REPRESENTING URBAN SOCIAL SPACE: MEDIA CONSTRUCTIONS OF eTHEKWINI'S INNER CITY

By:

Luthando Ngazile Ngema

203507660

Supervisor: Professor Nyasha Mboti

(University of the Free State)

Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, College of Humanities, School of Arts: Media and Cultural Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College, Durban, South Africa.

The financial assistance of the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, in collaboration with the South African Humanities Deans Association towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NIHSS and SAHUDA

Plagiarism Declaration

I, Luthando Ngazile Ngema declare that the research reported in this study, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research. This thesis has not been submitted for any other degree or examination boards at any other university. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing unless specifically acknowledged through in-text referencing and through the bibliography as being sourced from other scholars/researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then: firstly, their words have been re-written, but the general information attributed to them has been referenced, and Secondly, where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in quotation marks and referenced. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet unless specifically acknowledged, and the sources are detailed in the thesis footnotes as well as the reference section.

Signed

…… **DATE: 28 February 2025**

Luthando Ngazile Ngema

(Student)

…… **DATE: 3 March 2025**

Supervisor:

Prof Nyasha Mboti

To my late mother, Zandile Nonhlanhla Ngema.

Your memory and strength live through us.

Acknowledgements

A special thank you to my supervisor, Professor Nyasha Mboti. Prof Mboti joined this project during a tough time, and his belief in my work encouraged me to continue. We are sparring partners; I could call and vent my frustrations, and he was always there to listen and guide me through the process. Thank you, my friendly Prof.

Dr Rubeena Partab, thank you for your critical reading of my work and for constantly fighting off the imposter syndrome issues that I often encountered while writing this thesis.

Prof Smit, from the day you interviewed me to work at UKZN, you have been a silent encourager, and your mentorship for writing this thesis has been invaluable.

Prof Nobuhle Hlongwa, thank you Prof for your constant check-ins and encouragement. As the school's dean I work for, you have been a pillar of support, ngiyabonga.

My research assistant Ms Danita Naomi Hingston, thank you so much for all your hard work, especially in 2019, when were knee deep with data collection. A special thank you as well to Ms Phoebie Sakarombe, who held me when I was falling apart during the data analysis process. Thanks for all your assistance and patience with me.

My colleagues and sisters (and brothers) Abulele Njisane, Yolisa Kenqu, Muhle Sibisi, Zandile Madlabane-Luthuli, Vuyelwa Maweni, Mzwandile Makhoba (my brother), Ongezwa Mbele, Ayanda Khala, Noxolo Matete, Venencia Nyambuya, Shumba, Gugu Mazibuko, Nomcebisi Moyikwa, Pumelele 'Push' Nqelenga, Siphiwe Motloung, Siyasanga Tyali, Rofhiwa Mukhudwane, Mpumelelo Dludla, Tamantha Hammerschlag, Zama Mbatha ngiyabonga kakhulu for being my inspirations.

To my family: Nokwanda Ngema (sister), Mandlenkosi Bikelabani Ngema (ubaba wami), my brothers- Nhloso Ngema, Msizi Ngema, Nkululeko Ngema, Londiwe Ntuli - Ngiyabonga bo Dlokovu, for all your unwavering support, in whatever way it arrived.

My accountability teams -Zuleika Sheik, Ayanda Thlazi, Nkonzo Mkhize, Zandi Radebe, and Ayanda Khala - I enjoyed all our sessions, sharing our work and ideas, crying, laughing, and I'm so glad we have all reached our goals and will continue to prosper.

My friends, Melusi Mntungwa and Maqhawe Xaba- I appreciate you so much; I'm not sure I would have gone through each day without our daily catch-up.

Research group- FeMDeC, a powerhouse of black women in academia, who have held space for me in this institution in so many ways. Very clear mentorship.
My Peer Mentorship leadership- FEMA- thank you for fuelling enthusiasm for academia.
UKZN librarians provide top-tier service all the time.

My blessers:
The financial assistance of the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, in collaboration with the South African Humanities Deans Association towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NIHSS and SAHUDA.

Abstract

This study investigated the forms, meanings, and contours of contemporary urban culture, space, and identity in the South African port city and municipality of eThekwini/Durban. The production and representation of urban culture, identity and space were examined regarding media representations of the city and lived experiences of purposively selected participants, cultural actors, and practitioners who live and work in the city. Utilising the circuit of culture model, critical discourse analysis of local newspapers, and the participatory photovoice method, this qualitative study examined how the city exists as an object of ongoing and active practices of "city-making", negotiation, regulation, exchange, consumption, representation, and cultural production. Whereas the racially ordered space of apartheid "group areas" and "dormitory towns" was as openly enforced as it was resisted before 1994, it has now been replaced by democratised and seemingly non-racialised space. However, the coming of democracy has only intensified and sharpened the struggles over the meaning of urban space and belonging and identity. Indeed, the contest over urban space has intensified after 1994, but in ways that call for further and deeper study and analysis. This study has sought to contribute to this discourse of reimagining struggles over urban space and its meanings. The study finds that urban space emerges, more and more, as the product of the constant but uneven tension between the ordering and the dis-ordering of space. The outcome is neither purely ordered space (i.e., urban planning) nor dis-ordered space but a constantly negotiated and renegotiated spatial order whose final form is always emerging and is far from being definitive, conclusive, or decided. Crisis and contradiction are constant. In the study, the layered and contested "construction" of the city emerges as a fundamental theme in the study. The study found that, whereas eThekwini aspires to be a "global city" and flourishing hub of economic development, investment, and tourism, particularly since the hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, as well as a source of livelihood and "equal" opportunities for all its residents, the alienating and schizophrenic reality of the persistence of inequality, poverty, and exclusion, fed by the fraught histories of colonialism and apartheid, produce and reproduce a continuously contested and fragmented city. The urban culture, spaces and aspirations of eThekwini exist in non-stop (if productive) tension.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

iTheku

1.1 Introduction

This study sought to investigate and interrogate the contemporary meanings, production, representation, and "construction" of *urban space* in the South African east coast port city of eThekwini – a city of 3.9 million inhabitants (34,7% of the total population of the KwaZulu-Natal province) and one of the three major metropolitan cities in South Africa (alongside Johannesburg and Cape Town). eThekwini is described by the Indian Ocean Research Group (2010) as an "immensely cosmopolitan, polyglot and multi-confessional, diasporic [city]… in much of its dominant and labouring classes… diverse in its architecture, music and foods, and linked to oceans of the worlds through its busting port" (Soske, 2010). The isiZulu language is overwhelmingly spoken in eThekwini and in the province, with 50% to 60% of eThekwini's population being Africans. As the so-called "last outpost" of the British Empire, "Natal" hosts the most significant number of English-speaking whites in the country (Freund and Padayachee, 2002). There is also a large population of Indian South Africans, with eThekwini having the largest concentration of people of Indian origin outside India (Freund and Padayachee, 2002). Officially represented by the municipality logo of "a dark blue field, in the centre of which is a representation of the dome of the Durban City Hall in light blue with a white outline",[1] eThekwini was formed by bringing together the former municipal areas of Durban, Westville, Pinetown, Umhlanga Rocks, Umkomaas, and Amanzimtoti into one large municipality. Formerly known as Durban, and indeed for most people still known as Durban, eThekwini is where I was born, in the township of Umlazi. It is also where I grew up (in the township of KwaMashu) and where I now live and work.

The city in which I live and belong officially represents itself through the image and symbol of a colonial building, erected between 1906 and 1910 (at the time of the Union

[1] Berry, B. (2006). "eThekwini flag (2000)" https://www.crwflags.com/fotw/flags/za-kn-et.html

of South Africa), in Edwardian neo-baroque style, a replica of Belfast City Hall in Northern Ireland, is a fitting entry point to this study. The urban space of eThekwini exists in a continual tension between multiple conflicting pasts and a contemporary present, akin to what Gramsci (1971) term an *interregnum* – typically a situation whereby "the old is dying and the new cannot be born" (Gramsci, 1971: 184). Durban City Hall, soaked in "Britishness" and British architectural culture, as political, cultural and social symbolism represents a meeting point of past heritages that are dying but have not yet completely died and the "new" South Africa that is struggling to be born.

Gramsci (1971: 184) adds that, "in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear". This study is concerned with the great variety of symptoms, morbid or not, that eThekwini carries in its urban "texts". As a black woman, young mother, and South African citizen living in a putative post-apartheid city, questions about belonging and identity have always lingered. Before 1994, only Europeans (that is, white people) could be permanent residents and citizens of Durban by virtue of being South African citizens. South African cities were white cities. Africans like me (and my father, mother, and siblings) belonged in the fringes, locations, townships, and hostels, as temporary sojourners who could only be in the city to work (mostly poorly paid, low skilled and semi-skilled jobs) and only if carrying an up-to-date *dompas (identity document).* Those identified as Coloureds and Asians/Indians lived in their own segregated townships. Where KwaMashu, Lamontville and Umlazi were exclusively for black people (cf. Dlungwane 1993), for example, Wentworth and Newlands were exclusively for Coloureds (cf. Chari 2009), and Chatsworth and Phoenix were exclusively for Indians (cf. Vahed and Desai 2013). This fragmentation, exclusion, and disenfranchisement expressed, and continues to express, the heritage of colonialism and apartheid.

Fig 1.1. eThekwini municipality logo, with its undying colonial symbolism.

Thus, the creation of so-called “group areas” and “dormitories” on the fringes and outskirts of “white” cities caused severe and permanent fragmentation in urban spaces and urban culture. For example, Soweto is a “dormitory” on the outskirts of Johannesburg, just as Mamelodi (and Soshanguve and so on) is a dormitory for Pretoria/Tshwane-Mamelodi, Umlazi (and KwaMashu and so on) for Durban/eThekwini, Khayelitsha (and Langa, Gugulethu and so on) for Cape Town, and New Brighton for Port Elizabeth, and so on. This fragmentation is proving difficult to undo and heal.

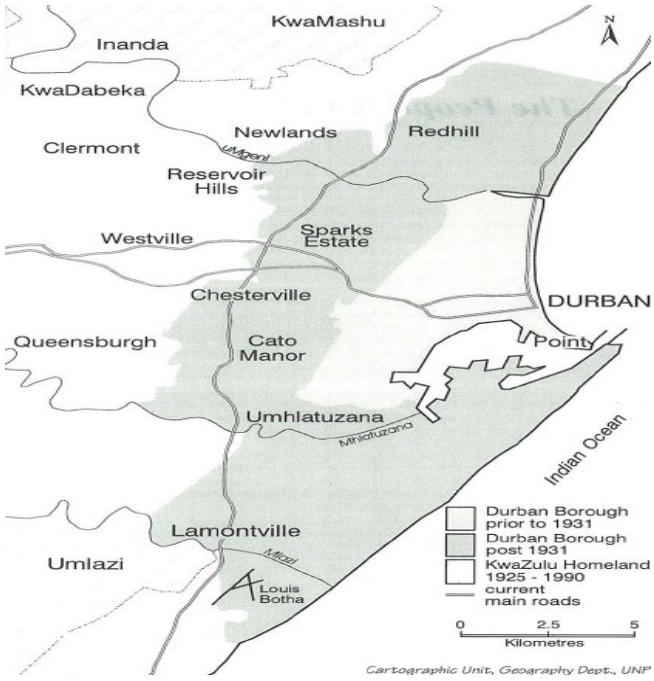

Fig 1.2. Map of the greater Durban area in the 1990s, before incorporation into eThekwini.

As I write these lines, South Africa celebrates 30 years of democracy. So, what meanings does the city now have for its formerly dispossessed and excluded residents? What has happened to what Coquery-Vidrovitch (2014: 1) calls “authoritarian residential segregation” that characterised urban life for Africans under colonialism and apartheid? What access to the city now exists? How is the city experienced and “felt” by us? After all, Black, Indian, and Coloured townships still exist – still poor and unequal. What used to be white suburbs are still overwhelmingly white, with a sprinkling of the black middle class. Africans are still overwhelmingly poor – as they were under apartheid. They still spend a lot of their income and time commuting to work, on trains, buses, and minibus taxis.

Fig 1.3. The architecture sculpture at the front of Durban City Hall, showcasing pan-European motifs, taste, and symbolism.

Yet, at the same time, many visible changes exist. Universities, schools, and the beaches have been de-segregated. “Whites Only” signs no longer exist, and access to the city is not restricted on the basis of the race. Slogans in the marketing by the city’s authorities proclaim that the city is a modern precinct that belongs to all who live

in it, and which offers equal opportunities to all to thrive, create, live, and work. Moreover, the city aspires to be a globally significant centre of culture, tourism, economic development, and investment. Given this situation, this study sought to map the contemporary public memory of the city in terms of how its urban space is represented in selected media and experienced by some of its cultural practitioner residents. How do the appearances of economic development, desegregation and newfound social cohesion measure up to the realities of belonging, living and working in formerly colonial and apartheid spaces?

Habitat III, the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development, held in Quito, Ecuador, in 2016, spelt out an expansive "new urban agenda" where, faced with a world urban population that was expected to nearly double, urbanisation was to be "one of the 21st century most transformative trends" (UN, 2016: 3). Habitat III followed Habitat II (held in Istanbul, Turkey, in 1996) and Habitat I (held in Vancouver, in 1976). All three mega conferences sought to map "universal urban agenda" that would address rapid urbanisation. The object of my study, eThekwini, is one of those highly urbanised population centres that continues to face the same crises and issues identified in Habitat I, II, and III, and thus requires a new urban agenda itself. But what would a new urban agenda for eThekwini look like? To outline such an agenda, it is necessary to understand how the city's aspirations for transformation are mediated and experienced. Masinga (2014) argues that eThekwini has, in fact, gone through a cycle of segregation, desegregation, and then re-segregation. Essentially, we are back where we started, with apartheid and colonialism, even if on the surface we live in a democracy. The segregation-desegregation-re-segregation cycle observed by Masinga (2014) contradicts the "transformative trends" of the UN Habitat III.

To assess if, how, and whether things are changing in eThekwini, my study utilises texts that are produced within the city's everyday contexts, specifically media and photovoice texts. These allow the researcher to offer a nuanced perspective on the meanings of urban space, how it shapes identities, and the forms that urban culture takes. In the course of everyday urban life, texts, accounts and narratives are produced and reproduced, articulated and re-articulated, formed and re-formed, read

and re-read, interpreted, appropriated and re-appropriated, as part of the ever-intersecting complex productive cycle of urban life and "urbanity" (cf. Jayne, 2006). The claim by the city of eThekwini, on its website, that it will, by 2030, be Africa's "most caring and liveable city", needs to be interrogated and examined. What is a "caring" city? How does a city evolve to become "caring"? Can urban space be caring"? Who defines if a city is "liveable"? eThekwini's aspirations for transformative, cohesive "cityness" and for local economic development and "social upliftment" (cf. eThekwini Municipality, 2011) exist in a constant tension not only with seemingly rigid local realities but also with global aspirations – seen, for instance, in hosting costly international mega events and in the twinning strategies of the "sister cities" projects (where eThekwini has forged "sister-city" arrangements with Bremen, Antwerp, New Orleans, Rio de Janeiro, Chicago, Bulawayo and Xiamen, among others) – and global realities of economic cycles, market shifts, and global crises such as pandemics, climate change, and conflicts. Any adequate account of the "production" of the city must necessarily take all these elements into consideration.

Fig 1.4. On its website, the city of eThekwini boasts that, by 2030, it will be Africa "most caring and liveable city".

Furthermore, a methodology is needed that interprets what "voices" on the ground are saying. Such a methodology must imbue these voices with agency. This is where participatory photovoice comes in. One notices that visitors to the city's municipality website are greeted with the assertion that "eThekwini Municipality is the only Metro in the KwaZulu Natal Province with a budget of over 50 billion to deliver services to change people's lives for the better,"[2] bearing witness to the organising ethos of "transformation". But, to get a feel of whether people's lives have been changed for the better, or how lives have been changed for the better, one must study the "texts" of people's quotidian lives. The interpretation of voices from below is a key task of this study.

[2] https://www.durban.gov.za/pages/government/about-ethekwini

1.2 Motivation for this study

The spaces we inhabit and from which we make our livelihoods are meaningful to us because they shape who we are, our identities, how we see ourselves, and how we relate with others. In South Africa, as in most other spaces in the global south that went through colonialism, urban spaces come to embody coloniality. The burden of apartheid is specific to South Africa and marked urban planning through influx laws and the Group Areas Act. Any urban culture in South Africa would carry the scars of segregation. While some, such as Maylam (1990) speak in terms of the "rise and decline of urban apartheid", suggesting that apartheid declined in the 1990s (and had effectively "died" by 1994), Masinga (2014) talks of a cycle "segregation-desegregation-resegregation". If Masinga (2014) is correct (and Gramsci's (1971) notion of the interregnum would suggest that her view can be theoretically corroborated), then nothing should be given in South Africa's urban landscape just as nothing is given in its political, social, economic, and cultural history. This study takes the same motivation and positionality that nothing should be given in an interrogation of identity and lived experience, particularly where the shadow of colonialism and apartheid.

Of interest, three decades after the formal end of apartheid, is a form of "taking stock" of our city spaces, urban cultures and identities. How far have we come as a society? How far are we still to go in terms of access, non-racialism, non-sexism, and true inclusivity? Where slogans end, systematic studies must begin. As already noted in the opening paragraph of this "Introduction", cities and urban spaces in South Africa were spaces of whiteness which marked blackness as foreign and alien. The construct of coloniality – the coloniality of power (cf. Quijano 2000) and the coloniality of being (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013) – suggests strongly not only that many of the vestiges of colonial "Natal" remain, but also that they infect contemporary "uses", consumption, and production of the city and its urban spaces. The "Phoenix Massacre" of 2021, when dozens of innocent and unsuspecting Africans were brutally murdered in the Indian township of Phoenix in an orgy of violence following news of widespread looting in the city (Erasmus and Hlangu, 2021), suggests that as a society we are not very far

from the racial crises of the past. The “white” suburbs are often safely buffered from these infernos and outbreaks of social instability.

In the third decade of democracy, the city is still not an entirely safe space for “Umuntu omnyama” (the black person). For example, whenever serious flooding happens in eThekwini, nearly year after year, it disproportionately affects poor black people in the townships and informal settlements. The fears and anxieties that have affected black people (and, broadly, the global poor) since Habitat I in 1976, through Habitat II in 1996 and Habitat III in 2016, are prone to a cycle of recurrence. By the time of Habitat IV, one fears that the rhetoric and slogans of “liveable cities” will be left far behind the reality of precarious life in the real world of “rough” cities where episodes of crisis expose contradictions, divisions, and powder kegs that can blow any time. I have embarked on this study partly because of my real fears and anxieties as a black woman and mother to a young son. What kind of city, city space, urban culture and human identity are we leaving to our children? Through this study I have hoped to provide some diagnosis and reflection.

The eThekwini municipality’s website carries a graphic that notes that 13.3% of the city’s 3.9 million population live in shacks. That means 518 394 people – well over half a million. While the graphic also notes self-congratulatorily that 81.5% live in formal dwellings, there is such a wide variety and disparity of formal dwellings as to make this statistic misleading. For instance, most townships have houses that can be described as “formal”. However, these are structures that occupy a continuum between apartheid “matchbox” (NE – Non-European) houses and “RDP” houses constructed by the government after 1994 following Joe Slovo’s stint as Minister of Housing. Many of the yards of these “formal” houses have backyard shacks. When flooding happens in eThekwini, it disproportionately affects poor people who live in both informal housing (shacks) and formal housing of the RDP and “matchbox” category. Most people in eThekwini – indeed the overwhelming majority – live in the matchbox and RDP form of “formal” housing. Many others also live in apartheid era and post-1994 hostels and compounds which are affected by overcrowding, inhospitable conditions, crime, and violence. Amenities are lacking or inadequate in all the formal housing of the townships. Houses in middle income suburbs are larger

and better built than those in the crowded township. The best houses are found in the “white” suburbs where flooding rarely causes widespread destruction and loss of life. The fact that the city of eThekwini effaces all these disparities under a statistic filled graphic shows the importance of going beyond appearances and surfaces.

Fig 1.5. A typical 3-roomed apartheid era “matchbox” house

Of particular concern is the apparent acceptance and normalisation of these disparities – as long as 81.5% live in formal housing. It becomes apparent that the city’s idea of a caring and liveable city is one where disparities are normalised and the poor can live side by side with the affluent. There is so much disparity hidden in the figure of 81.5% formal housing that the graphic can be labelled false advertising. From above, formal housing is a single category. On the ground, the category masks a continuum that stretches from substandard dwellings to the most expensive condos in the country. Hence the image below, adapted from Andersson (2016), exposing the big “Ponzi” scheme behind global economic inequality indicators and measures that use sanitised statistics and weighting to normalise wide divisions between the rich and poor.

The dynamics “urbanity”, combined with the expressed ambitions of the urban authorities to “bring” growth and equality to South African society have been critiqued in terms similar to those in the illustration below where the threshold of “equality” connotes unchanging sameness and more of the same. The “equality” does not trickle

down to the lived urban setting, despite what is envisioned in the new spatial plans that claim to aim to move away from apartheid city planning. So, in order for cities to reach the “equity’ threshold, what “other” dynamics have to be evaluated? Such other dynamics are what this study examines. These include unpacking the identities, culture and meaning making. Such investigation incorporates the history of African cities and how this history will affect the future of urban structures and systems. Cities and urbanism, in the twenty-first century, as Pieterse (2008: 1) contends, are significant “high stakes” places and settings which requires us to pin down “what cities are, in thinking about what to do with cities and in acting on/in / through the city, especially if one wants to bring life more liberating and just futures” (Pieterse 2008: 1). Urbanisation emerges as a puzzle with many moving parts to solve.

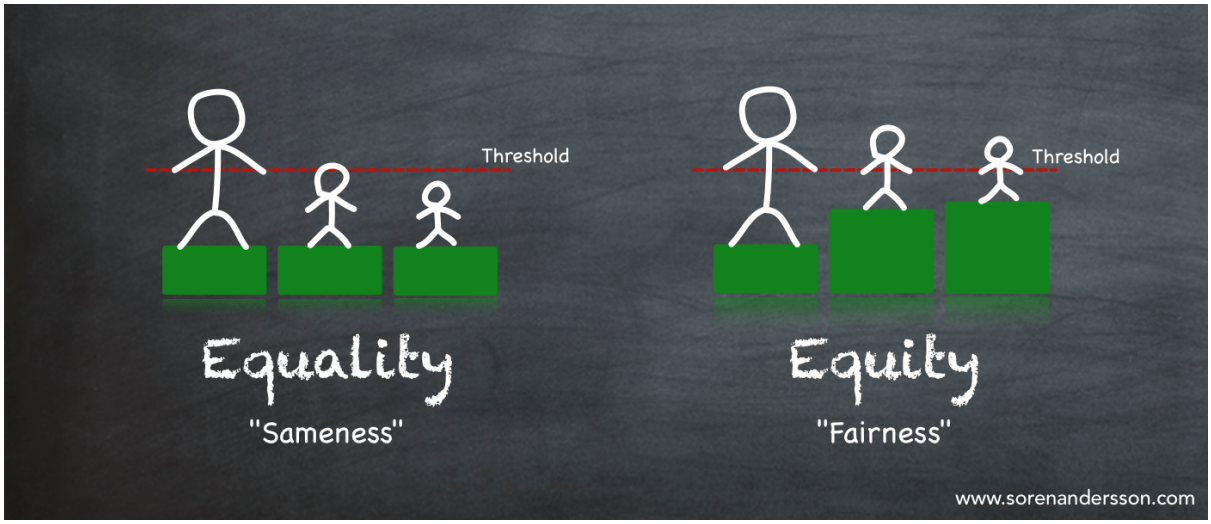

Fig 1.6. Thresholds of inequality

In terms of the progression of urbanisation in major South African cities, urban development is sometimes invoked in the development of new urban cultures and urban structuring determined to bring economic change (Zhang et al., 2023). This urban (re)structuring can be seen in significant infrastructural improvements with central business districts. Old and run-down parts of the city are regenerated through the creation of “precincts”. This is the case, for example, in Johannesburg with the Maboneng Precinct. This space is defined as a “district that has fast become a centre of creative energy for Johannesburg’s urban artist” (Maboneng Precinct, n.d.). This district boasts a fusion of restaurants, coffee shops, clothing boutiques, art galleries, and retail and studio spaces. The area is reputed to have boosted the inner-city

tourism of Johannesburg, appealing to both domestic and international travellers to the city, through an all “inclusive vibe” (Maboneng Precinct, n.d.).

The progress and process of urbanisation and urbanity in Africa tends to be uneven. Mbembe (2015: 53) notes this when referring to major cities in Africa such as Lagos, Johannesburg, Kinshasa, Nairobi, Luanda, Dakar and Abidjan which he says, “have continued to expand in relatively uncontrolled, decentralised if not random way since the 1980s” (Mbembe 2015: 53). Thus:

> Today these cities are better understood as largely de-terrorised mega-regions with multiple urban enclaves. Their myriad public spaces are increasingly privatised. Novel patterns of trans-regional migrations, settlements and high consumption are transforming their economic and cultural fabric, paving the way for highly stylised and hybrid or creolised forms. Visible and invisible networks of social and economic exchange participate in, but are also separate from the mainstream flows of global capita, real and fictitious. One of their defining features is not only their disjunctive social geography, but also the way in which humans and non-humans are linked together in heterogeneous and often unrecognised assemblages that contribute to the making of the unique urban civilisation (Mbembe 2015: 53).

That is, African cities are growing, but not necessarily “conventionally” or evenly. The meanings and uses of these urban spaces are also fiercely contested. To understand such spaces on their own terms, a nuanced, “Africanised”, and “decolonised” perspective might be necessary.

Thus, African city spaces are expanding, building, and growing, yet are scarred with modern day segregation, often through privatisation of public spaces. The future is intertwined and interspersed with the present and the past, with claims about growth set against the contradictions of history and uneven access. The post-94 era in South Africa has seen a complex interplay between liberal democratic ideals and neoliberal economic policies in urban governance and nation-building (Makhulu, 2015). Despite the end of apartheid in 1994, South African cities have witnessed an expansion of dispossession associated with South African neoliberalism perpetuated. A city like Johannesburg, for instance, particularly after apartheid, is described as “is an incomplete city, a hybrid and impermanent agglomeration of small realizations and unfulfilled promises…. Over the past several decades, the whole has gone to pieces, as centrifugal forces have pulled the cityscape outward, tearing away the historic urban core and dispensing with the rigid modernist codes of legibility, functionality,

and formality" (Murray, 2011: 25). Cape Town, another major city in South Africa, refers to itself as a global brand, and boasts of its thriving financial and property and business services, at 32 % of its local economy, aiming to grow as a manufacturing city which produces 13% of South African manufacturing sector (Cape Town, 2019). The study on Cape Town informal settlements by Makhulu, in 2015, reveals a contesting dilemma that "even today, 'the right to the city' is contested and squatters continue in their battles for access to the urban environment, encountering one another "concretely" in negotiating over the terms of establishing permanency". Yet, like Johannesburg, Cape Town is a hybrid of space of dissonant cultures, racialisation, inequality, economic growth, and uneven city-making. Understanding these cities as marginal spaces as both reflections of political-economic conditions and as spaces through which identity, citizenship, and alternative social agendas emerge and are fought over remains central to making freedom in its effort to better explain urban struggles both before and after the political transition from apartheid (Makhulu, 2015).

With this backdrop of the urban cultural landscape of African and South African cities, this study focuses on eThekwini to interrogate its claims about development and progress from the point of view of those who create everyday "culture" in its spaces. If eThekwini is poised for economic growth reminiscent of other global cities, who is this economic change for? Who produces the culture that gives eThekwini its reputation? Who "consumes" the culture and with what outcomes? These questions help to probe the status quo in eThekwini, how such a status quo is maintained, and in whose interest it is maintained. Regarding change, in whose interest is it that change to occur, and which sort of change is permitted? Thirdly, what can we learn about these questions from the perspective of contemporary meaning-making and cultural production in the city? Which identities and cultures dominate and why? Fourthly, how are eThekwini's history, demographics, urban planning, and racial make-up shaping change and stasis in the city? Finally, the study interrogates how the eThekwini municipality's priorities regarding urban space, planning, and utilisation reflects the "unevenness" of development in a contemporary African city. Ultimately, the study interrogates the interplay of city identities, meaning making, representation cultural production, memory, communication, everyday practices, and development, to understand the "consumption" and "construction" of urban space. The theme of the

representation and construction of the urban space of eThekwini is at the heart of this study.

1.3 Problem Statement, research objectives and questions

The study interrogates the construction and representation of urban space in eThekwini to understand the interplay and intersection of history, memory, place, urbanisation, urbanity, urban development policies, meaning-making, identity, and cultural practice in a contemporary African city. The nuances of "social space" are prevalent beyond the infrastructural design of architects and urban planners (Lefebvre, 1974). Rather, "social space" exists through the intersecting trajectories of power, economic exchange, histories, social constructions, politics, political relations, culture and cultural exchange, and economic influences (Lefebvre, 1974; Larkin, 2010; Hall et al., 2013; Jayne, 2006). Together, these factors overlap and contribute to the complexities of "social space" in a city, including the nuances, contestations, tensions, contradictions, and possibilities. The study is preoccupied with examining these complexities and capturing their nuances in eThekwini.

Thus, the first objective is to understand how the city and its urban spaces are represented and constructed. How does eThekwini emerge as a site, relation, and object of identity, cultural practice, meaning making, production, relation, and exchange? What do the representation and construction inform us about the whole "circuit" of culture – production, consumption, identity, regulation and representation? The second objective is to evaluate the shifts happening in the city's urban spaces, such as the central business district, in terms of social, economic, cultural, and artistic production and formation, and how and if these aspects contribute to shaping the image and vision of the city. Considering that, in terms of human and financial resources, the eThekwini municipality ranks as one of the richest in the country (Breetzke, 2009), the aspect of economic development looms large in this study. The municipality has the thickest population density outside Gauteng, has a successful industrial sector that includes the manufacturing and tourism industries, and the most important port by value in South Africa. The final objective draws on the first and second to establish how eThekwini is represented and constructed in an ever-changing global economy and global culture. The study thus addresses the following questions:

- How do eThekwini-based newspapers represent and construct the city as a site of production, consumption, culture, identity, and regulation?
- What does the representation, construction, and consumption of eThekwini's urban space highlight about the city's aspirational discourse as a "global" city?

The first question situates the study of the city within the so-called "circuit of culture" (Hall, 1997). This model interrogates the interplay of media discourse, identity, production, exchange, and cultural formation, allowing us to unpack the city as a cultural object and as a site of identity formation, cultural production, and everyday exchange. The second question attempts to frame and understand the representation and construction of the city in terms of the future, including testing its aspirations to being a "global" city against the perceptions, realities and experiences unfolding "on the ground".

1.4 Location of the study: Defining eThekwini – "*eThekwini not Durban*"

> *The apartheid regime prided itself on its fine roads built with cheap, black labour. These roads were symbols of power. Road signs denoted white towns while black squatter camps were hidden from view, their names excluded from highway exits. (Fox 2000: 449)*

Throughout the study, the isiZulu name eThekwini is preferred to the colonial name Durban.[3] The name eThekwini, the locative form of the Zulu noun *itheku*, for a "bay", "creek", or "lagoon" (the root word *iTeku* means "bay of the sea", from the name *Mtheku*), was used by the Indigenous inhabitants of the area and is now used officially by the municipality. On the other hand, Durban is the name given in 1835 in honour of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the governor of the Cape Colony from 1834 to 1837. The preference for eThekwini (the "place of the bay or lagoon" in Zulu), and occluding of Durban, is deliberate to frame what bell hooks (1990) terms a radical black subjectivity. It is the same choice that one has when choosing to refer to Port Elizabeth as Gqeberha or Grahamstown as Makhanda, or Pretoria as Tshwane, for instance. That

[3] There will be occurrences where I switch to calling the city "Durban". This is mostly due to direct quotations in the literature, or to attach coloniality to the use. If I do it inadvertently, it serves to highlight the resilience of coloniality.

these renaming's, or restoration of old names, may be considered controversial is important as it serves to foreground coloniality – the persistence of colonial modes of being in the present. The tension between eThekwini and Durban is important in my study for this reason of making transparent the continued power of coloniality and the need to undo it. bell hooks asserts that when black people are in oppressive struggles, they are objects. To transcend this being "dominated, the oppressed, the exploited [there is a need to make themselves] subjects" (hooks, 1990: 15).

In 1994, South Africa became a democracy, moving to a vision of more inclusive society where human rights (for all) were considered and equality and the non-racial development of all citizens was enshrined through the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, No 108 of 1996. This shift, from the old South Africa to the "new" meant that the National Party and its politics had to end and a new South Africa born. Using new names or restoring old ones is part of the struggle over the past. I specifically position my choice of eThekwini over Durban as a personal act of subjectivity. The insistence on using eThekwini is thus based on the necessity "to become", to make oneself *anew*. This simultaneously expresses and contests the ideal of a new South Africa. eThekwini is my performative resistance, the way bell hooks insisted on using small letters in her names. This use is disruptive of the normative. "Resistance", bell hooks says, "is that struggle we can most easily grasp. Even the most subjected person has moments of rage and resentment so intense that they respond, they act against" (hooks, 1990: 15). Durban, the colonial-apartheid name, falls out due to such resistance. As noted, the place has always been known as "eThekwini" to the indigenous people (Koopman, n.d.). eThekwini has always been present as an unofficial, parallel African name. The colonial project to take over, erase, and disregard African things and African names is the one that resulted in the official institution of Durban over eThekwini. This study operationalises its form of counter-erasure.

The politics of renaming in the South African democratic context was since the "Road Name Change Act of 2007". During this time, South Africa was in the process of 'transformation', which aimed to break away from the colonial-apartheid past to redefine national symbols, memory sites, national holidays, renaming towns and cities, and their roads and buildings. The change of road names in 'Durban' has been

contested since the first erection of new names in 2008. By 2011, the South African Supreme Court of Appeals ordered the municipality to replace nine new street names with the old ones because they failed to conduct proper consultations in line with legislation (Oregeret, 2015). Oregeret notes that throughout history, renaming has been a central element of the transformation process worldwide; however, South Africa's central argument for name-changing is eliminating the colonial geography (2015). Post-colonial scholars like Carter *et al.* (1993) and Clarkson (2008) discuss renaming from two positions. Firstly, the position of space and place, and secondly, the position of the *namer*. Carter *et al.* argue that 'space' is identified once named, becoming a 'place': "Place is space to which meaning has been ascribed."(1993, xii). Clarkson further reminds us that the name is always a white Christian European man who assigns names to himself. Ultimately, "that name-place is at a complex intersection of social, cultural and historical routes " (Clarkson, 2008: 135). 'Durban' renaming, therefore, carries a colonial legacy and the *namers'* objective.

