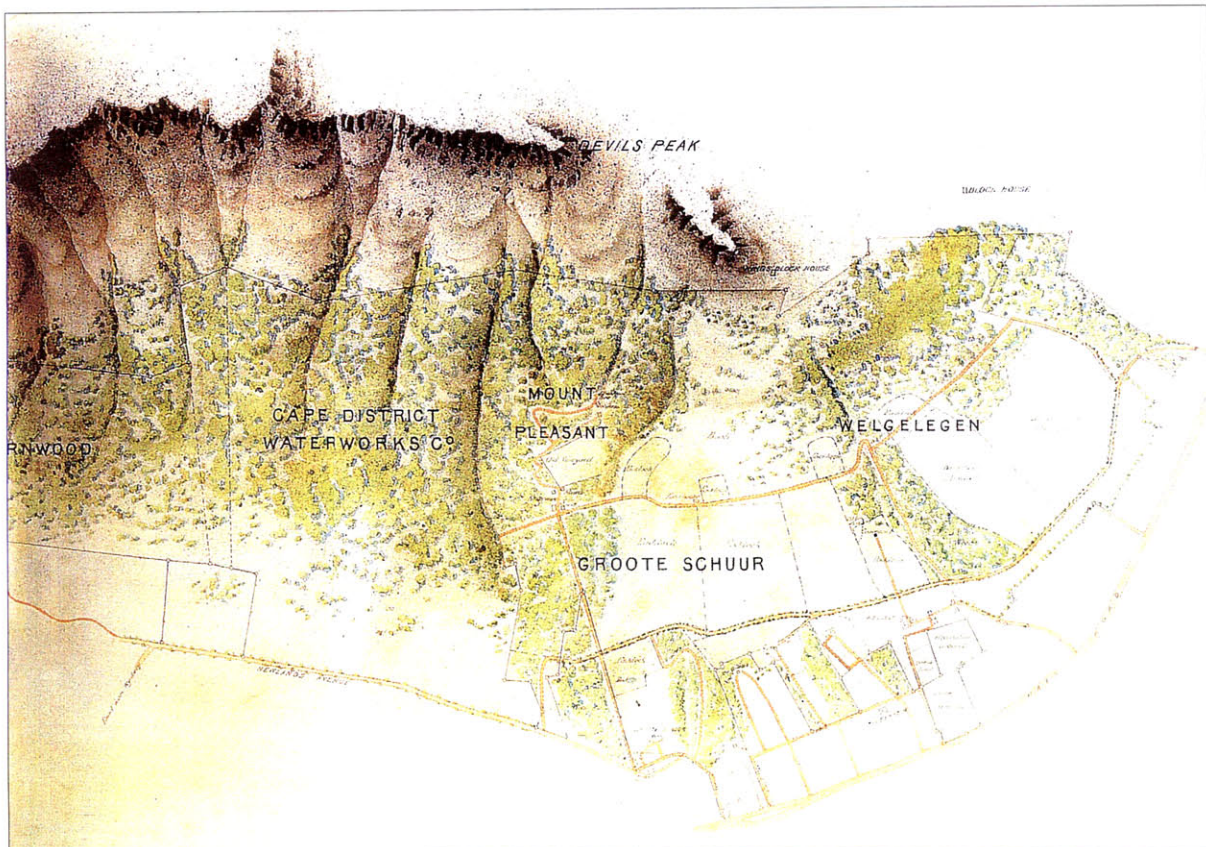

FIG. 4-36. MAP OF RHODES' ESTATE, S. J. BISSET, SURVEYOR GENERAL, 1904.

As the Cape Flats began to be settled during the early twentieth century, the importance of Mowbray as a junction point within the city became apparent. Klipfontein Road became "the natural highway to the Flats".[66] The neighbourhood's orientation began to shift from a rigidly north-south axis between the city and the outer Southern Suburbs, to being equally eastward orientated. However, the consolidation of Rhodes' estate effectively limited the number of people who could be accommodated at this bustling crossroads. The neighbourhood became increasingly connected, but also physically isolated – an enclave of residential fabric between highways and the estate grounds.

The high density of institutions within Mowbray's fabric has been explored in relation to the attempt to enforce an English order within the city. This was undertaken in quite physical ways: through the engineering of urban systems, the creation of a new transport and communication infrastructure, and the establishment of a new material and architectural culture through the building of municipal and religious institutions which served as public monuments to English urban authority. Rhodes' vision for his public estate took this method of the ideological shaping of space one step further, and attempted to carve a landscape symbolic of British imperialism out of the mountainside. This symbolism, however, would not be focussed on the neighbourhood and city alone, but would be projected to the continent as a whole.

Rhodes' landscape would be infused with the transcontinental trope of "Cape to Cairo", the imperial concept that sought to "bridge the a-historical terrain of Africa with a transcontinental meaning-making structure to give coherence to the West's civilisational and imperial projects on the continent".[67] Rhodes was one of the most vocal proponents of this concept, and envisioned his "beloved Cape" as "the southern-most point in the Cape-to-Cairo axis" (**fig. 4-37**).[68] Through the obvious imperial framework within which this landscape was designed, Rhodes' crafting of the Groote Schuur Estate as the notional starting-point of this transcontinental bridge, embedded within the broader landscape of Mowbray an imagined link to the rest of the continent. Eclipsing the creation of a localised consciousness of the neighbourhood's African context through the work of artists like Irma Stern and anthropologists like the Bleeks, this association would become inextricably entwined with the figure of Rhodes throughout the British Empire. Within his estate, it would be given architectural form in the monuments he constructed on the site.

The realisation of this imperial landscape would also create a new institutional layer in Mowbray, as Rhodes' vision for his estate incorporated the building of the University of Cape Town campus as well as the Medical Campus and its teaching hospital (**fig. 4-38**). While the siting of the university above Mowbray, on the slopes of the mountain, has had significant impact on the political landscape of the neighbourhood, the role played by these institutions in creating conditions for improved ethnic and racial integration in Mowbray was certainly not an intended result of Rhodes' sculpting of this landscape. His design for the site represented an imagined geography *par excellence*, part of the "universal practice of designing in one's mind a familiar space which is 'ours' and an unfamiliar space beyond 'ours' which is 'theirs'... making geographical distinctions that can be entirely arbitrary because imaginative geography... does not require that the barbarians acknowledge the distinction".[69]

In this can be read a spatial manifestation of the process of distancing and identity creation described by Simmel: the

FIG. 4-37. THE RHODES' COLOSSUS· CAPE TO CAIRO

Valkenberg
Asylum

Groote
Schuur
Hospital

Medical
Campus

Graveyard

Springbok Paddock

Coornhoop

Mowbray
Prebyterian
Church

Wildebeest Paddock

Mowbray
Town Hall

St. Peter's
Anglican Church

Princess
Christian Home

Rhodes' Memorial

Welgelegen
cemetery

Wolmunster

The Firs
(Irma Stern)

Methodist Chapel
and Church

Woolsack

Strubenholm

U.C.T.
Campus

Belvedere

Glenara

Belmont

Old Campground/
Rondebosch Common

Rustenberg
House

The Grotto

Paddock

Zoo

St. Paul's
Church

Groote Schuur/
Genadendal

0 50   200m
25 100

Current Landscaping/Trees

c.1938-45 Landscaping/Trees

c.1904 Landscaped Zones (M. J. Brink)

Rhodes' Groote Schuur Estate

Grade I Conservation
for buildings constructed before 1900

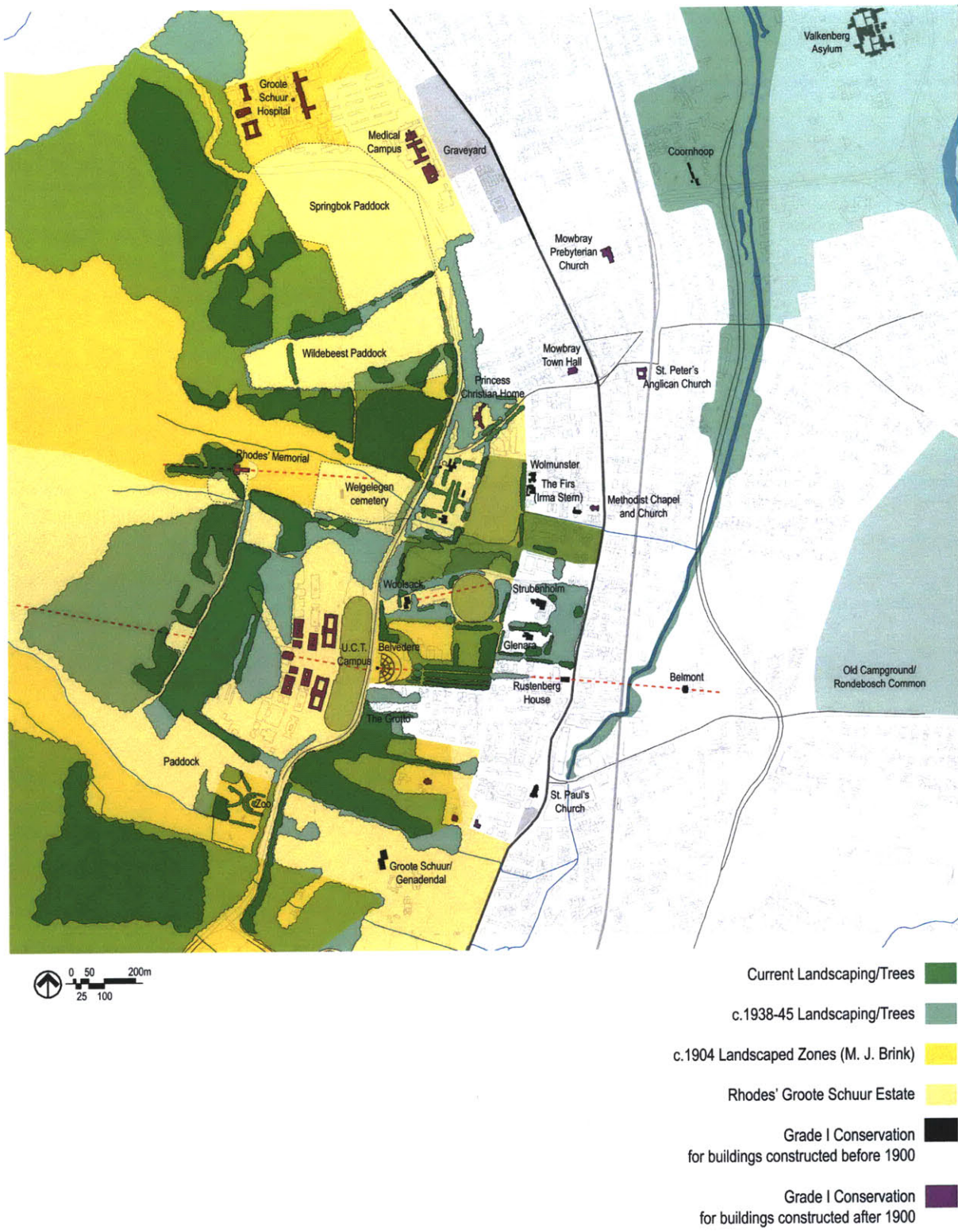Grade I Conservation
for buildings constructed after 1900

FIG. 4-38. MAP OF THE LANDSCAPE AND BUILDING ELEMENTS OF RHODES' ESTATE.

land designated as "theirs" – East Africa – was land to be conquered, and painted British colonial red. It was understood completely within the framework of British Imperial self-identity and associated notions of entitlement. It thus projected a continent-wide "out-group" identity onto the imagined geography beyond the bounds of "civilized" Cape Town.

This embedding of an imperial ideology that encompassed a heightened sense of European civilization and associated notions of entitlement to Africa can be read in every element of the estate's landscape and architectural design.

The importing and planting of stone pines in carefully planned clusters throughout the estate was done in order to draw associations to an ancient Mediterranean landscape and civilization (**fig. 4-39**). This was similarly attempted through the replication of Greek and Roman classical architecture in the design of the public zoo, Rhodes' memorial building, and the upper campus of the university. Rhodes enthusiastically embraced Cape Town's Mediterranean climate, and anachronistically loaded it with both a capacity to nurture and raise civilization to a "higher order" on this tip of Africa, and with a natural entitlement to the Ancient Western civilization of the Greek and Roman Mediterranean world.[70]

Similarly, the physical siting of these architectural complexes on the slopes of the mountain, above the 100m contour to which urban expansion had been limited, created a physical and hierarchical distancing of the "space of empire" from the space of the city. This use of elevation was "not only suggestive of an elite viewpoint, but... the imaginative and physical possession of mountains in the racially contested landscape of Southern Africa [was similarly] expressive of colonial power and civilisational superiority".[71] The parallels to Park and Simmel's notions of distancing are quite evident, but in Rhodes' landscape they are given physical, experiential form. Standing at his memorial building on the mountainside overlooking Mowbray, one is physically draw into an intricate performance of this distancing. Flanked by granite-hewn Doric columns and bronze statues of tamed lions guarding the cascading granite steps, one's view is forced into the

FIG. 4-39. AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF RHODES' ESTATE AND UCT, 1935.

framework of the imperial conqueror, looking benevolently down upon the picturesque scene (**fig. 4-40**). Near the crest of the hill, the pillared atrium houses a bust of Rhodes, inscribed with an epitaph proclaiming that the spirit of the great man will "quicken" the emergence of civilization below. On axis, but surging forward at the lower end of the monument, is G. F. Watts' equestrian statue "Energy", with its nude rider gazing not eastward to the Cape hinterland, towards which the entire structure is orientated, but northwards to Cairo.[72]

This process of distancing, taming, civilizing and conquering was given crude form in the zoo on the lower slopes of the estate, in which lions were displayed against backdrops of classical arches and columns. Similarly, the slopes of the estate accommodated springbok and wildebeest paddocks, so that park-goers might be able to view these animals in a "natural" setting among carefully planted clusters of stone pines. Everywhere the landscape was filled with symbols of Africa's wildness, which were in turn framed and enclosed by vegetation and architecture associated with classical, Mediterranean civilization. The effect was to communicate control of the continent, so that all Capetonians might gaze upon these scenes and, in so doing, partake in the process of the imperial dominion of Africa, and come away with a sense of its inevitability.[73]

This ideology underpinned the siting and construction of the university itself.

In a 1891 speech in Kimberley, Rhodes, having acquired his estate the year before, stated that he had "obtained enormous subscriptions in order to found a teaching university in the Cape Colony", and that he believed "there is no place that can form, train and cultivate the ideas of young men in this country, no place better suited to such objects than the suburbs of Cape Town" where "nothing will overcome the associations and the aspirations they will form under the shadow of Table Mountain".[74] Just as Rhodes used the medium of architecture in his estate to manifest "the continuation

FIG. 4-40. RHODES' MEMORIAL BUILDING.

FIG. 4-41. THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN UPPER CAMPUS.

of the Imperial idea", the establishment of the university here could be seen as an "interrelated spatio-temporal endeavour" to do the same.[75] Rhodes' final will clearly disclosed his understanding of the relationship between scholarship and the continuation of imperialism:

> The education of young Colonists at one of the Universities in the United Kingdom is of great advantage to them for giving breadth to their views for their instruction in life and manners and for instilling into their minds the advantage to the colonies as well as to the United Kingdom of the retention of the unity of Empire.[76]

Aside from ensuring that fifteen of his Rhodes Scholarships were set aside for the (White, male) colonists at the Cape, the establishment of a university on Rhodes' estate gave physical manifestation to his ambition to create an intellectual bridge between this outpost of civilization and the Academies of Europe and England. The classically designed campus, nestled into the hillside directly below his monument and aligned with the towering Devil's Peak, certainly bears all the physical, architectural trappings of a similar English institution. The symmetrical composition of austere blocks of classrooms and laboratories with rusticated bases and tiled roofs, centred on the Ionic-columned and pedimented Jameson Hall, is entirely a product of European neoclassicism. Its design makes no reference to its uniquely African context (**fig. 4-41**).

The physical elevation of the campus and its conceptual and architectural connection to the Academies of Europe created a real and imagined distanced between the space of the university and the space of the city. Built as a bastion of intellectual refinement and European civilization, the university was understood as an exceptional space, granted a certain amount of freedom from the social and cultural norms operating in the city below. Its physical location ensured its prominence in the city: the citizens of Cape Town could be in no doubt of the presence of a university in their midst. Yet this visual prominence also enhanced their awareness of their own levels of inclusion and exclusion from all it symbolised, whether on the basis of gender, class, ethnicity or race.

However, there were also very real, pressing issues to be considered in the adjacent neighbourhood that demanded that some of these "imperial" institutions be more firmly rooted in the space of the city, rather than in a distanced, mythical, mountainside landscape. While Rhodes' creation of the Groote Schuur Estate effectively limited the expansion of Mowbray, the adjacent suburbs of Observatory and Salt River, closer to the city, already accommodated a large urban population in need of practical urban services and institutions. The spending of such vast amounts of money on Rhodes' megalomaniacal "public" estate demanded that some of this development address the needs of these rapidly urbanising neighbourhoods.

The university committee came under significant pressure by the new Union Government. The government, in response to the increasing size and population of the adjacent suburbs, had already committed the funds for the building of a new hospital in the area.[77] Thus, while the "upper campus" was still being designed and built by architect J. M. Solomon into the 1930s, the foundation stone for the medical school had been laid on the 10th March 1925 in the northernmost corner of Rhodes' Estate. This urban siting and hasty completion of the medical campus was borne out of pragmatic necessity: the working class neighbourhoods of Observatory, Salt River, and the mixed Coloured and bourgeois neighbourhood of Mowbray, with its road link to the Cape Flats, required a new hospital. Unlike the other academic departments perched on the hillside, this medical campus was not only thoroughly urban, and very much connected to the space of the city, but it also drew its patients from a diverse pool of urban citizens. With all medical lectures and research taking place on the new campus by 1938, it quickly developed into the leading administrative hospital complex for the whole province.

Thus while Rhodes' Estate brought a particular imperial consciousness of Africa to the Mowbray area, at the same time this imperial image of the landscape was fractured in the early twentieth century as alternative ideas of Britain's place in Africa developed, and notions of nationalism and a South African identity came to the forefront. In many ways, the medical campus contests Rhodes' landscape, as its own links, while also extending beyond the confines of Mowbray, did so quite pragmatically and far more inclusively. While Englishness, Whiteness and masculinity would be the requisite identity traits for admission at the university for some years to come, the teaching hospital certainly made no such demands of its patients, although it would practice de facto, and later de jure segregation within its wards.

Cecil Rhodes' impact on the neighbourhood of Mowbray had the effect of both spatially constricting it, and embedding within it an institutional landscape whose impact was regional, national and transcontinental. It brought a particular consciousness of Africa to the neighbourhood that, while it was certainly biased, nevertheless provided physical anchors for social, professional and academic networks that spanned the region, nation and continent. While the ideological framework of the university would change, Mowbray would retain its hyper-connectedness, and its consciousness of an African realm beyond the confines of the city, into the second half of the twentieth century.

"Little Moscow on the Hill" and the apartheid bulldozer

The spatial constriction of the neighbourhood continued into the apartheid era, with the building of a new metropolitan transport infrastructure based on the private motor vehicle. This new infrastructure effectively girdled the neighbourhood, completing the work Rhodes had begun by curtailing expansion to the north and the east.

All these new transportation projects were constructed within a changing political landscape. In the wake of the nationalistic fervour that had followed unionisation in 1910, the ultimate attempt at realising White domination in the city occurred under the system of apartheid during the latter half of the century. Again, the White powers within the city attempted to manifest this new ideology through harnessing the potentials of shaping urban space, completely ghettoising the entire city along racial lines. The spatial realisation of this new ideology also left deep physical scars in the

neighbourhood of Mowbray. Through the freeway scheme, the National Transportation Commission's construction of a transport interchange and the Group Areas Act removals, the permanent population of the neighbourhood would be reduced from 9,589 in the 1904 census, to 4,367 in the 2001 census.[78] The urban processes of constricting the space of the neighbourhood, improving its connectivity and embedding a new ideology into its urban form through the creation of institutions were clearly continued during this period. What is often ignored, however, is the creation of intense identity- and community-building processes within the neighbourhood during this period. The influence of the university in re-casting Mowbray as a space of political resistance within a new institutional landscape is key to understanding the later development of an African immigrant community here.

When the National Party came to power and passed the Group Areas Act in 1950, each municipality was requested to provide plans for the implementation of the Act in their city.[79] In the parliamentary election at that time, the universal White suffrage and limited Coloured franchise in Cape Town had predominantly voted in candidates of the opposition party. Added to this, the City of Cape Town municipality had several Coloured city councillors among its number, a racially-mixed body of rate-paying citizens and a tradition of "Cape Liberalism". They boycotted, refusing to cooperate with the board in any way, including in providing survey data on racial patterns of building occupation and ownership.[80]

When the board drew up and advertised its own plan for the city in 1953, it was met with stiff public resistance from all races, necessitating the creation of a public hearing. The hearing was completed in 1956, after which the committee made recommendations to the central Group Areas Board in Pretoria, with the final plan being approved and the first Group Area proclaimed in the city only in 1957. This represented a significant delay in the spatial application of the Act when compared to other South Africa cities.[81] Yet the council boycott meant that the local authority had no say in the eventual Group Areas plan for the city, and instead a "completely arbitrary and... unsuitable zoning plan [was] imposed".[82]

The public outcry against Group Areas was less an outright opposition to segregation than an attempt to maintain the *de facto* conditions of partial segregation already in force in the city. Cape Town hardly represented a racially integrated city. The British had firmly entrenched a class/colour continuum that also determined where an individual might live in the city through restrictions on their social and economic mobility. However, outright ghettoization would clearly represent a significant economic and social loss to many who would need to move from areas proclaimed to be for a racial group different from that of their own "official" classification.[83] The net result was that this attempt to maintain the *status quo* effectively led to the imposition of one of the harshest, most segregative apartheid urban plans, thought up in the distant bureaucratic offices in Pretoria without any potential for amelioration by local government participation (**fig. 4-42**).

While the debate raged on in newspapers and the House of Assembly for a decade or more before the Group Areas restructuring of the city was completed, the city municipality was forced to face up to another development that would have as dramatic a spatial effect: the emerging prominence of the private motor car as a mode of urban transportation.

While the building of public transport infrastructure had played a significant role in the development of the Southern Suburbs in the nineteenth century, after the Second World War the private automobile became an equally significant transportation mode for many people living in these neighbourhoods. In research among Mowbray's removed Coloured population in the 1970s, a high percentage of household car ownership was recorded, with three-quarters of the Muslim, "Malay" portion of the neighbourhood having private motor vehicle access, as well as half of the mainly-Christian remainder.[84] Given the bourgeois nature of the White pockets in the neighbourhood, it is clear that car ownership in Mowbray was widespread enough to warrant infrastructural intervention by the local authorities during the mid-twentieth century.