Fig 1.7 and 1.8: eThekwini street names in 2023

The tussle over whether to use Durban or eThekwini reflects a larger ongoing tussle over naming and renaming in eThekwini, particularly street names (see Figs 1.7. and 1.8. above). This tussle, by extension, reproduces the contestations over meaning and identity that this study focuses on. Thus, some historians have previously expressed the "concern" that changing street names in the city will erode the city's history (cf. Savides, 2008). Yet the history that these historians seem to care for is exclusionary; it elides and occludes various other histories that make up the city (cf. Miller, 2009). The preference for Durban over eThekwini is not innocent. Instead, it normalises

excluded Indigenous names and breaks away from normative colonialism naming. Thus, the ongoing renaming of streets, replacing old colonial names with those of “struggle heroes” such as Joe Slovo and KE Masinga, reflects the political shift towards a more inclusive South Africa and represents the decolonising urban space.

1.5 Mapping the location of the study

eThekwini is a large city, and the study does not cover all its spaces. Instead, only specific sites within the city are purposively selected to carry out the study. For instance, the CBD, the city parks, the inner city, galleries, selected townships, the beach, and city landmarks have been highlighted. The city’s social and cultural contours flow into and from these places. Furthermore, these sites are essential as entry points to the study of how media platforms, including social media, print media and online media platforms, and the voices of ordinary people who work, play, and dwell in the city frame the representation and construction of the city. How the city sees itself (see Fig 1.4.), including its aspirations to be a “global city”, are tested through these sites and their lenses.

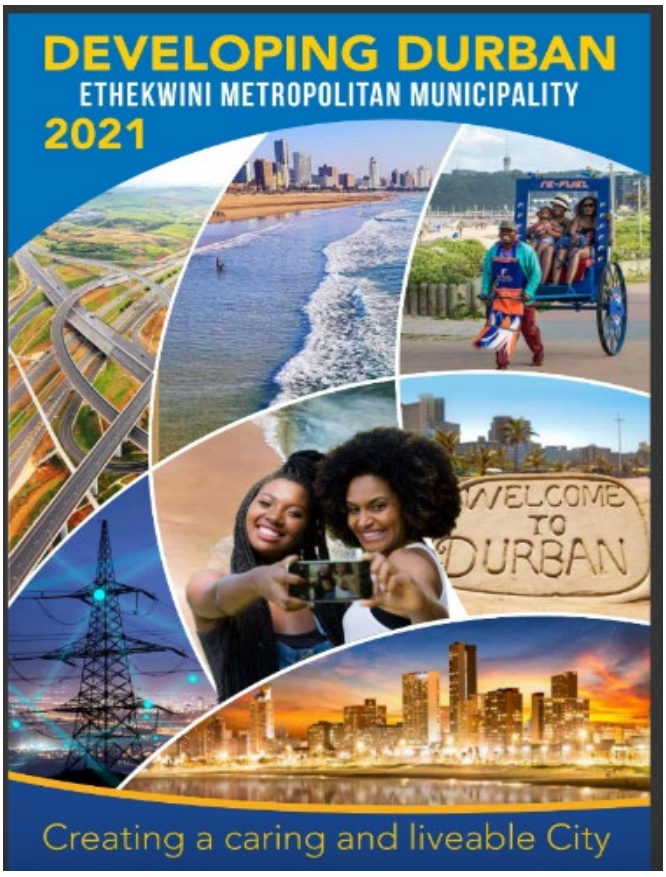

Fig 1.9 “Creating a caring and liveable city”: eThekwini collage (Source: *Developing Durban* magazine, 2021)

The magazine cover above depicts a collage of images drawn from a corpus that the eThekwini municipality’s marketing apparatus considers symbolic and iconic features. These include the spaghetti roads, pylons, the ocean, the beach promenade, the rickshaw rides, and sand art. Tourism, infrastructure, economic development, the landscape, and the city's vastness are marketed as drawcards. This “display” is consistent with how the municipality has engaged stakeholders in urban renewal, urban aesthetic, gentrification, “rejuvenation”, and development of eThekwini’s social space, in addition to showcasing its ambitions to grow economically through tourism, trade, manufacturing and developmental hubs. Cultural institutions such as museums and art galleries, and sites of popular commerce and recreation such as shopping centres, malls, and entertainment spots, seen as contributing to cultural life and economic regeneration, are centred. The magazine cover portrays a progressive, well-maintained, modern city with state-of-the-art infrastructure and happy tourists. This public relations project speaks to tourists, technocrats, and investors, while the punchline “Creating a caring and liveable city” is a nod to the city’s inhabitants but almost an afterthought. This tension between the city as a public relations object and the city as a place for work and livelihoods is present in the analysis throughout the study.

1.6 Theorising the City and the Circuit of Culture in eThekwini

In a country as unequal as South Africa, where “racial identities and hierarchies that are intertwined into social systems like law, labour, social power, knowledge and ideology” (Modiri 2012: 405) and where colonialism and apartheid were “instrumental in promoting capital accumulation by restricting skill acquisition largely to whites and facilitating the exploitation of cheap black labour” (Simon, 1989: 190), it is not surprising that the world operates through the frames of the haves and the have-nots. This fundamentally plays out, in this study, in the perceptions about eThekwini by its ordinary people, the experiential talk about unequal lives and ways of experiencing life in eThekwini, and the “discourse” in the purposively selected media accounts. Inequality, unsurprisingly, is also where “power” and regulation manifest themselves, as contests take place about who gets what and who goes where in the urban spaces.

Thus, exploring the interface of “power” and identity is an essential dimension of how this study seeks to understand eThekwini as an urban space. Castells has defined power as a fundamental process in society based in the “relational capacity that enables a social actor to influence asymmetrically the decisions of other social actors (s) in ways that favour the empowered actors will” (2009:10). If power is relational, then an important takeaway is that the study of cities requires a broad, synthetic approach that recognises that everything is connected to everything else (Knox and Pinch, 2013). This approach adapts and utilises the “circuit of culture” as the theoretical lens for this study in a manner suited to excavating how livelihoods, identity, belonging, and power converge to produce notions of urban space and in the production and reproduction of space (Hall et al., 2013; Lefebvre, 1974). This study extends the examination of power relations to spatial planning and human geographies to understand urban cultures and identities. Since cities in South Africa were built from a structure that “invisibilised” the oppressed who existed on the margins of these urban spaces, it is worthwhile considering the assertion by McKittrick (2006) in *Demonic grounds* that there is a need for philosophical attention on how human hierarchies in place rectify uneven geographies in familiar, seemingly natural ways. Specifically, McKittrick (2006) considers the possibilities that emerge when black studies encounter human geography.[4]

The study of power in the South African context will always be about how power is racialised. Hence, Maylam and Edwards (1996) assert that “one of the functions of apartheid was to make the daily existence of the underclass, outside the workplace, as invisible as possible to the dominant classes” (Maylam and Edwards, 1996: 1). As Diphoorn (2017) has shown, through her ethnographic fieldwork conducted amongst private security officers in Durban race remains predominant and South African society not only has deeply rooted racial categorisation and imaginaries but is itself racially constituted (Diphoorn, 2017). Indeed, the question of how race and power are prevalent in the spatial constitution of space in South African cities is crucial in critically studying the discourse of race, power, and knowledge and how they transform into actual relations of power (Johnson et al., 2004). The underclass would translate to be

[4] McKittrick’s focus is on black women geographies in the black diaspora.

non-white South Africans (have-nots), while the dominant classes are settler colonialist European South Africans (the haves). The addition of a gendered dimension meant that poor urban black men were objectified as a perpetual labourer class. While the indentured Indians also functioned as a labourer class, their presence in Durban became a threat when their economic influence grew, and many became independent from indentured labour. The indentured labour scheme resulted in urban settlement in Durban for Indians; white settlers expressed opposition to the proximity of Indians, especially those who were independent, such as merchant Indians (Swanson, 1983). Thus, if the urban space worked to sustain settler colonial privilege and power, non-Europeans transgressed the status quo in a range of ways and forms.

In this study, it is demonstrated that eThekwini's space is racially defined and determined. The power structures of Durban exist and are mapped out and cultivated through colonial and apartheid orders. Then, eThekwini embodies "strong traditions of forceful planning from above [government and city management]" (Freund and Padayachee, 2002: 1). The examination of such spaces inevitably reveals complex dynamics. Between 1950 and 1980, urban apartheid was refined to "maximise the invisibility, serving to 'immunise' the dominant classes from the visual and political impact of the townships. Mbembe (2015), echoing Fanon (1963), says that the structure of the colonial world arranged its "geographical layout and violence presiding at its constitution" (Mbembe, 2015), perpetuating division into compartments that were legalised through legal systems (legislation, police, bylaws) (Fanon, 1963). Ultimately, "these forces are inscribed in the first place in a space they endeavour to map, cultivate and order" (Mbembe, 2015: 174). The intersection of history and the present, but also the future of eThekwini as a "global city", sheds light on how the city and its inhabitants, from the time of colonised Africans settler colonialists, indentured Indian labourers and merchant Indians, to the citizens of present-day non-racial South Africa, converge in a study of "experiences" and "consumptions" of the city by ordinary citizens. To this demographic mix has been added expatriates, refugees, and migrants from all over the world. The cultural and social dynamics of the city have accommodated the influx of migrants, including many African migrants who face the same marginalisation in the city's spaces that locals from the townships face. Tensions between African migrants and locals add a further layer of complexity in studying

identity within city spaces. The most prominent theme in this regard is that of so-called “Afrophobia” which has seen periodic xenophobic attacks and violence.

The “circuit of culture” model has utility in the theorisation of the city by situating the city as a cultural subject and object against which a range of practices of “city-making” can be subjected to cultural analysis. Critically, the model will open up the study of the city to the media gaze, situating media analysis in framing how urban culture and identity in eThekwini are read and configured. The layers of cultural meaning that constitute urban space, the cultural significance of urban culture, and the exchange of “consumption” between the city and its cultural consumers and producers, are interrogated and investigated.

eThekwini, as a city with a rapidly growing population and its aspirations to ascend to the category of major “global cities”, fits a normative framework of growing global cities and their urban populations. The UN-Habitat’s Urban Agenda notes that the world’s urban population will double by 2050. The World Health Organization, for its part, notes that, in 2014, the urban population “accounted for 54% of the total global population, up from 34% in 1960 (and these numbers continue to grow). The urban population growth, in absolute numbers, is concentrated in the less developed regions of the world. It is estimated that by 2017, even in less developed countries, a majority of people will be living in urban areas” (WHO, 2016). While, in 1950, “there were 86 cities in the world with a population over one million; today there are 400 and by 2015 there will be at least 550 cities, indeed, have absorbed nearly two thirds of the global population explosion since 1950s and are currently growing by a million babies and migrants each week” (Davis, 2006: 2). Davis (2006) observes that this present-day global scale of cities is part of a process of growth that city planners had not anticipated or predicted. Thus, the prism of access to the city is layered on other factors, such as “sustainability”, “resilience”, the environment, rights, economic growth and economic development. In the city’s framing of its own priorities, the last two factors – economic growth and economic development – seem to take precedence. Even opaque and contested concepts such as “urban renewal” are seen through the prism of economic growth and development. The hegemonic “logic” is that if the city grows and develops, this is good for all its inhabitants through a kind of trickle-down mechanism. Such hegemonic visions of “the city” culminate, as Neuwirth (2015) shows, in a process

where planners and architects collude with developers and politicians to make every city look like every other city (Neuwirth, 2015: 16). Thus, “aspirant” African cities like eThekwini look abroad for shared visions about expansion, economic development, and spatial planning. This hegemony regarding how cities are to grow and develop exists in a palpable tension with the history of African cities as hybrid constructions. Thus, “almost all African cities/states were once colonised and were colonial era capitals, and through this, they are, in themselves hybrids, and hybridity has marked their development” (Neuwirth, 2015: 17). When a city with a hybrid identity has global aspirations (in reality, aspirations towards globalisation), these clash with material realities such as inequality, adding schizophrenia to the tension in the city’s “development”, with different priorities always pulling the city in a multiplicity of directions and competing visions. The study will demonstrate this in relation, for instance, to the spectacle of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

That is, there appears to be a cognitive dissonance between urban society’s normative orientation towards globalisation and quotidian and personal experiences of a globalising world marked by historical marginalisation, alienation, and deep inequalities. Johannesburg, for instance, has been described as a city that lacks spatial continuity and seamless architectural transition. Instead, its urban landscape consists of “leaps in space, where incongruous interruptions, bizarre juxtapositions, lost spaces, blank intervals, and dead zones have transformed the city space into an intricate, maze-like hodgepodge of disconnected places” (Murray, 2011: 25). This reality of everyday disconnection goes against the grain of seamless globalisation. Opening up cities to business and tourism, under a globalising “imperative”, then, tends to reproduce – wittingly or unwittingly – divides whereby local ordinary people are outsiders at these “world class” sites and amenities that are themselves “foreign”, expensive, and unaffordable. Thus, eThekwini as an aspirant global city aims to meet “international” and “world class” that are geared to suit “global citizens”, investors and tourists more than its local ordinary citizens. Appadurai (2013) defines this pattern of development and city-making as a “new form of global geographies… in which wealthier ‘world-cities’ increasingly operate like city-states in a networked global economy, increasingly independent of regional and national mediation, and where poorer cities – and the poorer populations within them – seek new ways to claim space

and voice" (Appadurai 2013: 155). Class, race, ethnicity, caste, location, religion, ability, gender, sexual preference, and age, among others, are some of the factors in which this schizophrenia is embedded and carried (Pieterse (2008). In essence, the African city of today and of the future, therefore, is indelibly marked by tension and schizophrenia.

This tension extends to how the city is seen, represented, and constructed as a local and global "artifact". As already discussed, "colonial and apartheid urban planning involved compartmentalisation, dehumanisation, oppression, segregation, covert and overt racism, cultural erasure, assimilation, and sterilisation, influx control, harm, surveillance, punishment, and systematic discrimination" (Hilton, 2011: 57). Ultimately, one of the legacies of colonialism in Africa was that technological and infrastructure development tended to mimic European metropoles, a process that retains and reproduces harmful and inequitable spatial and racial divisions while concealing them under a seemingly apolitical and value-free "globalisation". South Africa's own colonial and apartheid past means that its urban "imaginaries" bear the marks, scars, and memory of the socially and architecturally engineered divisions. Cities such as eThekwini are still negotiating these "pasts" in the present. Aspirations to "global city" (and hence "globalised") status and to creating all-inclusive spaces are not divorced from these pasts. Indeed, they are marked by them.

The study will thus examine how "city life" involves reimagining the city beyond its histories, pasts, and physical buildings, sites, and structures. As Knox and Pinch (2014) suggest, the city is also a product of the imagination. Words and images from focus groups, Photovoice, and newspapers will contribute to an understanding of this "imagining" of eThekwini and its spaces. The city's construction is material and cognitive, physical and imagined, tactile and symbolic. It is also negotiated and contested. Seen this way, communication is at the heart of city-making (cf. Cruz and Forman, 2015).

Talk about globalisation and global cities is an extension of debates about how cities are to navigate the worlds and aftermaths of colonialism, empire, and apartheid. The debates themselves are always already ideological yet tend to appear (for instance,

in the public-facing communication about eThekwini's expansion, rejuvenation, and urban renewal projects) as "just" investors and politicians coming together to plan economic development and doing business. Politics and business play an active role in selling a seemingly value-free version of globalisation to the public and to society. The discourse is almost always based on so-called free market principles and Western style democratisation imperatives, with Europe and America as the coordinates. Global cities, by extension, are hegemonic clones of each other and are open to business and tourists. Thus, the discourse on globalisation "has turned into an extremely important commodity destined for public consumption" (Steger, 2002: 44). Globalisation is seen as inevitable and, yet, also as something that poses existential dilemmas. As an ideology, globalisation exists in that space between the continuously monologic and monolithic (but also simplifying, distortion, legitimising and integrating) tendencies of the neoliberal market. It is also the hybrid and contested reality of the marginalisation and inequality where the future is increasingly uncertain and unsettled, including through migration, housing, and economic crises. The "uncritical attitude that globalisation is a "good thing" (Steger, 2002: 45), and therefore inevitable, meets visions of the everyday that are intrinsically local, glocal, and even anti-global.

Durban, in its colonial form, urbanised largely due to its geographic location on the Bay of Natal (Freund, 2002), near a large body of water it shares with other global cities. Furthermore, eThekwini resembles some of the major global cities of the world in its being squarely positioned within the major category of "modern urban agglomerations", with important transport linkages, a port, vast land and natural resources, and a human population that marks the city as one of the largest cities in the world. So, on the one hand, eThekwini as an urban and city space and object of analysis that is caught up in the global and globalising that are also intrinsically local, glocal, and even anti-global, lends itself to being understood in terms of the axis of insider and outsider, of who belongs and who is excluded, and how the belonging and exclusion happen. On the other hand, the city's very space responds to the economic and cultural changes that happen at a global level (Pieterse, 2008) while navigating the local, such that what is valued and institutionalised (cf. Castells, 2009) is simultaneously networked, social, historical, economic, and cultural. Thus, the city emerges as a representation, as real and imagined, and as both a physical and

symbolic construction. Already, urbanity is locked in with “communication networks” and patterns of contact that are created by the flow of communicators through time and space (Castells, 2009: 20; Monge and Contractor, 2003: 3). The study will focus on the ways in which eThekwini is represented and constructed (Hall, 1997) as media discourse and through lived experiences. What is the “meaning” of eThekwini to those who reside in its spaces and make a living from them? What does it signify? How does it signify?

If, in this study, the city is examined as an interpretive site within which “culture” circulates, it is important to define culture. “Culture” is one of the most complex and difficult concepts to grasp. As can be expected, it is not one, uniform thing. It is also amenable to multiple varying definitions. Generally, culture involves the shared production, reproduction, and exchange of experience and meanings, the active giving and taking of meaning amongst members of a society or group (Hall et al., 2013). This production, reproduction, and exchange of meanings occurs in space, time, and place. Cultural analysis thus can address the uses, meanings, and reproduction of space. Indeed, Johnson et al (2004) assert that space and place are inherent in cultural analysis projects. Hall (2013) sees culture in terms of a traditional and contemporary (or modern) definition, with the traditional addressing “classic works of literature, painting, music and philosophy – the high culture of an age” (Hall et al., 2013: xvii). The modern definition touches on culture as distributed in mass or popular culture, forms of popular music, publishing, art, design and literature, the activities of leisure-time and entertainment which make up the everyday lives of the majority of “ordinary people”. For a long time, in social science debates, traditional was seen as high culture (and therefore good and better) and popular as debased (therefore of low quality) (Hall et al., 2013: xviii). Fundamentally, for Hall et al (2013) culture refers to whatever is “distinctive about the ‘way of life’ of a people, community, nation or social group” (Hall et al., 2013: xviii). Where sociological emphases are added, “culture” is defined through its embodiment of “shared values” and identities of a group or of a society, at the same time that it is implicated with power and power relations, as well as with communication and expression. Culture, it would seem, depends on its participants interpreting meaningfully and “making sense” of the world in broadly shared ways (Hall et al., 2013). Ultimately, culture influences the everyday and the everyday influences

culture in a ceaseless circuit. In eThekwini, the “high” and the “low” of culture compete, contest, and flow together.

Appadurai (2013) sees culture as ever-changing and fluid, with many layers and influences, one of them being that culture remains substantially shaped by the past, and as “hugely preoccupied with logic of reproduction, the force of custom, the dynamic of memory, the persistence of habitus, the glacial movement of the everyday and the cunning of the tradition in social life of even the most modern movements and communities, such as those of scientists, refugees, immigrants, evangelists and movie icons” (Appadurai, 2013: 285). For Appadurai (2013), culture is always already incorporated into the “design’ of the future. That is, culture as a concept already encounters, manages, and anticipates the future within what he terms a “cultural horizon”, even if these moments and these insights, have not been aggregated into general point of view about humans as future-makers and futures as cultural facts. What is called “culture” in this study is the form in which eThekwini is “constructed” in media and Photovoice discourse. Such “culture” (or construction) is specific from text to text, from participant to participant, and from photo to photo, and voice to voice. It is the exploration of these diverse voices, texts, and nuances that motivate this study. “Urban culture” is thus replete with the production and reproduction of identity and “difference”, the study of which showcases human communication, identity, and meanings in their full complexity. If, say, economics, in “alliance with specialized techniques derived from statistics, and more recently from linear algebra, operations research and the computational sciences… has consolidated its place as the primary field which the study of how humans construct their future is modelled and predicted” (Appadurai, 2013: 286), then, by the same purposive logic, a field such as “urban culture” can also be an interpretive lens through which the pasts, present, and future of human communication, identity, and meaning can be fruitfully studied.

In this study, the city as a place and space of habitation, recreation, tourism, business, the arts, and economic development, is a cultural object in this sense of allowing culture to circulate (that is, allowing meanings and human communication and identities to circulate). For Miles (2007), culture operates at several levels, including cultural production (the arts) and as well the institutional structures which are validated

by the everyday, lived experience of the individuals or groups within a society (Miles, 2007: 30). In the circuit of culture, the city informs, produces and reproduces culture and culture informs, produces, and reproduces the city. The “circuits” are interactions and exchanges that mark, flow within, and take place in city spaces that are “culturally” governed and imagined (Sack, 1993). The circuit of culture is fundamental to this study for connecting all the dots concerned with the production, reproduction and “construction” of the city as a specific form of meaningful, human reality.

Specifically, the circuit of culture is an interpretive model within the field of cultural studies which is concerned with representation, identity, meaning, and cultural reproduction and exchange and the fundamental role that they play in how humans organise and make sense of the world and their social and institutional relations (Hall et al., 2013). The “circuit” “emphasises moments of production, representation, consumption, regulation and identity” (Leve, 2012: 1). At its centre is the process of making, producing, and reproducing meaning. Through “meaning” participants of a culture give meaning to people, objects and events, circulated through several different processes or practices (Hall et al., 2013: xix). In a city, how do meanings circulate? What does the city mean? What do its spaces signify? Thus, the circuit of culture can be seen as a process that allows meaning to give the city a sense of identity and identity to give the city meaning, in a continuous and endless flow (Du Gay and Open, 1997; Jayne, 2006). In my study, I adapt the model to allow for theorising the city as a site for texts, images, and voices that capture what and how a city “means” or can be defined (culturally).

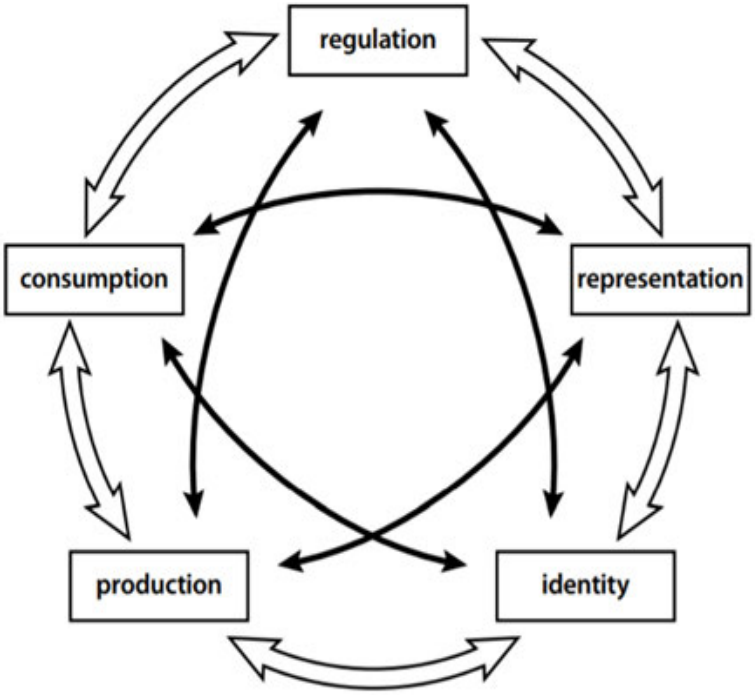

Fig 1.10 Circuit of culture (Schmidt, 2016)

The circuit of culture captures the complex, fractal interplay, interaction, and interrelatedness of elements, all of which are shared and always on the move. Hall (1973), through his work on encoding and decoding, was an early initiator of the circuit model which deviates from the historical linear conception of messages and exchange of communication. The production of culture, the consumption of culture, the representation of culture, identity in culture and the regulation of culture are all interactive sites within sites (Scherer and Jackson, 2008). Schmidt (2016) notes that the circuit of culture model, rooted in British cultural studies, takes a decisive "break by discarding the realm of production as a privileged site to examine cultural practices" (Schmidt, 2016: 78), such that production is merely process or moment amongst others including representation, consumption, regulation, and identity, as moments pertinent to analysing shared cultural space (Schmidt, 2016). This "spreading out" of the various elements of "culture" is important to my study as it allows for nuances in the examination of how a city emerges in the "constructions" in media texts and in Photovoice.

Du Gay (1997, b) and other cultural studies scholars have argued that production and circulation of meaning can be examined through seeking answers to the question: how is meaning culturally produced? Which meanings are shared within society, and by which group? What other, counter meanings are circulating? What meanings are contested and how does the struggle between different sets of meanings reflect the play of power and the resistance of power in society? Leve (2012) suggests that the circuit of culture was a way of addressing these questions and the diagrammatical representation of the Circuit of culture represents a process through "which meanings are made and shared within and between cultures" (Leve, 2012: 2). The circuit model, as noted by Leve (2012), introduces "a complex structure of relations through the interlinking processes of articulation and discursive elements of production" (Leve, 2012: 2).

Fig 1.11"Keep your city clean – property of Media 24": A fragment of the "circuit" of culture

The above photo, taken in 2023, close to the North beach, illustrates a fragment of the circuit of culture. The poster exhorts the observer to "Keep your city clean". The messaging, branded as a product and property of Media 24, and incorporating the municipality logo, exemplifies the interaction of various elements of "city-making": a media company is joining the municipality in a vision in which city spaces are

supposed to be kept clean; the city is “your city” so the city belongs to “everybody”; the poster is private property and hence is regulated by private property laws and city bylaws; the injunction to keep the city clean is a plea and a “demand” addressed to those who share in the vision of a clean city; the poster is a form of mass communication and public messaging which presupposes a “public” that consumes such messages; the message is also a form of surveillance and warning against those who may litter the city’s spaces; those who do not keep the city clean do not belong to the city and the city is not “theirs”.

1.7 Structure of the study

The study has six chapters. The first chapter sets the scene for the rest of the study; it introduces the study, background, research problem, research questions, and the circuit of culture as the theoretical lens of the study. The second chapter is the literature review. The third chapter is the methodology chapter which explains the multi-method approach of collecting and analysing data that the study applied. The fourth and fifth chapters are the data analysis chapters. The first analysis chapter is focused on the “newspaper discourse” of the city, focusing on ‘text” from 2010 to 2019. The second analysis chapter is a thematic analysis of the themes that emerged from the Photovoice. These two chapters are the study's heart and outline the original contribution to knowledge. The final chapter concludes the study, providing an index to further research.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter provided this study's introduction, background, motivation, and objectives. It gave a background to eThekwini as a site of analysis and teased out the complexities of the circuit of culture. A context and justification for the study was offered and interrogated, including the role of history and global aspirations in the “idea” of urbanity in eThekwini, setting the scene for the rest of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

The Evolution of Renewal: Dynamics of a city in South Africa

2.1 The "Urban Dynamic" in eThekwini

The South African city, post-94, is part of the project of a "new" South Africa, situating "renewal" as not just an aspect of architectural and spatial planning but a historical and democratising imperative. The "renewing city" seemingly emerges out of colonialism and apartheid, not just modernising but democratising. The "urban dynamic" captures attempt to reconcile economic growth and social transformation in a city, two seemingly irreconcilable imperatives. On the one hand, the post-apartheid city, formerly based on segregation and marginalisation of most of its people, now needs to be "inclusive" to address "injustices of the past" (hence social transformation). On the other hand, the post-apartheid city emerges in a neoliberal order where it must attract investors and privatise and globalise to survive (hence economic growth). eThekwini with which this study begins is in 2010, hosting the FIFA World Cup, a global event that is an appropriate entry point for this study into an investigation of how the interrelated discourses of representation, identity, culture, regulation, and globalisation are accounted for within the "urban dynamic". Considering that mega-football events are highly mediated, attracting millions, in an academic lens, football has existed as merely a form of leisure (Chari and Mhiripiri, 2014). Its social elements that speak to cultural and symbolic value will be highlighted in this study, although this research is not intended to focus on the FIFA World Cup. If the latter theme of globalisation falls within a dense "constellation of various economic, political, social, cultural and ecological processes" (Pieterse 2008: 20) that strongly drive particular economic and spatial dynamics of cities and towns, the earlier themes belong within the circuit of culture. Together, they give a picture of the broader "urban dynamic" with which this study grapples. This introductory section of the literature review provides an overview of the salient issues in eThekwini as a site of analysis.

The "urbanisation" process in eThekwini is complex, uneven, and, even, contradictory, mirroring what goes on elsewhere (Simone and Pieterse 2017). At issue is a simple

fact: the city's ambitions to become "world class" and "globally connected" are contradicted by the stubborn reality of inequality (Pieterse 2008). In South Africa, inequality is a legacy of colonialism and apartheid (UN.org, 2024). On the surface, economic growth, economic development, and a pivot towards tourism as a key economic driver seem to be compatible with "inclusive renewal" in the sense that they would benefit everybody. Yet, such urban development continues side by side with the exclusion of the urban poor, suggesting that certain aspects within urban development maintain and reinforce inequality (Galster and Sharkey, 2017). Hence, conceptual models such as the Spatial Opportunities Structure suggest that intentional efforts to organise physical space in specific ways may maintain or reinforce inequality (Galster and Sharkey, 2017). The rhetoric of 'inclusive" urban development conceals the reality that urbanisation is, in fact, a paradox. As Pieterse (2008) finds, "most local governments in the global south are caught in a terrible bind of contradictory policy imperatives, which are either strained into globalised circuits of capital or benefit from the absence of regulation and equity within zones of informal exclusion, to become even more entrenched" (Pieterse, 2008: 17-18). Urban development is, thus, framed more as a trade-off. Cities need to attract investment, which speaks in terms of the bottom line of profits. At the same time, cities serve locals and must cater to the social reproduction of public goods and infrastructure that benefit ordinary people even while making a "loss". The gap between the two imperatives is closed in rhetoric but widens in practice because neoliberalism tends towards privatisation and investor-friendliness, where the user must pay for everything and must be profitable if it is to be sustainable. So, cities remain social and administrative entities that "posit themselves as dynamic engines of economic growth and social transformation" (Simone and Pieterse 2017: 1). However, can cities such as eThekwini, marked by the dense histories of colonialism and apartheid, and yet needing to become "world-class", achieve both economic growth and social transformation?

According to Simone and Pieterse (2017), engines of economic growth are one thing, and social transformation is another. Social transformation is seen as something other than a driver or engine of growth. They can be brought into a delicate balance, but when one is over-emphasised, the other suffers. An example that has been given of how cities can bridge the gap between being world-class and providing social transformation is the development of social and recreational spaces such as urban

parks. Yet, such spaces also show how complex the problem is. Mullenbach (2022) has extensively researched public parks in urban spaces. She notes that these “green” spaces are a welcome refuge for many city residents, serving healthy physical, social, psychological, cultural, and communal benefits. Residents gather and relax in these spaces, fostering a sense of community and belonging. Thus, the city parks are an example of social transformation. Yet, Mullenbach’s (2022) research also shows that these urban parks reveal deep inequality, segregation, and environmental injustice because “not all residents have equitable access to quality parks and green spaces, meaning benefits are not fully enjoyed by many low-income people and communities of colour” (Mullenbach 2022: 458). Urban parks are thus one example against which to frame the double-edged sword of “global city-ness” against access for all and true social transformation. As in eThekwini, city parks are beautiful but have an ugly side.

In *Cities and Culture*, Miles (2007) notes that cities are typically large and densely populated human settlements. The municipality of eThekwini is large and densely populated. This fact has important implications for the study of the usage of urban space and considerations of who belongs where. Hence, part of the reason true social transformation is failing to march in step with urban development premised on economic growth, or social transformation stands outside drivers of economic growth, is because of the size of urban populations. Because of the sheer number of people needing world-class services, there is a scarcity problem. It is routine in urban studies to analyse the growth of urban populations. Thus, major leaps in urban populations have occurred since the 1970s (Pieterse, 2008). The population living in cities worldwide has increased from 16% in the 1900s to about 50%-55% currently (Ritchie et. al, 2018). United Nations projections estimate that 68% of the world's population will live in cities by 2050 (Sharifi et al., 2023). The increase in population translates into a strain on resources and amenities. Scarcity is the result. The problem of the city becomes that of who gets what. Social transformation is thus seen only in terms of distribution and redistribution of a dwindling national or municipality cake, while economic growth seems burdened with increasing the cake size. Only the surplus from economic growth can be distributed for social transformation. However, investment capital, investors, investor needs, and investor-friendly policies come first in matters of economic growth and development. This schizophrenia runs at the heart of the

developmental dilemma of cities such as eThekwini. They have not been able to resolve the scarcity issue in a way that does not deepen social divides and inequality.

Globalisation has transformed social and economic life through technological advancements such as computerisation and digitalisation. These platforms, for instance, have increased global communication and the global movement of information and knowledge. What was known as ‘high-value-added’ activities within the economic activity are now highly dependent on information and knowledge management. However, technology often only leads to “digital divides” and exacerbates divisions instead of bridging them. The question of who gets what does not go away. Localities lacking investment capital must seek it further, including ‘skilled’ workers, sophisticated communications and transportation technology and links to worldwide markets. The pivot towards globalisation has profound implications for “public goods” that seem divorced from the generation or attraction of investment capital, thus leading to further economic marginalisation and even obsolescence (Pieterse, 2008). This economic marginalisation and “digital divides” can be seen in emerging economies centred around the notion of “smart cities” (Kitchin, 2018). While this study is concerned with a qualitative rather than a quantitative perspective on understanding urbanisation and so issues of city size (in numbers and measurement) or density of the population are not prioritised to understand what shapes eThekwini’s “urban culture”, the population distribution and demographics are relevant to the question of scarcity and access to resources, facilities, and amenities. Apartheid, interestingly, used “influx control” to manage the issue of who gets what (Smith, 2003). In a post-apartheid city, however, where influx control laws have been repealed, regulation takes other still-insidious forms.