A new freeway scheme was first conceptualised in the early 1960s, and was overseen by the City Engineer, Dr. Solly Morris. The project was nothing short of megalithic, and included the ringing of the city centre with raised, concrete viaducts, and the building of several arteries to the east of the city, whose sole purpose seemed to be the creation of a six-laned concrete barrier between racial ghettos. This was achieved with surprisingly little disruption to the existing
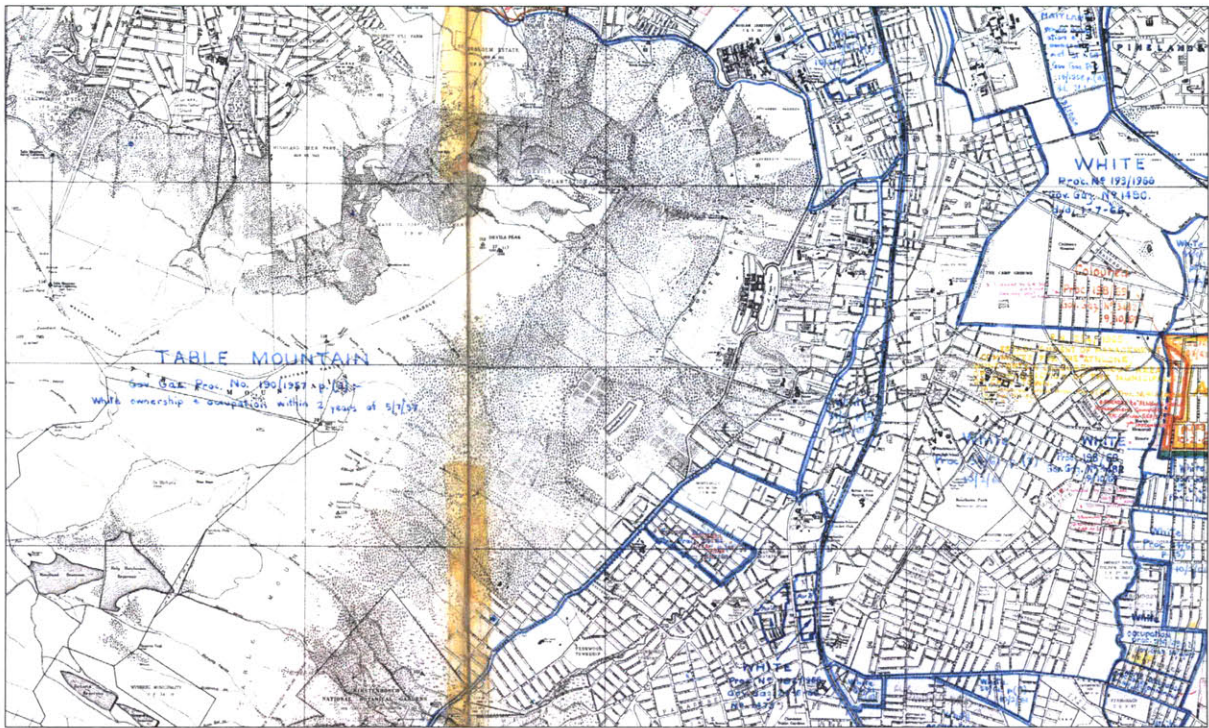
FIG. 4-42. MOWBRAY GROUP AREAS PLAN, c.1970.

urban fabric, as the Cape Flats, which these freeways segmented, had not yet been populated, and the land on which many of the inner city freeways ran was reclaimed from the sea (**fig. 4-43 overleaf**). That this urban freeway plan was underpinned by the political motive of reinforcing the Group Area patterns of racial segregation, rather than merely accommodating increasing levels of car ownership in the city, is perhaps best indicated by the halting of the construction of several of the inner city viaducts in 1977, when it was decided that "there was no justification in terms of traffic demand at the time for [their] completion".[85] They remain incomplete today.

While Morris made use of the undeveloped public land of Rhodes' estate to carve his freeways to the south of the city, further dividing the upper university campus from the city below, in Mowbray these transportation developments had dramatic effect on the existing fabric. Perhaps due to the areas' historic connection to the eastern Flats through Klipfontein Road, it was here that the traffic engineers decided to split the main freeway coming from the city centre, and send an artery eastwards, in the form of Settlers' Way. This artery ran through one of Hare's clay quarries, and skirted just south of the old Coornhoop farmhouse, obliterating in its path the old "Bo-Dorp" Coloured area which had been home to many of the Malay workmen on the brickfields (**fig. 4-44 overleaf**). The housing here consisted of the same council-built workers' cottages that would fetch high prices in the central part of the neighbourhood once their Coloured occupants were evicted under Group Areas law at the end of the decade. This suggests that the destruction of this housing could not have been legitimated as "slum clearance". Combined with the fact that the adjacent uninhabited brickfield was bypassed as the site for the new roadway (it was eventually redeveloped as a hockey field for the university), it would appear that the National Transportation Commission desired the destruction of the Coloured community that inhabited this space. This was despite the extra cost of clearing the site, which would not have been incurred had the freeway been planned to run just one urban block to the south.

The use of large infrastructural projects to remove unwanted population groups in urban neighbourhoods has a long

FIG. 4-44. MAP OVERLAYING THE FREEWAY WITH MOWBRAYS "COLOURED POCKETS".

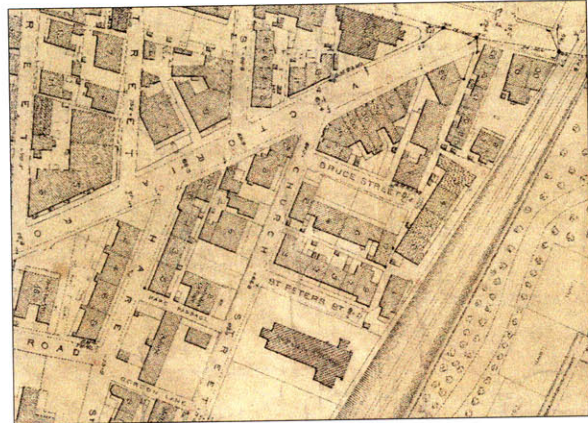FIG. 4-43. SOLLY MORRIS' FREEWAYS AT MOWBRAY, c.1970.

FIG. 4-45. DETAIL MAP OF BRUCE STREET, 1902.

history in urban planning. The underlying intention of Solly Morris' freeway project to do the same on the local scale in Mowbray is corroborated by the establishment of a new, upgraded bus terminus in the neighbourhood. In 1967, the *Cape Times* reported that the National Transport Commission had decided to move the Mowbray bus terminus from below the railway lines to above them, based on "complaints about the large numbers of non-Whites using the terminus... in a White group area".[86] As the termination point of Klipfontein Road, Mowbray had by then become the major transfer point between the Cape Flats bus system and the railway line into the city. Even today, it remains one of the busiest transport interchanges within the metropolitan area, with many commuters from the former Coloured ghettos around Athlone and the Black ghettos around Gugulethu travelling through the neighbourhood twice daily.[87]

While the apartheid restructuring of the city ironically had the effect of increasing the number and diversifying the racial make-up of the people passing through Mowbray; the movement of the bus terminus a few metres to the west seems an insipid urban reaction to this twice-daily breach of the "Whiteness" of the neighbourhood. However, when one considers that the site to which the bus terminus was moved was one of the most notorious streets in the neighbourhood – a clear blot on the Mowbray landscape – a different underlying goal of this infrastructural project is revealed.

The Bruce Street buildings were two-storeyed tenement houses on either side of a cul-de-sac abutting the railway line to the north of St. Peter's Church (**fig. 4-45**). They were home to many of the poorest Coloured families in the neighbourhood. The presence of several illicit liquor outlets here, which caused "a certain amount of riotous behaviour" in the evenings and on weekends, added to the existing stigmatization of this street.[88] A letter from the National Transport Commission's public relations officer to the City Engineer highlights the importance of the demolition of the Bruce street tenements to the decision to relocate the terminal: "The closing of Bruce Street as well as the land [adjoining it] is essential to the scheme... and I accordingly wish to make application to purchase the said properties from your Council.[89] That the community was aware of the political undertones of the siting of the new terminus is evident: a White priest who had worked in the neighbourhood for many years is recorded as having publically hailed this development as "a fine example of slum clearance made possible by the Group Areas Act".[90] However, the Group Areas Act had not yet been completely enforced in Mowbray at this time, despite the fact that five years' notice had been served to "non-White" Mowbray on the 10th February 1961.

The construction of these new transportation infrastructures ensured that Mowbray's Coloured population of approximately 200 households was now more clearly singled out within the neighbourhood than ever before. They undoubtedly felt themselves to be under threat by the government's spatial planning apparatus, whether through the demolition of their houses to make way for transport infrastructure or, failing that, their eventual removal under the Group Areas Act. The causative factor behind the existence of the Mowbray "non-White" community had always been the external force

of White power.[91] The Coloured neighbourhood population had always been somewhat spatially and socially controlled by the White municipal authorities, who decided where they could live (and sometimes provided them with housing), where they could worship and how their children would be educated. Mowbray's Coloured community, like many other "local communities and neighbourhoods... came into existence [through] their 'foreign relations'... and had to settle on an identity and a set of boundaries which oversimplified their reality".[92] The identity of "non-White" Mowbray developed as an "out-group" within an area of White political and property-holding power.

Yet the threat of removal also greatly enhanced a contradictory "in-group" definition, in which space was an important variable and an inducer of community solidarity. The constricted and controlled "pockets" within the neighbourhood were the very vehicles through which the Coloured population began to consolidate their own identity, and with it their own social and institutional networks, which in part overlapped with those of the Mowbray White population. Western clearly asserts the importance of the development of constricted urban pockets in the neighbourhood in the creation of this new "in-group" identity:

> I assume that it was partially the *spatial* component of White power in the wider society that catalyzed the growth of elements of community within the Mowbray Nonwhite pockets, imposing from without the "unity" of a community of exclusion, of common stigma, and of common Nonwhiteness. This imposition was expressed in a direct form by the constricted space in which Nonwhite Mowbray was held.... The pockets of space of Nonwhite Mowbray, leftovers, almost, from the Whites and, hence, "negative," became endowed through the years with "positive" meaning for those who lived there.[93]

By the time of the removals, these positive community spaces had, in their own right, affected social relations through providing a physical focus of solidarity for the people living within them. This contributed to whatever social cohesion and integration Mowbray village had at the time. It was certainly not a neighbourhood blind to the class/colour continuum in the city, but it was a neighbourhood in which a diverse group of people could legitimately claim to be, and recognised each other as being, "Mowbray people". They spatially performed this inclusiveness in the shops on the Main Road, in the neighbourhood churches, and in the rich spectrum of neighbourhood institutions.

The influence of physical spaces and fabric, as well as neighbourhood institutions, on building an integrative neighbourhood can be attested to so strongly only because the Coloured population was removed from the neighbourhood in the late 1960s. Even after they had been resettled on the Cape Flats in Athlone, Belgravia, Hannover and Grassy Park, the majority of these Coloured families still asserted their "Mowbrayness" by regularly coming back to those institutions and spaces that had always anchored their social networks. Many continued attending the Queen Street Mosque every Friday or St. Peter's Church on Sundays (**fig. 4-46**). The poorer residents, who could not afford to make the journey from the distant Flats every week, would go back at Eid, at Christmas, at Easter and for funerals and celebrations. Western reports one of his research subjects remarking: "We went to a funeral back there, some of us hadn't seen each other for years. We were going around crying and kissing each other. Oh, you should've been there to see us."[94]

A Muslim shop owner of Indian descent, who owns commercial property on the Main Road, described the continuing strength of these neighbourhood networks in the post-apartheid city. Wanting to start a commercial enterprise after leaving his job as a computer programmer, he bought his property in Mowbray after the first democratic elections in 1994. He "hand picked" the neighbourhood property because of his familiarity with Mowbray: his grandparents had originally come from Mowbray and his maternal uncles had been forcibly removed from John Street during apartheid. They remain members of the Mowbray Mosque Committee, and he has attended the mosque throughout his life.[95]

After removals, other non-religious institutions also continued to be active points where the "removed" and "remaining" neighbourhood interacted. Many elderly Coloured removees would continue collecting their state pensions at the Mowbray post office.[96] Similarly, local health institutions continued to be used by the removed population, as illustrated
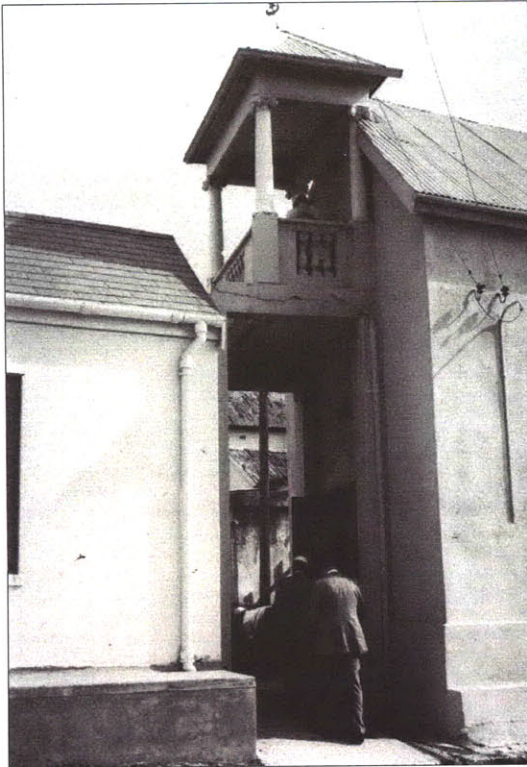
FIG. 4-46. MOWBRAY MOSQUE, 1976.

FIG. 4-49. MOWBRAY COTTAGES, "THE VALLEY".

FIG. 4-50. MOWBRAY COTTAGES, "THE DORP".

in an incident where an ex-Moybrayite (or Mowbray resident) who had been removed to Vanguard Estate rushed an injured neighbour to the Rondebosch and Mowbray Cottage hospital in 1975. It had not crossed her mind to take them to the apartheid-built local clinic, and she recalled having purposely avoided the teaching hospital in Mowbray, Groote Schuur, because of its crowdedness.[97] On arrival, she learned that the Cottage Hospital had not been taking emergency cases for two years. Yet it is clear that her choice of the Cottage Hospital was not a sentimental one: she had used the hospital before and she knew its service would be faster than Groote Schuur's. It still formed part of her social and urban network, although her distance from it and her own use of it meant that she was unaware of its policy change regarding emergency cases (**fig. 4-47, 4-48 both overleaf**).

The continuing importance of these local institutions to the removed community, and the evictees continued ability to access them, is related to the establishment of geographically wider social networks in the community prior to removals.

The enhanced physical accessibility of the neighbourhood in the twentieth century allowed Mowbray's citizens to become part of broader social networks. The lack of high schools in Mowbray meant Coloured children, like their White counterparts, had to travel outside the neighbourhood to attain their secondary schooling. They were forced into the citywide system of segregated schooling, and predominantly attended high schools in Salt River, Claremont, District Six and Athlone.[98] Mowbray's Coloured community was thus connected to the social and educational networks of several other Coloured communities in the city through a wider institutional landscape. These networks were far broader in their geographic reach than those of the local neighbourhood institutions. Although the transportation developments that enabled this urban accessibility resulted in the removal of several Coloured families, they also enabled the dispersed, removed community to continue attending their formerly local institutions.

The Mowbray Coloured community was thus enabled, through the specific urban environment of the neighbourhood, to maintain geographically wider, "non-place urban realm" social networks.[99] Upon removal, this undoubtedly aided their

FIG. 4-47. AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF MOWBRAY, 1935.

continued membership in their Mowbray networks. Thus even though Mowbray was declared, and eventually made, a "White space" (in terms of residential and ownership patterns), some of the strong neighbourhood institutions continued to support ethnic and racial integration. While one cannot underestimate the hardships encountered by the evicted Coloured families in maintaining these networks from their distant new homes on the Flats, within the framework of a well-developed public transport system and strong local institutions, these networks certainly persisted after removals. The majority of removees from the rest of the city were far less fortunate.

This continuation of the spatial anchoring of social networks in the neighbourhood was no doubt helped by the fact that very little of the building stock of the neighbourhood was demolished after removals to make way for large-scale, commercial development. Much of the commercial fabric, and about four-fifths of the former Coloured housing in the area is still intact today (**fig. 4-49, 4-50**).[100] This stock mainly consists of speculative or Council-built row- and cottage-housing. Although urban conservation measures were not well established in the city at the time of removals, two factors

KEY:
1. University of Cape Town
2. Rhodes' Recreation Grounds
3. Hare's Brickfields
4. Liesbeek River Flood Plain
5. Rondebosch Common
6. Mowbray Town Hall
7. Methodist Church
8. St. Peter's Anglican Church
9. Methodist School
10. Mosque
11. Presbyterian Church

Coloured Pockets: 12. St. Patrick's Catholic Church
A. Bo-Dorp (Malay Camp) 13. Mowbray/Rondebosch Cottage
B. The Dorp   Hospital
C. The Valley 14. Mowbray Station

FIG. 4-48. DIAGRAM OF MOWBRAY, FROM 1935 AERIAL.

contributed to the maintenance of the building fabric in the neighbourhood, while similar fabric was being demolished in the other Southern Suburbs such as Rondebosch and Claremont to make way for the development malls and office blocks.

The university had introduced a student population into the area that ensured a sustained demand for rental housing. The small-scaled, dense urban cottages were ideal for White student rental.[101] The Coloured homeowners in Mowbray, although not required to sell their houses upon their removal, nevertheless were forced into a position where it was almost impossible for them not to do so. The Community Development Act of 1966 held that the Group Areas Board had a pre-emptive right on any sale of land. If the sale of property was above their published "basic value estimation", they would be legally entitled to half of the difference (a so-called "appreciation contribution"). Despite their outrage, most Coloured homeowners "sold out at the Basic Value [as] no White would have moved in without extensive renovations which none of them could afford".[102]

There were also rumours of National Party Minister's wives buying up the properties of Mowbray evictees. These they would renovate through small-scale measures such as painting and plastering, which did not require Council approval and the accompanying scrutiny fees.[103] Many were also able to legally prove that their new purchases were over 100 years old. In the controlled rent climate at that time, this was the one means of decontrolling rents on a building and allowing it to go as high as the market permitted.[104] It was far more profitable for these women, with their government connections, to maintain the building fabric than to consolidate their properties and sell out to larger developers (**fig. 4-51, 4-52**).

Of course, the maintenance of the fabric was also related to the attractiveness of the homes of evictees. The old Chelsea parallel was resurrected after removals, and renovated cottages were advertised in the newspapers as "Chelseafied". Their buyers and renters consisted of White young professionals or students from the university and teaching hospital, many of whom were politically liberal and seen as a threat by the government.[105] Now, instead of creating a framework in which the "non-White" and "unconventional" population of the neighbourhood could be made respectable, the term was apt for new reasons. Chelsea had gone on to become an important cultural space for "Swinging London" in the 1960s, and its anti-establishment ethos resonated strongly with the anti-apartheid activism among UCT's student body.

The re-use of the Chelsea comparison made reference to the continued "bohemian" and "leftist" ideas and lifestyles associated with the neighbourhood at this time. Like Chauncey's Greenwich Village, the charm, scale and rental structure of the neighbourhood's building fabric attracted people of a certain, unencumbered lifestyle to the area.[106] Their liberal attitudes were an important ideological aspect in the maintenance of cross-racial social networks and institutions in Mowbray at the height of apartheid. However, it was also the spatial choreography of the Rhodes' Estate that allowed this ideology to be nurtured, transforming Mowbray into a site of anti-apartheid activism.

The emergence of anti-apartheid activism on UCT's campus from the 1950s is critical to understanding the institutional changes that occurred in Mowbray's twentieth century fabric. The creation of a metropolitan bus terminus had essentially driven a significant wedge into the "White space" to the west of the railway line. The thin stretch of manor houses on the lower slopes of Devil's Peak were all that stood between this urban front and the emerging anti-apartheid movement developing in the musty academic buildings clustered on the hillside. That the conjunction of these two aspects, one ideological and the other quite practical, would create a particular tension within the space of the neighbourhood was inevitable (**fig. 4-53**).

Stuart Saunders was the university's vice chancellor from 1981 to 1996, and thus led it though the state of emergency of the 1980s to democracy in 1994. In his inaugural address, *Towards Sanity and Goodwill; Scholarship not Ethnicity*,

FIG. 4-51. COTTAGES BEFORE AND AFTER GENTRIFICATION, 1976.
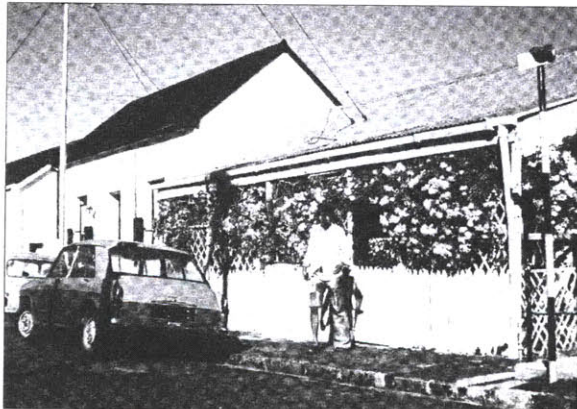
FIG. 4-52. THE COTTAGES TODAY.
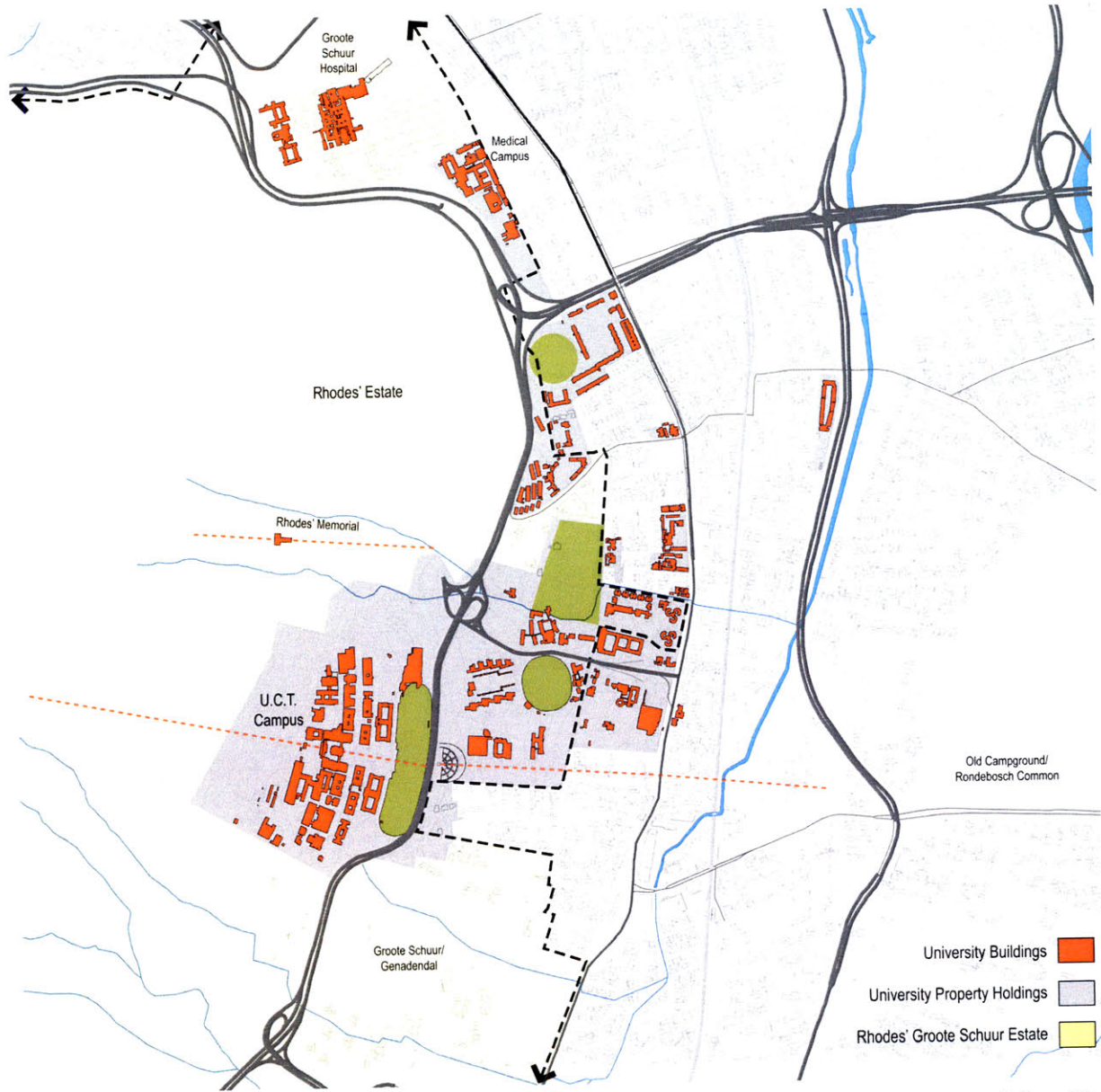
FIG. 4-53. MAP OF UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN PROPERTY HOLDINGS.

(1981) Saunders clearly communicated the anti-apartheid stance of the university:

> I [made] it absolutely clear that I rejected racism in society in general and in the university in particular. There is no doubt in my mind that in this I had the overwhelming support of most people at the university.... The same would have been true of other English-speaking universities at the time, in particular the University of the Witwatersrand under the leadership of Professor Sonny du Plessis. It had also been the case under our predecessors, Sir Richard Luyt, and Professor Bozzoli. We were really continuing a tradition.[107]

Cecil Rhodes, in the construction of an imperial landscape on his estate, clearly set the university apart. It was a privileged space, in which young, English, male colonists could enter into communion with their metropolitan brothers in the interest of the continuation of the empire. Both physically and conceptually set apart from the city, the university was tolerated as an academic space. Here students were given leeway to explore universal ideas, with the understanding

that they would then act, as graduated professionals and academics, in the interests of the broader society. However, from the 1950s, the perception of those interests had changed. The link that Rhodes had forged between UCT and the European Academies was exposing students to a set of ideas quite different from the ones he had placed such unswerving confidence in. Civil rights, feminism, gay and lesbian rights and socialism were being debated on university campuses the world over.

Globally, whenever a privileged White student body supported these movements, the conservative White bourgeoisie, unable to understand their points of view, labelled them communists. In this way, UCT with its student body of "political trouble-makers" came to be known as "Little Moscow on the Hill".[108] Its clear positioning "on the hill" is significant: this geographical distancing gave the university a certain amount of autonomy that the other inner city English-speaking universities in South Africa, kept under tighter control by the urban police forces, did not enjoy. Like the old cloistered universities of Medieval Europe, UCT was physically distanced – perched above the city whose reaction to it ranged from ambivalence, to suspicion, to indulgence.

Leveraging this spatial autonomy, the vice chancellors of UCT doggedly "pushed the boundaries of an apartheid state to create a space for higher education to rise to its responsibilities".[109] They achieved this by funnelling the university's maintenance budget and as much foreign financial support as they could muster into providing scholarships for Black, Coloured and Indian students.[110] They arranged transportation for these students from the distant locations on the Flats, and by opening UCT's residences to them. This last action had a significant effect on the neighbourhood of Mowbray. While the opening of UCT's residences to black students might seem pedestrian today, "taken in the context of the day it was an act of courage. It was not only taking on the State, but also challenging the many ordinary white Capetonians who paid lip-service to non-racialism".[111]

The growth of the university, and the very real problems of accommodation that its "non-White" students faced resulted in its purchase of several inns and hotel buildings in Mowbray, such as the old Glendower Hotel. These institutions, built to house holidaying imperial subjects during British rule, were turned into student residences in an attempt to alleviate this problem. In addition to these residences, the vice-chancellor had historically occupied Woolmunster, the house adjacent to Irma Stern's The Firs (**fig. 4-54**). Slowly the neighbourhood became populated with professors and academic staff who were clearly more tolerant of the student population in the neighbourhood, and sympathetic to their anti-apartheid stance. This trend continues today:

> A lot of university people live in Mowbray. They live in Little Mowbray below the river, and in our street [Wool-munster Road]. Professor Sisma is from the university, Professor Cowan is just up the road, and then there are two medical professors just fifty metres away from us, and a professor of law. Then up the road is Dorothy from the English Department, and the woman from Botany. Just in that little area there are about ten professors.[112]

However, despite the fact that many within its community lived within Mowbray, UCT remained "an institution sitting on the hill" with tentative connections to the ordinary civic life of the city as a whole.[113] However racially integrated its student community, it was also a transient one. All its students were elevated, upon graduation, to a position of relative privilege. While UCT could be accused to maintaining a "veneer of integration" at what ultimately remained a bastion of privilege, it also became a powerful national symbol for the student-led fight against the apartheid state. The convergence of this symbolism, a racially-mixed commuter population, multi-racial student residences and institutionally-rooted social networks that bridged different Group Areas made Mowbray a unique space within the apartheid city. This also made it attractive to the development of a new institutional landscape that would further strengthen the geographical reach, and the racial diversity, of its social networks.

The building of the university above Mowbray attracted many other educational organisations into the neighbourhood during the twentieth century. Attracted by its accessibility and the nearby location of teaching resources at UCT,

Medical Campus

Rhodes' Estate

Rhodes' Memorial

U.C.T. Campus

Old Campground/ Rondebosch Common

Groote Schuur/ Genadendal

0 50 200m
25 100

University Buildings
University Residence Buildings
University Property Holdings
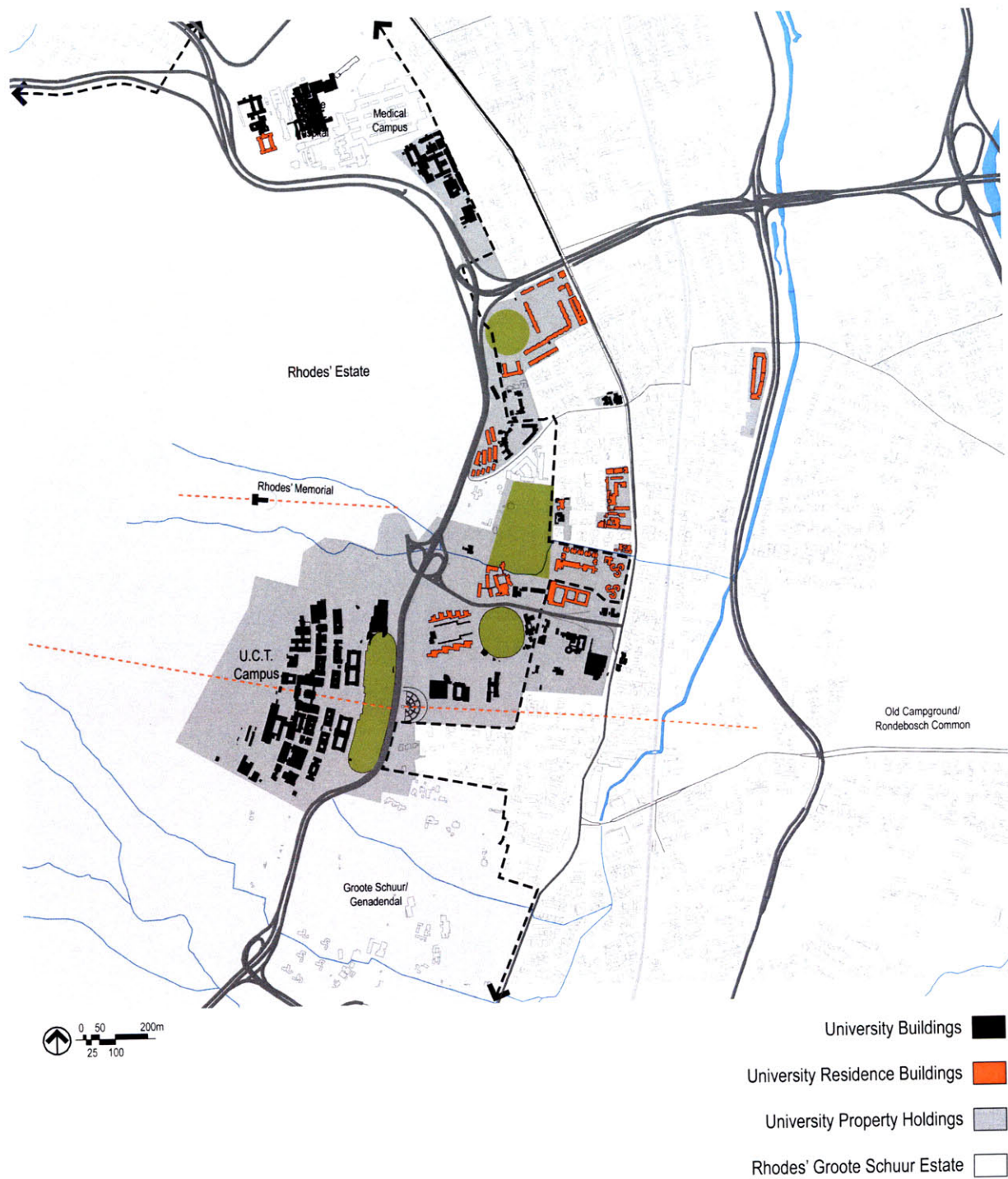Rhodes' Groote Schuur Estate

FIG. 4-54. MAP OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN'S RESIDENCE BUILDINGS.

Mowbray's already well-developed landscape of educational institutions was further articulated. The Cape Town College of Education for women was established in the neighbourhood in 1931, on the site of the Bleek's Charlton House, and two tutorial colleges were established in the early 1980s. Avenue House, adjacent to the Princess Christian Home, became Cape Town's only Chinese-medium School in the 1950s. It was closed in the late 1980s when, without fanfare, Chinese South Africans were re-admitted to government schools.[114] Between this new, dense clustering of educational institutions, several non-governmental and not-for-profit organisations took up premises in the neighbourhood. Aside from the high level of accessibility for all races and the educational resources that the neighbourhood offered, the lower property values in the old village centre, due to the location of the bus terminus, made these premises more affordable.

The importance of their accessibility to both White and "non-White" staff and beneficiaries was evident in the spatial location of these organisations. Almost all of them clustered in buildings in Long Street, which connected the train station and bus terminus. The Legal Aid advice office, the South African Institute for Race Relations (SAIRR), the Cape Town Black Sash office, Breadline Africa, the Catholic Welfare and Development bookstore and "Help Feed the Rural Child" programme, the Quakers' Peace Centre and the Association for Educational Transformation (ASSET) were all in the immediate area of the bus and train stations. All these organisations were uncompromising in their stand against apartheid, with Black Sash being the most purely political.[115] Most of the other organisations were connected to education, such as ASSET, which provided bursaries to students from disadvantaged communities and trained them to take the British A-level examinations so that they could pursue tertiary education in England.[116] The reliance of these NGOs on the research, teaching and volunteering of UCT academics and students is evident in the post-apartheid era, where all but the now-disbanded Black Sash offices remain in the neighbourhood.

By the mid-1980s, this officially White area had become so tolerant that many Black and Coloured young political activists constantly "floated" between Mowbray and the nearby student enclave in Observatory, spending nights on fellow students' couches, and days at the SAIRR and other organisations in Long Street.[117] The new, far-reaching and racially diverse social networks created by these new civic institutions in Mowbray were made apparent during the notorious 1976 student riots in Soweto and on the Cape Flats. In the aftermath, the apartheid security police unleashed their full force on the city in an attempt to prevent further rioting. Mowbray was the one place where White activists, religious leaders, educators and NGO workers could meet with their "non-White" counterparts in order to discuss a way to prevent such bloodshed in the future.

A public meeting was held in the town hall, and MIRGE, the Mowbray Inter-Race Group, was established as a result. It was decided that, in the wake of the riots, it was critical that lines of communication be opened between the different race groups in a grass-roots attempt to understand the frustrations of the youth and to build bridges across the racial divides in a non-political setting. The MIRGE founders recognised that apartheid would only be overcome in a non-violent way if "a campaign to begin a process of transformation in people's minds which could pave the way for a coalition" was undertaken.[118] This strategy strongly reflected Biko's positon, and while this campaign eventually reached and connected communities throughout the city, creating opportunities for school pupils and students from different races to meet and come to an understanding of each other's relative situations (if not existences), it was centred in Mowbray.

By the time Nelson Mandela was released from Robben Island (situated just a few kilometres from Mowbray), the neighbourhood had become one of the most inter-connected spaces in the city (**fig. 4-55**). It had remarkably strong institutions, which ranged from the very local to the national and international in terms of the "hinterlands" their particular networks connected. While the neighbourhood had become increasingly restricted both spatially and in terms of the number of permanent residents it accommodated, it was also host to a large, transient and youthful population of racially diverse students.

The building of a vast transport infrastructure, encircling the neighbourhood on two sides, ensured Mowbray's ac-

Rhodes' Estate

St. George's
Grammar School

U.C.T.
Campus

Rustenburg
School

St. Joseph's
School

Old Campground/
Rondebosch Common

Groote Schuur/
Genadendal

0 50   200m
  25 100

Mowbray Borders

Transport Infrastructure

UCT/Rhodes' Estate

Public Open Space/School Fields
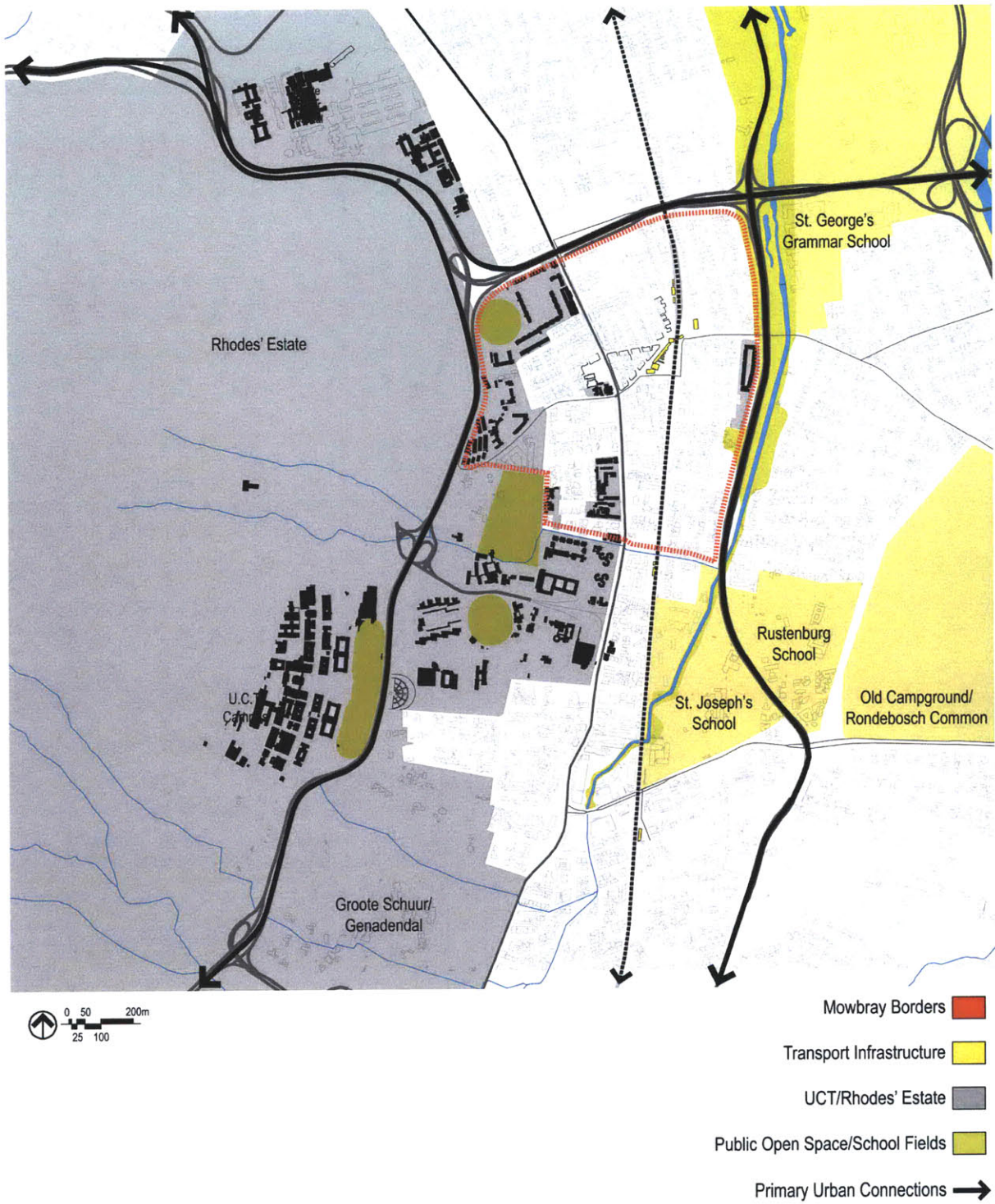
Primary Urban Connections →

FIG. 4-55. MAP OF MOWBRAY'S CONSTRICTIONS AND CONNECTIONS.

cess to a large and racially diverse cross section of the wider urban society. It also suppressed property prices, which in adjacent Rondebosch were high enough to exclude the student population and NGOs that moved into Mowbray. On its other two sides, the neighbourhood remained hemmed in by Rhodes' Estate, which had been developed along its Mowbray edge with student residences and public institutions that were of an order usually reserved for the city centre, such as the university's Baxter Theatre and the Groote Schuur teaching hospital. The university itself had become a national symbol for the resistance of apartheid, a position that it achieved in part because of its academic and physical autonomy.

It is this physical and social landscape into which an immigrant African population began arriving after 1994.

Creating a space for Africa

Leonie Sandercock, in commenting on work done by Ash Amin in neighbourhoods that have been the sites of racial antagonism and xenophobic violence, writes that "[w]hat is important to understand is that the cultural dynamics in [violent, xenophobic] neighbourhoods are very different from those in other ethnically mixed... neighbourhoods where *greater social and physical mobility*, a *long history of compromises*, and a *supportive local institutional infrastructure* have come to support cohabitation".[119] As foreign Africans began moving into Mowbray after 1994, when other African countries opened their borders to South Africa, it is clear that the environment in which they found themselves had already developed all of these spatial and social characteristics.

When, in May 2008, waves of rioting rippled through the nation's cities once again – this time perpetrated by poor South Africans against equally-poor African immigrants instead of by angry "non-White" students against apartheid's

FIG. 4-56. XENOPHOBIC RIOTS: MAN SET ALIGHT.

FIG. 4-57. IMMIGRANTS' LOOTED SHOPS.

FIG. 4-58. AN ARREST IS MADE IN DU NOON, CAPE TOWN.

FIG. 4-59. AN IMMIGRANT MOTHER OUTSIDE THE POLICE STATION.

security police – Mowbray was similarly unaffected (**fig. 4-56, 4-57, 4-58, 4-59**). This was despite the fact that there was a highly visible, well-established, foreign African community in the neighbourhood by then. Many Black and Coloured commuters from neighbourhoods to the east where xenophobic violence was being perpetrated continued to transfer twice daily through Mowbray's redeveloped transport interchange, yet the rioters from those former locations did not make the trip up Klipfontein Road.

In the context of post-apartheid Cape Town, where xenophobia is played out daily, Mowbray forms an anomaly within the metropolitan region. All readings of the neighbourhood indicate a new immigrant community peacefully integrated with the resident, student and commuter populations. These new African immigrants are the inheritors of a particular neighbourhood history, where a Coloured residential population; an extended Khoisan family; a community of single immigrant British women; Jewish, Hindu, Muslim, Irish-Catholic and Chinese communities; anti-apartheid activists and (in the eyes of the state) illegal Black, Coloured and Indian student residents were all accommodated and even integrated into the neighbourhood, despite the social and legal norms that made them disdained in the rest of the city. In the context of this neighbourhood history, the integration of a Black foreign African community here is certainly not exceptional.

However, in examining this latest layering of the neighbourhood, it is important to note that the area can no longer be formally understood as a White space in terms of its prevalent urban power structures. Even so, the toppling of racist White power in the city did not create a void in power or a lack of ideology in the post-apartheid shaping of the neighbourhood. Once again, appreciating the university as a civic force is crucial to understanding the emergence of a new ideology that is being embedded in the space of the neighbourhood today. It is the university's assuming of a more civic role that is guiding urban development in the neighbourhood and is creating conditions favourable for the emergence of a foreign African community in Mowbray.

In 1996, the vice chancellorship of UCT was taken up by Dr. Mamphela Ramplele. She had first risen to prominence in the 1970s as an activist and founding member of the Black Consciousness Movement with Steve Biko, and was a major advocate of the Black Community Programmes of the group. She established many such programmes before the apartheid government detained and banished her in 1976 under the Terrorism Act. However, as a medical doctor and social anthropologist, she continued to be involved in community health programmes and research projects at UCT and IDASA.

Her membership in the Black Consciousness Movement is significant to her guidance of urban policy in the university's neighbourhood. Biko's vision for the future of South Africa interrogated an understanding of urban integration that confronted aspects of racism, tribalism and multiple forms of identity that the urban models, such as the Chicago School's, had tended to suppress. He was against the assimilation of "others" into an established set of norms and codes of behaviour that the early twentieth century American model understood as "integration".[120] Black Consciousness held that political change could only be brought about through the creation of new community institutions, which would empower people through the services they provided and the social networks they built.[121]

They believed that the negation of Black people in apartheid urban society was tied to the articulation of urban space. Biko, in a SASO trial in 1976, described how a Black child, living in a ghetto, might come to feel self-negation: "The homes are different, the streets are different, the lighting is different, so you tend to feel that there is something incomplete in your humanity, and that completeness goes with whiteness".[122] Community Programmes and the creation of urban institutions and decent urban environments were seen to be key to the integration of South African society. Of course, the importance of an urban institutional landscape in creating conditions of tolerance is central to the argument being presented here.