Globalisation is not innocent. Instead, it is part and parcel of the original conquest that reduced African cities to sandboxes of social engineering. Thus, Carey (1988) notes that colonial cities arose within a context of colonial “transmission”, a thesis that links communication with colonialism. For Carey (1989), “[the] basic orientation to communication remains grounded, at the deepest roots of thinking, in the idea of transmission… [therefore] communication is a process whereby messages are transmitted and distributed in space for the control of distance and people” (Carey, 1989: 16). From the colonial west to the colonised south, communication dressed as

transmission is justified as exploration and discovery. Carey notes that “The motives behind this vast movement in space were political and mercantilist... but their importance should not obscure the equally compelling fact that a major motive behind this movement in space, particularly as evidenced by the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa or Puritans in New England, was religious… to create new life, to find new communities, to carve a New Jerusalem… were primary motives behind the unprecedented movement of white European civilisation over virtually the entire globe”(Carey, 1989: 16-17). The “information-like” movement of European “civilisation” influenced the shaping of contemporary cities as we know them, ensuring that city life is infiltrated with very old paradigms of organising life. The extent of the globalisation process as we know them today can be credited to the movement of white European “civilisation” and so the global structures of political and economic significance are significant in explaining how social space is marked by history.

2.2 Colonial Towns to Apartheid Cities

> *… the towns are the white man’s peculiar creation while natives, being naturally alien to that environment, might only enter the towns temporarily to serve the white man…*

The above epigraph is from the report of the Transvaal Local Government Commission (The Stallard Commission) of 1922 (quoted in Swanson, 1968: 31), showing that cities in South Africa were intrinsically racist enclaves for whites. In such spaces, Africans were “undesirable” and thus marked for influx control and “separate development” as temporary sojourners and cheap labour that had no intrinsic right to the city. To justify an exclusive city and to restrict the influx of non-whites, colonial authorities fell back on racist strategies such as the “sanitation syndrome” (Maylam, 1995). In this way, the black urban presence was conveniently associated with squalor, disease and crime, thus justifying manufactured public health interventions such as the one against the bubonic plague in Cape Town in 1901 and Durban in 1902. Indeed, the bubonic plague was known as the “black plague” (Maylam, 1995). The plague travelled from Cape Town and eventually reached Durban in 1902, arousing “white hysteria, (and) seeming to confirm the image of Africans as public health menace… (such that) calls came for a segregated location and a general ‘cleaning up’ of the town” (Maylam, 1995: 24). In the end, the economic exclusion that is typical of cities such as eThekwini, Cape Town, and Johannesburg, itself evolved within South African cities alongside the social and

cultural phobias of *swart gevaar* (“black danger”). Indeed, *swart gevaar* was a convenient cover for white economic domination of land and property.

The social and economic divide between non-white and white society was not accidental. Rather, it was deliberately engineered. The epigraph, read with the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, affirms the city's construction as based on a fundamental division: African areas as targets of underdevelopment and neglect and white areas as recipients of development and growth. The Native (Urban Areas) Act, for instance, became one of the “foundation stones upon which the formal structure of apartheid was built” (Swanson, 1968: 31). The city was already marked as a space for exclusive “European” settlement during colonisation (Schensul, 2009, Mgxithama, 2015, Mboti, 2023a). In the British colonies, urbanisation, by design, ignored and overlooked over the presence of non-whites in towns, as seen in municipal charters and institutions and influx laws (Swanson, 1968:33). The growing numbers of populations moving to towns led to *swart gevaar* and “increased tensions, colour consciousness, distrust and fear” (Swanson, 1968: 33), and the interests of whites could only be safeguarded by designing the city to be out of bounds for the permanent settlement of the “natives” (Hindson, 1996). The mobility of Africans was deliberately severely curtailed while that of whites was enhanced (Nicholson and Sheller (2016). Ultimately “racial ascendancy endures in white-settler countries centuries after Europeans colonized Indigenous territories and after other peoples from many corners of the world have migrated to these countries” (Nicholson & Sheller, 2016: 5). The paradigm which separates the distribution of social and public goods from investment capital and economic growth has roots in the colonial division of who could belong in the city.

British colonialist Cecil John Rhodes gave the so-called “Glen Grey Speech” in 1894 where he stated that “I do not feel that the fact of our having to live with the natives in this country is a reason for serious anxiety. In fact, I think the natives should be a source of great assistance to most of us” (Rhodes, 1894). Rhodes referred to “natives” as the largest population in the country due to their “devotion” to the “multiplication of children” (Rhodes, 1894). In the speech, Rhodes demarcates racist “class” hierarchies of “haves” and “have-nots” in colonial South African society, buttressed by the “native” and “labour” questions, with the “haves” being whites and the “natives” occupying the position of the perpetual “have nots”. In this manner, Rhodes specifies the systematic

exclusion of natives from the country's governance and citizenship. He paints the natives as disorderly, ignorant, and indifferent to the larger interest of developing the country, setting demarcated distinctions between natives and white settlers and placing 'natives' beneath whites. Rhodes proposed a vision where European settlers occupied the space of power and privilege in Africa, where, as long as "natives" are excluded and relegated to the cheap labour class, wealth is abundant, and whites do not have to fight or compete for resources. The South African Union, constituted in 1910, was born from this racial engineering ideology, setting the agenda for the future of South Africa.

The status quo in Rhodes's speech continued a position discussed and deliberated in other colonial settler forums. So, for instance, in Natal, the same sentiments of superiority were expressed by the Natal Political Association, established mainly by new colonial settlers in search of answers to what they referenced as the 'native question' (Guy, 2013). Another instance was the labour commission in Natal in 1852-53 which dealt with the main topic of the "kafir" (insulting term for Black people) population of Natal (Guy, 2013). The views that were drawn from the labour commissions meetings, which met for eighteen sessions over a period of one year, on the native question opined that:

> "As a population of refugees African did not have rights to the land; the locations dried up labour and threatened settler security; imperial policy was dominated by misguided philanthropy whose consequences would only be brought to an end when settlers' political rights were recognised, native law was codified and chiefly rule passed to white magistrates[5]"(Guy, 2013: 199).

Read together with Rhodes' Glen Grey speech, a specific colonial ideology underpinned by white supremacy and racism becomes clear in the commission's assertions. This ideology shaped colonial urban planning. That is, the Labour Commission and Rhodes are examples of ideological development underpinning colonial settlement and the idea of white supremacy. Rhodes, it must be noted, opened the Glen Grey speech by stating, "There is, I think, a general feeling that the

[5] TNA: CO 879/1/23, *Despatches. Reports. & c. relative to the Management of the Natives*, 1855, No 3, Pine to Newcastle, 3 in notes: page 207 Guy J. (2013) *Theophilus Shepstone and the Forging of Natal: African Autonomy and Settler Colonialism in the Making of Traditional Authority*.

natives are a distinct source of trouble and loss to the country". Together, their views brought to the fore a significant settler ideology of that time, that was "self-indulgent; indicative of an obsessive, frustrated, materially ambitious settler population" (Guy, 2013: 199). The settler population, including older British residents, identified "natives" both as the sources of trouble and cheap labour for the settlers, setting up an irresolvable tension that urban planning has struggled to resolve to this day. Furthermore, these views set the tone for the version of racist and exceptionalist nationalism in white South African thinking, which later culminated in apartheid and was to be systematically applied by the apartheid government.

From Rhodes to the Labour Commission of 1852-53, and from the Union of 1910 to apartheid in 1948, the agenda functioned to systematically exclude Africans ("natives") from meaningful decision-making, to expropriate land, and produce and support legislation that ensured non-white would neither have substantial ownership of property nor economic relevance. Notably, the racial exclusion that developed and has become an important factor in the "structure" in contemporary eThekwini developed British colonial rule. The long history of Natal's land question, which bleeds into contemporary struggles for land in eThekwini municipality, can itself be traced to colonial racial engineering and the ideology of separatist development that underpinned it. With the British colony having formally recognised the foundation of Durban in 1835 (Freund 2006), the racially exclusive city grew alongside diverse hierarchical cultures of Europeans and "natives" and, from 1860, Asians in the form of indentured labourers from India and other Indians attracted the growing sectors of fishing, commerce, and artisanal activity (Freund, 2006: 529). By the 1920s non-whites, such as wealthy non indentured Indians, were formally restricted in buying property or land in areas of town that whites had staked out for themselves (Freund, 2006). The city was developing in terms of zones where the commercial neighbourhoods for Indians were established, barracks and hostels of labourers occupied mostly by male Zulu men, and some Indians who escaped re-indenture, and white areas which included the city centre, the port and other parts reserved for white in the city (Freund, 2006). Freund (2006) thus describes Durban as developing gradually from a confluence of factors, such as trade, the expanding international sea commerce, the development of the port, and permanent, if uneven, settlement by an

urban population, all of them framed by a colonial, racially exclusive, and racist ideology, and tension.

Land occupation, ownership and distribution, and omnipresent struggles for land by Africans in present Kwa-Zulu-Natal reflect diverse layers of issues and factors such as the colonial land theft, fractures amongst Africans themselves, the emergence of globalisation within the empire, capitalism, the labour question, the native question, and the racially engineered structures of South African towns and cities. This historical "mess" of issues converges in the foundation of contemporary eThekwini. The historical saga of how Piet Retief[6] and his trekkers gained land in Natal, for instance, is symptomatic of both land theft that is the basis of eThekwini's latter-day exclusions in ownership and belonging and the practical and legal complications that emerged. The document found on the dead body of Piet Retief is said to have documented and "proved" that King Dingane had ceded the place called "Port Natal, together with the land annexed, that is to say, from Dogela (Thukela) to the Osoboebo River (Umzimvubu) Westward; and the sea to the north, as far as the land may be useful and in [his] possession"[7] (Guy, 2013: 39). The colonial settler myth emphasises that the trekkers paid for the land with their blood (Guy, 2013) while, at the same time, taking over land that was empty when it was "discovered" by trekkers. Treaties with local chiefs further solidified these myths into actual "proof" of ownership. Thus, for instance, internal divisions within the Zulu Kingdom had created opportunities including Zulu-settler alliances, with land given as payment. So, in 1840, Dingane's brother Mpande crossed into Natal and entered an alliance with white settlers. Mpande used this opportunity to drive Dingane out of power and land. Mpande's trekker alliance treaties furnished signed documents that "gave up" land to the Black Mfolozi River, including forty head of cattle (Guy, 2013: 39). A framework of colonial fictions thus created Durban.

The framework of colonial fictions can be seen in how, paradoxically, Port Natal, on top of hosting settlers, traders and indentured labour, also presumably historically

[6] Piet Retief is a historical Boer figure who led a group of "voortrekkers" across South Africa

[7] Bird, Annals, I, "Cession of Port Natal to the Boers by Dingaan" 4 February 1838 p366

provided “security” and “protection” for Africans who had been driven out or feared extermination by the expanding Zulu kingdom. Thus, in some accounts, the early presence of Africans in Natal was loosely explained and understood as “African seeking security” from the Zulu monarchy, thus appearing to formalise the exchange of cheap labour and land rights for “protection” and “security” in a white city. The future treatment of Africans as landless cheap labour was thus justified by generations of trekkers and settlers by asserting that they were not native to the territory of Natal that the trekkers occupied (Guy, 2013; Marks, 1980). This fiction, for instance, justified the unlawful land registration enforced by the Volkstraand[8] land board trekkers from the Cape and Highveld joined their Natal counterparts and distributed roughly 6000 acres of land per plot, predominantly in Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Weenen (Guy, 2013). Men who arrived with Retief had preference over those who came later, “widows claimed and received land in the name of their husbands who died in the Republic of Natal, orphans received land for their fathers” (Guy, 2013: 41). Small registration fees were required as well as an annual levy.

The framework of colonial fiction explains how settler exploitation of land in Natal, including the raiding of African communities by members of the Volkraand group and atrocities against “Bushmen” and Zulu, accused of stealing their cattle, was justified. In one incident, the attack on the Bhaca Ngcaphayi is recorded, “in which the Boer aggressors left thirty dead, seized women and children, and took some three thousand cattle” (Guy, 2013: 42). While Africans in practice continued their livelihood by building homesteads, growing crops, and building communities, the Boers continued land claims and traded the same land with wealthier members of their community (Guy, 2013). The perception of Africans as “swart gevaar” infiltrating the non-black space of settler whiteness became foundational in the broader quest for African land by settlers. The Boer desire for African land in Natal was barely disguised. Thus, the Volkstraand in August 1841 stated that:

> On further complaints that the Kefirs begin to multiply amongst us, and that depredations are not only increasing, but that they make locations on inhabited places, erect numerous kraals, and may become dangerous to our inhabitants… [and] with the exception of a few, who lived at Natal, had no right or claim to any part of the country…

[8] A political Boer movement in Natal 1840s.

> [and] not wishing that they should be driven away without any provision being made their behalf [they should be moved to land between the Mthamvuma and Mvimvubu rivers] well adapted for a great kafir Nation.[9]

After these “demands”, in December of 1841, the British entered the territory and deployed troops to enforce “stability” and provide the administrative apparatus of “order”, thus adding another layer to the dynamic of white domination. The addition of the British factor, under the direction of Her Majesty’s Government, engaged a layer of administrative power in Natal backed by the “might” of the British empire (Guy, 2013). Hence, the Boer request to raid for stolen cattle, was denied, the Boers were further prohibited from the development of fixed property in the towns, and there was more intervention to stop the issues of land titles (Guy, 2013)[10].

The British presence in Natal is noted as a significant moment of the British practice of forcible expropriation, administration, and commodification of land (Guy 2013: 43). More importantly, it demonstrates the convergence of colonialism, slavery, and apartheid in shaping modern South Africa. Despite their apparent contradictions, the notions of “empty land”, bringing order to chaos, and keeping out the influx of black danger, found their way into the legal order of South Africa, eventually settling as ideological justifications for apartheid. Thus, while, in the end, apartheid justified the social organisation of whites as holding ultimate power over the lives of the majority of Africans, people of mixed descent, and Asian inhabitants of South Africa (Marks, 1980), this justification had a long history. The justification went back to 1652, slavery, the “Great Trek”, Piet Retief, and indentured labour, culminating in non-whites being herded around like cattle through policies and laws such as the Native Land Act of 1913 and the 1936 Land Act, which set the tone and limits upon the land which was to constitute the reserves (Baldwin, 1975). Apartheid was thus just the culmination of a long history.

---

[9] Bird, Annals, I, Extract from Resolution, 2 August 1841, p. 644-5

[10] Bird, Annals, II, Public Notice, 24 October 1842, p. 122-3

Apartheid, as the culmination of the long tail of colonial history, added the systematic removals and "rigorous enforcement of legislation in the 1960's…legislations like the Group Areas Act of 1950 and 1957, the Natives Resettlement Act of 1954, the Native Trust and Land Amendment Act of 1954, and the Native (later Bantu) Laws Amendment Acts of 1952, 1963 and 1970 have provided the authority and the machinery for the mass removals" (Baldwin, 1975: 215). Together, the land appropriation of the colonial and apartheid periods in Natal solidified and codified racial engineering and social classification as a template for organising residence, citizenship, belonging, and movement. This engineering and classification has proven hard to undo. That land ownership, classified around the idea of race, ultimately perpetuated the mental frame and construction that expresses and justifies the basic experience of white domination and infiltrates eurocentrism. The historical project of conquest and colonialism (Gordon, 2000) was at this point realised and consummated. The traumas and schizophrenias of city life and its "socialisation" of South African cities thus must be traced in terms of this genealogy laid out here.

That is, tracing the past of colonial European settlement in South Africa, its harms, violence, and fiction provides a genealogical "trace" of how cities in this country arose and, further, what tensions informed and shaped the identities of these cities and their inhabitants. The attempts, in this study, to understand economic networks, markets, different economic centres and hubs, the creative "proximities" of the arts and culture, informal creative markets and their cultural processes and, finally, the inequalities, access to housing, education and basic human rights, are animated by and flow from these genealogies (cf. Aiello and Tosoni, 2016). Essentially, history is alive in this study as it is alive in eThekwini's urban spaces themselves. The history of colonial European settlement indicates a "circuit of history" in addition to the circuit of culture that this study examines. The circuit of culture thus always returns to the unjust and thuggish nature of expropriation of land and public goods from Africans, the colonial fictions of empty land and *swart gevaar*, and the strategic exclusion of property ownership to Africans and their descendants.

The social problems and socioeconomic deprivations in the contemporary Cato Manor in eThekwini, for example, are traced to how parts of urban land were distributed

amongst white settlers. Cato Manor, a “reward” to George Christopher Cato – the first mayor of Durban in 1854 –1865 (in Jackson, 2006), was thus marked with the pathologies and fictions of coloniality. The land was later subdivided in the 1900s to lease to Indian market gardeners, “many of whom were either former indentured labourers, or descendants (Jackson, 2006). From the beginning, Cato Manor becomes a contested space, in terms of exclusion, resistance, and protest. During apartheid, through the Group Areas Act, Africans, “Coloureds” and Indians were subjected to forced removals and uprooted from their homes and relocated to isolated locations. This fate sucked in Cato Manor and situates it in the great drama of the apartheid “chessboard”. The vast townships of eThekwini include Umlazi, Inanda, KwaMashu and eNtuzuma, Chesterville, Lamontville, Kwadabeka, and Claremont, among others. The forced removals that mark Cato Manor and the townships of Durban drew on the framework of colonial fictions by being disguised as bringing order, planning, “civilisation” through laws, and “structure”. Urban history discourse, being highly interdisciplinary, should be able to effortlessly link the distinct factors of urbanisation to colonial and apartheid histories and genealogies. The Cato Manor protests of 1959 against the city's beerhalls and the looming mass removals drew global attention (Jackson, 2006). This event highlighted not only the stark economic inequality within cities and their role as sites of protest against the Group Areas Act, but also the lasting impact of colonial history and empire. This historical site of Cato Manor still hosts, to this day, so-called service delivery protests, while violence and deprivation mark its spaces, tropes, and representation in the media. Ultimately then, South African urban history, shades and interweaves into other branches of history, including economic history, industrialisation, and urbanisation, drawing them together as part of a circuit of history that, in my study, encounters the circuit of culture. So, injecting the media and cultural studies perspective to understanding urban settings in South Africa, allows this study to explore with nuance a selection of salient urbanisation processes and mediated urban texts that eThekwini embodies from its urban history.

The genealogical “trace” of colonialism and apartheid is critical in framing my study. Although colonialism was introduced as a form of ‘civilisation’, it was fundamentally incapable of civilizing societies, and so its discourse and practice introduce wilful exclusion, tension, contradiction, and illogicality to urban life. Poet and politician Aimé Césair, described colonisation as “a civilisation that uses its principles of

trickery…shaped by two centuries of bourgeois rule… incapable of solving the two major problems, that Europe is unable to justify itself, either before the bar of 'reason' or before the bar of 'conscience'" (Césaire, n.d.). Apartheid, for its part, as an infrastructure in South Africa, meant a powerful structure for political and economic conquest stemming from a racial colonial constitution where "… racial domination in South Africa was one of the bequests of the era of colonial conquest and exploitation" (Stadler, 1987: 10). As a system of legalised and institutionalised race discrimination and segregation (Lipton, 1986), apartheid saw to it that "the right of black people to live in the city was constantly threatened" (Nuttall and Mbembe, 2007: 282). Apartheid played a prominent role in ensuring that non-whites were formally and effectively excluded from access to the central institutions of political power and denied common political, social, economic, and cultural rights. The criteria of race was used to "formally dictate political rights and, to a significant extent, economic opportunities" (Stadler, 1987:10), in this study apartheid is also treated as a framework of study (cf. Mboti 2023a, 2023b, 2023c, 2024)

2.3 Mapping the Complex, Schizophrenic 'Afropolis'

The notion of the metropolis as a global city like Tokyo, London, São Paulo, or New York evokes images of fast paced life, dominant economic activity, financialisation, trendy and modern high-rise buildings, and permanent background noise backed-up by heavy traffic and people, among others. When the metropolis meets a city like eThekwini, with its complex colonial and apartheid history, deep divides and inequality, and situated in African concerns, dilemmas, and opportunities, one gets an "Afropolis" – a concept that aims to capture and express the uniqueness and differences of African cities as they enter "global" cityness in the 21st century, their urban spaces configured and reconfigured by old and new realities and shifts, and their entrenched "schizophrenia". Cairo, Lagos, Nairobi, Kinshasa, and Johannesburg exemplify the Afropolis, the complex African city finding its feet and identity and representative of the problems and possibilities of a developing continent. The Afropolis project, reflected specifically in these five cities, provides "panoramic shots of the visual arts and histories, the literatures, socio-politic and urban-scapes of the cities" (Mzomya, 2013). The Afropolis project concentrates on the most prominent African cities, essentially recognizing only those with established demographic, economic, political,

and cultural weight. However, other "second-tier" cities, like eThekwini (Durban) – Africa's second-largest port city (Boonzaaier, 2014; Silaj, 2014; Roberts, 199)] – share many of the key features, nuances, complexities, and spatial politics of the "Afropolis," albeit with significant differences and variations in scale. The similarities in terms of the distinction between “formal” and “informal”, the production and construction of space, and issues of “access” to the city, for instance, are seminal. In eThekwini, Warwick Junction is an interesting example.

Warwick Junction in eThekwini stands as an example of how a city can have a “schizophrenia” or, at least, schizophrenic tendencies both in its cultural forms and socioeconomic practice. Such tendencies also shape representation of urban social space and, indeed, the broader circuit of culture. Defined as a mental disorder and severe mental state of mind, schizophrenia is somewhat apt in describing eThekwini/Durban both in terms of its colonial history and apartheid past and its present-day contradictions such as the tension between “formal” and “informal”. The tension between formal and informal even injects coloniality into debates about how the city’s spaces must be utilised and by whom. In grappling with the urban “complexes” of a growing African city like eThekwini, two recent urban studies focusing on Warwick Junction produced compelling evaluation of the formal and informal economic situations as experienced within the specificities of the famous and historical Warwick Junction Market. The focus from both these studies described eThekwini as an “Abstract city” existing within complexities deriving from histories of separation and consisting of formal and informal economies. One of the studies suggests that urban planning or structures should engage towards plans of strategic planning to allow both the formal and informal economies to exist in cities like Durban (Boonzaaier, 2014). In terms of its top-down economic planning, eThekwini is deliberate about employing a more “formal” economy and economic model, typically based on neoliberal and free market principles that coexist with the post-apartheid “transformation” agenda. So, on the one hand, formal structures such as malls, which house formal and controlled business entities, are given pride of place (Boonzaaier, 2014). On the other hand, less affluent traders constitute the informal sector and thus occupy spaces like the Warwick Junction Market. The complex dynamic of the city is thus heightened by these

distinctions existing side by side in overlaid and overlapping fashion (Frescura and Rossenburg, 2011).

The perspective of the Afropolis as “schizophrenic” allows for a nuanced, if dramatic, discussion of how the spatial politics of the past impinge on the present. Nieftagodie’s (2012) study of the spatial politics of the past, specifically the structure of urban exclusion in Johannesburg’s Alexandra township, which begins in 1912 in the shadow of the Land Act of 1913 and traces the aggressive growth of the township against the global centre of a gold mining city to becoming the “mecca for black urban life” (Nieftagodien, 2012: 264), mirrors, on the one hand, Cato Manor’s situation within landlessness, removal, exclusion, and resistance described above and, on the other hand, the schizophrenia of South African cities. The Land Act of 1913 confined African land ownership in urban spaces such as Cato Manor and Alexandra, surrounded by white suburbia and surviving “on the margins of a booming city, as a neglected space in which some blacks were permitted to own property” (Nieftagodien, 2012: 264). The nature of urban life in South Africa in the colonial and apartheid sense was “epitomised white wealth, power and privilege” (Nieftagodien, 2012: 264). Spatial definition in colonial and apartheid South Africa meant that cities and towns were perceived as spaces of white privilege and power and black exclusion, marginality, and invisibility (Nieftagodien, 2012).

It is an open question whether the schizophrenia of the Afropolis is by design or an accidental outcome of the irrational exclusions of colonialism and apartheid. Hence, the informal Afropolis exists side by side with its formal sibling, reproducing, contradicting, contesting, interpellating, and interpolating each other. This informal African city is, in part, a direct outcome of the historical and institutional legislative process that worked to systematically exclude non-whites from gaining access to land, resources, and financial power in growing cities, while reducing them to cheap labour and temporary sojourners in cities. The reality of the Afropolis, however, was that Africans were in cities to stay, permanently. The reality of the permanence of Africans in cities, set against their treatment by colonial and apartheid racial systems as temporary sojourners, intensified the schizophrenia. White urban areas wanted cheap black labour but wished to keep Africans without rights or equal access to resources, spaces, and amenities. The relegation to the class of cheap labourers, by default,

channelled the majority of Africans into informality. So, the informality, as well as the squalor, dehumanisation, and wretchedness, are not an accident. Rather, they are all caused. In the case of eThekwini, I have traced this cause-and-effect to colonial and apartheid racial engineering. The marginality forces those excluded to *indefinitely* negotiate, contest, and resist authority and the law in various ways for survival, aspects of livelihood that, at times, amplify informality and, at others, incorporate it. As my study will show, informality is sometimes tolerated and, at other times, targeted and denied. The urban culture that emerges, therefore, is itself schizophrenic and is reflected in the construction and representation of the city and the circuit of culture.

In my Masters study on Zulu beadwork as cultural tourism[11], I found that the initially informal and "ruralised" economy of Zulu beadwork was incorporated into the "formal" when the bead-makers moved to sell their beads in the more urban and official spaces that the urban authorities controlled and regulated. In this way, their informal economy was progressively but inexorably integrated to the formal economy. The beach stall sellers were made to pay rent along those stalls to integrate their business into the cultural tourism giants that include hotels and tourism tour companies that target the international and local recreational tourists (Ngema, 2014). Part of the result of this co-option was the infiltration of "made in China" products alongside the "authentic" Zulu beadwork. The paradigm is one where, to survive, the informal must not only accommodate the formal but must be absorbed by it. It cedes its space to the larger and more established business concerns and progressively loses its independence. At the same time, the informal carves new and different spaces side-by-side with the formal in ways that can only be formalised unevenly, thus leaving spaces for continued thriving. Indeed, the informal, such as Warwick Junction, has proven resistant to complete "formalisation". In some cases, the formerly informal that was formalised reverts back to its old informality, on and on, in a ceaseless back and forth. Thus, formality, informality, partial formality, and re-informality characterise the contests and negotiations of eThekwini's urban space.

[11] Thesis title: Questioning notions of authenticity: Zulu beadwork as Cultural Tourism

Most of eThekwini is located on land historically belonging to the Thuli clan who were moved out as the first colonised settlement expanded (Environmental Alliance, 2011), thus establishing the colonial pattern that was to dominate relations of ownership and belonging. Firstly, Africans have always been constituted through erasure in eThekwini. Secondly, the land grabbing of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, and the removals enabled by the Group Areas Act, were merely iterations of this first erasure whereby the Thuli clan were expelled from their land to make way for the settlement. Thirdly, the dispossession of the Thuli clan itself was merely the continuation of a pattern of land thefts that began in 1652 and peaked in the late 19th century and early 20th century. From the trading post established in 1824 (Bjorvig, 1994), the conflicts between the Voortrekker and the British for supremacy over the stolen land, Durban becoming the Natalia Republic under the Voortrekker, known as Natalia Republic, the British taking over the city in 1843, and the city thriving and growing as the colony's port city (Bjorvig, 1994: xiii), the dominant narrative was already one that excludes Africans in their own land. Whatever "thriving" that cities like Durban experienced, however, was itself a contradiction. Such thriving and growth was achieved at the expense of Africans and other non-whites who could not partake or participate fully in the economy or cultural life. Even jobs were reserved for whites while non-whites could not rise beyond a certain ceiling. Thus, the burden of "growth" was not innocent but paralleled exclusion, erasure, and disenfranchisement. Thus, for instance, in the 1930s, the "all-white Chamber of Commerce and industry lobbied the all-white Durban Town Council to zone the entire area for industrial development" (Environmental Alliance, 2011). The whole geography of urban spatiality mirrored erasure, exclusion, and disenfranchisement.

The urban geography of the Afropolis is thus deeply marked with historical and contemporary faultlines. On the surface, eThekwini, described by the Indian Ocean Research Group (2010) as an "immensely cosmopolitan, polyglot and multi-confessional, diasporic [city]… in much of its dominant and labouring classes… diverse in its architecture, music and foods, and linked to oceans of the worlds through its busting port" (Soske, 2010), is permeated with racial divisions of apartheid and the petit-bourgeois basis of African and Indian nationalism. These division ultimately prevent the formation of a broader cosmopolitan ethos (Soske, 2010: 210). While the broader cosmopolitan ethos appeals to the "global aspirations" of cities to house, a

melting pot of cultures (and religions), in a striving city infrastructural (ly), economically and technologically, eThekwini's history of disenfranchised non-whites, with Africans moved further and further away from the city centre, is still very much present. The changes touted by the city authorities as a panacea to past divisions are exposed to be skin deep the moment a crisis happens, such as the July 2021 riots that led to the Phoenix Massacres[12]. Neither economic development nor industrialisation are innocent. Instead, they are implicated in inequality, and inequality itself has historical, colonial, and apartheid roots.

The complex nature of the spatialities of the Afropolis is captured by Henri Lefebvre in his seminal *Production of Space* (1974), even if he was not referring directly to African cities. Lefebvre reflects on the politics of space in cities, probing into how social space has the status of a *message* and the inhabiting of this space necessitates a *reading* of such spaces (Lefebvre, 1974: 7). For Lefebvre, space is made up of "indefinite multitude[s]… each piled upon, or perhaps contained within, the next: geographical, economic, demographic, sociological, ecological, political, commercial, national, continental, global" (Lefebvre, 1974: 8). In comprehending urban spaces and the "production of space" itself, insights lie in the background of how the "science of space" is conceptualised. This is where the field of the "physical" – that is nature, the cosmos and the mental – through logic, and formal abstractions and the social are thought of, are considered as part and parcel of "politics of space". The politics of space is concerned with "logico-epistemological space, the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias" (Lefebvre 1974: 12). Essentially, there is unity at all levels of social practices that are sometimes conflated and used to distinguish their actual relationship. Within conceptions of the idea of space, "housing,

[12] The Phoenix Massacres are marked as modern-day racialised trauma experienced by black South Africans. It happened in the predominately Indian township and black people who passed through the township were killed. Phoenix came under national scrutiny during the July unrest when vigilantism was blamed for the 36 deaths. The unrest in KwaZulu-Natal was characterised by violent attacks, looting, destruction of property and the disruption of economic activity. In Phoenix, community members armed themselves to protect their businesses and properties. The "Phoenix massacre", as it is known by the community, caused serious tension between Indian and Black South Africans (https://groundup.org.za/article/july-2021-unrest-two-years-later-families-and-community-hold-commemorate-victims/ (accessed 30/06/24)

habitation – the human 'habitat', so to speak-are [made] the concern of architecture. Towns and Cities – urban space – are the bailiwick of the discipline of urbanism. As for larger territorial spaces, regional, national, continental or worldwide, these are the responsibility of planners and economists" (Lefebvre, 1974: 12).

If the politics of space includes the desire to remake space in one's own image and the contestation over such images, then how may we "read" the message of social space in the Afropolis? Harvey (2013), borrowing the idea of the "better world" from urban sociologist Robert Park who described the human "attempt to remake the world he lives in more after his heart's desire…" (Park, n.d), asserts that "A lot of political energy is put into promoting, protecting, and articulating [political significance] in the construction of a better world" (Harvey, 2013: 3). Considering what we know of the horrors of the colonial and apartheid eras, the production of a "better world" from city spaces in different parts of Africa, was engineered to benefit Europeans. That is, it was a better world for whites. The contradiction is not only that a better world for some can be a horror for others, but also what this contradiction means for the future of African cities that are shaped in the image of this contradiction. It is my reading that the urban space, imagined not only to be a functional destination but something about which there is to be "no surprises, few chances of unregulated encounters", with cities operating as objects experienced through languages (Simone, 2004: 407-408), is so regulated within the "circuit of history" so that the "surprises" and "chances of unregulated encounters" that it excludes are the worlds of the oppressed and marginalised Africans. Again, this argument adds to my previous view about the inseparable relationship, in the Afropolis, between the "circuit of history" and the "circuit of culture". If cities are sites for remaking the world, such remaking was for a long time an exclusive prerogative of whites. That prerogative is the one that is now being contested – and this study attempts to capture some of the nuances of this contestation.

Even if, as Harvey succinctly states, the "rights to the city" are a collective power which weighs over individual ambitions to exist within the city, and even as he contends that the right to the city is "far more than a right of individual or group access to resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change and reinvent the city more after our hearts desires" (Harvey, 2013: 4), we would still need to resolve the question of how and if

the colonised subject exists as an individual. Essentially, for my study, I am interested in the abstract right to the city and the questions of power and identity. Who has the right to the city in eThekwini? For whom are its spaces reserved? I argue that, in making cities, those already in positions of power, historically, are privileged in deciding how and for whom the city works and, ultimately, is understood and constructed. This is not to say that the oppressed lack agency but simply to acknowledge the remarkable weight of history.

The rest of Harvey's (2013) questions, and which he encourages us to think over carefully, are apt for my study. What kind of people should be in the city? How? Where in the city should they be? What kind of social relations should prevail in the city? What relations should be nurtured and cherished? What style of desired life should be encouraged in these cities? Finally, what aesthetic values do we hold in constructing these cities? In my study these questions are repurposed so that they acknowledge, by default, that in African cities access and rights are, by design, not afforded to all "humans" who may find themselves desiring the city and its spaces. The African experience of the city is thus best framed as a continuation of the historical struggle against colonial and apartheid harm, even after these episodes are supposed to be officially ended. Such a view, because it regards colonialism as persisting in the form of coloniality, can be called decolonial. Such a decolonial approach is implied in this study and is an important subtext. In such an approach, the African subject is – and should be – given prominence. The intention is for the analysis to be reparative – a necessity if, as Mbembe (2015) asserts, "African human experiences constantly appear in the discourse of our times as an experience that can only be understood through a negative interpretation" (Mbembe, 2015: 1). Where Africa is never seen as possessing things and attributes that are properly part of "human nature" or, when it is, it is things and attributes that "are generally of lesser value, little importance, and poor quality" (Mbembe, 2015: 1), the reparative approach is necessary. As Mngxitama (2015) contends, the treatment of black people all over the world is connected to the loss of land, and it is further connected to how black bodies have been reduced to property. The loss of land escalated from the point of slavery and "once the African was reduced to property next to other beasts in the auction block, claims to territory, to autonomy and bodily integrity became silly luxuries not available to [Africans]" (Mngxitama, 2015: 36). The process of city making in South Africa, overshadowed as

it was by racial segregation, does not produce an abstract cityness. Rather, it is caught up with the struggle for the humanisation of Africans who were dehumanised by hundreds of years of slavery, colonisation, empire, and apartheid.