Ramphele's continued advocacy for a grassroots, institutional approach to integration is clear in her vision for UCT.

To accusations of "selling out" by taking the position of vice chancellor at an institution that had refused her admission as a medical student in the 1960s, Ramphele replied that "Black people's hesitation to take charge of the institutions that excluded them in the past attest[ed] to deep-seated, unresolved issues about transformation".[123] Reflecting on Amartya Sen's writings, she connected this hesitancy to his observations on identity and the dangers of "choiceless singularity", which refers to the tendency to ascribe a single identity to individuals to the exclusion of all other possible identities.[124] The maintenance of such "out-group" identities, she argued, leads to the temptation to embrace historically Black institutions (HBIs), created by the apartheid system to prevent Black people from "aspiring to greener pastures not meant for them".[125] This serves only to continue impoverishing the power and reach, or mobility, of their social and political reasoning. Rather, she asserted that all academic institutions, whether historically Black or White, required transformation. This position made her, and the university, one of the most important civic agents in the shaping of the post-apartheid neighbourhood.

In line with the Black Consciousness' Movements philosophy, Ramphele went about transforming UCT through establishing a series of "community programmes". These had impact both on people's attitudes and on the physical space of the university and its immediate neighbourhood. The creation of academic support programmes to enable Black students to bridge the gaps in knowledge that the apartheid schooling system had forced on them was one such programme.[126] At this time, UCT also created its own public bus system, which ferried students and staff between campuses throughout the Southern Suburbs and the inner city, reducing the demand for student parking in the area and alleviating the burden on public transportation infrastructure (**fig. 4-60**). The establishment of this system entailed detailed negotiations with the taxi associations who operated in this area – a traditional stumbling block to initiating transportation projects in the city, which UCT undertook successfully.

The rapid increase in the access of Black students to the university through these programmes created pressure for change among its staff. Despite its anti-apartheid stance, UCT's professors were still overwhelmingly White males. There were "sound educational reasons for having visible black and female role models in senior academic positions if [the university was] to promote excellence as a realisable goal for black and female students to aspire to".[127] Thus, in the late 1990s UCT began to actively recruit African academics who had left their own countries and were teaching in universities abroad.

This introduced foreign Africans into the university community as "visible, successful role models". Yet Ramphele went further in ideologically re-positioning the university as an African institution in the post-apartheid period. The new university vision was "to be a world-class African university", which foregrounded UCT's location on the African continent and emphasised the many opportunities for research the challenges of Africa presented.

"UCT needed to reflect its African cultural heritage while acknowledging the European influences in its foundations" and part of this process included the opening of the university to foreign students, who, by the end of the century, had become an integral part of internationally recognised universities everywhere.[128] Ramphele became an advocate for increasing foreign student populations in universities throughout South Africa, arguing that South African institutions had to recognise the academic, cultural and financial benefits to be gained from international students. She similarly highlighted the advantages for the broader Southern African economic framework in providing educational opportunities to SADC students.[129] In her time as vice chancellor, Ramphele recognised that for many gifted African students, South Africa presented their only hope of attaining the education and training they needed to become leaders in their own countries. She believed that UCT's tradition of cosmopolitanism and tolerance could only be strengthened by being exposed to and juxtaposed with foreign cultures:

> In the wake of what international students are increasingly beginning to perceive as xenophobic rhetoric and discriminatory behaviour by all and sundry, and at a time when the term "foreign" is beginning to assume negative overtones, South African universities... must remain havens of tolerance and embrace heterogeneous

TO CAPE TOWN
CITY CENTRE

Groote
Schuur
Hospital

Medical
Campus

Rhodes' Estate

Rhodes' Memorial

U.C.T.
Campus

Groote Schuur/
Genadendal

TO CLAREMONT

TO CLAREMONT

Public Train, Bus, Taxi Stations

Pedestrian Routes and Crossings

UCT Bus Service and Stops

University Property Holdings

Groote Schuur Estate
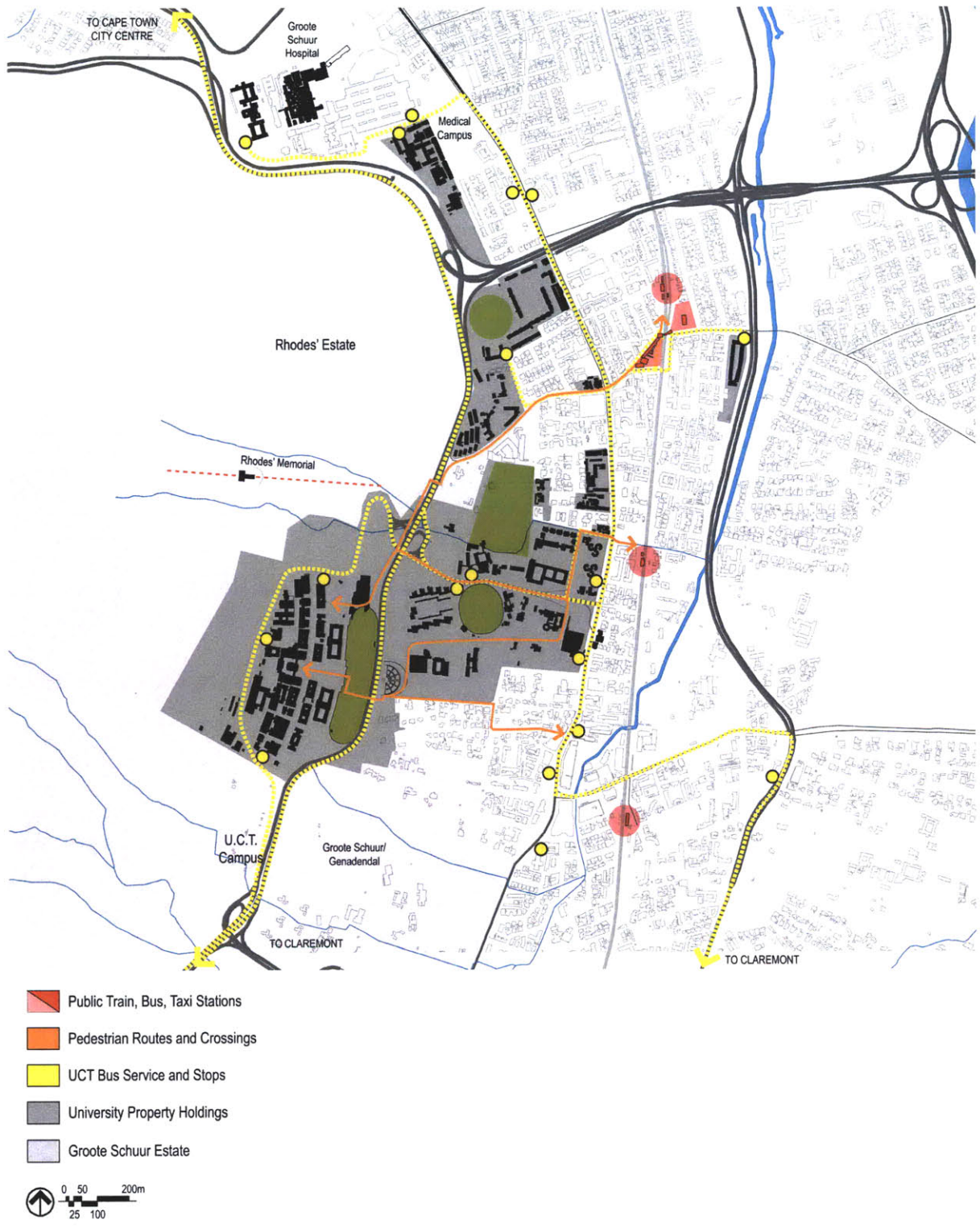
0   50   200m
  25   100

FIG. 4-60. TRANSPORT CONNECTIVITY: MAP OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN'S BUS SYSTEM IN MOWBRAY.

discourses and cultures.[130]

This position promoted fundamental changes in the university's policy and funding structure, and clearly condemned the xenophobia that was becoming increasingly apparent in South African society.

In Mowbray, UCT's new ideological position and related policy changes began to introduce accomplished foreign African professors into the residential enclaves, as well as a population of foreign African students who were largely accommodated in the residence buildings on the edges of the neighbourhood (**fig. 4-61**). These students represented a population for whom mediocrity was not an option. They did not possess the resources to afford second chances, and they received no financial aid from the State. They could not afford to repeat courses or risk losing scholarships, and this affected their conduct in the neighbourhood, and the resident community's resultant perceptions of them.

Their integration, however, should not be romanticised. While the Mowbray community had identified itself with the ideals of the university for almost a century, as UCT began to redefine its role within the changing socio-political landscape, a certain wariness, if not suspicion, of its motives and plans for the area arose.[131]

While a foreign African student body gained a level of acceptance in the neighbourhood, again because of its association with the university, which somehow made it unthreatening and "controlled" its foreignness, the emergence and integration of a non-academic foreign African community in Mowbray can perhaps be better understood when examining the spatial, urban environment.

In their *Rondebosch-Mowbray Local Area Plan* (1990), town planners Todeschini and Japha describe the potential impact of the removal of Group Areas restrictions on the neighbourhood. They advance several prophetic observations regarding the potential affects on the neighbourhood:

> The extent and effects of renewed interest in the area for residential purposes as a result of dismantling apartheid cannot be accurately determined and yet it is likely that marked effects may be anticipated, if not on the actual physical form and nature of the area, then at least on the socio-economic dimensions of population density. While the influx of people previously denied access to the area may not bring a socio-economic profile that could readily redevelop... existing housing stock, it is to be anticipated that occupancy densities within the existing floor area ratio could rise appreciably. This in turn would no doubt place an additional burden on existing facilities but could, at the same time, significantly improve the area's long-term viability when one considers the additional support for existing schools, businesses, institutions transportation systems and other urban infrastructure.[132]

By this stage, much of Mowbray had been declared an urban conservation area by the South African Heritage Resources Agency (**fig. 4-62**). This curtailed large-scale redevelopment within the neighbourhood. With an influx of new

COUNTRY	UNDERGRAD.	POSTGRADUATE	TOTAL
Angola	32	1	33
Botswana	69	25	94
D.R.C.	2	3	5
Lesotho	69	30	99
Malawi	21	7	28
Mauritius	154	24	178
Mozambique	23	5	28
Namibia	72	23	95
Swaziland	72	12	84
Tanzania	6	6	12
Zambia	26	20	46
Zimbabwe	414	95	509
TOTAL	960	251	1211

FIG. 4-61. THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN'S FOREIGN AFRICAN STUDENT POPULATION IN 1998.

THE ADMISSION OF FOREIGN AFRICAN STUDENTS TO THE UNIVERSITY HAS BEEN STEADILY INCREASING SINCE THEN.

Valkenberg
Asylum

Groote
Schuur
Hospital

Medical
Campus

Coornhoop

Upper Mowbray
Urban Conservation Area

Rhodes' Estate

Rhodes' Memorial

U.C.T.
Lower Campus

U.C.T.
Upper Campus

U.C.T.
Middle Campus

Baxter
Theatre

Belmont

Old Campground/
Rondebosch Common

St. Paul's
Church

Groote Schuur/
Genadendal

0 50   200m
25 100

Grade I Buildings/Precincts

Grade II Buildings/Precincts

Grade III Buildings/Precincts
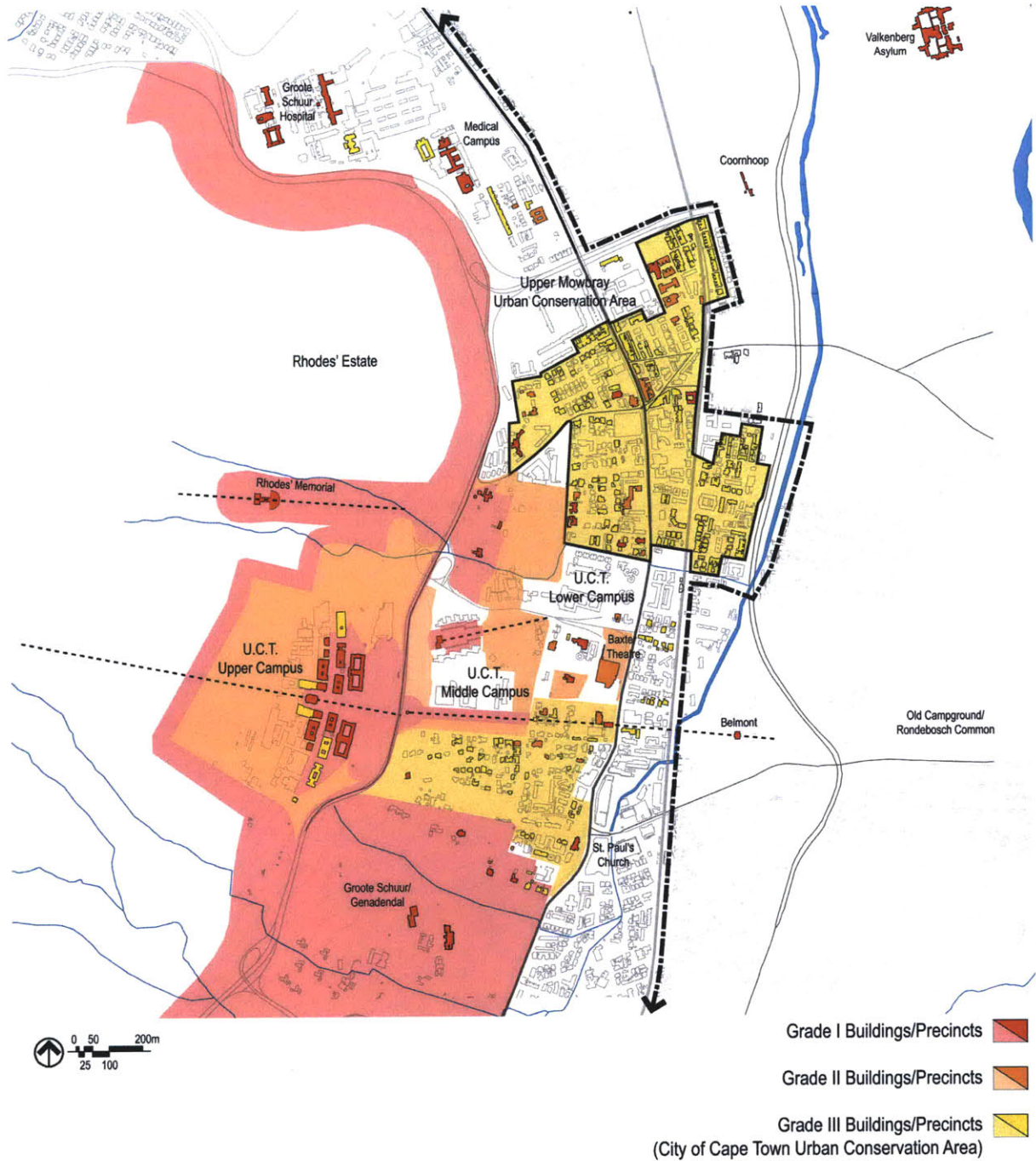(City of Cape Town Urban Conservation Area)

FIG. 4-62. MAP OF MOWBRAY'S URBAN CONSERVATION AREAS.

residents who had not previously been permitted to live or own property in the neighbourhood, a period of uncertainly occurred, which induced a mild property slump.[133] This, in turn, ensured that the neighbourhood was not susceptible to gentrification.[134] The period of urban decay and densification that occurred during the transition to democracy created a favourable environment for the establishment of foreign African businesses over the next decade.

Again, it was these limitations on development and Mowbray's extraordinarily high level of accessibility that first brought foreign Africans to the area, and then provided them with the regularity of passing foot-traffic to establish businesses in a city in which they could not initially rely on their own social ties. As one foreign property owner noted:

> Mowbray is the most exposed of all Southern Suburbs, in terms of direct links to anywhere else. That's part of the dynamism of Mowbray. You know it was this, I think, advantage, which temporarily turned into a disadvantage, because people tend to land here. When you're a foreigner in Cape Town, and you don't know where to go, you go where the road takes you. And it takes you to Mowbray.[135]

The Victorian building fabric, with its arcaded shops at street level and flats above, provided a unique spatial framework for mixed live/work opportunities on the Main Road (**fig. 4-63**). The other areas along this southern corridor in which similar Victorian commercial fabric still exists are Wynberg and Muizenberg. Both neighbourhoods host immigrant African communities, revealing the attractiveness of this building typology. Interviews with foreign African shopkeepers in Mowbray suggest that a large percentage of them live directly above their shops, which reduces their expenditure on transportation.[136] Their businesses, which rely heavily on the high levels of exposure to the passing traffic of the Main Road and transport interchange, benefit from the small scale spaces, high visibility and low rents that this Victorian fabric provides.

The combination of scale, exposure, accessibility and lower value of Mowbray's commercial fabric provided the

FIG. 4-63. AN EXAMPLE OF MOWBRAY'S MIXED-USE BUILDING STOCK ALONG THE MAIN ROAD.

primary draw card for its immigrant African community. It focussed the new community on the commercial, central "wedge" of the neighbourhood – the old *Dorp*, which had historically hosted an ethnically-mixed population. Larger-scale re-development of similar fabric along the Main Road in Claremont and Rondebosch excluded immigrants through the high rentals that were charged for their large, prime, street-facing spaces.

> Claremont is not hospitable to small African businesses. Most definitely, the small scale of the fabric is a very strong factor in attracting the type of business that exists here. The economic dynamic intertwines with the socio-ethnic stuff, and creates these opportunities for value and location.[137]

Mention of the intertwining of social-ethnic aspects of the community within the spatial fabric of the neighbourhood is noteworthy. In Portes' discussion of the articulation of business and spatial practices of immigrant groups in cities, he makes mention of "ethnic enclaves", which arise out of the clustering together of the businesses and residences of members of the same cultural group.[138] A characteristic of these enclaves is that they initially serve the culturally-defined needs of their co-ethnics. In Mowbray, the significant number of "ethnic hair salons" run by immigrant Africans could certainly be seen to serve specific, culturally-defined needs. However, on closer inspection, the diversities of nationalities and cultures evident not only among the shopkeepers, but also among their patrons, is revealed. This indicates that, rather than exclusive "ethnic enclaves", these businesses are actually creating another institutional layer within the neighbourhood that is supportive of the creation of diverse social connections:

> The character of Mowbray is different from Muizenberg or Observatory in that it is more international. In terms of sizes of businesses, they might be paralleled, but when you come to who owns the business, the market they serve, it's more international. There are connections. Here you find Ghanaians, you find Senegalese; you can find people from Cameroon, people from the Congo, and people from Kenya and Somalia, who are the vendors in the street. You have Nigerians, Chinese. You have everything! If you go around here, you'll find all of that.[139]

A mapping of the businesses in the urban block bordered by the Main Road and John Street, at the top of Mowbray's commercial "wedge", reveals the diversity of nationalities among its shopkeepers (**fig. 4-64 overleaf**). Even where employees are South African, such as at Jabu Stone Hair Salon, they are often young women from other cities who are completing their practical training in Mowbray. This is because Mowbray has developed a reputation as the centre for "ethnic hair" within the province. As such, the salons' patronage is also extremely varied, from students who live in the neighbourhood to parliamentarian's wives, and people from the outlying farming towns such as Paarl and Worcester.[140]
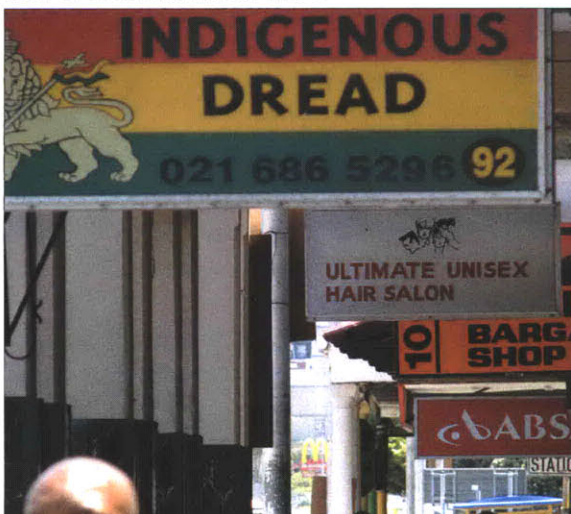
FIG. 4-65. MOWBRAY BARBER SHOPS.
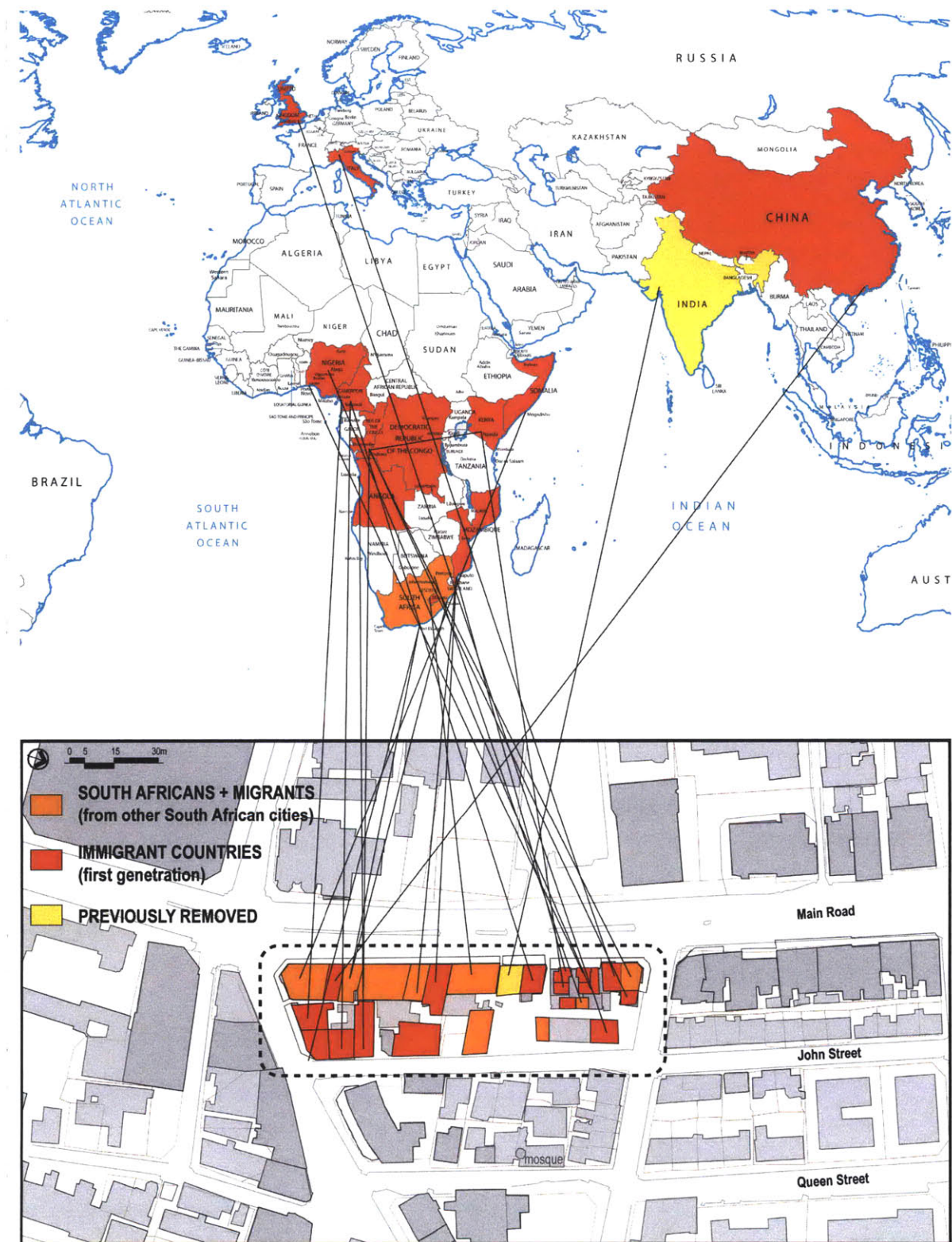

FIG. 4-66. MOWBRAY SALON.