2.4 African Cities and "Global City" Aspirations

The idea of a "globalising city" draws on the tacit recognition that city is increasingly resembling "other" global cities, professionalising its services sectors, being futuristic, using more modern technology at scale, financialising its service sectors, being more "ordered" (as opposed to "chaotic"), economically transformed, and hosting international visitors, tourists, and mega events. Interestingly, the standard of "global" cities are western cities and perceived western standards, suggesting that the concept is not at all innocent. Rather, it is a repackaging of old "modernisation paradigm" norms about what it means to be developed and modern. For instance, "global" cities more or less follow the privatising, neoliberal trend. Neuwirth (2015) even sees cities that aspire to global cityness as being part of a process in which planners and architects collude with developers and politicians to make every city look like every other city (Neuwirth, 2015: 16). Thus, there is homogenising tendency in the process. A more affirmative example of encounters with African cities and this notion of 'renewed' African city can be drawn from Accra, the capital city of Ghana (Grant 2009). Grant's (2009) study of Accra leads him to describe it as a city with transformative economic growth. This description is contrasted with his earlier personal encounters with the capital Ghanaian city in the early 1990s. Then, Grant regarded Accra to be a city of "chaos". For instance, his luggage arrived days later in his cheap hotel and the cab driver also made him pay before his destination after suddenly running out fuel. Yet, in 2008, Grant pivots to now seeing Accra as a globalising city, highlighting the organised taxi service (for instance, he saw taxi drivers in blue shirt uniforms), the revamping of hotels, which were now far more professional and expensive, and the fact that Accra and other major cities in Ghana were hosting the 2008 26th African Cup of Nations soccer tournament (Grant, 2009).

In West Africa, where there are some of the largest cities in Africa, most of which are found in Nigeria (Galal, 2023; Dairo, 2021), the developmental trajectory of these cities has been questioned. Before Abuja became the capital of Nigeria, Lagos held the

status of capital before 1991 (Dairo, 2021). Lagos, the most populated city in Nigeria, with an estimated twenty-one million inhabitants and endowed with one of the largest ports in Africa, Apapa Harbour, a leading transhipment centre for imported goods in West Africa, is both an economic hub and megacity in Nigeria, West Africa, and the whole of Africa. Lagos is also known for Nollywood, the third largest film industry in the world after Hollywood and Bollywood. It sees an influx of Nigerians seeking economic opportunities including modern housing, potable water systems, and employment opportunities (Diaro, 2021). The city has two significant districts, Mainland and the Lagos Island, respectively. Akinbiya (2010), in the photo essay *Lagos: All Roads*, explains that while traffic moves easily if there is a good flow, in a traffic jam, delays could amount to hours. The nightmarish traffic jams in Lagos are an example of the dysfunctionalities that the city has to overcome if it is to become a "global city". Akinbiya (2010) explains that "the local populations were exploited and robbed through…colonial city harbours, designed more as stores and warehouses than as factories (Akinbiya, 2010: 131). Lagos is routinely described by western observers as an exemplar of chaos and anarchy, especially related to lawlessness and criminality in the city, as well as dysfunctional or substandard infrastructure, including erratic supply of electricity. Thus, Akinbiya, in one of his images labelled "*Power Supply Lines*, 2010", showcases a "jumble of cables", which he identifies as a hidden self-help resistance and an attempt to remain connected (Akinbiya, 2010: 135). Lagos thus seems poised to be a "global city" but also seems trapped in dysfunctional limbo. Yet, the analysis in this study does not consider the trajectory of global cityness to be innocent or value free. Rather, African cities such as Lagos have their own unique strengths and limitations that require far more nuanced analysis.

Accra and Lagos thus present contrasting stages and images of "globalising" and "renewal". The western standard is colonial, a throwback not only to how colonial cities, catering to colonial elites, looked and "felt" but also how such cities were planned on a European template that reproduced the binary of Africans as cheap labour and whites as Masters. Such a standard is not only unrealistic but is retrogressive. Colonialism, by default, made sure that technological and infrastructure development in the colonies was structured to mimic European metropoles, with the colonies framed as peripheries to Europe's core, while the urban life itself was meant

to exist in spatially divided spaces (Fanon, 1963). South Africa's colonial and apartheid past means that its cities reflect the same contradictions as Accra and Lagos, with the difference that in South Africa, whites stayed and made the country home. This difference, however, is only on the surface. In reality, South African cities were organised in such a way that "white areas" were the core while townships, locations, and rural areas were the peripheries which provided cheap labour. Cities such as eThekwini are still negotiating through such divisions, struggling to undo the core-periphery structure, meet economic growth needs, and create an all-inclusive city. Since most African countries were once colonised and their modern cities built or planned by colonial planners, the core-periphery binary and the coordinates of cityness that point to Europe are best subjected to decolonial perspectives. These cities are best seen in terms of the hybridity that marked their development (Neuwirth, 2015: 17).

2.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter discussed "Cities", focusing on eThekwini (Durban). The transformation of South African cities highlights how urban renewal in Post-94 South Africa is linked with modernising infrastructure to address historical injustices. The city's development is designed by two imperatives: firstly, Economic-led growth, which is driven by neoliberal policies and activities, and social transformation, which aims to address and improve inclusivity and equity. These developments were seen during the 2010 FIFA World Cup, where the city tried to balance economic and social inclusivity. However, the ambitions of economic globalisation, as shown in the literature, indicate that the city's efforts to bring balance are hindered by complexity and often contradict inclusivity. Essentially, this chapter evaluates the historical links to economic development for cities and how the tensions of promoting social justice and equality are exacerbated by colonial legacies, apartheid and economic disparities. eThekwini, as a growing city, has to manage global pressure, which intersects with local socio-economic challenges in sustaining its urban landscape.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the research approaches, methodology and methods utilised to study eThekwini's social space(s). The data was collected via case study and analysed qualitatively through discourse and thematic analyses. The core research position is that people should be understood from and in their own contexts (cf. Chilisa, 2020). The case study allows one "to place the case in the appropriate research literature so that lessons from the case study will more likely advance knowledge and understanding of a given topic" (Yin, 2012). Within the discourse of qualitative research approaches, this study was investigated as a 'bounded system' (Henning *et al* 2004: 32). A bounded system may be a group of people, a set of documents, a television show, or a "social entity that parameters can bound and that shows a specific dynamic and relevance, revealing information that can be captured within these boundaries" (Henning *et al*. 2004: 32). Since eThekwini is located in a historically colonised context, or at least where coloniality persists, the methods in this research aimed to understand the specific locale in its richness and all its contours, thus "writing in" all the voices that might be excluded – wittingly or not – in urban and cultural studies. The study thus provides a space or platform that enables the recognition of diversity in culture and contexts and promotes giving a voice to all, irrespective of race, location, and ethnic group (cf. Chilisa, 2020: 209-10).

The change in the political regime, from colonialism to apartheid to 'democracy' has direct implications to how a city that embraced coloniality and apartheid laws has changed within a democracy. The study of the "uses" of the city include exploring changes and the case study method, though sometimes criticised for being of uncertain value and impossible to generalise (Crowe et al., 2011). In addition, as being biased because of its singular focus, is invaluable for this study as it explores the phenomenon of urban living within eThekwini which is consistent with global urban cultures while retaining its own peculiarities (cf. Yin, 2003). The study employs

multiple methods to collect data, firstly, on media representations and urban communication discourse (newspaper discourse about the city) and, then the lived experiences (Photovoice method, with city cultural practitioners) in the city of eThekwini. The multi-method approach ensures comprehensiveness and depth. Throughout, a deliberate position is taken that the quotidian human experience of eThekwini is at the centre of how the city is imagined and experienced.

Case studies research complex social situations with a large number of variables which cannot be controlled and cannot even be perceived and recognised in all their dimensions (Kyburz-Graber, 2004: 54). As Kyburz-Graber (2004) reiterates, case studies are best suited to the work of describing context-specific situations. Since aims to elicit in-depth insight into the complex "bounded" social situations that exist in the city of eThekwini, the case study is ideal. The specific study of two such bounded systems, one based on eThekwini newspapers, and the other comprising individuals who are cultural producers in the city within which they live and work, is at once a study of communication and representation and of urban social life and networks of sociality and practice. The complicated existence of and within the city are reflexively unravelled, illustrating the centrality of the city as a unit of analysis and the importance of lived experiences, voice, and media lenses and constructions. For the former, close reading of newspaper articles from 2010 to 2019 provided a decade worth of rich data exploring how eThekwini's print media "constructs" and represents the city and the continuum of its lived experiences. For the latter, with eleven participants provided a window into contemporary cultural production practices in eThekwini. The Photovoice method itself required participatory engagement throughout, thus mirroring the participative ethos that cultural practitioners draw on in "imagining" eThekwini. Participants took photos in a participative "co-production" with the researcher, thus blurring boundaries between researcher and researched and between intellectual and cultural production. Employing Photovoice also allowed for constant visual engagement with participants during the focus groups. Taken together with participation in a focus group (used alternatively with the word 'conversations'), Photovoice afforded the nuanced exploration of the participants' lived experiences while also enabling reflexive interrogation of the assumptions on which this study is based.

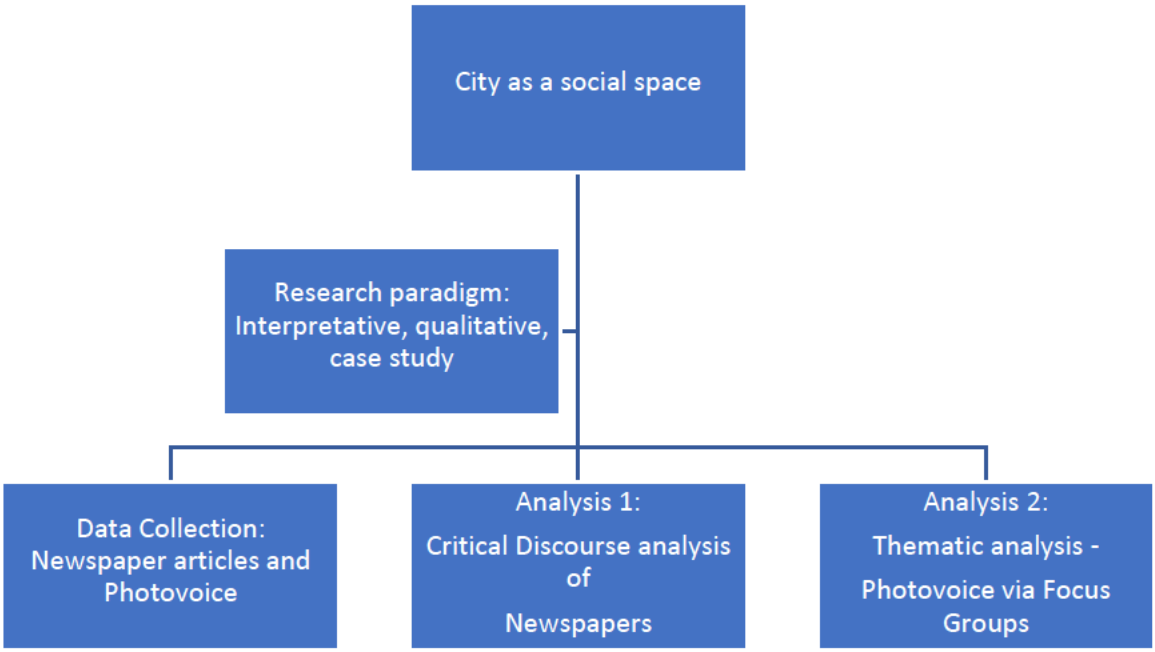

Fig. 3.1: The methodology for the study is described above containing the data collected the analysis strategy (Ngema, 2023).

3.2 Research Paradigm

The interpretative paradigm informs this research, because the human experience of eThekwini is at the centre of how the researcher approached the subject of the "construction" of the city, and because nuanced understanding and describing of the human nature of city dwellers is paramount (Chilisa and Kawulich, 2012). Since urban dwellers have different lived experiences based in different realities (Akbar, 1991, Bagela 2020), this study is necessarily constrained by and constituted within the context, space and time of eThekwini and the individuals who live and work in it, some of whom participated in this study. This study, ultimately, assumes that there is an important nexus between living and working in the city, representation, and cultural production that leads to normative and creative identity constructions of that city and its inhabitants. As already argued, the human experience of eThekwini is at the centre of the interpretive questioning of the production, reproduction and representation of the city. In our contemporary times, lived realities are often mediated since media are ubiquitous. As such, the nexus between media and daily life, but also media and daily urban life, can be productive and rewarding for the study of social and cultural life in "bounded" settings. Media representation, therefore, frames, shapes and contributes to the disjuncture that is evident in the urban development planning and policies, a disjuncture that has much to do with the silent persistence of apartheid. The

researcher's preoccupation with how culture is produced, experienced, and consumed translates to a methodological preoccupation with unpacking culture to reveal "particular ways of using 'culture', of what is available as a culture to people inhabiting" (Gray, 2003: 12) the urban environment. A focus on how people make culture within the city as a site of belonging, identity formation and cultural exchange will reveal sets of ideas and beliefs that contribute to meanings, processes and artefacts of culture which are produced, distributed and consumed within this context (Gray, 2003).

3.3 eThekwini as a research site

The first chapter elucidated why eThekwini, home to 3.2 million inhabitants[13], was an appropriate site of study. The second largest city in South Africa and the second largest port city (after Lagos) in Africa, eThekwini remains a contested[14] space against which one can unpack how the production of culture and space shapes and reflects a society sustained by steep racial and social class cleavages. Media constructions of the city and an account of lived experiences add to the thorough knowledge of urban cultures, specifically African urbanities' which are less known than other world cities. Considering that cities are growing spaces that accommodate growing societies, critiquing urban communication in eThekwini will add to critical knowledge on states of affairs in developing and growing African cities. There are unique historical situations that have ramifications and implications for the city's and nation's socio-economic and political dynamics.

3.4 Ethical Clearance Process

The initial research approach was to narrow down to a primary data source of newspaper articles partly because this medium would be easily accessible and available but also because the newspaper archive is almost a sine qua non in normative media studies. This reasoning was later inadequate to justify the exclusion of views and knowledge of people whose lived experience is central to the "identity" of the city. Participants were selected based on observing their status in the city as

[13] https://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/durban-population (accessed 10/05/2023)

[14] By contested, I am claiming that the city is exclusionary and often rejects people who are poor and historically oppressed.

artists, consumers of art, and cultural practitioners and producers. What this research considers as a cultural producer is flexible and open, thus allowing for a range of participants representing the various art forms and consumption levels on display in eThekwini.

Initial concerns by the University of KwaZulu-Natal about issuing the ethical clearance where there was no gatekeeper authority to issue a “gatekeeper approval/letter” to me to conduct the study. However, ethical clearance was granted after I motivated that I would be engaging and interviewing the everyday person, through various activities, and with whom I was connected in their capacities as friends, colleagues, art collaborators. That is, engagement with all the participants was from long-standing relationships, since I am also part of the arts and cultural production in eThekwini. In other words, the process required that I motivate researcher reflexivity. Reflexivity as a deconstructive exercise for locating the intersections with participants, allows for the continuing engagement with participants and revelations of the self as the researcher at various stages of the research (Macbeth, 2001; Narayanasamy,2015). Reflexivity worked as a process of reflecting critically on my research strategy, and how I engaged with my collaborators. The process was transformative for personal awareness about the research site (Peddle, 2022), and became a tool or strategy of rigour (Darawsheh, 2014). Researcher reflexivity was even more essential in a situation where I could not expect to ask for (and receive) ‘gatekeeper’ permission from the eThekwini Municipality (as an example) to interact with and engage citizens who are neither employees nor deployees of the Municipality but are merely rate payers that I know, fraternise and socialise with. In the end, this motivation, with the added guarantees of researcher reflexivity included, was acknowledged and ethical clearance was granted (See ethical clearance letter attached in Appendix (A) section: HSS/2079/017D).

Informed Consent

Informed consent refers to the formal agreement between the researcher and the research participant regarding the relationship between the two during the data collection process (O’Sullivan, 2021). Consent improves participant understanding of the study and depends on disclosure of pertinent information, capacity to give consent and a voluntary decision to participate (O’Sullivan, 2021). It is a process, and not a single event, and the process requires the researcher to approach participants at

different stages, for the participant to fully grasp their function in the study/research. After the participant has processed all the information, the researcher needs to be open to respond to any questions and adjust information to fit the needs of the participants. Ultimately the process demands rapport and trust-building between the researcher and the participants (O'Sullivan, 2021). After the process was fully met, participants had informed details of the study, and consented to participate and collaborate. To further the process, consent had to be in a written form, extending the verbal form prior. For this study, written, informed consent forms were distributed before the focus group sessions. The process adhered to three key principles as suggested by Ogletree and Kawulich (2012)- namely that the participants can withdraw from the research at any time, that participation is voluntary, and that participants must understand that the research might affect their emotional or physical welfare. In adhering to these principles, I clearly defined the purpose of the research to all the participants prior to and at the beginning of all the sessions. Furthermore, throughout the process, in true reflexive process, the project was always open for reformulation and (re)discussion when participants required clarity or required to provide critical feedback. The project was also always shaped around participants' reflexive needs, disposition, availability, and time. Rather, interviewing and Photovoice required constant negotiation. With the photography component, participants verbally received the brief on what was required as well as through written communication by means of the informed consent form and via email. I created a specific email account (urbansocialspacedoctoral@gmail.com) for the study to enhance communication. Social media, particularly WhatsApp, was also used for closer interaction with participants, and by allowing me to send the same message to all at once to multiple participants when communicating time and place of focus groups or any important updates related to the study. Participants who needed further training on using the camera were informed that they could request assistance at any time. Once informed consent was secured and availability negotiated, the focus group sessions were conducted in September 2019. Furthermore, each of the eight (8) participants were provided with a camera from April 2019 to engage the four themes for three months.

The Ethics Committee coded the study as 'green', which meant that the research did not pose a risk (danger, psychological, medical) to the participants. 'Green' coded

research at UKZN is the least onerous in terms of ethical approval, and data collection can commence right away after the basic protocols are observed. All my participants were physically and mentally healthy adults who also understood that there were no specific risks or benefits to them by participating in this research. For instance, the cameras they used for the study were for research purposes only and were to be returned after the conclusion of the project. At the same time, R100 gift vouchers were issued for my appreciation of their participation, without having promised these gift vouchers prior to the commencement of the research nor creating obligations. Participants were further assured of their safety through the researcher's contact details provided to them through the informed consent form. The contact information was for "answers to important questions, concerns or participatory rights. Participants need to know the study's contact information to enable them, to ask questions about the study or to extricate themselves from participation" (Ogletree and Kawulich, 2012: 69).[15] All photographs, after they were received electronically, some via email, and others physically through the SD card in the cameras, were stored on a secure and password protected computer in a clearly marked folder. As stipulated in the consent form, the record and storage of all the photographs will be stored electronically and destroyed after five years as per university data management and storage guidelines. Possibilities remain that the project may continue as a post-doctoral exhibition of all the collected photography, inviting the participants as artistic collaborators and for greater visibility and publicity for the study and its findings.

The study perceived newspaper articles as 'text' that captures every day lived experiences, an approach that is apt for a cultural studies project which turns on identifying the culture/power matrix – to explore the cultural politics of quotidian life in the city (cf. Gray, 2003).–The process of collecting newspapers was streamlined by targeting headlines that reflected selected relevant key words. The key words included *Durban, eThekwini,* and *development*. It became evident that newspaper records and archives were not available for specific years (See table 3). Articles in print newspapers were purposively selected, a search that yielded 107 articles. Due to the high volume of print articles sought, research assistants were employed during this

[15] See the Informed Consent Form attached in the appendix section

data collection phase. For the analysis, I settled on 98 (See Graph 1, visual display). Due to the newspaper articles being in the public domain already, there was no risk and little ethical complication in their use.

3.5 Data Collection and Sampling: Newspapers (data source) and Photovoice

Data, as already intimated, was 'collected' in two ways. The first was mainly from data from newspaper articles. The second was through Photovoice with eleven (11) participants, eight (8) of them in the photo component of the Photovoice. These two data collection methods were selected and utilised at different stages of this study. Print newspapers provided the material form that allowed for investigating the media's gaze, and how urban culture in South Africa is read and configured. After all, the newspaper medium is one of the oldest forms of mass communication that shapes public opinion through newsworthy content (Richardson, 2007) and so has enduring relevance in media and cultural studies. If the media gaze is a critical aspect of the construction of the city, then media representation and the urban culture that shapes it and is shaped by it, are to be read and configured through both an initial description of the form of 'media' and critical analysis of the discourse of eThekwini as a city. Newspaper headlines and stories from 2010 to 2019 were purposively selected to highlight and reflect, through critical discourse analysis, specific media constructions, frames, representations, and "packaging" of the city, the discourse of African cities, what the city is and what is not part of the city, the framing of the city for tourism and branding purposes and the global aspiration of eThekwini that reveals how the city represents itself in a worldwide network of "cityness" (See Appendices for sample newspaper headlines). Four (4) newspapers with a significant local footprint in eThekwini were included in the study, namely the *Mercury, Daily News*, the Independent, and *Sunday Tribune*. The two Indigenous isiZulu language newspapers, Isolezwe and Ilanga, were excluded because my reading of them about my study indicated that they primarily provide a translation of their English-language counterparts and did not offer substantially different or new perspectives to the public discourse on "cityness".

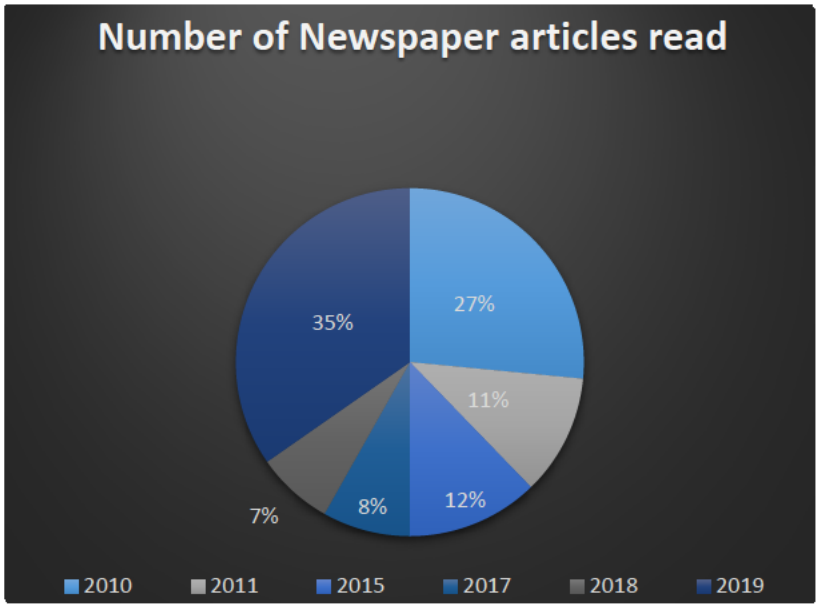

Fig. 3.2: Sample of articles reviewed

Whereas newspapers provided a written record, Photovoice contributed immediacy and multimodality. The Photovoice method was introduced to understand the lived experiences of the participants, engaging them through the photographic 'image' to reflexively capture the essence of their reality and have access to their visual ways of thinking about their lived experiences. While the earliest version of the proposal of this study proposed only a textual analysis of Durban based newspapers to understand the media constructions of the city, it became evident as the study evolved that the intricate understanding of the circuit of culture – which spans to include, articulations of production, identity, regulation – required the authentic voices of the citizens. The decision to include Photovoice of cultural practitioners and culture producers was purposely included to integrate this latter aspect of the voices of the denizens of the city, most of whom I recruited because of relatively easy access, prior acquaintance, and use of shared spaces. While the process with newspapers included a textual analysis of the headlines and the written content of the newspaper articles, the process with Photovoice included skills transference of photo taking, participation through sharing the images with other participants, and dialogues as part of a focus group. The Photovoice participants are described in the table below (Table 4.2). Participants were requested to take photographs using the Canon Ixus 185, a small, lightweight camera that fits in a pocket. Their photo journaling was guided by initial questions that were provided to the participants through an informal and reflexive discussion about the research study. The guided structure required participants to take photos and

“journal” their lived experiences over three months, from April to June 2019, and a group meeting in September 2019. The intention had been to meet in July 2019 as a focus group with the majority of participants present – a process that is important to foster a participatory element – but we could only meet in September due to scheduling issues. A directed structure was provided to the participants, by introducing four themes drawn from the objectives of the study namely:

- The City as a Site of Production, Consumption; Identity; Regulation and Representation
- Global aspirations of eThekwini
- Contemporary Trends in the City
- Communication Power: Historical situations and Social Actors

An additional component engaged the idea of ‘cities for the future’ and how eThekwini’s own self-representation and self-construction anticipates and is shaped by such framing. From the four themes participants selected four images per theme to link to the discussion of the representation and construction of the city. Capturing the participants’ everyday discourse on what is and is not part of the city, and uncovering and unpacking all the critical points of cultural cycles within the city, was essential.

The Photovoice method that I employed was thus participatory, a mode of use that echoes Liebenburg’s (2018) exploration of Photovoice as a community based participatory action research (PAR) method. For Liebenburg (2018) PAR is an appropriate method to foster research within the humanities for social change since it is “concerned with the democratisation of knowledge development as a component of social justice” (Liebenberg, 2018: 1; Breitbart, 2010: 141). Considering the colonial foundations of eThekwini which still shape the “consumption” of the city (cf. Vahed), the authentic engagement of those affected by social injustices was fundamental for my study. Chilisa (2012) argues that the “exploited, the poor, and the marginalised should participate as knowers in the entire research process, which includes defining the research issue, collecting the data, analysing and interpreting the data, writing the report and disseminating the findings” (Chilisa, 2012: 226). Such an argument reiterates the importance of PAR from an indigenous methodologies’ perspective. Ultimately, research from this method intends to ground knowledge-making from a

base of the community's realities, needs and expertise (cf. Liebenberg, 2018). Social issues that are co-researched with participants reconnect "scientific research" with "society for the purpose of social transformation" (Liebenberg, 2018: 1).

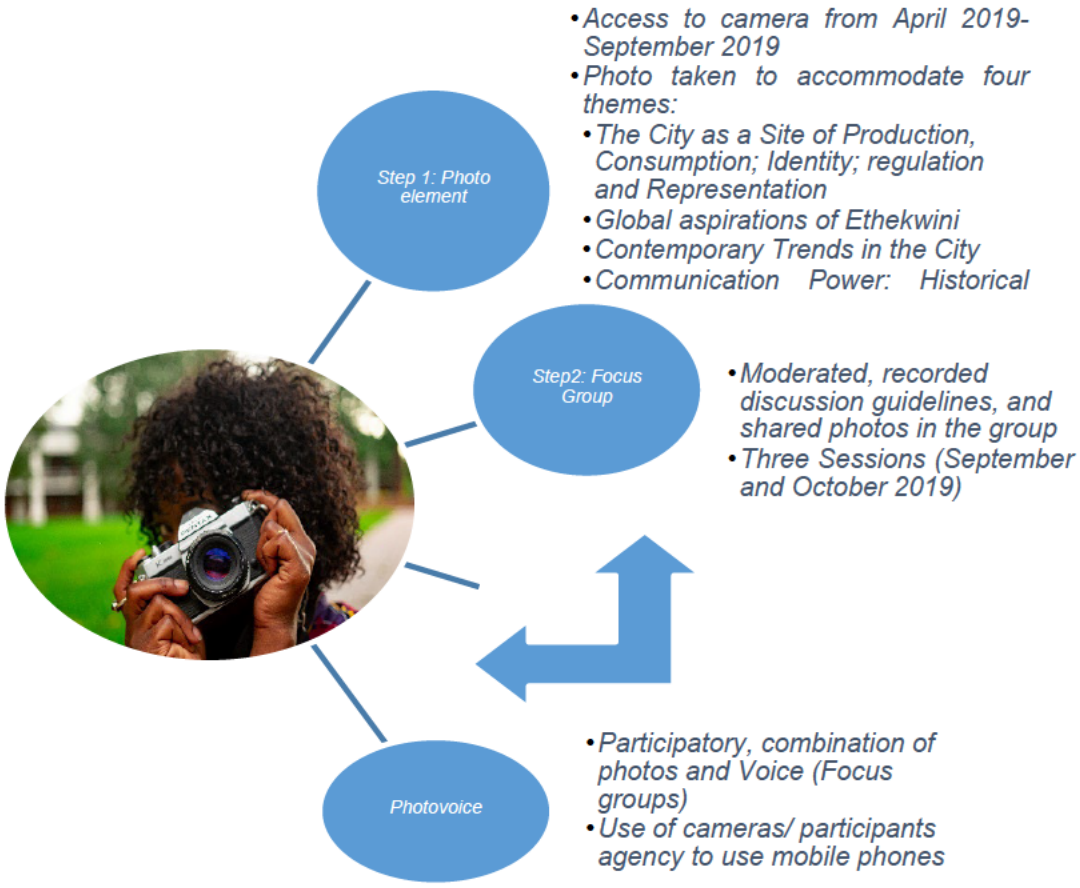

Fig. 3.3 Steps and Stages of the Photovoice Methodology

The stages of the Photovoice process encouraged many layers of participation, from the initial exchange between the researcher, who provides the camera to the participants, and the participants, who may or may not be known to the researcher prior to the invitation to participate in the study, and who may or may not be familiar with photography. The process is facilitated by the researcher, by providing specific themes that guide the photographers approach when taking photos. The photographer-participant retains agency, discretion, freedom, and artistic choice on which photo to capture. The degree of freedom allowed to participants during Photovoice was consistent with the study's focus on the city as a social and cultural

space in which different participants have different lived and artistic experiences. The researcher's 'control' was limited to when I provided participants the cameras and directed the process with themes as mentioned earlier. The four themes were also used as talking points during the focus group sessions.

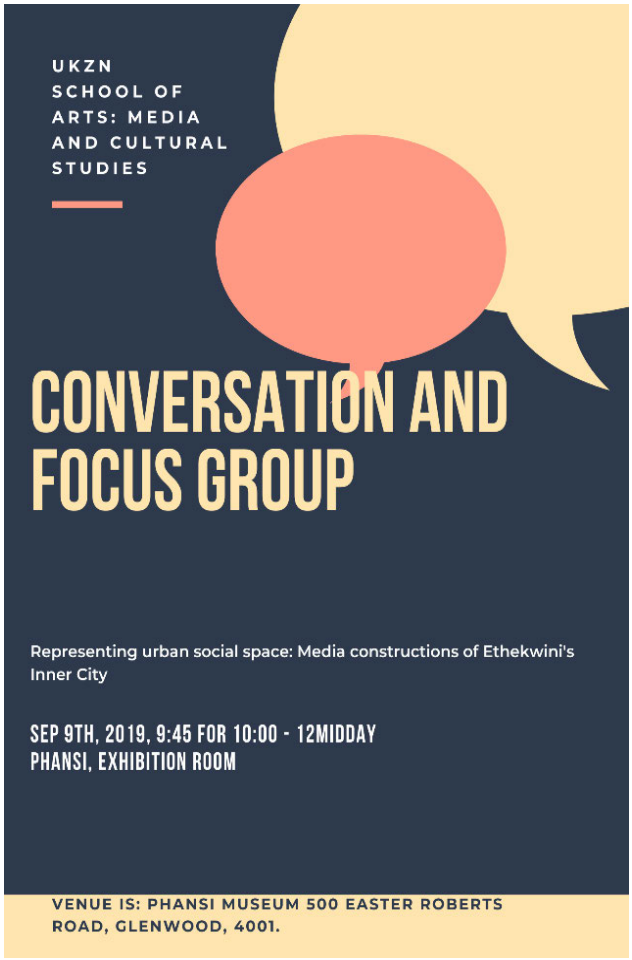

Fig. 3.4: Poster invitation to the focus group conversation of 9/9/2019

Once participants photographed their reality and live experiences, they then engaged in the 'voice' component of the Photovoice method. Participants were invited to 'conversations' in focus groups to discuss, reflect on, and interrogate their photographs- two forms of participation emerged. The first was a more complete level of participation involving 'key' participants who received their cameras in April 2019. The second was a truncated participation whereby some participants did not participate in the photo-documentary process but were only part of the conversations. The key "photo" participants photo-documented their experience of the city over the

full three months while the “voice” participants joined in the conversation later. The two levels of participation mutually complimented each other since they brought “photo” and “voice” together. The participants who joined for the conversations after the photo-documentation stage represented the community that, while precluded from the process of capturing eThekwini through photography, added significantly to the discourse of cultural production.

The focus group sessions, initially planned for approximately two hours, went beyond the allocated time due to the 128 photographs that were up for discussion. The sessions were planned to accommodate all the participants in terms of when they would be most likely to be available. However, not all participants attended all the sessions due to scheduling clashes and unforeseen circumstances. For instance, Amanda, one of the participants, had multiple freelance work which, because it was critical to her livelihood, could not be set aside, even though she had committed to meet on scheduled dates. The Photovoice focus groups took place over three days, on the 9th and 23rd of September 2019 and on the 12th of October 2019, dates that were selected to accommodate availability of participants. All the participants, with the exception of Amanda, were available for the 9th September session while Gcina, Ayanda, Amanda, and Fathima were absent from the second focus group meeting on the 23rd of September. Amanda and Fathima, being key participants who were collaborators since April 2019, later availed themselves on the 12th of October 2019 to complete their discussion on their photos (See Table, Fig 3.5). As will be noted, most of the participants were self-employed (an important element of the lived experiences in eThekwini) and time and scheduling are subject to availability and always at the mercy of the call of artistic duty. The October (2019) session, which included Amanda and Fathima, was thus a readjustment of the schedule to accommodate them to ensure their participation. Fortunately, there was an optimum number of participants during the September sessions (See Table, Fig 3.5). The first two sessions had eight (8) participants each while the final session, as indicated, had to accommodate Amanda, with Fathima joining her (on the 12th of October 2019). The first session on the 9th of September was structured to be an introductory “icebreaker” session were participants introduced themselves and became familiar not only to each other but also to the focus group context.

Date of Focus Group	Number of participants	Present participants	Session venue
Session 1: 9/09/2019	10	Sana, Michael, Maqhawe, Ongezwa, Thobeka, Fathima, Portia, Thobile, Gcina, Ayanda	Phansi Museum
Session 2: 23/09/2019	7	Sana, Michael, Maqhawe, Ongezwa, Thobeka, Portia, Thobile	Phansi Museum
Session 3: 12/10/2019	2	Fathima, Amanda	Station Drive

Fig. 3.5: Details of focus group dates, participants, and venues

Two of the focus group sessions were held at the Phansi Museum, in Glenwood, a space that fitted well with the themes and tensions of artistic production and consumption of the city. The museum space was made available through one of the participants, Thobeka, who was employed as a Development Director at the museum, illustrating the reflexive nature of the data collection process where participants like Thobeka went beyond the strict “photo” and “voice” element. For Thobeka, hosting the focus groups at the museum was consistent with her vision to keep the museum relevant and open to the greater public. Museums, typically, are elite institutions which – while nominally open to the public – reflect specialised elite tastes. Thobeka’s anxiety to throw open the doors of the museum to the “masses” also reflects elements of the “future of the city” where eThekwini has shed its exclusive colonial spaces and institutions and embraced a transformed identity which is hopefully built in the image of most of the city’s residents. In the past, eThekwini was constructed in the image of the few, in keeping with colonial and apartheid modes of power (cf. Vahed, 2011). Thobeka’s participation extends the participatory approach the study employed and affirms the reflexive and collaborative nature that each participant contributed to the study.

Most of the participants were flexible in their choice of times to attend the focus group sessions, often negotiating slots accommodative and reflective of the fact that most of them were self-employed. My scheduling itself had to be flexible to reflect this, showing how methodological considerations in action research can be shaped by participants' constraints rather than be predetermined by researchers. The duration of sessions was often two hours, with sessions conducted typically between 10am and 12am. Noticeably, the second session, which included intricate debates about representation and the uses, identity and meanings of the city, and which was conducted in a space that was familiar to all the participants, took longer than the researcher-scheduled two hours. In fact, it took four hours. Not only were participants eager to get through all the photo sharing on that day, but the extended duration demonstrated how flexible both the researcher and the participants were, and how willing we were to mutually negotiate methodological constraints in ways that enriched the study. The final session, as already indicated, was attended by only two participants, Amanda and Fathima, scheduled to accommodate their availability during lunch hour. This session kept to the normative two hours duration. All the focus groups were recorded with the permission of the participants, and later transcribed verbatim to best capture the meaning of the in-depth answers provided by the participants with regards to the representation of urban social space in eThekwini. During the sessions, I opted to fully and directly engage in the ongoing conversations rather than take detailed notes like a stenographer and not break the flow, by deviating attention to note scribing. I relied on the recorder, which I later transcribed to be the main source of capturing the conversations. The Photovoice participants, who permitted that their first names be used in the study,[16] are profiled in Table, Fig. 3.6 below.[17] Some of the participants, such as Ayanda and Gcina, had minimal participation, being only present during one of the sessions on the 9th of September 2019.

[16] Due to the "green" coded nature of the study, reflecting little to no direct risk of harm to participants, and the fact that the prominent use of pictures in the study meant that full anonymisation was next to impossible, the use of participants' actual first names and race and ethnicity was deemed appropriate.

[17] The profiles in the Table also capture how each participant described themselves during the icebreaker session.

Name	Age Category	Cultural Production &Occupation	Race/ethnicity
Sana	30-40	Curator, Green heart, self-employed	Indian
Michael	40 +	Retired academic, visual anthropologist, media & cultural practice, self-employed	White
Maqhawe	30-40	Qualified teacher, writer, media practitioner	Black
Ongezwa	30-40	Academic, performing artist-children's theatre/ storytelling	Black
Thobeka	30-40	Media Practitioner, Development Director at Phansi Museum, event's organiser	Black
Amanda	30-40	Graphic artist, self-employed, academic	Coloured
Fathima	30-40	Graphic designer, self-employed	Indian
Portia	30-40	Musician, artist, self-employed	Black
Thobile	30-40	Creative Collaborator, employed in corporate environment	Black
Gcina	30-40	Performing artist, self-employed	Black
Ayanda	40+	Phansi Museum	Black

Fig 3.6: Profiles of Photovoice and Focus group participants

Fieldwork creates different challenges that require improvisation. Our scheduled focus groups, for instance, did not always begin on time. Some participants arrived earlier than others, forcing me to find ways to break the ice and interrupt the tedium of waiting while subtly introducing the themes of the study. For example, in the second session, as we waited for other participants to join, I persuaded participants to draft "letters" to the city's past, present and future as part of a writing-the-city exercise linking "memory" of the city, with contemporary identity and the aspirations of the future. These letters, aside from acting as session icebreakers as we waited for other participants to arrive, also set the tone for how participants reflected through writing about how they engage

and understand the city in terms of a personal-and-political vocabulary that was not overly clouded by academic jargon and formalised expression. Finally, the letter writing exercise also fostered greater self-reflection, reflexive participation, and the participatory ethos at the centre of the study. Excerpts of the letters are presented below (Fig. 3.7) to illustrate the reflexive processes that occurred to encourage participation and self-reflection with how-participants interact use, and "consume" the city, including constraints and regulations that govern consumption of the city. Each participant was allocated thirty minutes to write their three-sided epistolary reflection. Epistolary writing, as a personal and political act of inscription and re-inscription, opened new avenues of reflection not only on the evolving "meanings" of eThekwini but also in terms of discourse about the city, thus supplementing newspaper accounts. While the "letter" instruction was impromptu and spontaneous, I explained it to participants in the following terms:

"Provide a reflection of the city. There are three points to consider or write from: Firstly, to write to your future self, about your past memory and experiences within the city. Secondly to describe the present experiences of the city and thirdly, to write to your future aspirations of the city." (23/09/2019, Ngema).

Participants in the impromptu epistolary exercise	**Extracts from participant letters**
Sana	Arts, writing and literature excite me. As a culture vulture eco-art practitioner, I keep abreast of what's trending on the arts scene by attending events, workshops and seminars in the city centre and surrounds.
Michael	In the future I look forward to a Durban that appreciates every citizen and culture and that is fully welcoming of people from around the world and especially from the rest of Africa

Maqhawe	You have lived in Durban your whole life. In the last 33 years of your life- the city has been your home, your source of joy, heartbreak and actualisation. The city has provided you with entertainment- from your obsession with film so that the city gave you malls such as 'The Workshop', where you could watch Hollywood films and make friendships.
Thobeka	For me the city remains full of possibilities, it's still attractive but it is somewhat tainted with malice and ill intention, not just from ama 'Para' but from gov officials and people with the money to control the city...
Amanda	I have a large sense of connection with the city as it was my playground from an early age. I schooled in Greyville when I was in primary school and always loved the vibrancy of the area. My early memories were always being around social issues like the many political and social events that were held at Curries Fountain (a ground in Greyville that was used predominately by non-whites). Often these rallies would spill over into the streets and then to government buildings.
Fathima	My past experience of the city involved what I've heard from my parents about apartheid... about them being able to drive around all the nice places and watch the white people enjoying all the best facilities, but not being able to get out and make use of those themselves. Their facilities weren't as great, but they had their own areas that they enjoyed at the time. When I was younger, I remember trips to the beachfront to ride bikes, jump on the trampolines that used to be there, sea world. Driving through the centre of town to see the Christmas lights in December. Walking through the streets of central town with my grandparents as they did their shopping. It's a good memory.
Thobile	The city for me is a place where we see the truth about the place and time we inhabit. And I think this has always been true. I am no historian, but as I understand it, the city used to be the central hub of business. From the way the city is structured of the very beautiful architecture that still remains, although some in a state of great disrepair, you can tell that it used to be the place of only elite.

Fig. 3.7 Extracts from participants' "letters"

3.6 Data analysis: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Thematic Analysis

Data for the study was analysed using a qualitative, interpretive paradigm, combining discourse analysis (CDA) (to analyse newspapers) and thematic analysis (to analyse participatory Photovoice). Discourse analysis, which emerged in the late 1980s through work conducted to merge language analysis and social theory (cf. Fairclough, 1992; Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000), has three typical dimensions which entail a discursive event (i.e. any instance of discourse) seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice (Fairclough, 1992). That is, the city is an instance of discourse. Thematic analysis, "offers an accessible and theoretically-flexible approach to analysing qualitative data" (Braun and Clarke 2006: 77) which, in this study, was ideal in the analysis of themes gleaned through Photovoice.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an extension of discourse analysis, its purpose being to analyse "opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language." (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 10). Essentially, CDA aims to critically investigate "social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimised and so on, by language use (or discourse)" (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 10). The inference here is that the discourse produced in newspaper articles utilises fundamental assumptions about language, specifically that language is social, language enacts identity, language use is always active, language use has power and lastly, that language use is political (Richardson, 2007). The study of newspapers thus facilitated the study's focus on language and discourse about the city. Such discourse analysis, as we will see, exposed the 'opaque' structures of power in eThekwini: inequality, dire living conditions, and the coexistence within the same city of opulence and affluence on the one hand and misery on the other leading to questions about whether apartheid has been, re-constituted, legitimised and internalised in the lived and quotidian experiences of the citizens of eThekwini. Finally, CDA offers an interpretation of "the meaning of texts rather than just quantifying textual features and deriving meaning from this" and of "what is written or said in the context in which it occurs, rather than just summarising patterns or regularities in texts" (Richardson, 2007: 15).

CDA is inherently transdisciplinary and flexible in a way that encourages dialogue with, for instance, media and cultural studies as far as addressing contemporary social change is concerned (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). The theme of representation, in particular, benefits from this complex dialogue and interdisciplinarity between CDA and cultural and media studies. The theme crosscuts and embodies city constructions, dialogue with the city's history, and political and ideological influences, which manifest in how eThekwini is diverse – mostly ambivalently – experienced today. The discourse of the city's history, its racial characteristics, and the post-1994 experience is explored as a discursive event, including the social changes that occurred across these eras, and questions about transformation, the so-called "transition" from apartheid to post-apartheid, and how or if the city has evolved as an African city. CDA, unlike normative Discourse analysis, is "not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se, but in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach" (Wodak and Meyer, 2009:10). What this meant for my study is to dive into urban and spatiality studies, as well as the history of the city and the socio-political implications of this history. CDA as an analysis strategy is, therefore, at the same time, an entrance point into a critical interdisciplinary focus – a focus which strengthens the original contribution to knowledge of this study. In as far as "any social phenomenon lends itself to critical investigation, to be challenged and not taken for granted"(Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 2), this study draws on CDA for the critical social investigation of eThekwini as a post-1994 city exhibiting diverse social phenomena and social change.

Data gleaned through the Photovoice method and the focus group discussions could ultimately not be optimally analysed through CDA, however. This is where thematic analysis, with its celebrated flexibility,[18] was appropriate. That is, thematic analysis applied to the photos and 'voice' aspect of the study. Braun and Clarke (2006: 78) regard thematic analysis as "a foundational method for qualitative analysis" and, indeed, as "the first qualitative method of analysis that researchers should learn, as it provides core skills that will be useful for conducting many other forms of qualitative

[18] Braun and Clarke (2006: 79) state that, "Through its theoretical freedom, thematic analysis provides a flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data."

analysis." Thematic analysis is defined by Braun and Clarke (2006:6) as "a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data",[19]. This was relied on in this study to strengthen the deductive process of coding where the preconceived themes were provided initially as probes for the participants to engage with while taking photos, and, of course, for normative analysis purposes. Maguire and Delahunt (2017: 3353) state that the goal of a thematic analysis is to identify "patterns in the data that are important or interesting, and use these themes to address the research or say something about an issue" but also that this process is "much more than simply summarising the data". Rather, a good thematic analysis "interprets and makes sense of it" (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017: 3353).

Step 1: Become familiar with the data, Step 2: Generate initial codes, Step 3: Search for themes,	Step 4: Review themes, Step 5: Define themes, Step 6: Write-up.

Fig. 3.8. The Six Steps of Thematic Analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006)

Codes are described as "tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study" (Basit, 2003: 144; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Deductive coding provides an opportunity to take portions of texts and categories to be coded, before proceeding to group similar codes into different categories and larger clusters known as themes. Inductive coding process is added to the deductive process, to derive further themes without any preconceived meanings. To facilitate this, the data collected from participants was therefore organised and uploaded into NVivo 12 Plus software for coding. The codes created were further grouped into categories. Themes were then created, refined, and finalised following the inductive process of data analysis by allowing the data to "speak for itself" (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The same themes were classified and coded as themes from data in a manner that is distinct and trustworthy (cf. Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2011:

[19] Braun and Clarke (2006) define a theme as that which "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question".

15). I was familiar with the data as I had transcribed it while noting key ideas. Codes were then generated through a systematic re-reading of the data with an eye for interesting views and recurring points. The data was also organised in terms of these interesting points. Themes grouping related codes were also created before they were reviewed and checked for their relevance to the research questions. The process of cleaning and coding the data for analysis involved a systematic review of four long and detailed photo voice focus group discussion transcripts. During the preliminary reading, I highlighted significant and relevant sections of the text and attached labels to index them. This was conducted to streamline the data analysis process (Creswell, 2013:205; Creswell, 2015; King, 2004; Nowell et al., 2017). Using NVivo 12 Plus, at the initial stage, the transcripts were scrutinised and checked through lexical queries such as word frequency, word cloud and text search queries as a way of gathering and exploring subcategories of the data provided. The lexical queries are conducted to augment the data analysis process.

Saldana (2015) insists that coding is just a way of organising data through concepts emerging from the data set and this occurs when the information is scrutinised and the categories created are defined from the entire data set. The coding method followed Saldana's (2015) coding manual. In this study, themes related to the representation of the use of urban space in eThekwini, as units of analysis, are explored, including a nuance display of codes linking to the circuit(s) of culture within the city. I employed open coding through assigning initial codes or labels. By following Saldana's (2009) first cycle coding, coding methods such as descriptive coding, which summarises in a word or noun the basic meaning of a passage or sentence of qualitative data, were included. Also, NVivo coding, which is using a word or phrase that is short from the actual language found in the qualitative information provided by the participants, was used. After the formation of the initial codes, they were organised systematically into a codebook according to their categories and type of relationships. The initial number of codes created was eighty-six (86). These codes were further refined while some were merged, others collapsed, and some other superfluous codes immediately deleted to avoid repetition and to keep the analysis relevant. The final number of codes retained was fifty-three (53).

The main themes generated from the data analysis process of the study are presented in the Table, Fig. 3.9 below. The table also illustrates the number of sources and the number of quotations (references) extracted from the participants (files) to support the formation of each theme. As soon as the codes, the categories, and the themes were identified, the following step included the interpretation of the information analysed. The process of making sense of the data formed the core of this study. Importantly, I constantly read and re-read the main research questions as a measure to check if the codes created are answering the research questions and objectives of the study. Furthermore, the codes created from the analysed information are often formed by the researcher's personal interpretations as motivated by the way they view the world around them, their culture, background, history, perceptions, and experiences (Creswell, 2009). Hence, such learning is not the product of the data analysis stage alone. Therefore, interpretations of the data are made through the framework or lens with which I viewed the social reality as well as the theoretical lens I choose to frame my research. All this influences the nature of the final interpretations that emerged from the study (Creswell, 2009).

Theme	Subtheme/file	References
City as a cultural city	4	259
Global aspiration of the city	4	111
Contemporary trends in the city	4	211
Historical influences in the city	4	216
Challenges created by urban space	4	60

Fig. 3.9 Main themes generated via NVivo, June 2020

The table, Fig 3.9 above illustrates the five main themes that emerged from the data in relation to the research questions. Each theme contains codes that identify connections in the data and each code contains a supporting quotation (s) to illustrate and support the meaning of the code. It can be noted that "challenges created by urban spaces" was not part of the research objectives at the onset. However, during the focus groups, it was considered an important category as participants constantly

highlighted the challenges as they discussed their processes of photo-taking for the Photovoice method, thus generating a thematic pattern. The use of the camera in the cityscape, consciousness about crime, and the decision to use the mobiles instead of the photographic camera provided, all ended up unintentionally highlighted challenges that occur in a city environment. These additional “themes”, in fact, emphasised the famous flexibility of thematic analysis.

The thematic analysis of the study from the five themes and the sub-themes that emerged during the coding processes, represents the subversion of research, where results deviated from what I had planned and categorised at conceptual phase. With the research collaborators and participants, the study’s themes that were designed to approximate the research objectives, evolved to include the voices of the participants, not controlled by the researcher. The exercise however of analysing the data further involved my perspective through the selection of themes that or rather the combing out of themes, to have a focused discussion which links to the objectives. The discussion was therefore structured to address each of these objectives in succession.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the methods used to collect and analyse data, setting the stage for the findings and data chapters. Marshall (2001: 433) has stated that “I see having some version of self-reflective practice as a necessary core for all inquiry. For example, anyone engaging in collaborative research needs robust self-questioning disciplines as their base” (2001: 433). In response to Marshall’s call to having incorporate some version of self-reflective practice in research, my data collection and data analysis methods, as well as the critical reflexive enquiry I maintained throughout, infused the study with collaborativeness, robustness, rigour and encouraged questioning, independent thinking, and engagement and camaraderie with research participants. My reflexive oscillation between the researcher’s objective gaze and subjective engagement with all participants in this study added a productive messiness and subversiveness that gave the study a true action research edge. Indeed, there is a subversion of research that “involves representing the “muck” and “messiness” of fieldwork, and the complexity of indigenous epistemologies and ontology through including the voices of our research partners” (Dyll, 2012: 59).

A final point that seems necessary to underscore concern's reliability and validity. Some researchers claim that the concept of reliability is irrelevant in qualitative studies (cf. Golfashani, 2003: 63). This claim is warranted because some studies mistakenly apply inapplicable "scientistic" jargon and positivistic lenses to qualitative research, seeking to make is sound "harder" and "rigorous". Furthermore, qualitative studies are not replicable, are hard to generalise, and typically use non-probability samples which are too small to generate randomness. At the same time, there is scope to admit that qualitative studies can be reliable, trustworthy, and valid on terms that are not positivistic. My study, for instance, incorporated reliability and validity as important factors in the design. That is, while the nature of qualitative research does not lend itself to statistical calculations of validity, alternative strategies that are friendly to qualitative studies were employed to enhance the reliability and validity of the findings (cf. Brink 1993: 35). To ensure trustworthiness and rigor in this study, for instance, I involved a coder in the coding process as a way, as argued by Webber (1990), of checking the consistency and reliability of the information generated. Having a primary coder for this study reduced flexibility in the iterative process of coding the data, particularly interpretive and pattern coding. The primary coder also "reviewed the codes and themes" to determine, as recommended by Turner (2010: 759), their quality and effectiveness based on the evaluation of photo voice focus group transcripts. I was able to discuss the coding frame with the coder before reaching a consensus as a way of refining the coding system. This process added accuracy and validity to the sets of propositions extracted from the codes, categories and themes created (cf. Bazeley and Jackson, 2013: 93). Furthermore, the data were checked for representativeness by evaluating the coding categories and the examples used in the research results, as recommended by Brink (1993: 35). In addition, the researcher used triangulation to promote the quality of the research. Triangulation involved the researcher noting different perspectives on an issue under study (see Flick, 2012: 5) and sharing the preliminary findings and propositions with the coder and project supervisor to check the validity of interpretations and conclusions. Photo voice focus group discussion notes contributed to the credibility and dependability of the research study as these contained "raw" perceptions and thoughts about participants and the information they shared (Tuckett, 2005: 3). Recording the focus groups with a Dictaphone (audio voice recorder) and a cell phone helped to ensure that all voice

audio data authentically captured the actual conversation. Verbatim transcription of the recordings also sought to capture the essence of the focus group discussions. Thus, recordings, combined with notes during the in-depth photo voice focus group discussions, served as instruments augmenting the study's credibility and dependability.

CHAPTER FOUR

Local Media and the City: Newspaper Construction of Social Space in eThekwini

4.1 Introduction

This "media and the city" chapter addresses the study's research questions by employing critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyse selected newspaper texts drawn mainly from *The Mercury* and *The Daily News*, but also from *The Independent*, *The Berea Mail*, *Independent Online*, and *TimesLive Online*, in the period between 2010 and 2019[20]. This will form the first part ("Part One") of the findings and analysis chapters. The second section will analyse the focus group discussions with Photovoice participants. The data analysis chapters have been organised this way to reflect the equal salience of both the mediated and "lived" elements of the circuit of culture and the complexity and complex meanings of the city space itself. After all, eThekwini is not just the built environment but also a site of representation, identity, consumption and belonging – elements which, when taken together, give a fuller picture of the "meaning" of the city to its inhabitants. The analysis made it self-evident that language, texts, and city spaces environments are mutually reinforcing and mutually dependent. Essentially, the politics of space are linked to the politics of language, discourse, and how newspapers frame the city. The reverse is also true because city spaces' use, consumption and production shape language and newspaper discourse. How inhabitants of eThekwini use, perceive and consume the city is shaped by and passes through representation. If "buildings and urban space are often considered to be outside representation" (Crysler 2003: 7), this study shows that, at least in the case of eThekwini, urban spaces are firmly within the "representation" element of the circuit of culture. The synthesis in the conclusion chapter will draw together the findings and analysis from the two analysis chapters. The synthesis indicates that newspapers and photovoice complement each other, and we cannot overdraw the distinction between them.

[20] These newspapers were selected as they are predominately read in KwaZulu-Natal.

Since context is an important element of the circuit of culture, the investigation of the media's gaze in relation to urban culture requires that the form of "media" in question be described and contextualised. In this case, the study dealt with a selection of newspapers based in eThekwini. The newspaper is one of the oldest forms of mass communication (Jucker, 2011). For over a hundred years, it has shaped and occupied public opinion by delivering, framing, and selecting newsworthy content (Guardino, 2019). In the 21st century, the newspaper's primacy as a source of information and carrier of "culture" in the city has been broadly eroded by digital and social media and falling advertising revenues. Yet, it retains its salience by adopting a digital format and having the advantage of editorial and fact-checking traditions. Analysis of newspaper articles that frame the "production", "representation" and "consumption" of the city helps understand how media language as a discursive and communicative event is deployed, the assumption being that language is social, political, identity-enacting and implicated with power (cf. Baker et al., 2008; Richardson, 2007). As Cuthbert highlights in the *Form of Cities*, language is not solely a "functional method of transmitting information" but, rather, is also an important symbolic representation "of the world we inhabit" (Cuthbert 2006: 1). Newspaper discourse also highlights how the city brands itself and negotiates its complex aspirations to be a global city. The focus on newspapers allows me to ask, "What sort of worlds do these discourses construct? Which spaces become visible and which become invisible? … Who speaks and who is silenced? Whose histories, cultures and geographies become important in these representations, and upon what terms?" (Crysler 2003: 4). That is, newspapers have been selected not just due to their importance as sites of discourse but as sites of localising and localised discourse. Such discourse appropriately captures the past, present, and future of eThekwini, including the full range of ongoing contestations and negotiations. The city is a mediated space; newspapers are "part of a matrix of wider institutional forces" (Crysler, 2003: 9) that produce and reproduce the city through words and images. At the same time, newspapers are institutional structures that, through discursive structures, actively shape and mediate the representation of eThekwini.

4.2 Reading newspapers: Reflecting on the present and the historical influences of the city

The year 2010, when I begin my analysis of newspaper discourse, is the year that South Africa hosted the FIFA World Cup – the first time that the tournament has ever been held on African soil. The historical nature of the hosting of the World Cup in 2010, and the contestations surrounding it, mark off a natural, chronological beginning point. Furthermore, there was a natural overflow of news reports linked to the FIFA 2010 World Cup, making this an important jumping off point. The World Cup as a theme articulates the perception of the event as an opportunity for eThekwini to accelerate its transition into a "modern" city (thus fortuitously shedding its past, for better or worse), and the 'reshaping of the city' to fit within global mega event models. The notion of reinventing and reimagining spaces reflects the tension between the old and the new, the old and the modern. It also injects the theme or sub-theme of "globalisation" into the study. The theme of a modern and "future" eThekwini that comes into the foreground due to the World Cup is intricately tied to the theme of economic development, an overriding concern – for different reasons – of city planners and city inhabitants alike. The World Cup, and the theme of economic development, brought up the theme of how the city represents and "markets" itself to the world. These dimensions bring up issues of branding, tourism, and the tourist-led agenda and how these fit into the framing, representation, production, consumption, and construction of the city. Durban had famously previously hosted other mega events such as the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance in 2001, and annually holds the Durban International Film Festival (DIFF), but these had not and have not led to local discourses about development and the "future" of the city. The World Cup, however, was the sort of mega event that became the springboard for discourses, from street level to city planners, that imagined the city not just as a developing city but a "city of the future" as well. What this meant, of course, is still contested because there is no unanimity possible regarding the question of whose image the future eThekwini should build.

The analysis of newspaper discourses after the World Cup, from 2011 to 2015 reveal an aftermath that is uncertain as the euphoria of the FIFA World Cup has faded and the city resorts to "default settings". Default settings for eThekwini mean the persistence of colonial structures and traits in how the city organises local life and how it is governed and regulated by city managers and planners. In truth, even during the

World Cup, the city's colonial and apartheid heritage was never far from the surface. The World Cup, therefore, was just a temporary interlude and an intermission, perhaps an illusion that it would launch eThekwini into a "future" metropolis. Furthermore, as the newspaper discourse reveals, the years from 2011 to 2015 reporting corrupt governance reached a crescendo. The concluding period of 2017 to 2019 show a consolidation of the themes that are prominent in the previous seven years while also bringing new emphasis on the prominence of specific individuals and groups that have influence within eThekwini's economic development. This includes human settlement, electricity, infrastructure, gentrification, tourism, culture and cultural production, and the creative and cultural sectors and hubs.

4.3 Reshaping the City through a "Historical Moment": eThekwini in the Shadow of the 2010 FIFA World Cup

Between June and July 2010, the city of eThekwini hosted an influx of Germans, Dutch, Australians, Spanish, Swiss, Portuguese, Slovaks, Japanese, Nigerians, Koreans, Portuguese, and Brazilians, for FIFA World Cup games, turning the city into an instant, if temporary, tourist "metropolis". This transient influx of monied foreigners was seen as a once in a lifetime and not-to-be-missed opportunity to rejuvenate and launch the city, through tourism, into late capitalist modernity. The notions of *reshaping* and *rejuvenating* the city were evident in newspaper discourse – in the headlines and the articles – about the "opportunity" of the "historical moment" of the World Cup mega event as much as they were also a firm preoccupation of those city officials tasked with planning for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Deeper analysis, through CDA, however, foregrounds the tensions between the hope for "renewal" with the entrenched and persistent structural relations of dominance, discrimination, power and control that remain a permanent feature of eThekwini politics and political economy. That is, the FIFA World Cup, proved fundamental in showing the potential of South African society and its cities but also throwing open the veil of the contradictions.

The newspaper headlines in ***Table 1, Fig 4.1,*** were each purposively selected for their "discourse" about the 2010 FIFA world cup and what it meant for the city of Durban. Two of the articles are advertorials and the rest, twenty-one (21), are hard news

reports, showing the mix of branding and journalistic mediation in framing the "behaviour" of a city in the shadow of a global mega event.

Newspaper	Tourism Stories	Global Aspirations	Future of EThekwini
Daily News	**Tourism Stories** 1. "Ready for kick-off?" (Caiphus Kgosana, 30 March 2010) 2. "2010 price gouging in Durban" (Barbara Cole, 31 March 2010) 3. "Expect airport teething problems" (Barbara Cole, 1 April 2010) **Global aspirations** 4. "Huge Welcome for Akon in Durban" (Dasen Thathiah, 29 March 2010) 5. "From Darkness into light" (Sandile Ndlovu, 29 March 2010) 6. "City Hall of Fame Turns 100" (Arthi Sanpath, 9 April 2010) 7. "New buses shunt aside metered taxis"(Arthi Snapath, 9 April 2010) **Future of EThekwini** 8. "Cup will pave road to future" (Keith Ross, 29 March 2010) 9. "King Edward's state of the art equipment is 2010's legacy" (Barbara Cole, 29 March 2010)		

The Mercury	**Tourism Stories** 1. "Tourists warned about SA" (George Thomson, 4 March 2010) 2. "On the Ball" (Marianne Meijer, 8 March 2010) 3. "Are you ready for July 31?" (Advertising feature, 4 June 2010) 4. "Splashing out with an African flavour" (reporter, 7 June 2010) 5. "Traffic stopping Campaign to promote Durban holiday" (Suren Naidoo, 1 June 2010) **Global Aspirations** 6. "Green light given for N2 toll road" (Tony Carne, 5 March 2010) 7. "Durbanites come out to clean up city" (reporter, 2 June 2010) 8. "We have every right to blow our own vuvuzelas" (Judith February, 4 June 2010) 9. "Stadium proves city can deliver" (Ayanda Mdluli, 17 June 2010) **Future of eThekwini** 10. "The Rebranding of Durban" (David Roberts, 18 June 2010) 11. "Transport plan all mapped out" (Barbara Cole, 8 April 2010) 12. "Durban's dream a reality" (Suren Naidoo, 2 June 2010) 13. "Warwick Triangle traders get-first aid training" (Nicola Jenvey, 16 June 2010) 14. "Now Shaka statue must go" (Sipho Khumalo, 2 June 2010)

Fig 4.1 Layout of articles read.

4.3.1 The 2010 FIFA World Cup and the "Tourism-led" Agenda

The notion of "language in use" suggests that how language is used – in this case in headlines and within articles is part of a process of shaping understanding, reinforcing and influencing attitudes and beliefs "and transforming the consciousness of those who read and consume" content (Richardson, 2007: 23). Newspaper discourse surrounding the planning and hosting of some of the World Cup games in eThekwini touched on whether the city could pull it off, if it was up to the task, and the event's economic viability. The debate was filtered through making a case for eThekwini's competitive advantage, which the newspapers framed through the trope of eThekwini as a tourist destination. The dominance of the tourism trope in the "marketing" and

“branding” of eThekwini in the lead up to the World Cup in 2010 is what I have delimited as the “tourism-led agenda”. The framing of news stories on tourism played a functional role in shaping debates about whether eThekwini was up to the “historical task” of hosting the World Cup. Hosting World Cup Games had come to occupy, in the newspaper discourse, the same domain as other “historical tasks” such as ending apartheid, a framing that vaulted the topic into a kind of “national question”. This is despite the fact that eThekwini was only one of 9 host cities (along with Bloemfontein, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Polokwane, Nelspruit, Rustenburg, Tshwane, and Port Elizabeth). Essentially, whether or not eThekwini could do it successfully was now framed as every citizen’s concern. City planners had to shape up and funds and resources had to be unlocked and allocated. Red tape and corruption had to be put in abeyance. In a sense, the city entered an emergency mode akin to a declaration of local state of disaster where the sole focus was the successful hosting of the World Cup. Failure to put out eThekwini’s best face to the visiting fans would constitute a municipal disaster of historical proportions. Most other perennial concerns had to wait. The city of eThekwini could not fail this test. How would the “world” see us if we fail? Essentially, how would the “tourists” feel and what would they say about “us”? This framing of the “historical task” and “historical test” is the context in which the headlines are analysed and discussed.

The headline by Cole, “Expect airport teething problems” in the *Daily News* (1/5/2010) frames the discomfort of the “historical task” in terms of a baby’s forming “new” teeth, cueing readers to expect problems in one form or another. The example, in the case, was the new airport. In 2010 the city was to open a brand-new airport -King Shaka International Airport – in a different location from the old airport, some 30 to 33 kilometres from the CBD. This change from old to new was to happen in the same year the city was to host its allocation of 7 World Cup matches, including the semi-final (eventually between Germany and Spain). The headline articulates the tension between the “old” and the “new”, here framed as the “big switch”. Would the “big switch” take place at this critical time, just before the world cup? The development and redevelopment of infrastructure projects – in this case the airport – has been implicated with pernicious “neoliberal urbanity” which sees urban dynamics reconstituted “to accommodate processes of capital accumulation and uneven urban

development" (Mele 2013: 598). While the headline betrays a lack of confidence in the city's capacity to affect the transition successfully, the news story itself reads as an information piece that engages the reader about what is to take place once the switch is made from the old (the Durban International airport) to the new King Shaka International airport. That is, there are no "teething problems" raised or discussed in detail in the article itself. Instead, it is just a nagging, omnipresent anxiety. The residual expectation that things will or may not work in eThekwini, even against the material evidence, is not only dominant but seems to function to insulate the reporters from eventual disappointment if things should not work out as expected. Of interest is how, in South Africa, the transition from the "old" to the "new" exists on a substrate of experience of the disappointing Rainbow Nation "transition" from apartheid to democracy which many commentators say has failed – or at least is facing serious "teething" issues. Disillusion is a common theme amongst South Africans. There is a suggestion, therefore, that the inbuilt scepticism about "big switches" from the old to the new may be informed by broader doubts in the body politic about South Africa's prospects as a nation, whatever the evidence on the ground indicates. South Africa seems to be trapped in the "interregnum" mentioned by Gramsci (1947) and Gordimer (1983) where the old is dying but the new is struggling to be born.

The suggestion that South Africa is trapped in the interregnum contributes to the panic about outcomes. Essentially, the prospect of hosting the World Cup in an African city was shrouded in panic from the off. At issue were infrastructural concerns (airports, hotels, security, roads and, of course, stadiums) which frame the issue of "capacity". Specific anxiety flowed from the question of how the tourists from all over the world – used as they are, it was assumed, to "high standards" and "class" –would be accommodated, transported and "protected". The persistent worries about infrastructure reflect anxieties about the post-apartheid dispensation's capacity to democratise and expand infrastructure that, under apartheid, was meant to service merely 10% of the country's white citizens. Opening up "white South Africa" to the oppressed majority would of course have led to predictable breakdowns in infrastructure without near miraculous resourcing, investment, and expansion in infrastructure development.

The last issue mentioned, of the "protection" of the tourists, cut across infrastructure issues (provision of adequate security) and the complex politics of the stereotype about "crime in South Africa". Crime in South Africa had been one of the major concerns about whether the country should host the World Cup (George and Swart, 2012). Indeed, the element of crime and anxieties about tourist safety and protection was the centrepiece of Thomson's article headlined "Tourists warned about SA" (*The Mercury*, 4/3/2010). The question of crime itself harks back to the theme of a country trapped in an endless interregnum. Crime is seen as a symptom of the dysfunctional "Rainbow Nation" – dysfunction that increased panic that the World Cup held in South African cities would be an embarrassment if, for instance, tourists were mugged, killed, or raped. These panicked concerns, joined to the preconceived lack of confidence in the host country and its cities to pull it off, led to a conscious PR effort in newspaper discourse to provide reassurance to the tourists that things were not as bad as they were portrayed. The same media that headline crime as an existential national problem were now reassuring World Cup readers that things were OK or at least overblown and sensationalised. This was an important contradiction in the newspaper discourse.

The "warning" reported in Thomson's article was, in fact, given to American tourists by the US state department. The crimes described in the article were said to be violent crimes such as:

> carjacking, mugging and 'smash-and-grab' especially in South African cities. They were also warned that the country has the highest incidences of reported rape globally… they added that although crime has decreased in Durban they still remain alarmingly high and visitors should avoid traveling to the city at night and township areas" (Thomson, 2010).

The text repeats not only the "doom and gloom" of the imagination of Western tourists coming to an African city in their numbers for the first time but also makes fear appeals that heighten the sense of foreboding. The outcome, it appears, is to unlock resources and funding meant to rid the city of the criminal element before the tourists arrive. That is, the heightened fear appeals about crime in eThekwini prior to the 2010 FIFA World Cup conveniently targeted the security budget if life and limb of the tourists were to be preserved. This special protection for tourists is not usually available for ordinary

citizens in eThekwini. Instead, they have to live with high levels of crime and insecurity which the newspaper discourses, prior to the World Cup, seem to ignore since the locals were used to it anyway. The tourists, on the other hand, needed heightened protection because they were not so used to crime like ordinary South Africans.