FIG. 4-64. MOWBRAY BLOCK STUDY: NATIONALITIES OF BUSINESS OWNERS.

These neighbourhood Salons and barbershops are often have quite spartan interiors (**fig. 4-65, 4-66**). Many, especially the barbershops, prominently display the range of haircuts they offer in boldly coloured wall paintings facing the street (**fig. 4-67, 4-68**).[141] Such murals appear all over the central continent, and in Mowbray they publically proclaim the foreignness of these small businesses. Even so, they are often sites of diverse, inter-ethnic contact between the local and foreign populations.

While the clients of a typical Mowbray barbershop owned by a twenty-five year old Cameroonian immigrant are mostly African men, frequently White and Coloured young men also come in, looking "uncomfortable and self-conscious". They are "usually accompanied by their mothers or some other woman and appear to be attracted... by the relatively cheap service" provided.[142] After a year of operation, supported by this rag-tag clientele, the barber added posters of African sports stars to his shop walls, and acquired a sofa, stereo system and television. While his hairdressing equipment remains simple – mainly consisting of supermarket-bought shears and shavers, paintbrushes of various sizes to brush off cut hair and apply baby powder, and basic mirrors – he has employed his South African girlfriend to act as receptionist and to sell soft drinks to customers. Despite the continuing simplicity of the haircuts on offer, the salon is popular with Black men, students from the university, fellow immigrants and a group of White and Coloured men who are not too fussy about the service he provides.[143] Several come to the shop even though they do not get their hair cut there.

The service offered by this barber clearly extends far beyond the provision of haircuts. He has created a "banal, neighbourhood micro-public" where the immigrant community are able to interact with local commuters, students and Mowbrayites.[144] To call the African community in Mowbray an "ethnic enclave" undermines the diverse and extensive reach of the social networks their businesses support. Even the poorest immigrants, who sell cigarettes and sweets to
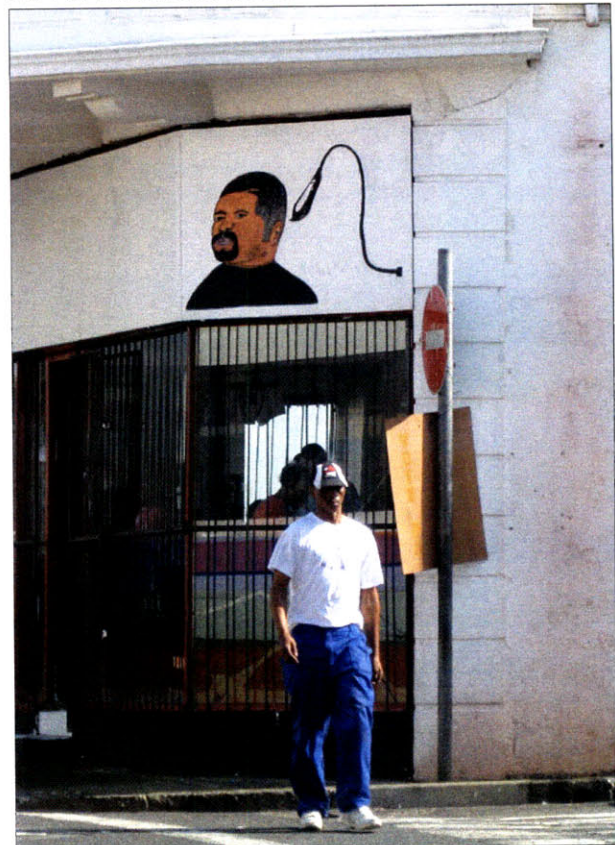
FIG. 4-69. SOMALI STREET TRADER AT MOWBRAY BUS STOP.

FIG. 4-68. BARBER SHOP MURAL.

FIG. 4-67. BARBER SHOP MURALS.

commuters at the bus terminus, often have alliances with their fellow Muslim local businessmen (**fig. 4-69**). On further questioning, even these young men, who share overcrowded apartments in the neighbourhood and work long hours just to pay their rent, telephone, water and electricity bills, are part of social networks that span the globe. While they are expected, and sometimes manage, to send money to their relatives in Somalia, Senegal or any number of African nations, they in turn receive money through their family networks in Europe and America.[145]

It is evident that, while some of the Mowbray immigrants are poor, they are not refugees. Owen Sichione and fellow researcher Jonny Steinberg have noted that many migrants to Mowbray choose South Africa as a destination because it is the "next best option". Western Europe and North America have been tightening their immigration policies since the 1980s, and South Africa offers immigrants the most developed economy in sub-Saharan Africa, and a relatively open political dispensation.[146] Of the millions of people displaced by conflict in Africa each year, the truly poor are not generally able to move very far. Those who come to South Africa are often from families of relative means (Steinberg describes them as "middle class"), and their motives for immigrating have as much to do with middle-class life planning as flight from violence.[147]

Thus, South Africa is attractive to them as much for its developed economy as for the opportunities for further education it offers, as they look for opportunities to improve their skills.[148] Many immigrants see an education in South Africa as a key launching pad to Europe and North America, and enrol in local colleges where they might improve their English or obtain higher qualifications. Of course, there are almost no scholarships to aid them in this endeavour, and they must rely on their family networks, or South African partners, to pay tuition.[149]

Thus, many immigrants do not ultimately gain access to the university or other colleges in the neighbourhood, but spending time in Mowbray and talking to immigrants indicates that they have nevertheless actively integrated themselves into the civic, institutional landscape of the neighbourhood. The library, the churches, the mosque and even UCT's Baxter Theatre (which hosts religious services on Sunday mornings) are well used by the immigrant community. The old town hall is also often used as a community space: religious services are held there on Saturdays by a Congolese pastor, and local businesses owners sometimes secure the use of the space for their meetings, to collectively celebrate someone's birthday, or for other special occasions.

The social networks these institutions invisibly weave through Mowbray are critical to the integration of the immigrant community. Vincent Williams, the Cape Town manager of SAMP, identifies Mowbray as the only truly cosmopolitan neighbourhood in the city. He believes that Mowbray's immigrants are able to network with each other to build social capital in a way that has not been achieved in the other immigrant communities in the city. These strong inter-immigrant networks then overlap with those of the local community in a mutually beneficial, integrative way. This, he believes, is strongly attributable to the history of the neighbourhood's institutions. They essentially become the physical sites of social network overlap for the different communities.[150]

It may seem contradictory that institutions established by White authorities to ensure their control over the "native land and people" are key to the integration of a foreign African community more than a hundred years later. However, unlike the highly politicised civic organisations that were established in the townships during the 1980s, Mowbray's institutions do not hold the same sense of, in Williams' words, "politicised entitlement".

Because the civic organisations in the townships were borne out of a culture of resistance and violence during apartheid, they tend to continue operating within frameworks of resistance. Having been established under the imposition of an "out-group" identity, they are severely handicapped in their ability to contribute to a new, integrated urban culture. They tend to show hostility towards immigrants, believing that only those who had struggled against apartheid should be entitled to the benefits of their services.[151] Some of them, such as the youth organisations, have reacted with brutality

to immigrant communities, continuing the culture of violence bred by apartheid. These institutions perfectly embody the "choiceless singularity" of continuing the old apartheid institutional norms that Ramphele cautioned against.

Mowbray's institutions, on the other hand, while often established in the interests of White power, are fundamentally different in that they have always sought to build identity and create community. While the British institutions looked to create an out-group identity for the non-White, non-English population of the neighbourhood, the inversion of these intentions in the creation of real, community-built social networks has been explored. Despite being established under colonial rule, the mediatory and integrative functions of these institutions were evident. Of course, the NGOs and other activist institutions established during the apartheid era were more aggressively inclusive, although they too were strongly associated with White liberalism.

In spite of the long history of White authority and ideology embedded in Mowbray's institutional landscape, Mowbray's institutions always sought to *build* identity and make a contribution to the development of civil society. No matter how wildly different the understandings of what an ideal civil society might have been under each successive wave of White rule, they all left physical structures in the neighbourhood fabric that were permanent enough to weather these ideological changes. The township organisations, however, were established within a physical landscape of sub-standard infrastructure with very little investment in the public realm. That they should have been established for the purpose of *breaking down* an unjust social system, rather than building a new society, is unsurprising.

This community-building role embedded in Mowbray's public institutions has had a real influence on the material aspects of immigrant life in the neighbourhood. The most down-and-out immigrants to the city, such as the Zimbabweans, who might trade in small, handmade items at the traffic lights or resort to begging in times of dire need, do not seem to congregate in the neighbourhood. This is because the student population of Mowbray is unlikely to buy their decorative wares or give the beggars any money, but it is also because "there are so many non-governmental organisations, like the churches, which tend to capture these immigrants and channel them towards shelters and other support programmes".[152] Mowbray's NGOs remain gatekeepers to charitable support systems for "others" within the city, and they are more highly visible and accessible than their counterparts in other urban neighbourhoods.

Similarly, immigrants who have been successful in the city and who have gained South African citizenship often tend to invest in the area, creating a different layer of "support system". Buying and redeveloping the old Victorian building stock into small, visible retail spaces with student apartments above, they create an overlap between African economic migrants, local businesses and the foreign and "out-of-town" student populations from the surrounding educational institutions (**fig. 4-70, 4-71, 4-72, 4-73**). This, of course, is not an act of charity: many choose this area because of their

FIG. 4-70. BALCONY AS HANG-OUT SPACE.

FIG. 4-71. MOWBRAY SALON SPACE (MAIN ROAD FRONTAGE).

FIG. 4-72. DOORWAY AND DISPLAY AREA.

FIG. 4-73. QUEEN ST. CLOSED FOR FRIDAY MOSQUE.

innate understanding of the immigrant social networks at work, and the advantage this gives them over South African property developers. With the education and skills gained by immigrants in their home countries devalued in the host society's labour market, these successful individuals are also able to see value and skill where a local employer may not. In so doing, they act to "level" the human capital of the immigrant and local communities, and create the rare conditions for these to come together in urban space.[153]

In one foreign-owned building, the bustling ground floor arcade space is occupied by three hair salons: one run by a South African, the other by a Mozambican, and the third by a Congolese woman who grew up in Kenya. A Nigerian-owned cellphone shop, a Cameroonian-owned clothing shop and a South African property company also have premises here. The students who occupy the apartments above come predominantly from West Africa, or are Coloured, Black or White students from other cities in South Africa. One postdoctoral student from England resides in a larger, family-sized apartment at the back of the building. This entire complex was developed, and is run, by a Cameroonian man with South African citizenship. His tenants are, for the most part, gained through his understanding of the social networks among the immigrant African population, although he also has a website to attract student residents. Despite the obvious profit he gains from developing and running his Mowbray properties (he retired from his senior position in a European-run oil company to do so), his leveraging of local social networks, and the resultant concentration of them in the space of his building, serves to further build and strengthen them across local/foreign divides. As the Nigerian cellphone shop operator mentioned:

> There is a good community spirit in this building; everyone looks out for one another. There are a lot of different people in the area, and in this building: one owner is South African, the other (she is new) is from Congo, the guy next door is from Cameroon and I'm from Nigeria. We deal with problems together and support each other. Like the other day, one of the lady owner's father died and all the other traders in the building came and had a meeting and supported her.[154]

With the university clearly taking a stand against xenophobia, an attitude of tolerance and integration has infiltrated the smaller, neighbourhood, public institutions under its influence, and from there has extended to even the most mundane public spaces in Mowbray: the barbershops, the internet cafes, and the small shopping arcades.

Reflections

Despite the impact of new technologies on the contemporary immigrant experience, which enables migrants to reach more distant parts of the globe, better manage their social networks, and stay more closely connected to home, the realities the vast number of immigrants face have more in common with the experience of migration a century ago.

Migration statistics suggest that no more than three percent of the global population live outside the countries of their birth.[155] While the use of technology by these migrants makes it possible for the immobile 97 percent to connect with the world in new ways that facilitate various cultural and economic transfers, it also has a very tentative influence on racial and cultural forms of xenophobic behaviour. Whether societies promote tolerance or accept intolerance against immigrants is a deeply complex social and cultural matter.[156] A particular society's stance is still most often communicated to its immigrant population on streets, in shops, or in the myriad other "banal publics" where a level of interaction cannot be avoided.

The urban intelligence and instinctive reading of the urban landscape that immigrants must develop in order to carve out opportunities for themselves in often-hostile societies relies on the communication of information through social networks. This urban intelligence represents a valuable form of social capital: in African cities it could mean the difference between success or starvation. In a society with a history and culture of violence like South Africa's, the stakes are often even higher.

This chapter, in exploring a neighbourhood that seems to show tolerance in an otherwise xenophobic city, reveals that there is much for urbanists to learn from immigrants' urban intelligence. In understanding how they negotiate the city and Mowbray, a reading of historical documents seems to confirm that there are several urban aspects within the neighbourhood that have always promoted a level of community integration.

The spatial constriction and densification of the neighbourhood, the heightened urban connectivity it offers, and its highly articulated institutional landscape – which ranges from public institutions of the order of universities, theatres and hospitals to the "micro-publics" of barbershops – have all been examined here as promoters of social and physical mobility, and also as agents of integration. Although the ideological frameworks within which certain institutions were conceived intended to draw very clear lines between "in-group" and "out-group" identities, the institutions themselves could not be embedded with that prejudice. What they could not escape, though, was their publicness and community-building role in the neighbourhood. In many ways, it is *because* of Mowbray's importance as an "ideological territory" for centuries of White rule that it is left with such a densely layered public, institutional landscape, which today forms one of the most inclusive spaces in the city.

It is clear that the integration evident in Mowbray is significantly shaped by its unique geography, history and urban landscape. The next chapter explores how urbanism might be brought to bear on extending these conditions of tolerance and integration to other neighbourhoods within the city.

Endnotes

[1] Cape Argus, 28 October 1922

[2] The Southern African Migration Project, Migration News Archive, http // www queensu ca/samp/migrationnews/index.php The archive has collected all articles appearing in the South African press related to immigration since 1997 It records 9 articles for Muizenberg, some of which deal with conflict between the police and immigrants in the neighbourhood. The records for Wynberg show 10 articles, although 8 of them deal with the Home Affairs office that is located in the neighbourhood and serves the wider metropolitan area. No incidences of xenophobia are recorded for the area For Mowbray just one article is listed, and it highlights the prejudice a Somali taxi driver who operates from the neighbourhood believes he is shown by the traffic police along his route, which extends far beyond Mowbray itself. All the other neighbourhoods with immigrant populations had between 30 and 50 articles each, the majority of which dealt with xenophobically motivated violence and illegal activities carried out by immigrant groups

[3] 2001 Census population numbers for the central and northern neighbourhoods of Athlone and Durbanville are 45,056 and 29,626 respectively, while Mowbray has a population of 4,367; Wynberg has 12,821

inhabitants and Muizenberg has 11,418. (City of Cape Town, Census 2001, "Census Suburb Index," http.//www.capetown.gov za/en/stats/2001census/ Documents/Suburb%20Index htm.)

[4] See Martin Anderson, The Federal Bulldozer: A critical analysis of urban renewal 1949 – 1962 (Cambridge· MIT Press, 1964), 107 – 111 and Arnold R. Hirsch, Making the Second Ghetto. Race and Housing in Chicago 1940 – 1960 (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1998), 135 – 170.

[5] Mamphela Ramphele, Immigration and Education: International Students at South African Universities and Technikons (Cape Town: Institute for Democracy in South Africa, 1999), 5

[6] Khoisan is an amalgam, coined by scholars, of names for the two groups into which they are traditionally divided: the KhoiKhoi, who were herdsmen, and the San, who were hunter-gatherers. Contemporary European colonists knew them as "Hottentots" and "Bushmen" respectively.

[7] Karel Schoeman, "'Fort ende Thuijn'· The years if Dutch colonization," in Blank: Architecture, apartheid and after, ed. Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavic (Rotterdam. NAi Publishers, 1998), 33.

[8] *Ibid*, 33.

[9] David N Livingstone, Putting Science in its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge, (Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 2003), 49

[10] Yvonne Brink, "Figuring the Cultural Landscape. Land, Identity and Material Culture at the Cape in the Eighteenth Century," The South African Archaeological Bulletin, Vol 52, No 166, (Dec. 1997): 111.

[11] Robert E Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," in *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*, ed. Richard Sennett (New York: Meredith Corporation, 1969), 131.

[12] Schoeman, 35.

[13] Roy W Simcox, *Mowbray Frontier Town* (Cape Town: Simcox, 1975), 9

[14] Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town: Group identity and social practice, 1875 – 1902* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 39

[15] Henry Mayhew's social study, London Labour and the London Poor had been published in four volumes by 1861, and Charles Booth's Life and Labour of the People in London was published in seventeen volumes between 1889 and 1903.

[16] Bickford-Smith, 39.

[17] *Cape Argus*, 14 and 19 August 1875, *Cape Times*, 10 June 1878.

[18] See Achmat Davids, *The mosques of Bo-Kaap: a social history of Islam at the Cape* (Cape Town. South African Institute of Arabic and Islamic Research, 1980) and Achmat Davids, *The History of the Tana Baru: The case for the preservation of the Muslim cemetery at the top of Longmarket Street* (Cape Town: The Committee for the Preservation of the Tana Baru, 1985).

[19] *Cape Times*, 6 July 1882

[20] *Cape Times*, 11 September 1882.

[21] *Cape Times*, 29 June 1882.

[22] Margaret Marshall, "The Growth and Development of Cape Town" (M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1940), 70

[23] J Scott Keltie and I P A Renwick, *The Statesman's Year-Book 1907: forty-fourth annual publication* (London. Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1907), 204 – 5. The 1904 census data records a population of 8,839 for Seapoint and Greenpoint, 18,477 for Wynberg and 9,587 for Mowbray For the total population of the Cape Colony, 63,447 were born in England or Wales, 15,709 in Scotland and 8,605 in Ireland, while 12,137 were of Russian birth Of the Coloured population, 15,682 were Malays and 298,334 were of so-called "mixed-race".

[24] Robert M. Ballantyne, *Six Months at the Cape of Good Hope* (London: Nisbet, 1878), 204,

[25] Between 1881 and 1883, concerned residents from Mowbray, Rondebosch, Claremont and Wynberg formed a Village Management Board, which in 1883 was formalised as the Liesbeek Municipality. By 1890 Mowbray was considered large enough to warrant the formation of its own municipality, which was incorporated into the Greater Municipality of Cape Town in 1913 in order to benefit from the large dam-building project underway to address citywide water shortages. Simcox and Hallack, 13.

[26] Jean Bottaro, "The Changing Landscape of the Liesbeek River Valley" (M.Ed. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1996), 41.

[27] Bickford-Smith, 132

[28] *Ibid*

[29] *Ibid*, 132.

[30] Bottaro, 55.

[31] Even the 1850 renaming of the neighbourhood to Mowbray, after Melton Mowbray in Leicestershire, indicated the early embedding of a particularly rural English ideology within the settlement by its immigrant English population

[32] Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town: The Making of a City* (Cape Town: David Phillip Publishers, 1998), 253.

[33] Russell Hallack, "History of Mowbray" (unpublished paper, Mowbray Municipal Library Archives, Cape Town, 1990), 9. This temple does not appear on any maps of the area, yet several references are made to it in connection with a Mr. Baber Chavda, who was a greengrocer in Mowbray and a leader of the Hindu community in the city. His son, Amrut Chavda, who took over the shop, corroborated this when interviewed by the *Cape Argus*, 27 July 1983.

[34] Simcox, 16

[35] The Chief Rabbi of Cape Town at the time, Rabbi A P Bender, was instrumental in establishing the Princess Christian Nursing Home, one of the city's first old age homes, on the same site in 1907, lending further credibility to the hall's "hidden" use. Peter Le Mesurier, "The Story of the Princess Christian Home" (unpublished pamphlet, Mowbray Municipal Library Archives, 2004) and Trevor Thorold, Penny Pistorius, Stewart Harris and Henry Aikman, "University of Cape Town Avenue Precinct, Heritage Impact Assessment Stage 1" (report prepared for the University of Cape Town, Cape Town, 2000), 42.

[36] Simcox, 16.

[37] By the late nineteenth century there was a recognised "Irish Town" in Newlands, close to the Brewery on the Liesbeek River where many Irishmen were employed. Jean Bottaro, 55.

[38] Simcox also makes reference to the annual St Patrick's Day dance, which was held in Mowbray Town Hall during the decades of British rule. Simcox, 15.

[39] John Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press, 1981), 161.

[40] City of Cape Town Land Survey Branch, "The Municipality of Mowbray" (unpublished pamphlet, Mowbray Municipal Library Archives, Cape Town, 1990), 24.

[41] F B. Drake, "Workmen's Dwellings at Mowbray," *The South African Architect, Engineer and Surveyors' Journal* (January 1906) 55.

[42] Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 161

[43] That a *madrassa* provided an alterative to Coloured mission-school education was largely ignored by the municipality, which perhaps explains the hidden nature of the small mosque, established here in the 1860s

[44] Russell Hallack, "Educational Institutes of Mowbray" (unpublished paper, Mowbray Municipal Library Archives, Cape Town, 1990), 1.

[45] Worden *et al*, 253-4.

[46] *Ibid*.

[47] *Ibid*, 256

[48] *Ibid*, 259-260.

[49] This impression was expressed by a visitor who wrote that travelling along the road in Mowbray "you might fancy yourself on the road from Tunbridge Wells to Tunbridge, so wide is the prospect, so fair the scene, and all so thoroughly English". Louisa Grace Ross, *Life at the Cape a hundred years ago* (Cape Town: Struik, 1963), 52. This text was originally published as a series of letters in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* between 1871 and 1872.

[50] Bickford-Smith, 43

[51] Jalmar Rudner, "A Swede at the Cape in 1845: Baron von Duben," *Cabo – The Journal of the Historical Society of Cape Town*, Vol 2, No 3, (1980). 19.