The headline “Ready for Kick-off?” by Kgosana (*Daily News*, 30/3/2010), posed a question that hovered between hope and expectation, on the one hand, and uncertainty, or even a premonition of disaster, on the other. Was the country ready? Kgosana reported about a parliamentary committee that was set to “embark on inspections of roads, airports, accommodation, emergency services and other facilities before the World cup commences", a continuation of the theme of infrastructural and “capacity” concerns that, as we saw, reflect anxieties about the post-apartheid dispensation’s capacity to democratise and sustain infrastructure development, now that a “black government” was in power. The article goes further to discuss how the “energy portfolio will ensure that Eskom can provide uninterrupted electricity… how the health portfolio will inspect emergency services and hospitals in the host cities, and finally how the tourism committee will do random checks on prices of hotels, guest houses, bed and breakfasts and restaurants.” Kgosana’s article crosses out the list of infrastructure that seems to be of importance to the prospective success of the World Cup (“roads, airports, accommodation, emergency services and other facilities”), including “uninterrupted electricity”, health and emergency services, before drawing on a device that not only directs the burden of “readiness” at the officials but seems to equate official attention at the highest levels (in this case, parliament) with quality assurance. There is a sense that the “big guns” are being pulled out to do the task of assuring the world that all will be taken care of. Again, power is being deployed not as a constraint but as an enabler of hierarchical urban planning (from above) and resource allocation. After all, “the built environment is the theatre where power expresses itself through the medium of political ideologies that configure, and are embedded within, spatial configurations, architectonic space and the expression of symbolic capital” (Cuthbert 2006: 6). While it is citizens that are being assured that all is well, the assurance itself is needed on behalf of the “tourists” who were to descend on eThekwini in a few months’ time. There is a certain “delocalisation” of eThekwini, with its inhabitants alienated and marginalised in favour of “outsiders”. The safety,

comfort, health, and well-being of the tourists remain paramount. That of the regular inhabitants of the city remains marginalised. Essentially, resources, funding, and political action is not an issue if the object is to protect foreign visitors coming to South Africa for a few weeks for the World Cup. This same attitude of heightened attention and concern for the well-being of others is not evident in day-to-day life in eThekwini. There was thus what we can call a hegemony of the touristic in the run up to the World Cup in 2010. The readiness with which both newspaper discourse and city officials embrace the taking care of the wellbeing and needs of football tourists, in contrast to the neglect with which poor locals are met, and the persistent inequality, suggests not just an entrenched coloniality but one that is now firmly in bed with neoliberalism. In essence, the articles by Cole and Kgosana point to the status of eThekwini as a neoliberal city. The neoliberal city, according to Weber (2002: 519; see also Mele, 2013 and He and Wu, 2009), is attuned to making the spaces of the city more flexible and responsive to the investment criteria of "spatialized capital accumulation". The obsessive concern with infrastructure and security for foreign tourists laid out in the newspaper articles prefigure an older preoccupation with making cities in the global south more amenable to footloose capital and foreign direct investment (FDI). In the context of the FIFA 2010 World Cup, the foreign tourists were the affective "investors" who needed to be pleased and taken care of if "brand eThekwini" was to attract "investment" and "development". While neoliberal urban development and redevelopment "is often represented as consensual, socially-neutral 'local economic development' with a positive effect on both a city's overall economy and its level of racial and ethnic diversity" (Mele 2013: 598), it is anything but.

As far as the branding went, the changes in eThekwini were all about the FIFA football spectacle and nothing else. Top-down transformations in the nature and uses of public space in eThekwini – including changes in the built environment, increased surveillance, policing, and municipal by-laws regulating conduct in the CBD, pushing out of the homeless, gentrification, and the fencing off and privatisation of spaces – became possible because of the convenient *excuse* of the World Cup. As Mitchell in *The Right to the City* (2003: 1-2) would say in relation to the changes that took place in New York in the aftermath of 9/11, "New strictures on behaviour had become not only commonplace but also expected (and always indicated by prominent signs) in the

city's streets." With the coming of the World Cup in eThekwini, a "new man" and a "new woman" was supposed to emerge in order to show hospitality to the tourists, give them comfort, keep them safe, and ensure a successful World Cup. Thus, whereas the post-9/11 changes in New York's urban spaces pointed to a set of command-and-control behaviours compelled mainly by the security apparatus of the nation, the World Cup in eThekwini was driven through what I would call branding-blackmailing-and-bribing of citizens, but with the same outcomes of a changed city beyond the seismic event. The World Cup would become a dividing line, separating a pre-World Cup eThekwini from a post-World Cup one. FIFA's arrival would not merely be a watershed moment, but a tipping point that pushed eThekwini further down the path of neoliberal urbanism, impacting its spaces and cultural identity. In both the New York and eThekwini cases, the discourse was that all of these changes were happening for the citizens' own good.

If it was about the World Cup, so the discourse went, *then* it was good, and it had to be done, without many questions asked or oversight applied. After all, we could not risk failing and embarrassing the country in this once in a lifetime "historical mission". The World Cup thus became some sort of special purpose vehicle which put perennial service delivery issues in the city in abeyance until further notice. The World Cup had become the one grand service that had to be delivered before all the others, and against which all the others had to wait to be served. An important element of this study was, thus, to try to name this emerging phenomenon of privileging certain "grand" services. Was this a new "behaviour" linked to the World Cup or a much older phenomenon with roots in the colonial and apartheid history of Durban? As a matter of fact, the football functioned through and was a veil for entrenched coloniality and pervasive neoliberalism. Football served to depoliticise the process and make it seem innocent. Yet the exacting FIFA standards about how the World Cup was to be run for the pleasure and benefit of the tourist-fans showed how marginal ordinary people were. FIFA demands on eThekwini's city space subordinated all and any other perennial socio-economic issues that mattered in the city prior to, during, and after the World Cup. The World Cup put these perennial issues into abeyance, as if they never had primacy or, at least, lacked urgency and could be set aside. Whereas ordinary citizens in eThekwini grapple with persistent poverty, inequality, and inadequate

services, the World Cup tourists enjoyed heightened service delivery – a 'luxury' locals could only dream of.

The prioritisation and privileging of tourists (most of whom were coming from former colonial metropoles) by the government in terms of service delivery shows that apartheid planning and influx control were being brought back through the back door, on the backs of the spectacle of the FIFA World Cup. The World Cup itself, a festival of consumption, spending and corporate advertising and marketing, was predicated on the triumph of neoliberal capital as an organising principle since its sponsors could only be involved if there was sufficient return on investment (ROI), privatisation, extraction of value from investment, and if the market was left to "speak". As Weber (2002: 520) asserts, neoliberalism is a "hyper marketized style of governance (i.e., government through and by the market)" that works through "an ideological fetishization of pure, perfect markets as superior allocative mechanisms for the distribution of public resources". The neoliberal coloniality of the World Cup is reflected in how some lives and limbs mattered more than others, and how the tourists had lives which the government (and the newspapers) deemed worth preserving through special arrangements and increased funding and resource allocation. eThekwini municipality is perpetuating the experience of "uneven" development and redevelopment, with most of its citizens ignored and neglected on the periphery, and those favoured by neoliberal planning getting the best out of whatever "good" was injected due to the city's hosting of the World Cup. If urban life in its full complexity can only be explained "through the invisible web of economic and social processes" (Cuthbert 2006: 2), then one can argue that the World Cup ensured that eThekwini as a growing and changing city could only do so through perpetuating the by now invisible web of economic and social processes and structures of apartheid and coloniality.

4.3.2 "Globalisation", "development", modernising eThekwini, and the 2010 FIFA World Cup

"Globalisation" in the context of a sports mega event, refers to how sports has been emblematic of the progress of globalisation as represented by increased economic, cultural and organisational interconnectedness (Houlihun, 2022). Globalisation is therefore the spread of sports as global culture, and business that is facilitated even further as political and diplomatic resource (Houllihun, 2022: 607). While it was not directly expressed as a key motive behind South Africa's election to bid for and host

the World Cup, the very concept of “world” in World Cup, suggests important globalising influences and effects. Host cities are catapulted into the global limelight, and are keen to leverage the increased attention to “market” and “sell” themselves to the world within global networks. Furthermore, global networks, once leveraged, are assumed to play an important role in influencing the socio-economic and cultural functions and trajectories of the city hosting such a mega global event as the World Cup. In the newspaper stories and headlines, the “global” is suddenly afforded privilege, prominence and status. If eThekwini needed to accelerate on the pathway to being a global city and a “future” city, then it needed to be primed for “globalisation”, which would be *induced* by the World Cup. In the words of Lefebvre (1996: 65), the World Cup would be the “inductor” (the one acting on), and eThekwini and its people the “induced” (those acted on). Essentially, globalisation and the attendant “modernisation” were raised not only to the status of public goods of national importance that eThekwini, like the other host cities, needed to embrace and open itself to, but were also invested with superordinate “donor” agency while eThekwini was framed as a passive receiver of external global “action”. The discourse of “donor” and “receiver” is a constant in newspaper reports about the “coming” World Cup, with eThekwini consistently cast in the position of receiver of global “goods” that it had no choice but to receive, accept, and embrace for its own good. What globalisation really meant, however, turned out, at best, to be negotiated and, at worst, to be contested.

In the context of the 2010 World Cup, globalisation was intertwined with claims about “modernisation” and “development” of the city in a diffusion-of-innovations perspective. Essentially, the FIFA World Cup, being a seminal global event run from Switzerland, was itself shorthand for “globalisation” which would bring about “development” to South Africa, its people and its cities. Development is a contested concept for the same reasons that the city is contested: history, race, class, gender, ethnicity, place, space and so on. What does development mean for each individual in eThekwini? What does development mean for each individual in eThekwini as the World Cup drew near? Servaes (2008) asks “Development for Whom and for What?” Dutta (2015: 51) says, “The earliest ideas of development were founded on the imagination of the ‘other’ that needed to be developed through interventions carried out by benevolent development interventionists”. “Development” was brought to

people by elites who decided what was good for others, for purposes of "civilising" them. Mefalopulos (2008: 6) states that:

> The central idea of this old paradigm was to solve development problems by "modernizing" underdeveloped countries – advising them how to be effective in following in the footsteps of richer, more developed countries. Development was equated with economic growth, and communication was associated with the dissemination of information and messages aimed at modernizing "backward" countries and their people.

Dutta calls this "dominant ideology of development". Others call it the modernisation paradigm. A "development paradigm" thus arose whereby the "unmet needs" of "others" could be fulfilled by the "development industry" through its "knowledge of science, technology, and social scientific principles of persuasion, together constituting the axes of modernization." Servaes (2008: 17) says that the modernisation paradigm "sees development as a unilinear, evolutionary process and defines the state of underdevelopment in terms of observable quantitative differences between so-called poor and rich countries on the one hand, and traditional and modern societies on the other hand".

In the words of McPhail (2009: 2), "They…were telling the poor how to live their lives, raise families, and how to get ahead economically at the same time. The road to development was to follow the processes in place in industrialized nations, plus reject, change, or abandon traditional ways of doing things." This paradigm was criticised by the so-called "dependency theorists" (mainly from South America) who argued it "implicitly put the responsibility, and the blame, for the causes of underdevelopment exclusively upon the recipients, neglecting external social, historical, and economic factors" (Mefalopulos 2008). It was top-down and elitist. The modernisation paradigm of development was also accused "of being very Western-centric, refusing or neglecting any alternative route to development." In the words of McPhail (2009: xi), "They came at development with a Western nation, northern hemisphere, and industrialized lens, which focused on economic goals and indicators. Almost an 'if only they could act and be like us' mantra. Yet success was always just around the next corner, which seldom came." The 2010 FIFA World Cup, as a global event that brought about supposed "development" is consistent with the claims of the modernisation paradigm. Newspaper discourse in eThekwini in the lead up to the World Cup utilised

this same paradigm to make the case for opening up the city to “globalizing” influences which they glibly assumed were absolutely beneficial, non-ideological and value-free. But was this the case?

In the seminal text *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, economic historian Walter Rodney argues that we cannot talk about the development of the “West” without factoring in colonialism and slavery. Basically, development has a dark side: underdevelopment. Those who are developed do so at the expense of those who are underdeveloped. A broader discussion of development suggests that development is not straightforward or value free. Rather, it shapes and is shaped by a range of things that are expressed at the individual and societal level. More importantly, it is not possible to generalise about what development means. It is impossible to speak on behalf of others about “development”. In this discussion, Western countries, as former colonisers and as countries that continue to ruthlessly exploit African resources, have even less moral ground to lecture African countries about how best to develop. Many seminal development communication scholars argue that there has been a shift away from the modernisation paradigm to a more “participatory development” paradigm which emphasises the participation of “others”, and not just the elites and technocrats. Development is now seen as complex and multifaceted. Context is seen as important, as well as culture, communication, different perspectives, history, class, gender, race and other socially relevant factors. Mefalopulos (2008) however argues that the old “modernization paradigm” has only been partly abandoned, and the new participatory development paradigm has yet to be fully embraced. We thus have both paradigms co-existing.

If development is “a widely participatory process of social change in a society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement, including greater equality, freedom, and other valued qualities for the majority of people through their gaining greater control over their environment” (Everett Rodgers, 1976), then the question becomes: in whose image did the 2010 FIFA World Cup transform eThekwini? The evidence suggests that it was eThekwini itself that had to change (or at least be seen to change) and become more modern, globalised and “open” if it was to successfully host the global event. The article headlined “*Huge welcome for Akon in Durban*” by

Thathiah (*Daily News*, 29/03/2010) taps into the discourse of global celebrity to create excitement for the local population about the coming of “development” and to suggest that eThekwini could only attract international celebrities if it was itself transformed into a global city living by global “standards”. Akon (real name Aliaune Damala Badara Akon Thiam) is a Senegalese American-singer, record producer, philanthropist, and entrepreneur known for global hits such as “Lonely”. The 2010 World Cup was now framed as opening up both economic opportunities and international visibility, such that household names in the US and Europe were suddenly keen to come to the coastal city and perform there. Suddenly, the city becomes a valuable and sought-after destination for VIPs. Akon, who was scheduled for a one-night-only show in Durban, was celebrated in the media as one of many potential celebrity arrivals who were now attracted to South Africa and its host cities. While Akon did not come to eThekwini as part of any World Cup programme, the fact that his arrival coincided with the impending mega event suggested that the World Cup had vaulted the city into the global limelight, making it an easy destination of choice for international celebrities.

Efforts to “modernise” eThekwini included bringing the city’s-built environment in line, and up to speed, with “global” standards. One of these “global standards” was holding eThekwini to higher “environmental standards” in terms of norms that had become settled in the developed world even if still nascent in the global south. Hence, branding appeared which extolled climate change as an issue of primary importance in the city and global warming as a threat. In March 2010, the municipality participated in the so-called *earth hour* initiative. Moses Mabhida Stadium, the main World Cup venue in the city, sought to keep up with “environmentally friendly” global activity by switching off electricity for an hour. A report about this event was filed by Ndlovu under the headline “From Darkness into light” (*Daily News*, 29/3/2010), describing the campaign as "bringing together cities, communities, businesses and individuals on the journey to positive change towards climate change”. Despite the fact that developing countries like South Africa suffer the worst outcomes and effects of environmental crises, climate change discourse, including its normative “standards” and vocabulary, is technocratic and driven almost exclusively from the global north, with African cities like eThekwini functioning merely as hosts for global conferences such as COP17 and as receivers of climate wisdom from outside (Douglas., *et al* 2008). Indeed, eThekwini has borne

the brunt of devastating floods in 2017 and 2021, hence environmental disasters are not new to the city. Essentially, the climate crisis is taken seriously by the city's inhabitants, yet concepts such as "Earth hour" come to developing countries as an import, almost as promotions. This is the sense in which Akon's visit, and "Earth Hour", must be seen as promotional marketing by elites and technocrat-led global bodies such as the UN. Ndlovu's headline suggests that Africans are benighted and lacking in knowledge about caring for the environment, and so must be conscientised, educated and brought into the light. The irony is that Africa contributes a mere 3-4% of global CO_2 emissions, and it is the industrialised countries in the global north that are responsible for the worst pollution, global warming, and CO_2 emissions (Richie, and Roser, 2021). Furthermore, to underline the hypocrisy of climate discourse, industrialised countries in the global north have started programmes to fund the "transition" of African countries like South Africa from fossil fuels and coal to so-called "clean energy", also known as green or renewable energy at a time when (as of 2022) the same countries were busy buying up millions of tonnes of South African coal in order to keep the lights on and stave off an energy crisis in those Western countries. An oft-quoted contention, of course, is that Western countries having built their economies on coal, now urge developing nations to pursue cleaner paths. Developed countries are promoting renewable energy sources for developing nations, but the long-term effectiveness of this approach for achieving developed-nation status remains to be seen. If African countries contribute so little to CO_2 emissions, why must they be pressured to abandon coal, for instance? By what criteria? Who sets those "standards" and why must countries like South Africa abide by them? Why must those developed nations who have destroyed the environment not be the ones to be restricted and pressured by the developing nations? Who must lecture whom on climate and the environment? Whose best interests are being served by the climate agenda? Therefore, the discourse on climate change seems like an agenda set outside of the city and has significant political selection at the global level.

Mass communication theory defines agenda setting as the politics of selecting issues for active consideration (Dery, 2000). Issues that gain media attention and strong peaks in the media, exhibit agenda setting effects compared with issues with low media attention (Geiß, 2022). Agenda setting therefore refers to the process by which

some problems come to the public attention at given times and place (Dery, 2000). One senses that “environmental activism” and events such as “Earth Hour” have become a convenient performance that functions as a smoke screen for continued hegemony and coloniality by the global north over the global south. Cities like eThekwini become pawns in that chess game of global dominance, and agenda. Newspaper reports such as Ndlovu’s, wittingly or not, play an important part in that hegemonic agenda setting. A traditional function of newspapers, of course, is agenda setting.

The discourse of infrastructural development that needed to happen in “modernising” eThekwini for the World Cup included transformation of the public transport system for a more accessible city. Snapath’s report, headlined “New buses shunt aside metered taxis” (9/4/2010, *Daily News*) continues the “modernisation” discourse whereby the FIFA World Cup was the “engine” of changing the status quo in a specific direction desired by technocrats and neoliberal elites. In Snapath’s article, “new buses” not only come seemingly from “nowhere”, indicating that the city authorities had found money from somewhere (which was not usually the case in “normal” eThekwini outside of the World Cup), but are framed as naturally beneficial and good. The “new buses” of the World Cup represent the “new”. The taxis are framed as representing “the old” and therefore harmful. The new was replacing the old, and it was good. In the newspapers, therefore, the World Cup is framed as transformational to the city. The transformation is seen, without question, as good. The “new” that comes with the World Cup is preferentially accorded legitimacy over other the “old” (the taxis) that were already existing in the city for decades. The nature and structure of public transportation in South African cities is inherited from apartheid influx control practices and patterns (Carmichael, 2023; Davies, 1981). Access to the city for Africans, who were not considered citizens of “White South Africa”, was through expensive and time-consuming commuting via buses and trains, themselves owned either by the government or private white owners and cartels. Essentially, what Lefebvre (1996) calls the “right to the city” was not straightforward for the oppressed majority.

The World Cup, as a project, pushed a seemingly non-political and non-ideological discourse of “growth” and “development” that was good for everybody while, in fact, it

alienated the locals from the decision-making process. Logan and Molotch (1987) argue that cities function as "growth machines," prioritizing economic expansion and development that benefits the private interests of capitalist and political elites. Within this system, a key element is "nondecision-making." The focus becomes *where* to build a development project (stadium, airport, wharf) rather than *if* such a project is truly necessary and *who* ultimately benefits. This is exactly what happened in eThekwini with the World Cup stadiums and facilities. These “white elephants” were seen as necessary because the World Cup was necessary, with little thought to the cost of maintaining them beyond the World Cup or their utility for most eThekwini’s citizens. Indeed, a very small part of eThekwini residents has ever been to Moses Mabhidha stadium, even during the World Cup, with most visitors to the site being tourists.

The World Cup exposed structures of economic, social, cultural, and political alienation that left out the locals in a mega event they were supposed to be “hosting”. This was clear in newspaper stories that covered issues ranging from crime to transportation. For instance, the taxi system, which ordinary people typically use, was marginalised and located outside the “official” municipality transport system for World Cup purposes. Efficient” transportation and “logical” routes intuitively led in and out of predominantly white areas of the city – areas which also happened to be the “safe areas” of eThekwini as alluded to in the Thompson’s article in *The Mercury* (“Tourists warned about SA”, 4/3/2010) warning tourists about “high crime areas” such as townships or the inner city and CBD at night. The headline itself (“Tourists warned about SA”) creates a binary distinction and division whereby locals are excluded from the category of “tourists”. By the same token, crime is associated exclusively with locals. Yet, tourists can be criminals as well (Mataković and Mataković 2019). Flipping that headline on its head and rewriting it as “Locals warned about tourists” becomes impossible in the newspaper discourse that sought to promote the World Cup. Yet, considering the involvement of some tourists in smuggling, drug and human trafficking, among other serious crimes, (Mataković and Mataković 2019), there was nothing stopping newspapers from warning locals to be careful of tourists.

Essentially, the World Cup presented a paradigm of convenient “clean up” which played into the hands of technocrats and planners. The mega event functioned as a tool for re-setting “the urban” in a manner that was hegemonic. Locals were not likely to aggressively resist decisions made in the name of the “universally beneficial” World Cup that put South Africa on the global map and brought growth and development. In this hegemonic discourse, eThekwini’s “global aspirations” took precedence. “Global” was good and “local” was just a door mat to the global. On 9 April 2010 Arthi Snapath reported in the *Daily News* that “New buses shunt aside metered taxis”, almost celebrating the “clean up” of the old by the new. The triumphant shunting aside of the metered taxis in eThekwini, in the lead up to and for the duration of the World Cup, instead of integrating them into the newly minted transportation plan (see also, “Transport plan all mapped out”, Barbara Cole, *The Mercury*, 8/4/2010), is an example that further highlighted the contradictions, fault lines and exposed. The shunting aside of a taxi system that has been in the city for over 40 years shows that urban local structures do not gain legitimacy just because they have been around the longest. When a “global” event comes along, these sites are quickly and opportunistically marginalised. They are seen as hindering progress and sullying the “brand”. All of this is done, once more, to “protect” the tourist who must not see the ugly side that locals are exposed to every day. The fact that the mass transportation system in South Africa is heavily implicated with apartheid influx control, and has evolved ambiguously between resistance and accommodation, integration and segregation, suggests the unfinished business of “transformation” is a key factor in shaping the production and consumption of the urban in eThekwini. In the final analysis, the World Cup was a form of *hidden structural adjustment* programme happening under the cover of a global mega event that would supposedly benefit “all” when in reality it was pushing forward an opaque neoliberal “growth” agenda that left the status quo largely untouched.

4.3.3 Mediating the “Futurisation” of eThekwini

The World Cup represented a particular aspect of the “production” of space by elites within a backdrop of “national building” and an actual reality of deepening state and capitalist relations. While one can point to the “fetishization of space in the service of the state” (Lefebvre 1991: 21) with regards to how the South African state legitimised the World Cup as a fetish which could not be denied or frustrated in its aims to bring

the “world” and the “future” to South African cities, there is also clear fetishisation of space in the service of capital and capitalism in the “neoliberal” (Lefebvre refers to “neocapitalism”) discourse of the newspapers. These two kinds of fetishisation, of course, amount to the same thing in the end because the state and capital in eThekwini are intertwined and tend to cooperate rather than contradict. The excessive deference, in the newspaper discourse, to the World Cup, is a reflection of how much media discourse is bound up with neoliberal discourse that both elevates and fetishises the importance of capital and capitalism, the markets, and the privatisation of social space. As Lefebvre 1991: 9-10) asserts, capital and capitalism do influence “practical matters relating to space, from the construction of buildings to the distribution of investments and the worldwide division of labour” At the same time, however, that capital and capitalism have “yet another aspect, one which is certainly bound up with the functioning of money, with the various markets, and with the social relations of production, but which is distinct from these precisely because it is dominant.” This aspect, he says, is “the *hegemony* of one class” (Lefebvre 1991: 10) – in this case the hegemony of the bourgeoisie. Essentially, newspaper discourse is a reflection and an extension of a form of class hegemony “exercised over society as a whole, culture and knowledge included, and generally via human mediation: policies, political leaders, parties, as also a good many intellectuals and experts. It is exercised, therefore, over both institutions and ideas” (Lefebvre 1991: 10).

The discourse of the “promise” of the future (“futurising” the city, or “futurisation”), a “future” that could not be denied because it was good, was suffused newspaper reporting about the 2010 World Cup. A case in point is Keith Ross’s article (“Cup will pave road to future”, *Daily News*, 29/4/2010) which combines the symbolism of the future with the quotidian realities of the transport infrastructure. The road to the future is both symbolic and real, and such a road is supposedly paved by football. Interestingly, the triumphant symbolism in the newspaper discourse is contradicted by the aphorism that “The road to hell is paved with good intentions”. That is, there are unaddressed contradictions in the “futuristic” discourse on display. Seamster (2015: 1059) has opined that:

> many policy studies express surprise at how a plan’s modified approaches or good intentions yields the repeated outcome of Black exclusion,

> disenfranchisement, and suffering (see, for instance, the innumerable iterations of urban renewal). Confirmation bias leads both policymakers and analysts to continually ignore the negative results of their preferred solutions.

Critical study of how the World Cup unfolded in eThekwini and other South African cities would further indicate that the road to the future was in fact a technocratic future paved with capitalist interests. Barbara Cole's "King Edward's state of the art equipment is 2010's legacy" (*Daily News*, 29/03/2010), amplifies the "futurising" of eThekwini into public health by means of the trope of "diffusions of technological innovations". Essentially, the World Cup was not just a means of paving the road to the future but did so using technology. There is a conflation of "state of the art" technology and the future. Hidden in this article about technology is an assumption that health facilities in eThekwini, and facilities in general, were backward prior to the arrival of the World Cup. After the World Cup, King Edward Hospital had been – almost magically – transformed, entering the "future". This takes us back to "modernisation" discourse discussed above. Such a discourse, which regards the World Cup as gift and inheritance that modernises eThekwini, almost in a big bang fashion, is problematic because it depoliticises development and conceals the urban history of apartheid which continues to shape the uses, consumption, and production of space in the city. The entrance to the future that is being offered in the newspaper discourse is de-historicised and sanitised. The memory of apartheid discrimination, urban spatial segregation, social engineering, racial trauma and influx control is conveniently buried by the "futurising" discourse. Furthermore, Cole's headline and article suggests that locals were typically habituated to backward health facilities prior to the modernising event of the FIFA World Cup. Had it not been for the World Cup, this status quo would have continued without comment. Underlying this analysis is a supposition that "world class" facilities came to eThekwini only because tourists were coming to the city for the World Cup. It suggests that advancements in healthcare prioritize catering to outsiders over addressing the long-standing needs of the city's residents. This raises a crucial question: shouldn't access to high-quality healthcare infrastructure be a basic right for all citizens, not a privilege reserved for visitors? Read in the context of service delivery problems and perennial protests in eThekwini, the question of tourists who are followed by service delivery (instead of protesting for it) shows the persistence of global inequality. One can thus say that the road to the future in eThekwini is paved by inequality.

Fig 4.2. A European artist's impression of Shaka

Newspaper discourse also captured contestation in the production and consumption of urban space, highlighting the struggles for the city that mainstream discourse sought – unsuccessfully – to preclude and exclude. The "rebranding" of the city in the image of the technocratic "modern" was contested by, among other things, memory and naming. The "Zulu-ness" of eThekwini was at issue in the vision of a re-branded and futurising city, particularly where "being Zulu" is associated with tradition and autochthony. A flashpoint was the debate over the naming of the new airport and the unveiling of the statue of King Shaka kaSenzangakhona (*b*.1787 – *d*.1828). Naming the new airport in terms of the "old" and the "traditional" reflected the tension between historical memory and the demands of "futurity". Would a name such as "King Shaka" work? Is it modern enough? Is it global enough? That the airport is now named after King Shaka shows how the process to rebrand eThekwini is the outcome of constant negotiation between past, present, and future, and that the process of futurising the

city is not straightforward. If the naming of the new airport after King Shaka was a flashpoint, the issue of the statue was a bitter inflection point in how the past shapes and controls “future-ness”. A statue of King Shaka Zulu, sculpted by renowned local artist Andries Botha and costing three million Rands, was meant to be unveiled when the new airport opened. However, before the unveiling, a storm of criticism arose. King Goodwill Zwelithini, the then Zulu monarch, and the KZN government, rejected the statue, claiming that it “looks more like a herd boy than a hunter warrior of Zulu folklore”. It was also stated that a statue of an unarmed Shaka – the spear and shield were placed on the ground at his feet – standing between two cows was unacceptable because it symbolised “surrender”. The statue was removed and dumped into storage, leaving just the two cows on their own.

Fig 4.3 King Shaka airport, arrivals courtyard, with two cows that remained after ‘herdboy’ Shaka was removed (pic taken in 2023).

Sipho Khumalo’s report (“Now Shaka’s statue must go,” *The Mercury*, 2/6/2010) shows the contested nature of memory and history, and their meaningfulness 182 years after Shaka’s death. None of the people alive in 2010 had ever seen Shaka alive, and there are no exact photographs or drawings of him, or representations of him done by the Zulus. An infamous image of Shaka, from 1824, is a European artist’s

impression that shows Shaka with a long throwing spear and heavy shield. Nevertheless, despite the lack of definitive knowledge about how Shaka looked exactly, there was lively debate about not only how he looked but how he should look in 2010. The newspaper article observed that while Shaka was a warrior, he was also a herder, and hence the demeanour of a herder in a statue may not have been out of place. That is, before Shaka became a warrior and King, he began as a herd boy. This is part of his complex identity, which ought not to be occluded. However, opponents of this view were fully invested in the dominant figure of a hyper-masculinist, warrior-King Shaka and wished this to be the image that the future eThekwini retained in its branding.

Fig 4.4 The rejected statue of a "herd boy" Shaka

Interestingly, this dominant image of Shaka as a warrior-King develops, in part, from conventional and mainstream imagery shaped by *Shaka Zulu*, the eponymous 10-part SABC TV miniseries about Shaka (1986) which starred Henry Cele in the title role. Many viewers have retained the misleading view that Shaka looked like Henry Cele or cannot distinguish Henry Cele from Shaka. Yet all of this is fictionalised imagery. In the rebranding of eThekwini in the image of "Zulu-ness", folklore and fictionalised

imagery carried more weight than historical truth. Essentially, battles were still being fought in 2010 as much as they had been fought since Shaka's time, as indicated by the comment about "surrender". Could the fact that the sculptor behind the "herd boy" Shaka is a white Afrikaner have played a part in the rejection of the "inauthentic" representation? In the contemporary period, the battles took the form of the production and reproduction of space in a specific "authentic" image of the first Zulu King. Certain meanings, still, could not be surrendered, even in 2010.

Khumalo's article reveals the disjuncture of public memory and the idea of branding a "future-facing" city, and how much of the past is retained, and in what form and in whose image – a disjuncture also extends to the relationship and negotiations between indigenous memory and the interests of urban planners. It is interesting to note that Andries Botha's other commissioned sculptures on behalf of the city – the three elephant sculptures at Warwick Junction – did not excite any political comment or pushback. Indeed, the sculptures were, by 2012, suffering from neglect to a point where the sculptor took the city to court to force them to protect the three elephants.[21] The dominant branding of the FIFA World Cup a global and modernising melting pot clashed with the contested memories and historical narratives of indigenous groups. This forced the city's "futurised" image to confront and potentially coexist with the more prominent narrative of the Zulu past. The dismemberment of Botha's statue, just days before its unveiling, reflected the surprisingly violent undercurrent of, and in, the production of urban space.

4.4 Colonial memory and rejuvenating the city

> *Durban's public transit node and market was a congested, crime-ridden and neglected no-go zone following years of disinvestment and marginalisation of informal workers. Informal workers represent 50-80% of urban employment globally*[22]

[21] Broughton, T. (28/2/2012). "Elephant artist goes to court", https://www.iol.co.za/news/elephant-artist-goes-to-court-1244409

[22] World Resource Institute Ross Centre. (2019) Prize for Cities. https://prizeforcities.org/project/warwick-junction Accessed 29/12/2020.

The quotation above is about the historical Warwick Junction Market, on the approaches to eThekwini's Central Business District. I use it here because it reflects a broader media discourse about a once thriving but rapidly deteriorating, if resilient, city that is wasting away due to an influx of people, informal traders, and an epidemic of crime, among other ills. Lefebvre, in *The Production of Space* (1991: 46), opines that "If space is produced, if there is a productive process, then we are dealing with *history* (emphasis added).

This section analyzes newspaper coverage of a rapidly declining, yet resilient, city. This analysis is framed by the concept of persistent colonialism, a concept that, as argued by Home (1997: 2), "all cities are in a way colonial." This is because cities are created:

> through the exercise of dominance by some groups over others, to extract agricultural surplus, provide services, and exercise political control. Transport improvements then allow one society or state to incorporate other territory and peoples overseas. The city thus becomes an instrument of colonization and (in the case of the European overseas empires) racial dominance.

This section should allow this study to map the production, reproduction, regulation, and consumption of space in eThekwini through the prism of a persistent and undying coloniality. Contemporary encounters and contestations in eThekwini reflect and express the problem of an undying colonialism in how the city and its spaces are imagined, fought for, and fought over.

2011	*The Mercury* 1. "The passion of volunteers" (Billy Suter, 31/3/2011) 2. "Ellingson to head Durban ICC" (Suren Naidoo, 6/4/2011) 3. "Municipality is ready for demerit system" (Gugu Mbonambi, 7/4/2011) 4. "Free art films at KZNSA Gallery" (press release, 8/4/2011) 5. "Final Upgrade for Durban's Golden Mile to start soon" (Gugu Mbonambi, 8/4/2011) 6. "Sutcliffe slated for 'sneaky' Vetch's plan" (Tony Carne, 11/ 04/2011) 7. "Vetch's plan urgent, exco told" (Tony Carne, 13/04/2011)

	8. “Legal wrangles stop plan for Warwick mall” (Gugu Mbonambi, 13/04/2011) 9. “Eyesore children's hospital still needs TLC” (Jauhara Khan, 26/04/2011) 10. “Forensic audit meets Mlaba and Sutcliffe to discuss probe into city's finances” (Gugu Mbonambi, 13/04/2011) 11. “Durban's colonial charm still exists-at Sica's Guest House”, (Advertorial, 31/04/2011)

Fig 4.5. Articles from *The Mercury* (2011) discoursing about the struggles and contestations over a once beautiful (colonial) “dying” and deteriorating city

The 11 articles from 2011 reveal four salient themes about the city, namely:

- eThekwini as a colonial city,
- eThekwini as an artistic city,
- eThekwini as a city of regulation,
- eThekwini as a city undergoing rejuvenation

Most of the articles from *The Mercury* that I analysed deal with the theme of *regulation* in the city. This theme has salience as it is one of the levels of the circuit of culture (CoC). It highlights terms, conditions and legal structures (and strictures) that shape and constrain the process of production within the circuit and, in this study, the production, contestation, and consumption of space in eThekwini, as well as the negotiation of boundaries. Through employing the three dimensions of discourse of discursive event, discursive practice, and social practice, the analysis of the articles revealed the relationships that reflect underlying structures of power, struggle, power relations, boundaries, and vested interest, and how these were negotiated, articulated, and contested. It was fascinating to observe how elements of the relationships reflected were articulated, produced and embedded at each level of the CoC (cf. Leve, 2012). Fundamentally, regulation is implicated with power. Power relations are inflected through politics, yet the subtexts reach farther than politics.