[52] Simcox, 11.

[53] Andrew Bank, *Bushmen in a Victorian World: The remarkable story of the Bleek-Lloyd Collection of Bushmen folklore* (Cape Town: Juta & Co Ltd , 2006), 80.

54 *Ibid*, 228 – 76.

55 *Ibid*, 7

56 *Ibid*.

57 Marion Arnold, *Women and Art in South Africa* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 78.

58 *Ibid*, 80 Arnold notes that the police arrived at Stern's first exhibition to investigate, presumably because "modern art" was thought to be immoral or offensive.

59 Jean Bottaro, 56.

60 Bickford-Smith, 147 and Simcox, 33

61 Cited in Simcox, 33.

62 Le Mesurier, 1.

63 George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890 – 1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 229

64 *Cape Argus*, 28 October 1922.

65 "Artistic cottages" were often referred to in descriptions of the neighbourhood at this time, as corroborated by architect Sir Edwin Lutyens, who in a 1919 letter described Rhodes' Woolsack as "a cottage in the woods for poets and artists, where they might be inspired by the beauty of the mountain". Cited in Laura Gibson, "'Utopian fantasies of the perfected imperial prospect and fractured images of unresolved ambivalence and unsuppressed resistance': the Groote Schuur landscape considered as an imperial dream topography of Cecil John Rhodes, 1890 – 1929" (M. Phil. African Studies thesis, University of Cape Town, 2006), 85

66 City of Cape Town Land Survey Branch, "The Municipality of Mowbray" (unpublished pamphlet, Mowbray Municipal Library Archives, Cape Town, 1990), 23.

67 Hermann Wittenberg, "The Sublime, Imperialism and the African Landscape" (D. Litt. English thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2004), 88

68 In its most mundane conception, this connection was imagined as a great railway line extending between the two cities, reproducing the attempt to create English order in space through the building of infrastructure, but on a continental scale

69 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 54

70 David Bunn, "Whited sepulchres. On the reluctance of monuments," in *Blank: Architecture, apartheid and after*, ed Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavic (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 1998), 96.

71 Wittenberg, 115.

72 *Ibid*, 99.

73 This was reinforced by Rhodes' bequeathing of the Groote Schuur house as the residence of the future prime ministers of the country, ensuring that this hillside would remain a seat of political power, as it does to this day

74 *Cape Times*, 1 October 1929.

75 Hermann Wittenberg, *Rhodes Memorial: imperial aesthetics and the politics of prospect* (Cape Town: Centre for African Studies, 1996), 6

76 The Cape Archives, CA: PWD, vol. 2/2/29, ref B124/9, "Rhodes' Final Will," Clause 12, 1 July 1899.

77 *Ibid*, 94

78 City of Cape Town, Census 2001, "Census Suburb Index," http //www capetown.gov za/en/stats/2001census/Documents/Suburb%20Index htm

79 Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 121.

80 *Ibid*, 125

81 *Ibid*, 126 – 132.

82 William J. Davies, *Patterns of non-white population distribution in Port Elizabeth, with special reference to the application of the Group Areas Act* (Port Elizabeth. University of Port Elizabeth Institute for Planning Research, 1971), 25 – 6.

83 The racism embedded in this process, which was proclaimed by the Nationalism government to be "separate but equal", particularly when considering that the electorate was predominantly made up of Whites who were thus less likely to be moved, has been discussed in chapter 3

84 Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 169 – 70. Western shows that the Muslim Coloured people generally enjoyed a higher socio-economic standing than their Christian counterparts, in Mowbray and in the wider city of Cape Town

85 The City of Cape Town and the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape, "The Foreshore Freeway Completion Project," The City of Cape Town, http://www.commonground.co.za/ffcp/.

86 *Cape Times*, 18 August 1967.

87 While no longer forced to live there by law, many people who were relocated to these areas under apartheid have had their opportunities for increased social and economic mobility so severely curtailed that movement out of these areas has proven to be impossible. The result is that Mowbray remains a busy, inter-racial transport interchange in the city today The City of Cape Town reported in 2006 that 92,788 passengers use the Simonstown line, on which Mowbray lies, daily. (City of Cape Town and Cape Metrorail, "Public Transport in Cape Town. Overview of Public Transport Services," http //www capemetrorail.co.za/Marketing/Marketing_Research/2004-5_current_public_transport_record/extract_from_CPTR pdf).

88 Western, *Outcast Cape Town* 184.

89 The Cape Archives, 3/CT, vol. 4/2/1/5/69, ref. R/M/8/1, "Mowbray Bus Terminus," Mr. W A. Dreyer to the City Engineer, 6 October 1966.

90 Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 184

91 *Ibid*, 202.

92 Gerald D. Suttles, *The Social Construction of Communities* (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1972), 12 - 13

93 Western, 203

94 Cited in Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 204.

95 Saeed Barden (Mowbray shop owner), personal communication, 17 January 2009.

96 Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 199

97 *Ibid*

98 *Ibid*

99 John Western, "Some Effects of Enforced Geographical Mobility: the Group Areas Act and the 'Coloureds' of Mowbray, Cape Town" (paper presented at the fifth workshop for Mobility and Social Change in South Africa at the Centre for Intergroup Studies, Cape Town, South Africa, June 23 – 25, 1975), 8

100 Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 170 – 171.

101 They had, after all, been built in an attempt to "civilize" the working class Coloured population of the neighbourhood as per British cultural norms and standards of hygiene

102 Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 188.

103 Owen Kinahan (Ward Councillor for Mowbray), personal communication, 20 January 2009

104 John Western, *Outcast Cape Town*, 194

[105] Both John Western and Stuart Saunders draw attention to the fact that several Mowbray residents had been banned (effectively placed under house arrest by the government) due to their anti-apartheid views and actions See Stuart Saunders, *Vice-Chancellor on a Tightrope: A personal account of climatic years in South Africa* (Cape Town. David Phillip Publishers, 2000), 173 and John Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), 196.

[106] Chauncey, 229

[107] Saunders, 110 – 111.

[108] *Ibid*, 103

[109] Mamphela Ramphele, foreword to *Vice-Chancellor on a Tightrope. A personal account of climatic years in South Africa*, by Stuart Saunders (Cape Town. David Phillip Publishers, 2000), vii.

[110] John Critien (Executive Director of Properties and Services at UCT), personal communication, 16 January 2009.

[111] Ramphele, *Vice-Chancellor on a Tightrope*, vii.

[112] Associated Professor Mary Nassimbeni (Head of UCT's Centre for Information Literacy, personal communication), 16 January 2009. Mrs. Nassmibeni is married to a professor of chemistry at the university, and they have owned their house in Woolmunster Road since 1981.

[113] Vincent Williams (Southern African Migration Project Manager at the Institute for Democracy in South Africa), personal communication, 21 January 2009.

[114] Hallack, "Educational Institutes of Mowbray," 1 – 2

[115] Black Sash was a non-violent, White women's anti-apartheid moment founded in the city in 1955 to object to the removal of the Coloured franchise, after which it became a national anti-apartheid organisation

[116] Professor Lucien Le Grange (Director of the School of Architecture and Planning at UCT and a professional practitioner in Mowbray), personal communication, 23 January 2009.

[117] Vincent Williams, personal communication, 21 January 2009

[118] Cited in Daphne Wilson, *From Tribulation to Triumph· MIRGE 1976 – 1989* (Cape Town Peter Chapman Repro & Print, 2002), 3.

[119] Leonie Sandercock, *Cosmopolis II· mongrel cities in the 21ˢᵗ Century* (London: Continuum, 2003), 92

[120] Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986), 24.

[121] For a more thorough discussion on Black Consciousness' position on integration, see chapter 2.

[122] Biko, 101.

[123] Mamphela Ramphele, *Laying Ghosts to Rest. Dilemmas of the transformation in South Africa* (Cape Town. Tafelberg, 2008), 207

[124] Amartya Sen, *Identity and Violence* (New York: W W. Norton, 2006), 17.

[125] Ramphele, *Laying Ghosts to Rest*, 207.

[126] While many black students initially regarded it as equivalent to their ghettoisation within the university, the programme has now become an accepted feature of higher education nationally Ramphele, *Laying Ghosts to Rest*, 208 – 9.

[127] Ramphele, *Laying Ghosts to Rest*, 200

[128] *Ibid*, 220

[129] Mamphela Ramphele, *Immigration and Education: International Students at South African Universities and Technikons* (Cape Town. The Institute for Democracy in South Africa, 1999), 1 – 3.

[130] *Ibid*, 19

[131] Derek Japha, Vivian Japha and Fabio Todeschini, "The Rondebosch-Mowbray Local Area Plan" (report prepared for the City of Cape Town, Cape Town, July 1990), 95.

[132]   *Ibid*, 89.

[133] Emmanuel Wope (Cameroonian property owner and developer in Mowbray), personal communication, 13 January 2009.

[134] Vincent Williams, personal communication, 21 January 2009

[135] Emmanuel Wope, personal communication, 13 January 2009.

[136] Interviews with twenty business owners in a single urban block in central Mowbray were undertaken over the month of January 2009. These were bolstered by formal discussions with local professors, businessmen and professionals, NGO workers, civic authorities and residents.

[137] Emmanuel Wope, personal communication, 13 January 2009

[138] Alejandro Portes, "Economic Sociology and the Sociology of Immigration· A Conceptual Overview," in *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*, ed. Alejandro Portes (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995), 27

[139] Emmanuel Wope, personal communication, 13 January 2009

[140] Emmanuel Wope and Saeed Barden, personal communication, 13 and 17 January 2009.

[141] Owen B. Sichione, "Together and apart. African refugees and immigrants in global Cape Town," in *What Holds Us Together: Social cohesion in South Africa*, ed. David Chidester, Phillip Dexter and Wilmot James (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2003), 134.

[142] *Ibid*.

[143] *Ibid*.

[144] Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift, *Cities. reimagining the urban* (Cambridge· Polity Press, 2002), 11.

145 Sichione, 135.

146 Jonny Steinberg, "A Mixed Reception· Mozambican and Congolese Refugees in South Africa," Institute for Security Studies, Monograph No 17, 2005.

147 Sichione, "Toegther and apart," 131

148 Steinberg.

149 Owen B Sichione, "Xenophobia and xenophilia in South Africa: African migrants in Cape Town" (unpublished paper prepared for the University of Cape Town and Centre for Scientific Development, Cape Town, 2006), 21.

[150] Vincent Williams, personal communication, 21 January 2009

[151] *Ibid*

[152] Emmanuel Wope, personal communication, 13 January 2009.

[153] Steinberg, in studying Congolese car guards in the city, notes that there is something tragic in the frequent scenario of a group of middle-class immigrants bringing their earnest middle-class values of hard work and careful financial planning to the task of guarding cars

[154] Malcolm Wope and Nicole Lai Lan, transcript from interviews with Mowbray traders between Station Road and Upper Durban Road, Cape Town, July 2008.

[155] The Global Commission on International Migration, "Migration in an interconnected world: New directions for action" (report for the GCIM, Geneva, 2005), 5

[156] Owen B Sichione, "Xenophobia and xenophilia in South Africa· African migrants in Cape Town," 11

Chapter 5

Extending Integration

> The child had not been at school many weeks when she began to show signs of estrangement from her mother tongue. Her Yiddish was rapidly becoming clogged with queer-sounding "r's" and with quaint twisted idioms. Yiddish words came less and less readily to her tongue, and the tendency to replace them with their English equivalents grew in persistence.... Her manner of speaking, her giggle, her childish little affectations seemed to grow more American every day. She was like a little foreigner in the house.
> - Abraham Cahan, *The Rise of David Levinsky.*[1]

The introductory quotation from Abraham Cahan's book *The Rise of David Levinsky* (1993) describes the loss associated with immigration. Although the immigrant experience is marked by optimism – immigrants move to where they believe they will have better life chances – it is also accompanied by personal losses of community, of family and of language.

The urban proposal explored in this chapter attempts to walk the fine line between the assimilation of immigrants into the dominant host culture, and enabling the retention of the multiple, complex identities of both the immigrant and host society in tolerant, integrative ways. It seeks to develop a new urban theory for acting to increase the reach of spaces of tolerance within the city, based on the research undertaken. This theoretical response is then advanced into a conceptual urban design intervention in Mowbray in order to further illustrate the resultant theoretical approach.

The exploration undertaken thus far has attempted to trace the literature on the relationship between urban form and immigration, from Simmel and the Chicago School to the postcolonial urban thinkers. It has highlighted certain underlying assumptions in the foundational theory that have been shown to be dramatic adversaries to the success of the immigrant in a new city. Race, classification into a "singular identity" with an associated shroud of inferiority and the very real effects of urban "deviance" like crime, violence and abuse have had immense impact on the ability of the immigrant to make a successful new life in the city. Biko, and several postcolonial urban theorists who attempt to address these issues in their understanding of integration, serve as a useful starting point in projecting an appropriate urban design response for cities in countries that, like South Africa, have a deep history of racism, colonial suppression, dramatic inequality and an ongoing culture of violence. These theorists closely link urban conditions of integration to the creation of strong, local social networks, firmly rooted in neighbourhood institutions - Ash Amin's so-called "banal micro publics".[2]

The examination of these theories then formed the framework for a second exploration, which sought to look into the development of urban policy and planning measures undertaken to control the immigrant and the "other" within the South African city of Cape Town. This study mapped the trajectory of the use of urbanism to respond to the immigrant from the British colonial period through to the present day urban distribution of new African immigrant communities and xenophobic incidences within contemporary Cape Town. It highlights the exhaustive attempts by politicians and planners to keep people apart in the urban spaces of South Africa, as well as the extraordinary diversity of the immigrant com-

munities that Cape Town has hosted, which served to complicate the task of urban segregation immensely. Indeed, the minority Black and White and majority Coloured populations of Cape Town all trace their roots to an incredibly diverse range of immigrant groups. Even so, the culture of segregation and violence introduced in the urban space of the city through colonialism and apartheid seems to have embedded itself in the ways that Capetonians respond to the new immigrants in their midst: foreign Africans who have flocked to the city since the dismantling of apartheid fifteen years ago. Certainly, the "deviance" immigrants encounter upon migration to the South African city creates significant hardship in their day-to-day lives.

Against this exploration of immigration, segregation and xenophobia in the city, the neighbourhood of Mowbray was then examined as space of integration between the local and foreign African immigrant communities in the contemporary city.

Given foundation through a historical examination of integration in the neighbourhood, this study reveals that Mowbray's community inclusiveness is, in part, due to several urban factors. Through its continued importance as an "ideological territory" within the city, Mowbray has been the site of successive spatial articulations of power since 1657. As many of the ideologies of successive power-holding groups were imposed and communicated through the building of public institutions, the neighbourhood has, over time, developed a highly articulated institutional landscape. Along with its heightened public transport connectivity, which also served to constrict its area and promote the densification of its fabric, Mowbray's institutions have historically supported strong and diverse social networks. While the power-holders have continually changed, these social networks have endured within the space of the neighbourhood, promoting a culture of increased social mobility, communication, compromise and support among the immediate and extended Mowbray community. As the previous chapter sought to show, the integration of a new foreign African community within the neighbourhood is largely due to their "inheritance" of these strong local institutions, spatial fabric and social networks. This forefronts the urban, institutional environment as an active agent in the integration and tolerance of immigrant "others".

It is at this point of the study that an urban design problem must be advanced. If the overall intention is to use the study of planning responses to immigration in the city on the metropolitan scale, and the contradictory responses on the neighbourhood scale in Mowbray (which have resulted in environments of tolerance), to advance a new urban theory for the promotion of greater degrees of integration in Cape Town, several key issues must first be addressed.

It is evident that Mowbray is unable to host Cape Town's entire foreign African immigrant community. Besides being physically impossible in terms of space and housing constraints within the neighbourhood, this would only shift immigrants' urban experience from one of intolerance to one of complete ghettoisation in an isolated urban pocket. The strength of Mowbray's integrative environment is dependent upon the diversity of communities that are able to converge and overlap within its physical boundaries. Integration requires diversity.

It is also clear that the integrative aspects of the urban environment at Mowbray are unique. They are the result of layers of urban development that are highly attuned to the specific geography of the area. Many of the particular political paradigms that instigated the creation of Mowbray's institutions and infrastructure are no longer seen to be valid. Although the social networks of most of Mowbray's institutions continue to be active within the neighbourhood today, the frameworks of power within which their construction and creation were justified have fallen away.

Thus, although the study of Mowbray highlights the importance of the neighbourhood's fine-grained fabric, mixed-use nature, rental structures and public transport accessibility to its integrative capacity, to advocate that the replication of these physical urban characteristics elsewhere would lead to the same social result is misleading. Replication of the physical, urban fabric of the neighbourhood would be futile without the ability to also replicate the social networks it supports. While the reproduction of Mowbray's physical fabric in one of the poorer, more xenophobic neighbourhoods in the city might go a substantial way towards increasing that community's physical resources and institutionalised settings for

the building of civic ties and social networks, this discounts another critical element in the creation of Mowbray's integrative fabric: time.

Mowbray's fabric, its institutions, its transport infrastructure and its social networks have all developed over centuries, and have been marked by the use of former generations of Mowbrayites. These preceding communities have thus also shaped the institutions within the neighbourhood, often counter to the ideological intentions of their creators. In this way, Mowbray's community has, over generations, fashioned an apartheid bus terminus into a community gateway supporting the access of Coloured evictees to their old social networks and African immigrant traders to a stable market in an unknown city (**fig. 5-1, 5-2**). This same, gradual, small-scale modification of the use of civic institutions allowed the community of Mowbray to play a role in the transformation of an imperial megalith on the hillside – the University of Cape Town – and its neighbourhood regions below, into a centre for the apartheid struggle. The success of Mowbray's social networks rests in its long history of the iterative imposing, tailoring and shaping of the neighbourhood institutions and infrastructure.

How, then, could urbanism be used to promote integration in the more xenophobic and violent neighbourhoods in the city, that have not had this specific urban history?

Again, George Chauncey's study on *Gay New York* (1994) proves helpful. In discussing the creation of Greenwich Village in the city, Chauncey notes that by the 1920s the Village hosted the best-known gay enclave in the city and the nation, and it was "the first to take shape in a predominantly middle class (albeit bohemian) milieu".[3] Although he notes that gay men and women had to fight for urban space, even in the Village, its reputation for flouting bourgeois convention enabled them to create a haven for themselves. The parallels between Greenwich Village and Mowbray in this regard have already been drawn, but it is interesting to note that even more so today, the Village remains a White, upper-middle class neighbourhood in terms of its property ownership structures and permanent residential community.

White upper-middle classness certainly does not universally embody the alternate identities of all gay individuals, yet the area still retains its reputation as a gay enclave today. While a homosexual teenager in New York City might live with his parents in a typical inner-city neighbourhood or an outlying suburb, his social world is still likely to intersect with the space of Greenwich Village. This elite neighbourhood continues to provide the social space for a range of gay people who are otherwise financially excluded from living in it.

This is possible only because of the Village's history and reputation as a gay enclave and bohemian neighbourhood and the public institutions that had a hand in both developing and maintaining that reputation. Its connection to public

FIG. 5.1. MOWBRAY TRANSPORT INTERCHANGE.

FIG. 5-2. SOMALI TRADERS AT TRANSPORT INTERCHANGE.

transportation systems allows for the increased physical mobility and access of gay people throughout New York to the Village's neighbourhood institutions. However, it is the dense, well-developed social networks that have formed here and are physically anchored in these institutional publics that first attract New York's gay (and bohemian) citizens. Urban form, the institutions that articulate its public face, and the broad, geographically expansive social networks that develop out of this "banal publicness" are key to the Village's continuation as a site of homosexual tolerance and integration in New York City today.

In understanding Mowbray to be as unique and richly layered a neighbourhood, it seems reasonable that the identification of the strong institutional environment as the major spatial contributor to the creation of integrative social networks should be at the root of a new urban theory of integration. The question then becomes: how do you extend the range of the existing social networks in Mowbray? How might this inclusive institutional and urban environment be exposed to a broader hinterland within the metropolitan region of Cape Town?

The underlying assumption in such an urban design theory is that, by extending the accessibility of the social networks of this neighbourhood of urban inclusiveness and integration to those areas in which xenophobic violence has occurred, other, less tolerated immigrant communities would be able to participate in at least some of them, and share in a portion of the social capital they embody. Like the gay enclave in Greenwich Village, the sharing of social capital by groups of people in a hostile society can lead to the increased visibility and perceived value of that community by outsiders. The social capital and networks they build eventually begin to overlap with those of other groups in very practical, everyday ways, catalysing a process towards eventual tolerance, if not integration.

Twinned with this is the idea that, in extending the reach of Mowbray's integrative institutions outwards, perpetrators of xenophobia and violence might also be "caught" within the extended hinterland, and come to share in the networks and social capital of African immigrants, even in very small ways. Again, this kind of exposure to the "other" in very ordinary, non-threatening ways is at the core of creating environments of urban integration. As Ashutosh Varshney has shown:

> By promoting communication between members of different [ethnic] communities, civic networks often make neighbourhood-level peace possible. Routine engagement allows people to come together and form organisations in times of tension.... Such neighbourhood organisations [are] difficult to form in cities where everyday interaction [does] not cross [ethnic] lines, or where [opposing groups are] living in highly segregated neighbourhoods.[4]

If vibrant institutions and organisations serving the economic, cultural and social needs of two separate communities exist, then the support for communal peace tends not only to be strong but also to be more solidly expressed. The importance of the institutional setting in creating these civic networks is that they often serve interests that are not just the object of "quotidian interactions", but require a level of investment on the part of each participant. Making that institution or organisation successful is thus in the vested interests of all parties, rather than reliant on the extension of goodwill and warmth between different communities.[5] While this is important, it often does not provide a solid enough foundation for the creation of an integrative urban environment. Hence even the "micro-publics" of Mowbray take place in barbershops and other businesses, where a service is rendered and payment gained, rather than in a public square or in the street.

Several clues as to how an appropriate design approach might be distilled from this understanding are provided in the writings initially examined and continually tested in the body of this work. Both the Chicago School writings and those of Black Consciousness and the postcolonial urban theorists have elements that are strongly resonant with Varshney's understanding of the institutional mechanisms of inter-ethnic integration.