Bitter contestation over the use, or perceived use, of political power in settling the question of who regulates space in the city of eThekwini often took the form of newspaper attacks on political functionaries. For instance, the article about the city manager, Michael Sutcliffe, ("Sutcliffe slated for 'sneaky' Vetch's plan," Tony Carne, *The Mercury*, 11/4/2011) "exposes" the city manager's use of political power to shape the development of Vetch's pier on the beach front. The article states:

> *Michael Sutcliffe, eThekwini municipal manager, is under fire for seeking public land for private property development at Vetch's pier without the public's knowledge. An advert to lease a section of the seabed and seashore at the Durban beachfront was posted on a single-column legal notice on the back page of The Mercury. This was met with backlash from the public who accuse the municipality of 'sneaking' controversial development plans without giving the public proper chance to comment or object. A legal notice by national Transport Minister S'bu Ndebele to lease land to the municipality under the Seashore Act of 1935. Anyone who wants to see full details of the Act can view them during working hours at Department of Transport offices in Pretoria or at the office of the eThekwini municipal manager. Johnny Vassilaros, Chairman of the Durban Paddle Ski Club is one of the groups opposing the development at the beach. Sutcliffe had refused to share the details of his meetings between the municipality and Durban Point Development Company. He argues that if the deal is settled then access to the beach will be restricted to members of combined boating clubs. The development's controversy has been ongoing for several years but final environmental approval was announced by Ndebele in 2009. The final approval process is under review by the Durban High Court, this comes after the Save the Vetch's Association charged that there was high-level political interference to ensure the project's approval. The association has written to Sutcliffe over the past months to request for further clarity on what exactly do the plans entail and assurance that nothing will be built until the high court approves. The association has yet to receive a response.*

The newspaper questions the city's conception of "economic development" and insinuates that it is not only a cover for ulterior motives and corruption but is being done behind the public's back and without transparency or accountability. Development for whom? The development of city public property expresses the "right to the city" and so attracts contestation because of the perception that the "commons" are at issue. In the preface to Stavrides' *Common Space: The City as Commons*, De Angelis (2016: xi) asserts that discourses of the commons and "communing" address "the strategies used by capital and the state to destroy commons" such as enclosures and accumulation by dispossession. The newspaper is playing the role of watchdog, and of speaking truth to power, in safeguarding the "public" against its incorporation into the "private". But is this all there is to it? Further reading suggests the existence

of important subtexts, particularly if one considers that in an “apartheid city” like Durban, structures of the past shape all conceptions of “public”, “private”, and “commons”.

In Carne’s article, the surface level story explores tensions between public and private ownership of city property. The angle used in the story is to question Sutcliffe's plans to “lease” land to a municipality under the Seashore Act of 1935. The Sea Shore act states:

> To declare the Governor-General to be the owner of the sea-shore and to be entitled to exercise control over the sea-shore and of the sea and the bed of the sea within the three miles' limit and to provide for the grant of rights in respect of the sea-shore and of the bed of the sea within the three miles' limit, and for the alienation of portions of the sea-shore and for matters incidental thereto

What is notable is that a colonial piece of legislation, the Seashore Act from 1935, is still in use in 2011, some 76 years later. This is despite the Crown ceasing to “rule” South Africa in 1961, and the coming of democracy in 1994. The persistence of colonial laws suggests that some colonial laws are not deemed problematic, even where a country claims independence and claims to be decolonised. That a colonial law from 1935 is regulating space in a South African city in 2011 indicates the scope of the problem of coloniality. Worse, the text of the law itself formally declares “the Governor-General to be the owner of the sea-shore and to be entitled to exercise control over the sea-shore”! Not only is there no “Governor-General” anymore in South Africa, but the assumption is that since 1994, the people of South Africa, as a whole, own their land and sea shores. How decolonised are we if Governor-Generals still own our land and water bodies? One is reminded of the observation by Home (1997: 3) that “Colonial governors and ruling elites often sought to express their political authority through the physical form of ports and towns, using the civic design language of baroque avenues, esplanades and public buildings.” It is these forms, and the colonial authority that attends them, that the Seashore Act preserves and reproduces.

The debate over the “commons” in the case of the Vetch Pier is not straightforward. The antagonists are the city manager and the Durban Paddle Ski Club and other boating clubs. How are boat clubs, for instance, an example of spaces “for all”? The

reason this “new” project spearheaded by Sutcliffe drew so much flack was because it encroached onto a “lifestyle cluster” where a majority-White and affluent resident of eThekwini staked claims. One suspects that there would not be the same vehement resistance from affluent whites if the ground being contested was a dusty patch in Umlazi or KwaMashu or even the Princess Magogo Stadium – sites located in the township. Once again, “core” (spaces where whites play, relax, wine and dine) and “periphery” (townships) discourses are at play. The city manager’s mistake was not to recognise these fault lines and distinctions that structure the production, reproduction, regulation, and consumption of “public” space in eThekwini. Politicians should not mess with “core” spaces without “proper consultation” – although they may do so in the periphery areas. Essentially, the beaches, although nominally open to everyone, are in practice normatively white spaces for exclusive recreation. Boat clubs are private, elite, and exclusive clubs. In the newspaper discourse, however, the boat clubs are located on the side of the public, and thus as defenders of the commons and of the public against the private. The history of the beaches of Durban is well known (Hughes, 2012; MacCracken, 2001). Heather Hughes offers an analysis of the earliest history of the Durban beachfront as a racialised leisure space, the struggle by African people to establish their place on the beach in the first third of the twentieth century, and how these processes were visualised or not visualised (Hughes 2012,142).Beaches were out of bounds to Africans and existed exclusively for white recreation and enjoyment. After 1994, the beaches and piers are nominally open, but a largely impoverished African majority lacks the wherewithal to access costly “rich white people’s” spaces and “playthings”. This leaves such “public” spaces as public in name only. Historically, Hughes (2012) gives insights into the practical difficulties for Africans on Durban beaches. Beaches reserved for blacks were entirely devoid of facilities, lacked dressing rooms, and lacked funding. There were no amusements, tearooms, shelters or swimming baths/pools. Black vendors were further not allowed, barred from selling refreshments (2012, 153). As such, the battle unfolding at Vetch’s Pier is between “exclusive public” and private. Sutcliffe has strayed into a territory now claimed by the “exclusive publics” of South Africa, which are nominally open to everyone but practically have remained bounded, white spaces.

A follow up article by Carne (“Vetch's Plan Urgent, exco told”, *The Mercury*, 13/4/2011) reveals more details about what is at stake. The report states that the eThekwini Municipality and private developers were planning to rent out the pier for R1000 per year for the next two centuries! Aside from exposing strategies of enclosure and accumulation by dispossession, the prospect of using a 76-year-old law from 1935 to add 200 more years of exclusive control is mindboggling. It shows the persistence of coloniality by opaque legal means. The article intimates that the Coastal Development Act passed in 2009 is being bypassed in favour of a colonial law. We are reminded of the salience of the persistence of coloniality in Morris’s (1983; in Home, 1997: 1) assertion that “as the first modern industrial power, Britain was the chief exporter of municipalities, and through the agency of her empire broadcast them everywhere.” The use of a law from 1935 serves to underline this continuing invisible dominance of British claims over the form and content of municipal space. If, for two centuries British overseas expansion was achieved through the ‘planting’ of colonies (cf. Home 1997), then Durban was “planted” as a municipality and the Seashore Act is an expression and articulation of that “plantation”.

Regulation, as wielded in the hands of the city manager Sutcliffe, articulates the colonial “plantation” of power in places that might be far from the British metropole, but that are still governed by its tenets. The colonial project conquered societies and cultures, transplanting a western world order – and a “European or Western culture of colonial domination” – that has now lasted for over five hundred years (cf. Quijano, 2000: 169). A core element of such a world order was to institute the will of the metropole over the periphery. If one considers how newspaper discourse unfolded regarding Vetch Pier, it becomes clear that metropole and periphery, core and margin, has been – and are being – reproduced in eThekwini even as we speak. The spaces that are most fought over, in newspaper discourse and outside it, represent the core. The ones that are ignored – despite being the ones where service delivery protests are a common occurrence – constitute the margins and the periphery. Of course, laws and regulation were fundamental processes that ensured not only that colonial political power persisted even after so-called independence and decolonisation but also that the pattern of who speaks, makes decisions, is listened to and taken seriously, is entrenched. The colonial city, as the territorial space established and developed for

the “primary purpose of mercantilist or capitalist extraction in which a ‘minority’ of ‘expatriate colonial elites’ govern large subject populations” generally at the behest of a European state, reproduces settler-colonial relations, sites and spaces that express, extend, and actualise colonial power and retain “underlying and prevailing relations of race, power and space and the settler-colonial relations" (Blatman-Thomas and Porter, 2019: 31). Despite us being in 2011, and the city grappling with the apparent aim to “produce” new spaces that hold up the promise of transformation, the Seashore Act is an example of how “regulation” reaches as far back as it wants into colonial-historical normativity to police and discipline the present and sustain a hegemonic “social order” that legitimates the sway of the “old” over the new and the persistence of the old in the new. Wolfe (2006: 388) states that “settler colonialism destroys to replace” alluding not just to the violence and coercion, dispossession, and control, that the settler colonial structures bring, but also the permanent replacement of indigenous ownership with the perpetual ownership of land and sea by “governors” who drew their authority from the metropole. That is, the continued utility of the Seashore Act highlights how the more things change the more they remain the same.

Wolfe (2006) asserts that the manifestation of hegemony in settler-colonial cities is predicated on a toxic blend of exclusion, assimilation and co-optation engineered through settler-colonial relations. Sutcliffe, as the city’s operations manager at the time, once again reinstated and reincorporated violence and violent norms that had governed colonial and apartheid subjects through decree. At the same time, the newspaper discourse does not lay bare the contradictions in the fight for “exclusive public” spaces like Vetch’s Pier. Yet, a cursory consideration of Durban’s history of segregated public spaces which to this day remain unevenly democratised and accessible, would have shown the colonial and racialised subtexts at play. In a major sense, the fear – and warning – in the confrontation over Vetch’s Pier betrays the position that Sutcliffe is being reckless with handling “exclusive public” spaces, but the recklessness is more egregious because his continued encroachment will cause white flight, and white flight will endanger the whole of eThekwini. As Seamster (2015: 1060) points out, the “extremely pervasive phenomenon of White flight and suburbanization has had profound effects on cities.” In the newspaper discourse, what holds eThekwini together are those whites who decide to stay and grace the city spaces with their

continuous presence. If such “whiteness” left, eThekwini would collapse. Yet here Sutcliffe was messing with these unwritten rules. He had to be called out and disciplined – not physically but in terms of knowing how core and periphery functioned in eThekwini. In other words, Sutcliffe was better off encroaching on godforsaken spaces in the townships which nobody who mattered bothered about anyway. Newspaper discourse was thus seeking to rein in Sutcliffe. In this way, regulation from the top (Sutcliffe’s) collided with disciplining of space from elite citizenry. However, the whole saga was framed in the media as merely the newspapers carrying out the traditional watchdog function of calling out abuse of power and forcing transparency where corruption was possibly taking place.

The colonial city sought to be sufficient through levying taxes, penalties, and fines on the colonised. After all, the colonised were mostly banned from “white” urban areas and attempts to use or occupy urban space were nearly always illegal. If the black body was in town illegally, it had to contend with constant harassment, jail, and fines. This mode of revenue collection was the basis of the so-called Durban System (cf. Swanson 1976). The Durban System, according to Swanson (1976: 159), answered the question of “Who shall pay?” by “enabling government to tighten social controls without colliding – except in the matter of prohibition – with its electorate, and providing for the establishment of a substantial bureaucracy. Since the system was profitable in these terms it could be reproduced in other places and became one of the major historical roots of urban apartheid.” Since settler colonists considered “African urbanization and independence a subversion of civilized society”, control was to be levied through influx control and making Africans pay, literally. The Durban System administered influx control of Africans into the city by mandating that Africans apply for permits to stay in the CBD while such regulations as the Native Beer Act (1908) enhanced the Durban System of control by taking money from the oppressed subjects and putting it back into the coffers of the municipality – funds which enabled more influx control, in a circuit of degradation and exploitation of Africans. The Durban System continues in eThekwini by other means. An example is how regulation is instrumentalised through traffic offences laws. Mbonambi’s article, “Municipality is ready for demerit system” (*The Mercury*, 7/4/2011) reports about the city’s readiness to implement the Administrative Adjudication of the Road Traffic Offences (Aarto)

system. The system's purpose is related to fines, where "motorists who pay their fines within 32 days are to be given a 50% discount" (Mbonambi, 2011). The system also classifies offences as either minor or major offences. Gardner (2012), in *Taxing Colonial Africa: The Political Economy of British Imperialism*, shows that raising revenues from taxes, levies, penalties and fines levied on the colonised subjects was a core element of the political economy of colonial rule and control. Thus:

> Governing an empire was costly, and as its boundaries expanded British bureaucrats began to encourage their counterparts in colonial capitals to find ways of paying their local expenses without help from the British Treasury. From the British government's perspective, requiring colonies to pay their own way was an effective means of limiting its own spending on the Empire. By the early twentieth century, the bulk of imperial expenditure was funded by revenue raised in the colonies rather than in the metropole (Gardner 2012: 3).

In the context of an untransformed city with persistent colonial structures, the questions of penalising and levying fines on motorists, for examples, is not just a question of preserving order on the roads. Instead, it is implicated with histories of the political economy of empire, of raising funds and revenues from colonial subjects, and using regulations as a dragnet to catch as many Africans as possible on the wrong side of the law. The Durban System and how it operated, resembles persisting colonial structures.

The demerit system in Mbonambi's *The Mercury* report echoes the political economy of regulation that institutionalised the Durban System on the basis of influx control which benefitted the dominant classes and fleeced the underclasses (cf. Maylam 1996). Maylam (1996: 1) recounts that urban apartheid was refined between the 1950s and the 1980s through maximising invisibility of the colonised and extending it "beyond day-to-day living". From popular media to local history texts, a dominant perception was sustained that framed the "lives of the underclasses, very largely black, (as) not worthy of consideration…except insofar as their lives impinged upon or constituted a problem for the dominant classes" (Maylam, 1996: 1). The problem of law and order, in the apartheid city, directly fed into influx control, and influx control was apartheid's golden goose. This structure of making money from over-regulating the everyday lives of the majority, and thus generating revenue from them when they break all sorts of

bylaws and commit dozens of possible minor offences, still remains in eThekwini's regulatory framework.

4.5 eThekwini as an artistic city

> *The atmosphere of a public space, its aesthetics and physical architecture, its historical status and reputation, its visual cultures, subtly define performances of social life in public and meanings and intentions of urban public culture… The projections - cast out from billboards, public art, the design of space, public gatherings, the shape of buildings, the cleanliness of streets, the sounds and smells that circulate, the flows of bodies- comes with strong sensory, effective, and neurological effects. They shape public expectation, less so by forcing automatic compliance, than by tracing the boundaries of normality and aspiration in public life (Amin, 2008: 15)*

The question about how far eThekwini has shed its coloniality can be posed indirectly through a consideration of how much "right to the city" is afforded to the city's creatives and artists. The Durban System that held sway throughout most of the 20th century and which institutionalised influx control and wealth redistribution through fines and penalties, emerged out of settler colonists' fear of being swamped by masses of Africans that flocked to the Durban in the aftermath of the Anglo Boer war. The system of influx control thus sought to reduce the traffic of the majority into the CBD, on the excuse of maintaining law and order on the streets. Artists were part of the prohibited traffic which could not claim the city streets for itself, its exhibitions, its performances, displays, songs, and dances. The contemporary art scene and artistic expression can thus function as a barometer into how much artists negotiate and win the "right to the city". Billy Suter's article "The passion of Volunteers" (The Mercury, 31/3/2011) recounts the performance of a Passion play as part of the Easter holiday tradition in the city. The article gives a historical account of how the play originated in Durban. Initially performed in the 1960s "after the mayor and community of Oberammergau, Bavaria, Germany gave permission to the Durban Catholic Players Guild to stage an abridged version of the internationally acclaimed production", the play had gone through various iterations before its contemporary form and format. The brief genealogy of the play is important in putting into focus the salient historical fact that in the 1960s public performances and public spaces were segregated. Thus, such performances would have been out of bounds for Africans. Entertainment in the city was for whites only. Further, the account by Suter indicates that, even then, permission

had to be sought from Germany, and that the play was an abridged version and was internationally acclaimed. Suter's story can thus be read for the way it maps issues of social change and transformation, the aspiration of the city to "globalness" and internationalisation through artistic production and expression and, finally, the active production and defining of a city's formerly exclusive spaces and the public expression and performance of and within social space (cf. Amin 2008). Could art and artistic performance be used as vectors of transformation of the city in the image of its inhabitants (or, at least, its artists)? This question, in contemporary eThekwini, clashes with the neoliberal and financialising impulse of the city planners, managers, technocrats, investors, and business people who have particular ideas about how the city's space should be allocated and monetised. The neoliberal and financialising impulse can be said to be an iteration of the Durban System.

At the same time, artists can use art to appropriate, claim, and refashion the social space in their own image. After all, the right to the city is not a given but has to be struggled and striven for. Lefebvre (1991: 1) clarifies, in *The Production of Space*, that when he speaks of "space", he is not referring to geometric, Euclidian, isotropic or mathematical space. Rather, he is talking of what he calls "social space". Social space, Lefebvre asserts, "is a (social) product" Lefebvre (1991: 26) – a product of social relations, everyday practice, process, contestations, and power. Hence, in reality, "social space 'incorporates' social actions, the actions of subjects both individual and collective who are born and who die, who suffer and who act (Lefebvre 1991: 33). Essentially, space is *produced*, hence the title of Lefebvre's book. Indeed, in "spatial practice, the reproduction of social relations is predominant" (Lefebvre 1991: 50). The public performance of a global production in eThekwini not only links the notions of eThekwini's creative self-identity with local histories and constraints and with aspirations to fit into the global network of cities. In terms of the CoC, the production itself is a form/at the point of "production" which contributes to establishing definite cultural activity and the productive exchange meaning, whether religious or secular. A key question, however, remains: can galleries and museums be decolonised? Can they change their spots?

The advertorial ("Free art films at KZNSA Gallery") inviting art film enthusiasts to be part of the KZNSA art gallery initiative for "Cinema Thursdays Picnic Evenings" (in partnership with the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund, and hosted by the Durban Film Society), expresses optimism about using art as a vector of transforming the city in the image of its inhabitants. *Museum Spaces in Post-Apartheid South Africa: The Durban Art Gallery as a case study* (2006), provides a synopsis of South African segregationist laws and their repercussions for how the arts are "cultured" today. Hence:

> During the 1960s, most of the black opposition organisations were banned and the state-ordered police crackdowns on remaining expressions of resistance were heavy. Cultural initiatives in the country were severely hampered. Segregation in theatres prevented black actors and musicians playing to mixed audiences. The Bantu Education System, which was established in 1953, also had an effect on art and intellectual training which was denied to an entire generation. Mission schools, such as the Evangelical Lutheran Church Art and Craft Centre at Rorke's Drift, were established, leading to a particular form of Christian iconography which became accepted as the main form of independence movement throughout the of Africa. The Black Consciousness Movement was established in 1968 and led to a withdrawal of support (Brown, 2005:5)

Essentially, Brown's synopsis reflects and expresses the institutionalisation of apartheid. The KZNSA gallery, founded in 1902, is a colonial institution. Artistic expression functioned to "reinforce British culture" (Brown, 2005: 5). The gallery itself formed part of a "territorial unit established primarily for the purposes of mercantilist or capitalist extraction" by a minority of expatriate colonial elites who enjoyed and consumed art and entertainment exclusively without the large majority population intruding. The exclusive enjoyment of art was made possible, of course, by strict influx control.

If the arts in a transformed or transforming city ultimately contribute to what Amin (2008) refers to as the "atmosphere of public space" then the arts in Durban continue to be implicated in the contradictory embrace of metropolitan colonial culture. The Passion Play and its annual return during the Easter holidays expresses the ambivalent *long durée* of Christianity in Africa, and the elitism of the performance. The KZNSA gallery's invitation to all comers to visit its space and consume free art films,

an eclectic mix (that) will cater for people with an alternative taste", reflects an ambivalence between a colonial museum past and an attempt to embrace an authentic "publicness" that softens the perception of the gallery as an exclusive, elite space.

4.6 Upgrading and Rejuvenating

> *A city's streets, parks, squares and other shared spaces have been seen as symbols of collective well-being and possibility, expressions of achievement and aspiration by urban leaders and visionaries, sites of public encounter and formation of civic culture, and significant spaces of political deliberation and agonistic struggle (Amin, 2008: 5).*

Urban renewal is a constant theme for all cities, since (many) cities are born, expand, decay, die, and resurrect, in a never-ending cycle. Yet, like other concepts to do with cities, it is not a neutral, innocent, or value-free concept. Rather, it is implicated with power and vested interests and, in many cases, attracts controversy. On the surface, renewal is something good. But in cities divided by income and history, "renewal" immediately becomes political and ideological. A common term associated with renewal is "gentrification", a word that has almost become a swearword in urban studies. This is in large part because gentrification brings up images of eviction of the poor and the involvement of planners, technocrats, and investors from the outside whose main motivation is profit. "Renewal" comes with the threat of constraining the right to the city, blocking the open paths to the commons, and pervasive privatisation. In the broader history of South Africa, dominated by the memory and images of forced "removals" and the Group Areas Act, there is justified distrust of urban designs that seek to shift current inhabitants of a particular locale. Maharaj (1999: 249), for instance, writes of "how slum clearance laws, the Group Areas Act and urban renewal programmes were used to try to destroy the (Warwick Avenue Triangle) community". Indeed, a "common theme in South African urban literature is the forced relocation and the destruction of integrated communities under apartheid" (Maharaj 1999; 250). The histories of Sophiatown, Cato Manor, and District Six is well known and appreciated. The report "Final upgrade for Durban's Golden Mile to start soon" (Gugu Mbonambi, *The Mercury*, 8/4/2011) touches on the themes of renewal and rejuvenation. To rejuvenate implies to improve, to upgrade, and to give a new lease of life. At issue in Mbonambi's report is the "upgrading" of eThekwini's Golden Mile. The Golden Mile (including the promenade) is a busy stretch of beachfront known for surf

breaks, open for 24 hours and popular with locals from eThekwini as well as domestic tourists, especially from Gauteng, and featuring a diversity of users ranging from swimmers to surfers, broad walkers, rickshaw drivers, vendors, photographers, fishermen, beach volleyball players, quad bikers, skateboarders, musicians, dancers, street performers, beggars, petty thieves, craft stalls, fishing spots, pavement cafes, restaurants, nightclubs, beachfront properties, residential apartments, tourist hotels, casinos, and many more. Because of its popularity and busy-ness, the "Mile" has significant economic value for eThekwini and attracts the constant tinkering of planners.

The *Mercury* article details how the first phase of the development cost an estimated 75 million Rands in a construction and developmental phase that entailed lengthening and widening the promenade… (to allow) for ease of movement. A new phase, on the other hand, was expected to cost an estimated 30 million Rands to extend the promenade for another 5km from uShaka (south) to Country Club Beach (opposite the Durban Country Club) in the North. The stretch also incorporated a link from Country Club Beach to Moses Mabhida Stadium. The constant upgrades of the "Mile" derive from developers interaction with the physical and social dynamics of public space which, while central to the formation of publics and public culture (cf. Amin, 2008), is considered to be in danger of degrading if it is not perennially refurbished. Unlike some urban public spaces – such as in Rome or Venice – which derive their value from being as untouched as possible, the Golden Mile's value seems to be tied to constantly being "rejuvenated". In the racialised memory of public spaces, where public beaches were out of bounds for Africans, the rate of attrition from visitors was, expectedly, low. The racist construct of *swart gevaar* meant that opening the beaches to everybody would imply faster and constant degradation. We see the same racist framing in the "debates" about "standards" in our universities, where the enrolment of increasing numbers of black students is associated, in some racist minds, with the drop in "standards". Finally, the opposite could also be true: that the upgrading and rejuvenating of formerly apartheid spaces is part of "urban affirmative action" to constantly repair, and fund the repair of, the wrongs and injustices of the past.

Fig 4.5: Golden Mile Beach Front (Source: © WhereToStay, April, 2023**)**

Mbonambi's article on the Warwick Junction Mall ("Legal wrangles stop plan for Warwick mall", *The Mercury*, 15/4/2011) extends the theme of urban renewal, rejuvenation and new developments but now constrained by scepticism and doubt whether the idea of rejuvenating spaces within the city is automatically good and desirable and whether it necessarily means that such "change" will benefit the occupants of a particular space, site or locale that is marked for "development". The Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT) is one of the oldest mixed residential areas in eThekwini, located in the inner city and historically home to predominantly non-white communities (cf. Maharaj 1999). The Warwick Junction, by extension, has always been a hub of the informal economy of the city. The first group to occupy the area were Indian ex-indentured labourers and their descendants. Once released from their indentured contracts, they became merchants who traded produce near the Warwick train station (now known as Berea station) (cf. Neudorf, 2018). Other non-white communities also settled in the inner-city area throughout the 20th century as the WAT was close to the CBD. Maharaj (1999: 250) states that the WAT "had flourished as a working-class residential area between 1900 and 1940, and most of the flats and houses in the area were built during this period". Since the WAT's establishment, city

authorities have wanted to demolish it and replace it with suburban residential areas, high-end shopping malls, or other more lucrative urban land uses. These efforts were resisted on every occasion during apartheid (Maharaj 1999). The latest attempt at "renewal", as captured in *The Mercury* report by Mbonambi, involved plans to "demolish the Early Morning Market in Durban's Warwick Junction and replace it with a multi-million-rand shopping mall" (Mbonambi, 2011) project spearheaded by mall developer Carlos Correia.

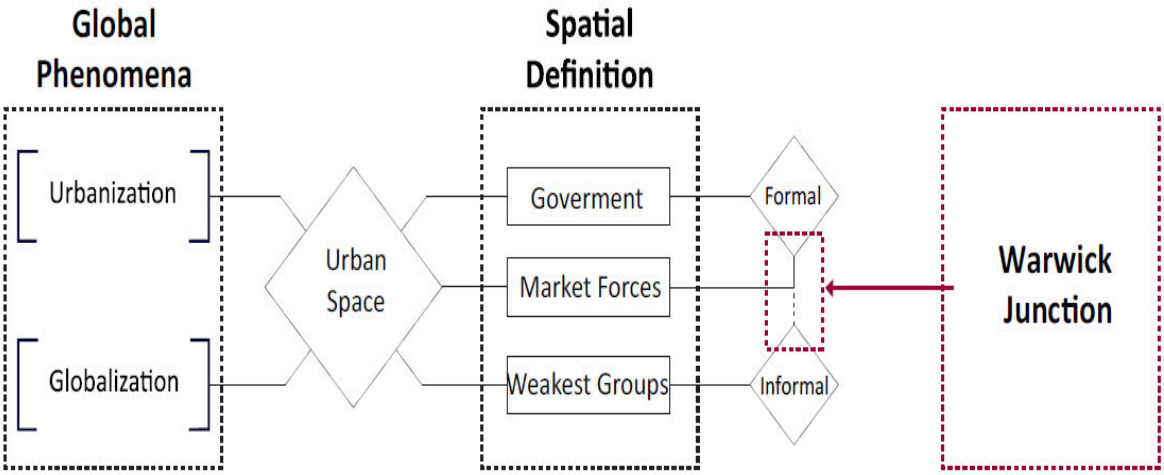

Fig 4.6 Liminal position of the Warwick Junction in relation to the global urban phenomena (Source: Boonzaaier, 2014)

The image in Fig 4.6, reflects the liminal position of the market in relation to the global urbanisation phenomena. The spatial definition that the market exists within includes government structures, economic market, and the "weakest groups" or the community that produces or consumes the space. The spatial definition further exists within two spheres of *formal* and *informal*. Fig 4.6 confirms the economic divisions within the city. The market for the informal economy is a viable entry point for small scale farmers, bead makers, food stall sellers to sell their produce and products, and so on. Neudorf (2018) describes the history and conditions of the market as such:

> The racial segregation laws introduced in the late 1940s made the area a major hub for the black African population commuting into Durban, yet left the area neglected and derelict for decades. Street traders were strictly prohibited anywhere near the centre of Durban, resulting in widespread arrests and displacement in the 1960s. Trade persisted despite the police harassment and severe punishments. When these policies began to loosen in the 1980s, trade flourished, but infrastructure remained poor and insufficient for the volume of

> people and goods that passed through, and the area gained notoriety due to widespread crime. A major transformation began in the 1990s, as urban renewal became a priority at all levels of the newly elected democratic government.

The issue of upgrading or rejuvenating the space foregrounds the unequal processes and uneven development – perhaps even underdevelopment and arrested development – that persist in South African urban spaces. Mbonambi's report (2011), lays bare the violent approach that the municipality wanted to adopt by "demolishing" the market in favour of an upgraded mall. The upgrade tends to take the shape of overly visible changes to infrastructure. Carlos Correia submitted a letter to the city's strategic projects unit in February (2011) informing the municipality that the company, Isolenu, had decided to review its development plans, suggesting the perennial interest in demolishing the current market. This does not come as a surprise due to the Early Morning Market's prime real estate location. As with previous resistances to removal and relocation, the resistance to the development was driven by ordinary residents and the core of citizens operating in the informal sector. The voice of the informal sector, as indicated *The Mercury article*, was Harry Ramlal, the chairman of the Early Morning Market Association. What is notable is the continuity of attempts to do away with the market since apartheid days – attempts which continued at the turn of the century, prior to the FIFA World Cup, and beyond. That is, the city's efforts to demolish and privatise Warwick junction speak, inductively, to the persistence of apartheid in a diversity of forms beyond the assumed cut-off point of 1994.

The Early Morning Market on Warwick Junction, with over 600 fresh produce stalls, trading all manner of products from electronics to spices and bovine heads, and beadwork, and featuring traders, porters, taxi ranks, street performers, and so on, is easily eThekwini's informal sector hub – a source of self-employment, self-reliance, vibrant community, and livelihood for thousands. It is also looked at with envy by scions of privatisation, planners and developers because of its prime position near the CBD, its centrality, accessibility, and contiguousness to public transport, from minibus taxis to trains. The Early Morning Market is the heartbeat not just of the informal sector but of the city as a whole due to its capacity to serve the majority of ordinary people and service their needs. Threats of redevelopment attempts to discontinue the market express a redevelopment of apartheid aims even under a democratic dispensation,

leading to community resistance that echoes popular struggles against the Group Areas Act removals of the past. Social movements have arisen, marching in step with the attempts of city planners and real estate property moguls to uproot the market.

Community organisations such as Asiye Etafuleni are involved in struggles to help the markets and the informal sector at Warwick Junction to "survive threats of redevelopment by "bridging the gap between informal workers and the eThekwini municipality", and "combining research, advocacy, outreach and leadership training" (World Resource Institute, n.d.) One of the founders of Asiye Etafuleni, Patrick Ndlovu, has said, in relation to porters who are harassed by the city's police and bylaw enforcers, that "Porters are treated badly, but the city would not work without them. Sometimes a trader will see his goods for the first time when he unpacks at his stall. The porter has fetched them from the wholesaler and takes full responsibility for overnight storage and delivery" (Ardé, 2020). The importance of the work done by the informal sector at Warwick junction is "rewarded" with official neglect and lack of appropriate understanding of the ecosystem of the markets. As Ndlovu notes, some of the services provided by the porters, which include the transportation of goods, between wholesalers and the traders, and, storage of the goods are little understood yet crucial to how the markets work. The daily struggles of the porters are also little understood, as the description here of the trials of one of the porters, Wellington Hlongwa, shows:

> It is 9am on a grey and misty day in Durban and Wellington Hlongwa stretches his weary legs across his well-worn barrow. He has been up since 4am moving tons of fresh produce around the Early Morning Market in Warwick Junction.
>
> He is grateful for the reprieve. His work as a porter is backbreaking. Hlongwa is looking forward to his breakfast.
>
> He eases his body up against the wall of a market shed beside his trusty barrow and waits for his bowl of hot mealie-meal porridge. When a friend delivers it, she serves him with four heaped spoons of sugar and a squirt of lemon juice.
>
> It will fuel Hlongwa for the better part of the day. He has already moved close to two tons of tomato boxes and it has been a good day. He and his mates savour the morning break. Some share a joint or a carton of amahewu. Others like Hlongwa rest alone. While he eats his breakfast his other hand runs lovingly over the wood and metal contraption he bought for the princely sum of R300 in 1983 (Ardé 2020).

The daily experience of the porter also reveals the human face behind the “cheap” labour of the porter and illustrates the stark inequalities that structures social and economic relations in eThekwini. Hlongwa, an old African man, has been in the informal sector at Warwick Junction since the 1980s, knows its ins and outs, and knows no other source of livelihood. Hlongwa is an inerasable part of the city, even if invisible in the dominant discourse. He is part of its history, and its present. It is people like Hlongwa that “redevelopments” seek to push out. One can go as far as to say that Hlongwa’s story is an example of the “regulatory” racism of eThekwini’s urban spaces. As Seamster (2015: 1054) suggests, “…racialized systems primarily structure groups’ economic chances. With such a system in place, no overt racism is necessary to reproduce a racist society. Race structures historical and present decisions about urban renewal and housing.” Apartheid planning might be “undetectable” at Warwick Junction due to the city’s succession of “democratic” regimes since 1994, but the flow of everyday life and daily struggles of common people like Hlongwa suggests that apartheid is still very much present.