In line with the Chicago School model, access to opportunities for increased economic mobility (embodied in their situation of immigrants adjacent to the inner-city manufacturing zone) and the nurturing, incubative function of the im-

migrant enclaves and their cultural and social networks remains important for building the capacity for physical and social mobility in the immigrant community. The potential for the increased social and economic mobility of immigrant Africans in Mowbray through exposure to further education, associated with the university and the clustering of educational institutions here, seems to suggest that there is an opportunity to renew the Chicago School model with educational institutions at its centre. Rather than employment in the inner city industrial and manufacturing sector, the catalyst to the dynamic assimilation process of the immigrant could, in the twenty-first century city, be seen to be access to intellectual capital. While certain urban theorists have begun to advance similar ideas, in light of the study undertaken here, the appropriateness of a citywide urban model must be questioned.[6]

It is hoped that the study of Mowbray has illustrated the existence of very particular urban "micro-climates" in which the opportunities for and responses to immigrants are as varied as the urban fabric, history, geography, politics and social systems of each neighbourhood. In the South African city, with its particular history of spatial segregation, urbanists must undertake a more place-specific and sensitive reading of the conditions in each community before developing a framework for action. While an understanding of an over-all, citywide response to immigration is important in framing the understanding of the local condition, to develop a similarly broad response is too general to negotiate these spatial subtleties and to impact people's lives in real, everyday ways. This is because the meta-intentions of urban planners in spatially controlling immigrants did not play out uniformly across the space of the city, but rather found different manifestations in different neighbourhoods in response to their specific histories and communities. Thus a central tenant of the development of a new design theory to guide intervention in Mowbray is that, unlike the Chicago School approach, each part of the city must be individually understood in terms of the frictions and opportunities it offers to the immigrant, and the existing urban connections and social networks that can be best employed to extend tolerance and integration through spatial intervention.

In many ways, the practical urban problem confronted here is the same as that faced by the Coloured removees in Mowbray forty years ago: how does one overcome (or negotiate) the apartheid-created friction of distance in order to participate in civic life? However, a critical difference is that the Coloured population who were removed from the neighbourhood were already heavily invested in the social networks of Mowbray's institutions. The incentive to maintain their social networks, anchored in their former local institutions, and the social capital they stood to gain out of doing so was already in place when the Group Areas Act was imposed on the neighbourhood. In contrast, the urban problem faced here is incentivising the participation of non-Mowbrayites in the wider social networks of the neighbourhood.

This is a vey real problem. While Mowbray's evicted Coloured community has shown that access to the neighbourhood from the Cape Flats is possible, given its position at the crossroads of several public transport infrastructures, John Western's research shows that many families could simply not afford the cost of constantly travelling back and forth to Mowbray on a daily or weekly basis.[7] The evident loss this distancing from Mowbray's institutions represented for these families is revealed in their continued attendance of the neighbourhood institutions at exceptional times: going to the Rondebosch-Mowbray Cottage Hospital in an emergency, or to the mosque or churches on holy feast days.[8] Despite the emergence from the dark days of apartheid, Cape Town is still very much a segregated and unjust city, with those who live on the Flats having to spend a significant percentage of their income in travelling daily to the former White areas, which are more developed and offer more services and opportunities.

While many undertake this twice-daily journey through Mowbray's public transport interchange, it is also clear that the daily commuter population of Mowbray, while critical to establishing the area as a space of struggle against apartheid in the late twentieth century, does not generally participate in the neighbourhood's institutional life. Buying cigarettes from a Somali vender at the bus terminus constitutes the kind of "quotidian interaction" that does not build the type of meaningful social networks, or require the level of personal investment that ensures sustained urban integration. This indicates that there is no meaningful interaction or network-building occurring between this relatively successful immigrant community

and those people from the outlying neighbourhoods that have been the site of xenophobia who pass through Mowbray each day. This represents a missed opportunity.

All of the "ingredients" seem to be in place for the extending of the "hinterlands" of Mowbray's institutions to these spaces of xenophobia: a highly accessible neighbourhood with a well developed institutional landscape, social networks that represent a valuable accruement of social capital and a commuter population that passes through the neighbourhood twice daily on their way to and from their homes in the outlying, intolerant neighbourhoods. Critical thinking and the lessons of the historical urban study of Mowbray need to be brought to bear on catalysing a wider urban participation in the social networks of the neighbourhood. It requires an exploration into the existing reach and strength of Mowbray's complex institutional and social network tapestry, and intelligent thought on which "threads" represent the best opportunity for extension into the wider metropolitan region. It also calls for an assessment of the accessibility of the neighbourhood to people who are not yet incentivised to overcome the friction of distance of their own accord to participate in Mowbray's institutional landscape, and it requires that this be done with the minimum physical design intervention and capital outlay.

The last point is an important constraint. In a city (and a country) where there is still so much inequality and basic need among urban residents, the outlaying of public funds for the creation of institutions and infrastructure to improve the lives of foreign African immigrants risks sparking off riots even more destructive than the ones seen in May 2008. Any urban intervention must be seen to be at least mutually beneficial to all citizens. Integration arises only out of situations in which everyone stands to gain.

In mapping the evolution of Mowbray's institutional landscape over time, it becomes evident that at least three civic organisations within the neighbourhood have attempted to extend their reach outwards before (**fig. 5-3**). The first of these, the Mowbray Inter-Race Group (MIRGE) was initiated in 1976 in response to student riots in protest of the apartheid schooling system. Initiated in Soweto, rioting spread to the Cape Flats and, in the aftermath MIRGE was formed to bring together students and school pupils from across the colour line in an attempt to build mutual understanding. The programme ran for fourteen years, disbanding when Mandela was released from prison in 1990.[9]

Similarly, the Community Arts Project was initiated in a building on the Main Road in Mowbray in 1977, and brought together University of Cape Town (UCT) art and drama professors, their students and talented young artists from the Cape Flats. The apartheid police shut down the project's Mowbray venue in 1981, apparently due to the fire hazard posed by the building's use.[10]

However, the institution which had a foundational role in the establishment of both MIRGE and the Community Arts Project, and which continues today is the Association for Educational Transformation (ASSET), still situated in its station-facing building at number 5 Long Street, where it first opened in 1972. This non-governmental organisation aims to provide educational opportunities to students from disadvantaged communities. In addition to establishing a bursary programme in 1972, ASSET empowered gifted students to take the English A-level examinations during the apartheid era, so that they might apply for the university education that they were barred from at home, in Britain. In 1982, building on the foundational work of MIRGE in bringing students from either end of the colour line together, ASSET established its Saturday School programme, which tutors grade 11 and 12 students in disadvantaged neighbourhoods so that they might attain the required results for university admission.[11]

Thus, this Mowbray institution has already extended its social network "hinterland" to the townships and locations on the Cape Flats. The organisation's continuation also strongly indicates that the non-university educational layer of Mowbray's institutional landscape presents the strongest "thread" to extend to the immigrant communities to the east.

Through the matrix created for the analysis of Mowbray's civic institutions, it becomes evident that the founding of
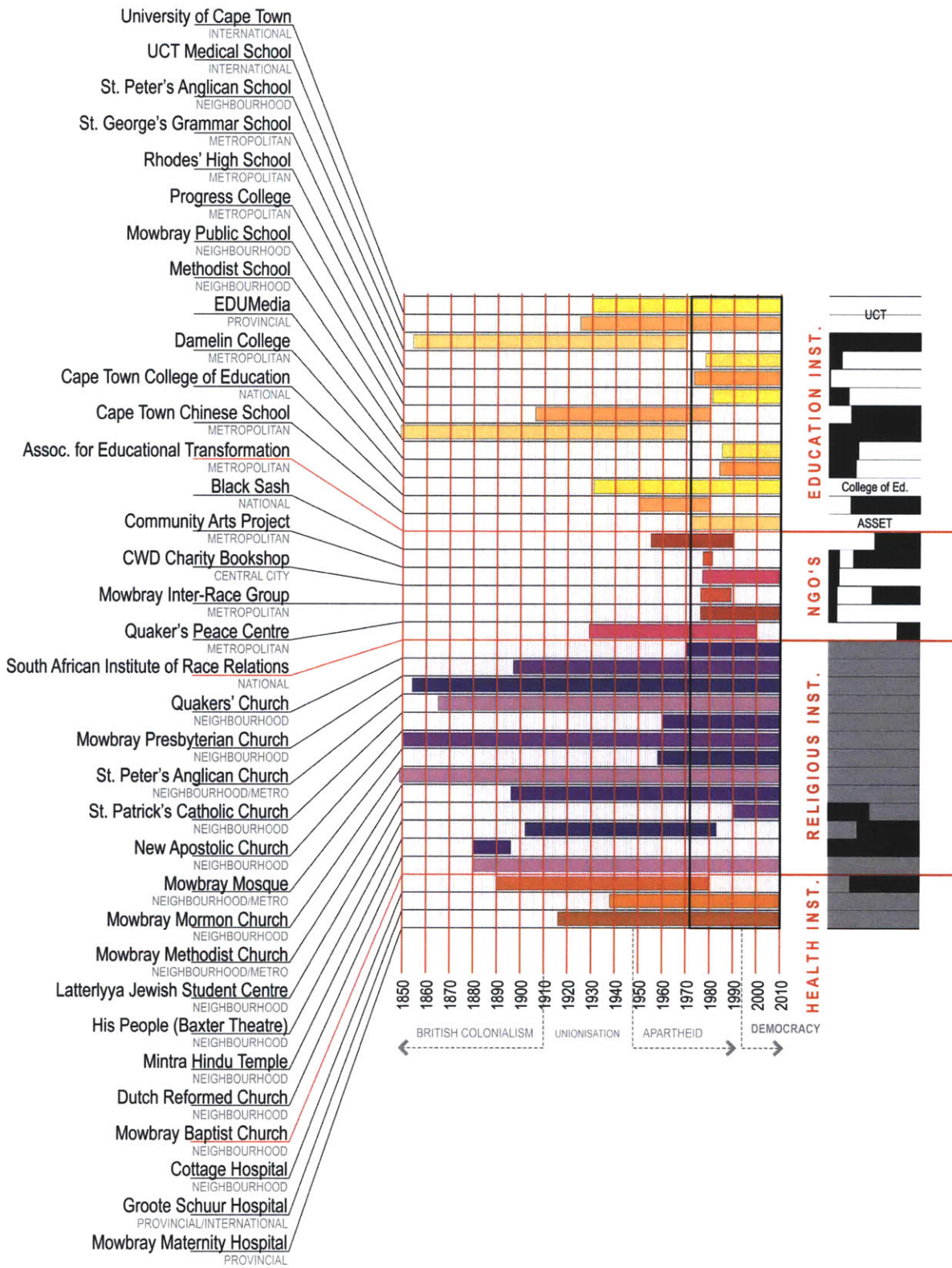
FIG. 5-3. MOWBRAY INSTITUTIONAL MATRIX.

ASSET was part of a more general shift in the institutional landscape of the neighbourhood. The early 1970s ushered in Mowbray's network of non-governmental organisations, as well as several education-related organisations and higher-level professional colleges. Ironically, the creation of a space for the struggle against apartheid in Mowbray appears to have been facilitated by the removal of the neighbourhood's Coloured residents under the Group Areas Act. The property climate at the time of removals has been discussed in chapter 4, and the specific conditions made it very favourable for civic organisations on small budgets to rent the former work and living spaces of Mowbray's Coloured community, which were immediately accessible to a racially diverse section of Cape Town's population by virtue of the neighbourhood's public transport interchange.

The matrix, and the physical mapping of institutions that accompanies it, also reveals the "critical mass" that educational institutions hold in the neighbourhood (fig. 5-4). Of the non-religious and health related institutions, only UCT, ASSET and the Teacher's Training College have been operating for the full forty years since Group Areas removals. The physical mapping of Mowbray's educational institutions reveals that the land holdings of UCT are extensive enough to have restricted the urban growth of Mowbray, but that there are also many smaller colleges and schools among its fabric.

Currently, this fragmented institutional layer is not rationalised on a wider, neighbourhood scale. Despite the level of social integration already occurring between the student community and the residential community of Mowbray, it is believed that, through small design interventions, the level of overlap and participation between the university and its neighbourhood could be greatly enhanced, to the mutual benefit of both parties.

A development framework plan undertaken by planning Professors Piet De Beer and Dave Dewar for the university's physical planning unit in November 2006 attempts to rationalise the campus plan. However, the design proposal focuses exclusively on UCT's buildings and infrastructure, and proposes that an internal spine be created, running through the middle of the campus, above the Main Road, and following the natural contour of the mountain (**fig. 5-5**).[12] Such a
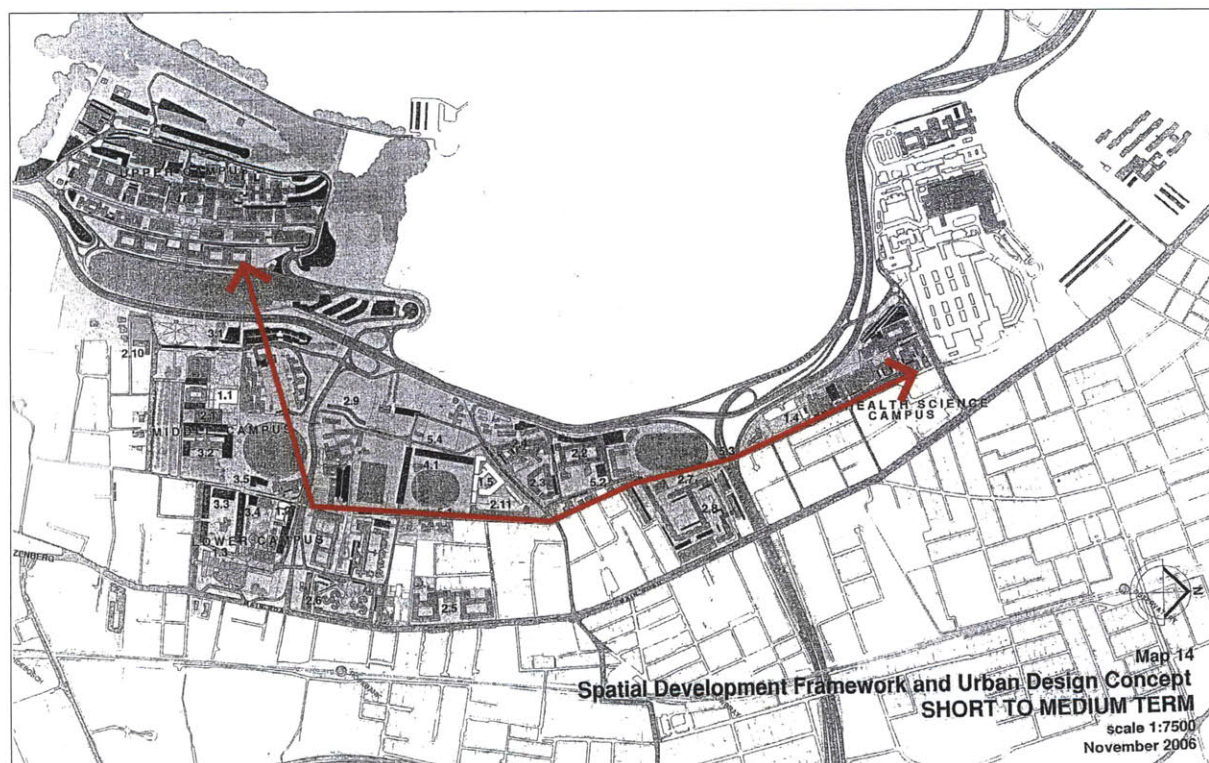

FIG. 5-5. DE BEER/DEWAR UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN DEVELOPMENT PLAN, 2006.

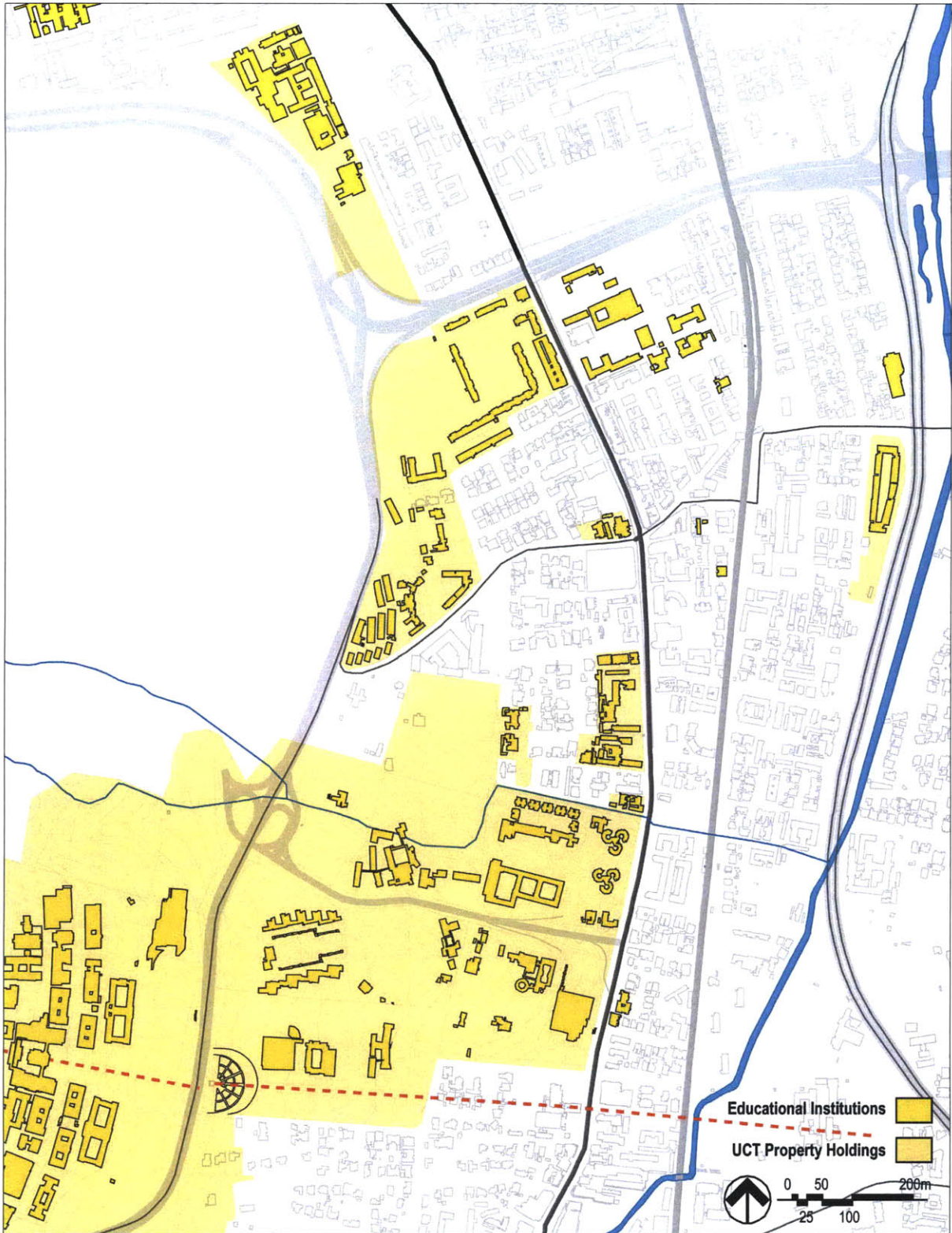**Educational Institutions**

UCT Property Holdings

FIG. 5-4. MOWBRAY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS MAPPING.

design response would serve to internalise the university community, formally delineating the physical edges of "town" and "gown" in a way that could only be detrimental to the opportunities for social network overlap. While the university's upper campus will, by virtue of its location on the mountain slopes above the city, always retain an element of the autonomy and distance Rhodes so desired for it, the proposed development framework plan would extend this aloofness to the more urban middle and lower campuses. The exploration undertaken in this study sees the physical and institutional overlap between the university and the neighbourhood of Mowbray as critical to the creation of integrative social networks. As such, an alternative plan for the university, and all of the educational institutions in the area, that reinforces these physical and social linkages must be proposed.

While the importance of the "outreaching" NGOs, the educational institutional layer of Mowbray and the physical connections to the University of Cape Town campus create three "neighbourhood pivots" around which a new design that looks to promote integration could be proposed, the extension of this network to the neighbourhoods to the east, on the Cape Flats, needs to be more closely examined.

Klipfontein Road remains the primary movement spine to the east of the neighbourhood, onto the outlying Cape Flats. A mapping of the road, overlaid with the location of all the crèche's, kindergartens, primary and high schools in the metropolitan region clearly indicates that this transport spine intersects a dense cluster of local schools within the city (**fig. 5-6**). A further overlay outlining the neighbourhoods where xenophobic violence has occurred reveals that Klipfontein Road is tangential to many of these urban areas. Stepping back and tracing the connection that Klipfontein Road provides between Mowbray and these spaces of xenophobia through the existing bus services, or perhaps even through an extension of UCT's private bus system that provides free transportation to students, it is clear that the opportunity exists for the social network overlap of the educational institutional networks of these distinct communities.

On the one end exists a community of disadvantaged and isolated youth, most of whom attend under-resourced schools in their neighbourhoods. As Varshney has noted, ethnic violence is most commonly perpetrated by young males between the ages of eighteen and thirty in these communities with histories of violence.[13] Reports from the local press indicate that this holds true for the city of Cape Town, and several stories highlight xenophobia within school settings, where immigrant children have been attacked by their South African classmates.[14] These reports also highlight the issue of language barriers within schools, noting that immigrant children believe their speaking French sets them apart to be taunted and attacked within the school environment.

This community of school-going South African and immigrant children is linked, along Klipfontein Road, to another community made up of foreign students, primarily consisting of Africans from the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Their community is centred at Mowbray, in the neighbourhood's student housing, rental flats and civic institutions, and they are often undertaking further studies in Cape Town without financial aid. Many of these students' counterparts who are not enrolled in tertiary educational institutions have similarly come to South Africa to better their English skills and to obtain higher qualifications (**fig. 5-7**).[15] They collectively hold an immense social resource through their knowledge of the languages that the immigrant children in the outlying schools are taunted for using, and display an eagerness to work towards obtaining further skills and English proficiency.
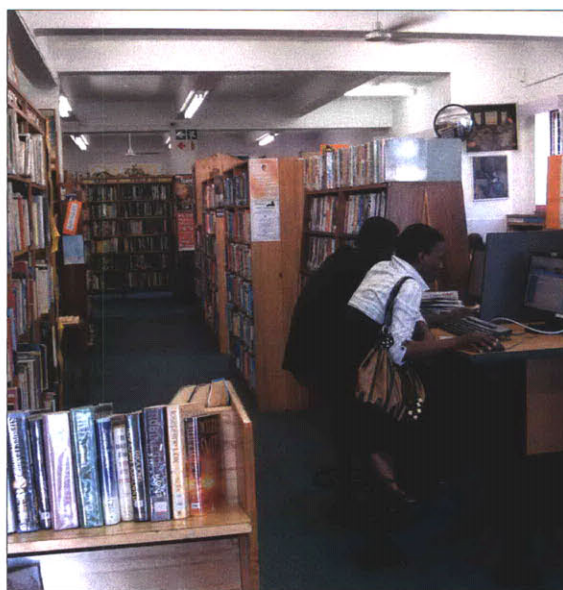

FIG. 5-7. MOWBRAY PUBLIC LIBRARY.

MOWBRAY
- Town halls, libraries
- Arts + cultural centres
- Schools (creche, primary, high)
- Railway lines + streets
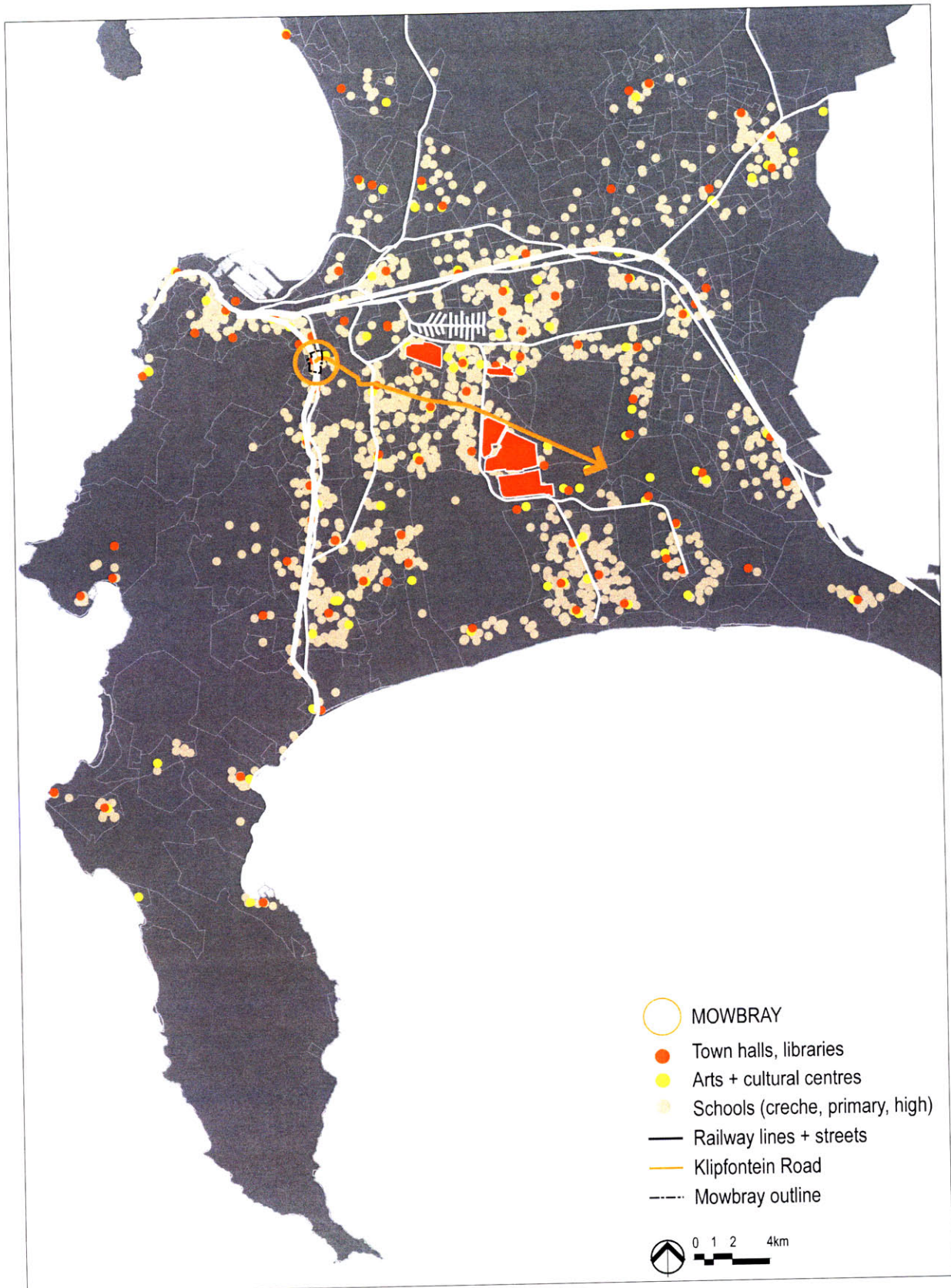- Klipfontein Road
- Mowbray outline

0 1 2 4km

FIG. 5-4. MOWBRAY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS MAPPING.

In extending ASSET's Saturday Schools Programme framework, which bridges educational spaces on the Cape Flats and at Mowbray, the Cape Flats schools and the community at Mowbray could be threaded together through a new civic institution in a way that is mutually beneficial to both. In this system, Mowbray's immigrant student population could volunteer to receive English skills and educational training at a new institution in Mowbray, adjacent to the existing Teachers' Training College. Through a remedial programme, the linkages along Klipfontein Road could allow them to use their skills in assisting immigrant children in their adaption to the South African school environment, while any scholar, foreign or otherwise, within the "hinterland" of the social network of this new institution could similarly travel up Klipfontein Road to gain tuition in the home languages of these foreign students, such as French, Swahili and Portuguese (**fig. 5-8**).

It is in this programming of the design that the fine line between assimilation of the children of foreign African immigrants and the allowance for them to retain their cultural backgrounds is negotiated. Through creating the opportunity for more senior foreign African students to become role models, and take an active part in helping these children adapt to their new environments, it is hoped that an outright assimilationist process could be avoided. Of course, in offering foreign language training to South African students, the necessary selection of teachers with proficiency in French, Portuguese and so on lessens the potential for the familiar accusation that the immigrants are "stealing" South Africans' jobs. It also provides an educational opportunity to South African school children that could, in the long run, allow for better mutual understanding and integration between the South African and immigrant communities in these outlying neighbourhoods.

While the metropolitan-scaled intervention is largely conceived of as a network, connecting schools in the region along Klipfontein Road without significant urban intervention, on the neighbourhood level a physical urban intervention could serve to rationalise and make imageable the landscape of existing NGO and educational institutions. It could create a new gateway to UCT's campus, physically connecting the university with those institutions that already provide crossover points for the intellectual and social networks of the neighbourhood (**fig. 5-9**).

The urban design proposed here seeks to forge this connection through the creation of a series of green courtyards, connecting the public transport interchange to the large court at Forest Hill, the northernmost UCT residence before the freeway, which marks the edge of the neighbourhood. This route favours the northeastern corner of the site, connecting the cluster of NGOs at the station to the existing Mowbray Public School and Teachers' Training College. This is one of Mowbray's most isolated corners, cut off on two sides by the freeway and the railway line. For this reason, traffic generally consists only of that generated by the residents, and the scheme must therefore favour the pedestrian experience. Similarly, each of these courtyard spaces which are forged between existing educational institutions are not foreseen as unprogrammed open public spaces, but instead are being tightly programmed by their associated and surrounding educational building fabric. The articulation of each of these spaces, however, and their visible connection to a primary movement spine through this edge of the neighbourhood seek to create a sense of "campus" among these currently isolated educational institutions.

The open field to the north of this neighbourhood quarter presents another opportunity for the development of a similar, formal and programmed green space in the neighbourhood. Cleared by the demolition associated with the building of the freeway, this narrow site stretches up to the Main Road, adjoining it at a point just before it bridges the fast-moving traffic below and continues northwards to the adjacent suburb of Observatory. This currently unarticulated neighbourhood gateway is also the entrance to UCT's Forest Hill residence, the largest of the local university residences, which together provide 5800 beds. The residence has a large, undeveloped courtyard space, into which the scheme extends. The construction of the new institute building similarly abuts the Main Road on the opposite edge, completing the urban strip, enhancing the creation of a neighbourhood gateway and physically interlinking the spaces of various educational and non-governmental institutions within the neighbourhood. The design intention is that the increased physical connection between these institutions will reinforce the existing social network overlaps that occur between them.
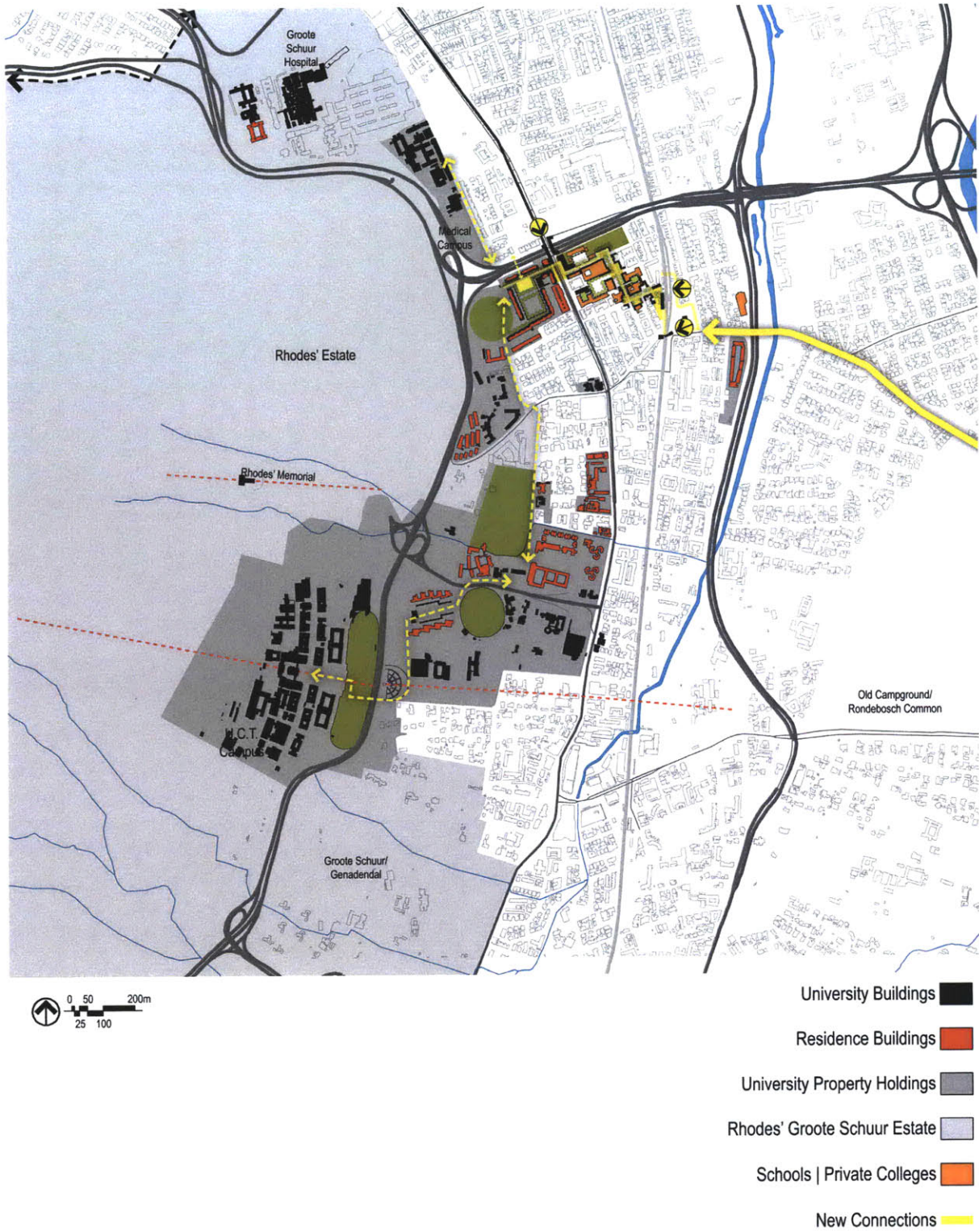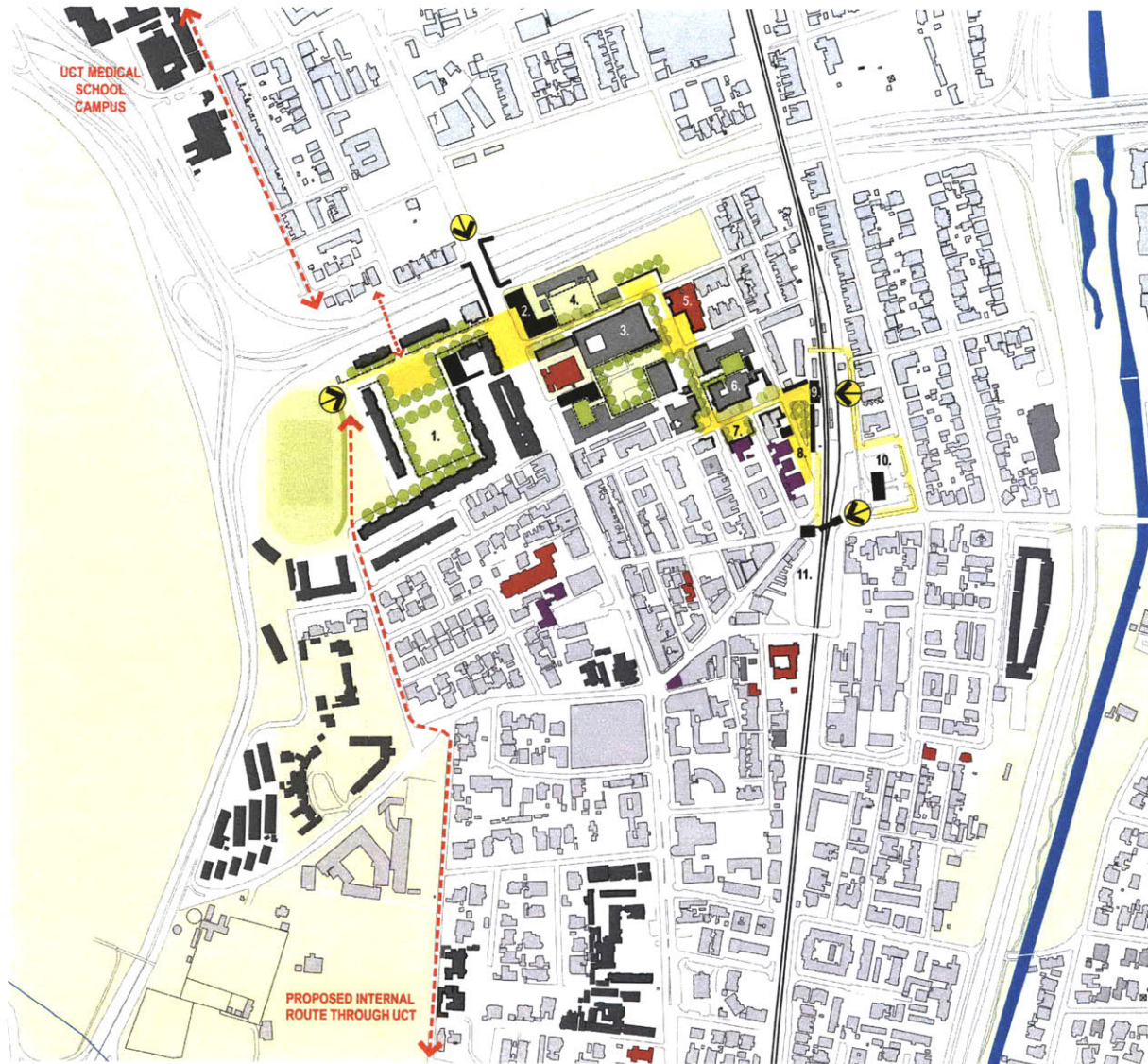
Groote
Schuur
Hospital

Medical
Campus

Rhodes' Estate

Rhodes' Memorial

U.C.T.
Campus

Groote Schuur/
Genadendal

Old Campground/
Rondebosch Common

0 50   200m
25 100

University Buildings	▉
Residence Buildings	▉
University Property Holdings	▉
Rhodes' Groote Schuur Estate	▢
Schools | Private Colleges	▉
New Connections	▬

FIG. 5-8. NEIGHBOURHOOD-SCALE: URBAN DESIGN INTERVENTION.

UCT MEDICAL SCHOOL CAMPUS

PROPOSED INTERNAL ROUTE THROUGH UCT

KEY:
1. FOREST HILL UCT RESIDENCE
2. NEW INSTITUTE FOR AFRICAN LANGUAGES
3. TEACHERS' TRAINING COLLEGE
4. THANDUKULU PRIMARY SCHOOL (TEMPORARY FACILITIES)
5. PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
6. MOWBRAY PUBLIC SCHOOL
7. EDUMEDIA
8. NGOs AND CIVIC ORGANISATIONS
9. MOWBRAY TRAIN STATION
10. MOWBRAY TAXI RANK
11. MOWBRAY BUS TERMINUS

10   60   240n
0   30   120

UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS

SCHOOLS | PRIVATE COLLEGES

CHURCHES | MOSQUES

CIVIC ORGANISATIONS

FIG. 5-9. DETAILED STUDY: URBAN DESIGN INTERVENTION.

The scheme thus also seeks to pivot UCT's campus eastwards, towards the station, further eroding the barriers between the space of the university campus and that of the neighbourhood. Even if the strong, internal north-south axis proposed in the latest development framework plan is constructed, this twisting of the university's orientation towards Mowbray and its train station would go some way towards disrupting its completely internalising effect.

On the level of the street, the new institute for foreign languages respects the existing typologies of the neighbourhood, providing an arcaded street edge with the potential for further commercial opportunity that has proven so crucial in the establishment of "banal micro publics" of integration. The scheme also purposely distances itself from the governmental programmes and institutions for foreigners, such as the embassies and the South African Home Affairs Department. This is because such programmes throw into stark relief issues of citizenship and their associated notions of belonging and foreignness, which prevent them from becoming spaces of integration. However, academic and civic organisations, such as the Southern African Migration Project, UCT's Department of African Studies and even Alliance Française could take up physical space within the new institution, again creating the physical proximity necessary for the establishment of academic networks of exchange.

Towards a new design theory for urban tolerance and integration

The paradigm of urban immigration on which this study focuses is as old as the industrial city. Yet immigration has developed into an important contemporary urban issue, as the so-called "global cities" become increasingly accessible to a broader cross section of humanity from all regions of the world. This has resulted in new cultural and social paradigms within the city that affect all urban citizens. Thus, the urban encountering of the Stranger continues within our contemporary cities, but its increased scale and intensity require that urbanists re-examine the spatial aspects of urban immigration and propose ways in which the city and its systems might be modified to better accommodate the immigrant.

While the study of the South African city might represent a unique case in the spectrum of cities that are playing host to new immigrant populations, it has relevance for the study of the hostile response to new urban immigrants in all cities. Nowhere has urban planning and design been brought to bear so thoroughly in segregating people in space, and in keeping the powerful minority and immigrant "other" apart. If spaces of integration and tolerance between the immigrant "other" and local community can be identified in this extreme urban landscape of segregation, they are likely to provide very strong clues as to the factors that would allow such spaces to emerge in other cities too.

Thus, the task of urbanists is to develop a system of locating and better understanding these spaces of tolerance, wherever they may be, as they provide important, often highly specific and localised urban lessons regarding the formal, institutional and spatial conditions for integration in the city.

The design theory advanced here in order to do exactly this takes certain aspects from both the postcolonial and Chicago School theory of immigration. Like the postcolonial theorists, it advances that the creation of urban conditions for tolerance and integration between immigrant and host communities is intricately connected to the local, institutional landscape the particular neighbourhood is able to provide. It holds that in such banal publics, individuals are able to build mutually beneficial social networks and associations without the immigrant "other" having to assimilate to a more dominant cultural identity, as the Chicago Model of the 1920s required.

However, the new postcolonial theory on urban immigration and identity does not spatialise its understanding of the importance of the physical, institutional urban conditions for tolerance, as the Chicago School did. Like the Chicago Model, the theory advanced here requires a detailed *spatial* reading. This spatial reading, however, should identify the specific institutional landscape in the city, and the potentials it holds for increased social and economic mobility for

those who partake in its networks, as well as the aspects of its increased physical accessibility through transportation infrastructure.

A city-wide model is rejected here in favour of a more sensitive and place-specific reading, yet the overall spatial concepts of the Chicago Model remain important: the location of immigrant communities in urban spaces where they can access those institutions that might provide them with the social, cultural and economic mobility to establish wider networks within the city, which would increasingly allow them to be dynamically connected to other communities and spaces.

This theory does not accept assimilation as the ultimate outcome of the dynamic integration of the immigrant into the space of the city. Instead, it practically seeks out those small spaces of the tolerance of difference, sheltered between the lines of more hostile urban practices, and looks for practical ways to extend the influence of these urban zones of tolerance to a wider hinterland of urban participants.

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[2] Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift, *Cities: reimagining the urban* (Cambridge Polity Press, 2002), 11.

[3] George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890 – 1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 227

[4] Ashutosh Varshney, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society," *World Politics* 53 (April 2001). 375.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] See Margaret Walton-Roberts, "Immigration, the University, and the Tolerant Second-Tier City," (working paper No. 69, CERIS – The Ontario Metropolis Centre, Ontario, October 2008)

[7] John Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), 219 – 234.

[8] For a more detailed discussion of this phenomenon, see chapter 4

[9] Daphne Wilson (former chairperson of MIRGE, SAIRR and ASSET), personal communication, 26 January 2009

[10] *Ibid*

[11] Daphne Wilson, *From Tribulation to Triumph. MIRGE 1976 – 1989* (Cape Town. Peter Chapman Repro & Print, 2002), 56.

[12] Piet De Beer and Dave Dewar, "University of Cape Town Rondebosch/Observatory Development Framework Plan," (report prepared for the University of Cape Town Physical Planning Unit, November 2006), 3

[13] Varshney, 370.

[14] *Cape Times*, 17 April 2007.

[15] Jonny Steinberg, "A Mixed Reception: Mozambican and Congolese Refugees in South Africa," Institute for Security Studies, Monograph No. 17, 2005: 2. For a more detailed discussion, refer to chapter 4

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Table Bay

Over the last fifteen years since the demise of apartheid South Africa, under a new democratic dispensation, has become host to several million immigrants from the rest of the continent. This has been paralleled by a rise in violent acts of xenophobia against an increasingly diverse immigrant population by those who consider themselves "legitimate citizens" of the new post-apartheid nation.

As with immigration worldwide, this is a particularly urban phenomenon. Yet in contrast to the urban theories on immigration which have developed in parallel with the emergence of the industrial city, specifically in the Chicago School writings of the 1920s, the South African city has a very particular cultural, historical and physical geography, deeply embedded with notions of race and belonging, and heavily influencing the perception of its new immigrants.

The question thus arises as to whether the international urban theories have any explanatory purchase in the South African case. Through analysing Cape Town according to these theories and examining the historical urban-planning responses to immigration and the "other" that have been employed since the colonial era, a few sites are identified in contemporary Cape Town in which a certain level of integration is occurring between immigrant communities and their host societies. It is argued that these sites show strong urban commonalities in terms of the formal and social environments they are able to provide.

One of these urban neighbourhoods, Mowbray, is examined in detail against a series of hypotheses drawn from the international theories and the metropolitan and historical understanding of the city. These relate to the specific aspects of urban space, grain of fabric and land markets present, the specific ideologies that have guided the making of the neighbourhood, and the effects of civic institutions and organisations in aiding the building of place-based social networks.

The analysis of how each of these aspects play out across the spatial and social landscape of the neighbourhood then informs the building of an urban theory and response to the spatial promoters of environments of integration in the city, recognising that while immigration is a very complex phenomenon, its urban location represents an opportunity for urbanism to be brought to bear on making the experience of immigrants less hostile.