Of interest is that attempts to “redevelop” sites such as Warwick Junction mirror what is also going on in other global cities, especially in the developing world, where interventions against popular centres of informality contend with resistance and demands for social and economic inclusion from below (see, for instance, the work Cruz and Forman (2015) on the Tijuana- San Diego border). The work to investigate informal sectors contributes to the “circulation of norms and beliefs in shared spaces generate patterns of group life” (Cruz and Forman, 2015: 97). As Fig 4.6, shows, the Early Morning Market and the informal structures of Warwick Junction form a critical nerve centre of eThekwini’s social and economic space. To introduce “redevelopment” of the space from “above” will not work and will meet popular resistance. There can be no “redevelopment” of Warwick Junction without the full participation and consent of ordinary people who work and live off that urban space, and whose identity is tied up with its fate. Any redevelopment has to be done from the bottom-up. Lip service about inclusion and participation will also be resisted.

4.7 eThekwini's "Colonial Charm"

An advertorial describing the Sica Guest House frames it as a colonial styled guesthouse "nestled in Berea with 46 ensuite luxury bedrooms". The phrase "colonial charm" expresses nostalgia for not just for the colonial past but for a Durban that was once "all white", orderly, and civilised. Essentially, the selling point for this guest house is its residual colonialism, hoping that tourists might be attracted to what is left of colonial design. The guest house's website hankers of for "better times" and "exquisite" times that can only be reproduced if eThekwini serves its historical function as a colonial city. The 'so-called' charm of colonial architecture masks a more troubling reality. As Home (1997:98) point out, "the building forms of Empire can also be viewed in their relation to the power structures of colonialism". Thus:

> There were many types of public building which expressed political, and specifically colonial, symbolisms, and the civilizing role of western urban civilization. They included government offices, town halls, and educational institutions. The Post Office symbolized the world-wide network of communications which Empire helped to create. The clock tower symbolized new time disciplines […] The theatre… was to impart the values inherent to civilized society, especially the villain being punished for his crimes. (Home 1997: 98).

Essentially, what Sica Guest House considers to be colonial charm is anything but. Needless to say, the construct of "colonial charm" forgets the atrocities of project colonialism and how much harm these caused to the African. The "stately" buildings occupied by the settlers concealed the inhumane housing set aside for the "natives", from the chawls of Bombay to the locations, townships, mine compounds and hostels of Johannesburg and Durban. Colonial design of buildings, such as the Colonial Mutual Life Assurance Building, once the tallest building in Africa, preserves "colonial" presence and purpose even decades, and even hundreds of years, after the buildings were constructed. Napier[23] (n.d.) describes the Colonial Mutual Life Assurance Building as:

> Probably the earliest Union Period skyscraper built for an insurance company in the Art Deco style with characteristic decoration and details. It is historically a prominent city landmark… the Colonial Mutual Building encapsulates the

[23] South African Institute of architects, KwaZulu-Natal, https://www.kznia.org.za/durban-city-guide/art-deco/colonial-mutual-building#:~:text=330%20Dr%20Pixley%20Kaseme%20%2F%20West,historically%20a%20prominent%20city%20landmark (accessed 06/07/2023)

image of economic and political power. Gothic and Romanesque elements are used as a reference to the strength and longevity that Gothic and Romanesque architecture symbolized. Chevrons are associated with the jazz-age popular culture of the time. Sculpted lions were a political symbol associated with the British regimen of old (Napier, n.d)

Ultimately the agenda for city futures cannot escape colonial histories, while urban policy itself continues to be structurally influenced by “old” power and the political economy of empire, the colony, and apartheid. Finally, colonial design conveniently forgets that it was the “cheap” labour of the natives that went into the actual building of colonial architecture. Colonial design conveniently overlooks, or perhaps more accurately erases, the vital role of ‘cheap’ labor in its construction, minimizing the human cost and exploitation inherent in the colonial system.

Image 1 and 2: Colonial Mutual Life Assurance Society Building in Durban

2015	***The Mercury*:** 1. "Transnet snaps up land in Durban" (Nompumelelo Magwaza, 2/2/2015) 2. "Tycoon says department is delaying new housing" (Bongani Hans, 4/3/2015) 3. "Top Gear Festival canned as city has no money" (Sihle Manda, 5/3/2015) 4. "Commonwealth Games bid goes ahead despite odds" (Sihle Manda, 5/3/2015) 5. "Sutcliffe defends new city building" (Sihle Manda, 7/5/2015) 6. "Durban electricity tariff to be hiked 12%" (Bongani Hans, 29/5/2015) 7. "Changing lives through radical economic transformation and accelerated service delivery", Advertorial, 29/5/2015 8. "Power cut plan put to Durban firms" (Collen Dardagan, 11/6/2015) 9. "City facing R5 million claim" (Tania Broughton, 23/6/2015) 10. "Durban's ICC adds to long list of achievements" Advertorial, (23/6/2015) 11. "Sithole accused of 'dragging feet'" (Sihle Manda, 25/6/2015) **TimesLive:** 12. " Dube CEO gets boot after CV cover-up" (Kathrine Child, 23/6/2015)

4.8 *Amadelangokubona*, and the contested political economy of eThekwini (2017-2019)

> *The city is the site where people of all sorts and classes mingle, however reluctantly and agonistically, to produce a common if perpetually changing and transitory life. The commonality of that life has long been a matter of commentary by urbanists of all stripes, and the compelling subject of a wide range of evocative writings and representations (in novels, films, paintings, videos, and the like) that attempt to pin down the character of that life (or the particular character of life in particular city in a given place and time*) (Harvey, 2013: 67)

The "city is a site where people of all sorts and classes mingle reluctantly and agonistically" to produce commonalities in the face of complexities and contestations. In 2017 and 2018 news stories about *Amadelangokubona*[24] circulated widely in the eThekwini press where this group is represented as "villains" and disruptors of city economic development. Then mayor Zandile Gumede (2016-2019) introduced

[24] Translated: He who believes by experience (loosely translated).

"radical" changes that effected the tender awarding system, as captured in the article "Building Tenders Set for Shake-up" by Zeke (Daily News, 2017). In this new strategy, "contracts between R5 million and R30 million will have to sub-contract at least 30% of the work to local community-based contractors or they will face disqualification and penalties. The Amadelangokubona Business Forum (ABF) emerged in direct opposition to the prevailing business wisdom and economic development narrative represented by investors, the tourism sector, and provincial government. In the story "'Mafia' in casino gamble" (Mtshali, 2017), the headline frames the ABF negatively as the 'mafia', a reference to an international network of criminals[25] who use extortion, racketeering, violence, and murder to get their way.[26]

Mtshali recounts that, "A security guard at the casino reported that at the end of January, a group of men arrived in taxis and vans at the construction site. They threatened the guard who later informed the Daily News that the business forum was unhappy with the tender process." The security guard's statement amplifies the framing of the ABF as a dangerous and criminal threat to the Casino economy, the construction industry, and private property. Their arrival in 'taxis' is a synecdoche of violence due to the taxi industry's association with anarchy, lawlessness and violence.

In the article titled "Mayor not in support of radical group" (Oliphant, 2018), Gumede was accused by an anonymous procurement officer within the municipality of supporting the ABF. The whistleblower claimed that:

> intimidation, threats and violence against the municipality would not be redressed as long as Gumede supported the perpetrators… The group operates with impunity and targets SCM sections of the municipality…They tell you the mayor is 'our person' and a champion of radical economic transformation… The mayor should not have allowed the participation of

[25] https://www.history.com/topics/crime/origins-of-the-mafia (accessed 28/07/2022)

[26] The Mafia is understood to be organised criminal groups based in Italy and America, with origins from Sicily. The origins of the 'Mafia' are interesting in this discourse, as the narrative about these groups, is that they emerged as:

clans or families, development their own system for justice and retribution… By the 19th century, small private armies known as 'mafie' took advantage of the frequently violent, chaotic conditions in Sicily and extorted protection money from landowners. From this history, the Sicilian Mafia emerged as a collection of criminal clans or families" (History.com Editors)

> Amadelangokubona in the recent radical economic transformation conference… Those people do not speak business language, but war language… They are using the radical economic transformation narrative wrongly and no one is stopping them.

The anonymous tip off in 2018, directly linked the then Mayor, Zandile Gumede, of having a supportive approach to the ABF. In 2019 her leadership came into question and her credibility was even more questioned as mentioned by Se-Ann Rall (2019) in the article titled: "Mayor's leadership abilities questioned" (Mercury, 2/05/2019). There were issues of land grabs, and an increase of violent protests across the city (Rall, 2019). Zwakele Mncwango (2019), KZN DA leader commented that *"the city has become ungovernable and Gumede does not serve the people"* which connotes similar sentiments about the city being infiltrated by a Mafia and implicating the Mayor as an accomplice.

Between 2017 and 2019, the headlines were reporting about service delivery, urban renewal, reports on Mayor's comments, racial tensions, arts and culture and as well environmental issues. In terms of the political economy aspects of eThekwini, the city has some flexibility.

2017	***Daily News*:** 1. "Massive military celebrations lined up for Durban on Armed Forces Day" (Barbara Cole, 10/2/2017) 2. "Building Tenders Set for shake-up, Zohra Teke" (11/2/2017) 3. "'Mafia' in casino gamble" (Samkelo Mtshali, 22/2/2017) 4. "Langeler Towers opens in Durban" (Barbara Cole, 31/3/2017) 5. "Durban businesses cite poor services" (Se-Ann Rall, 6/11/2017) 6. "Let's go to market", (Advertorial in Lifestyle section, 22/12/2017) 7. "Same committed service for Durban in 2018, says mayor, Zandile Gumede" (22/12/2017) 8. "Urban Renewal" (Motshwari Mofokeng,22/12/2017)

2018	***Berea Mail*:** 1. "Fashion forward" (Advertorial, 5/10/2018) 2. "Fashion designers urged to become global leaders" (reporter, 5/10/2018) 3. "Spotlight on African-Indian racial conflicts" (5/10/2018) ***The Mercury*:** 1. "Climate change, inequality closely intertwined" (reporter, 26/02/2018) 2. "Festival debut for children's writer Moahloli", (reporter,9/3/2018) 3. 'Mayor not in support if radical group" (Nathi Oliphant, 15/3/2018) 4. "Title deeds handed to residents" (reporter, 16/3/2018)

2019	***The Independent*** 1. "Babes gives off bad vibe" (Reporter, 30/03/2019) 2. "Environment Care Theme at Exhibition" (Reporter, 11/05/2019) **IOL** 3. " Durban new R62bn inner city plan to end crime and homelessness" (Mpathi Nxumalo, 11/06/2019) **The Mercury** 4. "Jazzing things up" (Valencia Govindsamy, 9/03/2019) 5. "Caring for Durban abandoned babies (Se-Anne Rall, 4/04/2019) 6. "How Japanese system can help African cities weather the storm (Onome Oghene, 6/04/2019) 7. "Zille perpetrates racist beliefs that justified colonialism" (Azille Coeetze 11/04/2019) 8. "Durban businesses urged to be vigilant and take precautions (Karen Singh, 15/04/2019) 9. "Cops arrested in Durban march" (Se Ann Rall, 16/04/2019) 10. "City to buy expropriate land for housing" (Kailene Pillay, 17/04/2019) 11. "Festive adds splash colour to Durban" (Karen Singh, 18 April 2019) 12. "City's Plan for CBD clean-up under fire" (Se-Ann Rall, 23/04/2019) 13. "33 dead in KZN Floods" (Se-Ann Rall, 24/04/2019) 14. "Workers threaten to cut off water supply in rich suburbs" (Sakhiseni Nxumalo and Kailene Pillay , 26/04/2019) 15. "Zakifo Festival offers some of africa's most cutting-edge musicians" (Reporter, 27/04/2019) 16. "Debris clogs coast after Durban floods" (Kalilene Pillay and Karen Singh, 29/04/2019) 17. "Mayor's leadership abilities questioned" (Se-Ann Rall, 2/05/2019) 18. "City prosecutes strike vandals" (Se-Ann Rall, 2/05/2019) 19. "Hawks bust nine for dirty DSW tender" (Kailene Pillay, 2/05/20219) 20. "This year's Indaba was 'biggest' and 'best'" (Reporter, 8/05/2019) 21. "Bollywood Durban Style" (Reporter, 11/05/2019) 22. "Environment care theme at exhibition" (Reporter, 11/05/2019) 23. "Monty Naicker St building to sell" (Reporter, 12/05/2023) 24. "Zodwa challenges Zulu culture" (Reporter, 12/05/2023)

	25. “World class cruise terminal certain to become landmark” (Reporter, 12 May 2019) 26. “Sewage leak being addressed” (Reporter, 13/05/2023) 27. “Outdoor gym deemed Health Hazard” (Reporter, 15/05/2019) 28. “Too late for some as funding approved for 17 arts, cultural, bodies” (Reporter, 15/05/2019) 29. “Family beach clean-up challenge” (Reporter, 15/05/2019) 30. “Art and soul” (Reporter, 15/05/2019) 31. “Event puts Durban on the tourist map” (Reporter, 15/05/2019) 32. “People can’t ‘move on’ from apartheid past with no closure” (Reporter, 15/05/2019) 33. “South Africans are not xenophobic insists Ramaphosa” (Reporter, 15/05/2019) 34. “Unpacking the role of De Klerk-an accidental icon” (Reporter , 15/05/2019) 35. “Errant city officials under fire (Se-Ann Rall, 1/08/2019) 36. “Embattled Gumede thrown another lifetime (Reporter, 6/08/2019)

Concluding remarks

This chapter analysed eThekwini-based newspapers to showcase the complex interplay through mediated representations of the city and the lived experiences of the city’s citizens. Newspapers remain important in shaping public discourse and local narratives. The city is portrayed as a physical space and a site of identity, consumption, and belonging. Critical events, spaces and markets are examined to track how urban development, economic growth, governance and cultural identity with eThekwini are experienced. These narratives from the articles highlighted the power of media in constructing narratives about urban spaces, influencing public opinion, and legitimising political and economic agendas tied to global events like the FIFA World Cup. The discourse also showcased broader societal anxieties, linking infrastructural readiness to the context of post-apartheid challenges and governance issues. Reports addressed concerns about crime and safety, warning tourists about potential risks, which were positioned against a backdrop of ongoing urban developments in efforts to meet global standards. Another headline, "Ready for Kick-off?" by Kgosana in the Daily News, questioned the city's preparedness, focusing on parliamentary inspections of critical infrastructure and services. The narratives further outline and reflected concerns about service delivery and governance competence under a post-apartheid government. Ultimately, the analysis shows how media discourse around the World Cup in eThekwini shaped public perception, reinforcing anxieties about the city's readiness and ability to meet global expectations. Urban life and governance

through the lens of a specific case involving the Amadelangokubona Business Forum (ABF) in eThekwini (Durban), South Africa, is also discussed. The ABF emerges as a contentious player challenging the established economic order, particularly regarding tender processes and local economic participation. Ultimately, the chapter illustrates how urban politics in eThekwini are shaped by complex interactions between local economic actors, political leaders, and traditional power structures, highlighting tensions between inclusive economic policies and established business interests.

The analysis examines how colonial legacies influence urban governance and spatial justice in urban South Africa. It summarises the extent that calls to question decolonisation achieved post-apartheid and emphasises the ongoing struggle for inclusive urban development and unbiassed regulation. The intersection of historical analysis with contemporary issues demonstrates the enduring impact of colonialism on societal structures and norms in eThekwini and beyond.

CHAPTER FIVE

The City in Photovoice

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the study's photovoice component. Kessi et al (2019: 354) define Photovoice as "a participatory action research (PAR) method through which members of a community come together in a facilitated process to produce stories of change in and about their communities. The stories are based on photographs accompanied by captions or longer narratives created by the participants in Photovoice projects." Moreover, they argue, Photovoice "can promote empowerment, critical consciousness and social capital in marginalised communities oppressed by unequal access to resources" (Kessi et al 2019: 354). These features of Photovoice make it particularly useful for my study of representations and uses of urban space in eThekwini, drawing on the photos, stories and narratives by a selection of residents of the city who use the city daily, identify it as home and as a source of their cultural identity, and depend on the city for their artistic livelihood. Schleien et al (2013: 213) define photovoice simply as "a creative form of community-based participatory research", a method of "seeing the world from the viewpoint of people who are leading different lives" whereby "cameras are provided to members of underrepresented groups, and a 'voice' is created through the photographs that are taken." Schlein et al (2013) link photovoice to Paulo Freire's unique educational approach "to identify important issues in people's lives, to critically reflect on them through dialogue and to identify root causes and discuss potential solutions". Schleien et al (2013: 214), citing Wang and Burris (1997), argue that photovoice has three goals, namely, "enabling people to record and reflect upon their community's strengths and concerns; promoting critical dialogue and knowledge about important community issues through large and small group discussions of photographs; and reaching policy-makers and initiating change in the community". The key element in photovoice is, therefore, how the participants take their own pictures as a form of "voice" for their desires, anxieties, frustrations and aspirations. The social justice orientation framed my data analysis. As a black woman and cultural studies scholar, this multi-genre (Wagner et al., 2016) approach offers to unravel the intersectional meanings and uses of urban spaces.

The point of departure for the analysis is the production and cultivation of culture – specifically a form of artistically inflected urban culture – within eThekwini, with the camera itself and the way it was used in focus groups introducing its own discourse and cultural dynamic. For the participants, the camera was both facilitative and disruptive, both obstacle and facilitator of insights and authentic access into eThekwini's culturally and socially contested spaces, and as much a generator, expression and reflection of tensions and the dynamism of the city. This dynamic of the camera reflects what Kessi et al (2019: 354-355) state, that Photovoice is "a theory–method that can provide a powerful tool and process for a social justice framework by disrupting the epistemological violence often produced and exercised against people and places that are researched." The analysis of the focus group data revealed tensions, questions, puzzles, complexities, dynamism, and contestations about the social and cultural space of the coastal city. These layers of complex responses were mainly noted in the first focus group when participants discussed their 'challenges' in and through taking their own photos as a form of "voice". Scratching beyond the surface of the "challenging" responses revealed basic and awkward notions and expressions of fear (related, explicitly, to perceptions and experiences of personal and communal security in relation to incidences of graphic crime). The "fear" was expressed as awkwardness and undue drawing of attention to oneself when holding the camera while wrestling with feelings of alienation and self-consciousness about access to the city and what was allowed or not allowed. Even the awareness that the purpose of carrying the cameras into city spaces was to capture the marginalised "others'" views and "voices" to navigate their perception and attitudes regarding the city of eThekwini (Wagner et al., 2016), the sense of fear, self-consciousness, and alienation persisted. This feeling only dissipated during the focus groups when collective discussion allowed for a shared "vulnerability" and shared carrying of the burden of "belonging" and "not belonging" to the city's spaces. This study deviates from the conventional structure of photovoice methods because it allowed for other participants who did not take photos to be part of the 'voice' component. This specifically deviates from the conventional structure of photovoice methods and made the focus group sessions open and flexible.

Themes

The analysis of Photovoice and focus group data, by means of the NVivo qualitative data analysis software, generated a set of five overarching themes, as indicated in Fig 5.1 below.

Theme	Files	Quotations used
eThekwini as a cultural city	4	259
Global aspiration of the city	4	111
Contemporary trends in the city	4	211
Historical influences in the city	4	216
Challenges created by urban space	4	60

Fig 5.1. Main themes generated via NVivo

Of the five themes, the theme of "eThekwini as a *cultural* city" was the most prominent, allowing participants to inflect their own identities through questions of lived experiences of the city and access to the city, including historical, political, social, and racialised notions of belonging and access. The second most prominent theme relates to eThekwini's aspirations as a global city, how this aspiration relates to the first theme (and to the other three themes), and how it is implicated with – and how it refracts – the representation and uses of eThekwini's urban space. The third theme was that of globalisation, related to the other four themes and to the discussion of newspaper discourse from the previous chapter. The reaffirmation of eThekwini's global aspirations, notions of how the city links to the global network of cities, the persistence of history in the present, and the play of neoliberation stresses lead me to argue that the representation, "consumption" and use of urban space in eThekwini is in some ways a perpetuation of the "colonial project" that has shaped and continues to reshape the urban experiences of previously colonised spaces (Hugill, 2017). More importantly, the city has reformulated the colonial project in its image, in ways that sometimes contradict and sometimes reinforce that project. There is, thus, an ungovernable

messiness to the uses of city space in eThekwini. How that messiness is resolved, or the fact that it may never get resolved, is key to understanding why the city is shaped the way it is and what its future holds.

5.2 eThekwini as a cultural city: Work, production, identity, regulation, and representation in a historically unequal, divided city.

> *Without culture, cities as vibrant life spaces do not exist; they are merely concrete and steel constructions, prone to social degradation and fracture. It is culture that makes the difference. It is culture that defines the city as what the ancient Romans called the civitas, a coherent social complex, the collective body of all citizens (UNESCO, 2016).*

The theme of eThekwini as a cultural city is framed through, and expresses, elements of the Circuit of Culture model, without necessarily fitting neatly into all aspects of the Circuit of Culture. That is, reading this theme through the Circuit of Culture allows for a particular understanding of the city as a site or object of work, production, identity, regulation and representation, while there are other elements that allow me to modify and rethink the circuit of culture in new ways. For instance, there is scope to see work, production, identity, regulation and representation themselves as aspects of the persistence of colonial and apartheid structures in the post-1994 “democratic” city. The circuit of culture does not adequately account for the persistence of poverty and inequality in a South African city with a history as that of Durban/eThekwini. Essentially, history is resilient in eThekwini, so much so that the past resurrects effortlessly in the city’s space. We witnessed this, for example, in the racial Indian v. African violence in Phoenix in July 2021, a resurrection, over 70 years later, of the Indian v. Zulu racial violence of January 1949. It will not be a surprise, if no lessons are learnt, that such episodes of racial violence will recur, again and again, with more bloodshed, confusion, inhumanity, pain, racial degradation, and festering anger and thirst for revenge. That is, historical division, fomented by colonialism and apartheid, has become a *culture* within eThekwini. It is now effortlessly replicated in everyday life in cultural representation and cultural production.

If one defines culture as everything “represented in the classic works of literature, painting, music and philosophy – the high culture of an age” (Hall et al., 2013: xvii), then it is essential to focus on what the data of Photovoice says about the “culture” of eThekwini’s spaces. In this first photo, we see sand sculpture as art. These sand

sculptures are created by the coastline, on the beaches, by casual artists who “target” their art at tourists and regular beach-goers. Sand sculptures are defined as informal art structures, fashioned from wet sand, to produce elaborate sculptures resembling the environment. Sand sculpting as an art form is relegated to inconsequential art form, and this is largely due to social and economic circumstances which sand sculptures are currently placed in art discourse. Sand sculptures have suffered structural exclusion in the conceptual classification of the art form (Becker, 2013). Western discourse on the classification of art opposed the craft (sand sculpting). It has an ancient historical grounding that has been systematically entrenched through centuries of ‘art history’ and capitalist markets (Becker, 2013: 5). Along the coastlines of South African beaches, however, sand sculptures as a form of resistant art, have sustained the identity of our coastal areas. Predominantly occupied by black men artists, sand sculpting on South African coastlines, provides a distinct identity.

Photo1. Image of a sand sculptured lion, promoting Durban promenade.

The sand sculptures are regarded, in the Photovoice focus group discussions, as being, in some way, *representative* of the city. Essentially, if one visits eThekwini’s

beaches, one will see – and possibly take pictures of – the sand sculptures. The photographic record of the sand sculptures becomes a souvenir, proof, visuality, and memory that "I was there" (in eThekwini). The sand sculptures thus become an element of the "authenticity" of eThekwini, a "must-see" if one visits eThekwini, and a part of the "natural" décor of the city's coastline. Thus, sand sculpture in eThekwini constitutes a form of what Landry (2006: 1, 2) calls "city-making", not only a shaping of the city's spaces and landscapes through "civic creativity" and imaginative action but also one that reflects "the grain of local cultures and their distinctiveness". eThekwini becomes, in Landry's framework, a "creative city". In this case, sand artists are the civic creators and city-makers.

Sana's photo of the sand sculptured lion ignited discussion of such "art" as a distinct feature and representation of eThekwini and its sensory landscape. Because such sand sculptures are typically made *in situ*, on the beach, and are ephemeral due to being made from sand, it was quite clear that the lion sculpture itself was long gone. All that existed, and all that will ever exist as a permanent record, was the picture taken by Sana. The background and interpretation that Sana gave of the sand sculptured lion was that:

> *This was at the Articulate Africa Book and Art Fair. This was a display as you enter the ICC [the International Convention Centre] and it shows the offerings of Durban and what you find is the cities nowadays have to have some kind of symbol or aspect that will draw in tourists." She added that the image of the sand lion was used to "promote Durban… the promenade, the beachfront, Moses Mabhida Stadium, the Zulu Kingdom, the Strelitzia flowers and the sand art"* (Sana, 2019).

The incorporation of sand sculptures in formal spaces such as the ICC (the Nkosi Albert Luthuli International Convention Centre), which are frequented by locals and international guests, suggests that the city recognises the art form as somehow unique to eThekwini and amenable with its formal branding and marketing. Yet, there is something unusual – a kind of cultural (mis)appropriation by the neoliberal bureaucratic city – about a sand sculpture ripped away from its "natural habitat" and sensory landscape of the beach. Typically, sand sculptures are enjoyed by onlookers, beachgoers and swimmers in the un-curated "natural habitat" of noisy waves, salt sea-water spray, and blustery wind, among other elements associated with the beach landscape. Furthermore, the privatising neoliberal city normatively seeks to exclude

and displace, and so the inclusion of sand art into the city's programmatic touristic gaze is doubly ironic. The practice and consumption of art and culture in the neoliberal city, on the other hand, are conventionally privatised, industrialised, and carefully controlled and curated. As Dávila (2004: 2) says, the "resulting struggles around space, representation, and identity not only reveal strategies of contemporary…cultural politics but also the place of culture in the structuring of space."

Interestingly, unlike murals and other commissioned artworks that adorn city walls with the backing of official budgets, sand sculptures are a fleeting art form practiced by informal artists on the beach. This highlights the socio-economic dimension of artistic production and city-making. The use of sand sculpture in the city's formal branding is an example of how city structures incorporate informal art on the cheap. At the same time, it shows how the image of the city can emerge from below, to be incorporated by the city as its own. This incorporation is consistent with neoliberal appropriation of popular but informal cultural productions. The city gleans the "cool factor" of these impermanent artworks without any commitment to fostering a genuine, organic artistic scene. Such incorporation is done without appropriate acknowledgement of the informal artists who started it, and in such a way that the city avoids having to pay royalties. The incorporation of sand sculptures into the formal branding of eThekwini thus can be categorised as a form of neoliberal exploitation.

If Sana is correct that sand sculptures are part of eThekwini's arsenal for promoting and marketing itself and drawing in tourists, then such artists should benefit from being paid for their artistic labour or – at least – from formal recognition. Such recognition would protect the artists from prohibitive city bylaws and police harassment. Ironically, sand sculpture could only have emerged *informally* from "starving artists" occupying those spaces on the beachfront that the city has not already appropriated and marked as off-limits. The ephemeral nature of sand sculpture bespeaks its inherent informality, since the sculptures can be demolished by the police or by the artists themselves or be washed away by the tide every single day. There is no permanence to this cultural practice, and hence it is difficult to formalise. One moment it is there, and the next moment it is not. We thus enter a paradox where the sand art is valuable to eThekwini

but the artists themselves are invisible. This paradox of self-reinforcing and mutually inter-acting in-and-out, inclusion-and-exclusion, is a constant theme in eThekwini's space which has never shed its colonial and apartheid spatiality. Indeed, colonial and apartheid spatiality are a central structuring element in eThekwini's cityness.

One of the more common and popular of the symbolic sand sculptures is that of the "love" motifs. Tourists and beachgoers of a romantic sensibility are serenaded with sculptured chairs with the words "I love you", heart-shape to symbolise "love", and other motifs indicating that certain spots on the beach acknowledge "lovers". Love motif sand artists also offer personalised sculptures, made on demand, including individuals' names, actual roses, and personalized messages. The marriage proposal in Photo 2 below says "Will you marry me, Kailash?" (Kailash, a Hindi name, suggests that at least one half of the couple was Indian. eThekwini hosts the largest concentration of people of Indian origin outside India, thus contributing to the city's multiracial cultural pastiche). This kind of "love" sculpture suggests some prior planning, including specifications, showing how flexible the sand art space is. The "love" motif seems a clever marketing ploy by the artists since many beachgoers tend to be couples who are out to have some time together on weekends or public holidays. The motifs therefore strike a note amongst the many beachgoer couples who, for a fee, then take selfies and pictures next to the sculptures. Some of the couples, if they are extremely impressed by the sculptures, tip the artists. This would be how the sand sculpture artists make a living from the love motifs. This is an interesting way to make money, as opposed to begging on the city streets or petty crime. Since the money made by the artists is from tips and well-wishers, it is not a lot. As such, sand sculpting is a precarious livelihood, reflecting the poverty and unemployment crisis in eThekwini, as well as an emerging "entrepreneurship" at the margins whereby the artists seek to earn a living from whatever materials are at hand. In this case, the "free" and natural beach sand constitutes a "public" form and material which can be utilised as an artistic common by the artists, most of whom are poor and struggling.

At the same time, the motifs by the sand artists indicate an evolving artistic and innovative sensibility amongst the artists cantering on the value of popular art and spectacle. The sand artists focus on what they deem to be popular, crowd-pleasing themes, and seek to make the most eye-catching and aesthetically pleasing artwork

while asserting their belonging in a city space long claimed by the neoliberal city on behalf of tourists. This mix of “uses” of sand art turns the art form into a form of public art, or the art of public space (cf. Gurney 2015). Miles, in *Art, Space and the City* (1997: 1) defines public art as “making and siting art outside conventional art spaces” and “the making, management and mediation of art outside its conventional location in museums and galleries”. This art always “acts” in the public realm. In eThekwini such public art includes eye-catching and aesthetically pleasing sand sculpture forms, popular with locals and tourists is that of life-size expensive cars, like BMW or Ferrari and other brands that captivate attention. The life-size car draws attention for its size and life-like quality, which showcases skill since sand is difficult to shape and mould at such sizes. The life-size car as spectacle operates at the same level of spectacle as life-size Lego cars – for instance, the full-size, 1-million Lego-bricks model of the Bugatti Chiron supercar unveiled in 2018 – which require a lot of patience, skill, and precision. However, whereas the Lego supercars are expensive passion projects that are displayed and preserved at major events as private, corporate-branded objects, the sand sculpture cars are ephemeral commons “projects” that “act” in the public realm and use only sand and are made for free display to passers-by by starving artists. In as far as sand sculptures on the beaches of eThekwini constitute public art, they constantly intrude on the rapidly privatising, structurally unequal neoliberal city. In the end, the artistic practice of public art has the potential to trouble and unsettle the normative neoliberal production and reproduction of city contexts, spaces, and environments. The ways in which this public practice of art, particularly ephemeral sand art, questions norms in a city like eThekwini still needs to be fully investigated.

Photo 2: Sand sculptured marriage proposal[27]

I asked Sana if she could readily identify the artist behind the sand lion. Mikel answered on her behalf, proposing that we could "get the information easily…." Yet, the fact that the artist was unnamed and ostensibly unknown, yet his or her sand lion existed as a photograph and had been exhibited as part of a formal municipal event, pointed to a blind spot. The fact that no one in the focus group knew who the sand lion artist was, despite the image and despite the sand lion being used in the city's formal touristic marketing and branding efforts, was instructive. Fundamentally, it spoke to the structured invisibility of the informal artists. Ongezwa responded, speaking as an artist, to question and interrogate the lack of visibility for "certain artists". She noted that:

> *From an artist (sic) point of view, I feel that with the sand art, when it's out there, its curation in terms of the artist profiling is not visible. So, it speaks to who makes the art*

[27] https://theperfectproposal.co.za/jody-and-kailash-sand-sculpture-proposal/ (accessed 24/09/2021) This photo was not taken by photovoice participants but was used as an example of what sand sculptures are used for in eThekwini.

at the end of the day. Politicised art I've seen of gender issues where you see artwork of women with big bums, with a very sexist kind of lens. Then there's a dialogue about rhino poaching and advertising motors, and all this is innovation but what interests me is: who makes the art?

Indeed: who makes the art? In the focus group we reflected on Ongezwa's response and how it exposed lingering questions of (mis)ownership, (mis)attribution, identity and (mis)identification. In a colonial and apartheid city, the colonised were always invisible and unrecognized, since they were framed as non-belonging "temporary sojourners" whose presence in the city was only justified because they were cheap labour. Art as an artistic production was a white pastime. The colonised could not produce art. By extension, the colonised could not own art or earn a living from its proceeds. The black artist in a city like Durban thus did not exist and could not, therefore, shape its spaces or produce its art and culture. What is strange is that, in 2019, in the focus group, these questions were still being asked. Who makes the art? Whose art is recognised? Ongezwa's response revealed the tensions at the heart of the production of the city through its art, and the persistent nature of (mis)profiling artwork and (mis)recognition of the invisible artists. The theme of the erasure of artistic identity for and public (in)visibility of their work came up again and again in the discussions, revealing the discomfort and pent-up frustration of the participants regarding how they saw themselves as artists and practitioners in eThekwini. To elicit further comment on this theme of erasure and invisibility, I remarked that "There's a lot of silencing and lack of identity in terms of the artwork we find in the city that indigenous people make. With sand art, there's no identity except for that shady looking guy standing by the art and has a bottle and says 'R100 to take a photo'". This comment triggered much discussion of the question of the artist's agency, power, precarity, and informality. The sand artists seem able to have agency and "power" to set a price for his art for the beach-going audience and consumer, even if this agency operates on the extreme socio-economic and aesthetic margins and the artwork itself is a form of public art and street sculpture in a public space that was not housed in a gallery with limited or paid-for access and was not necessarily be contributing to the financialised economy of eThekwini. The free public access to the "street art" of the sand artists exposes a layer of vulnerability for the artist's work since this work cannot be protected or licensed or be subjected to controlled access. Mikel's response that "oh, you can find the information easily" applies more to the elite spaces of galleries, where artists' profiles are accessible on

websites and are secured within historically exclusive spaces such as galleries and museums. Sana's image, taken and shared without knowing or even needing to know the identity of the artist, confirms and expresses how such "public" street art is easily accessible, appropriated, and indulged within spaces that exclude, silence and "invisibilise" the street artist. Ongezwa's question about who makes the art can be supplemented with: *who cares* who makes the art? The neoliberal city cares only for profit and profiling, is not socially engaged, and operates through erasure. The invisible sand artists of eThekwini stand as a present-day indictment of the untransformed colonial, apartheid "space" of Durban. The question that remains is how such marginalised art can question, interrogate, and contest its silence and invisibility. After all, even the invisible artists of eThekwini's beaches have agency, even if we did not see them in Sana's photograph, and there is always scope to contest power and hegemony in city spaces.

Photo 3: Architectural sand sculpture of what appears to be a Disney castle at Durban North beach.[28] In the middle ground is a *rickshaw* waiting for customers. In the background is one of the north beach piers.

[28] Picture taken by Luthando Ngema, July 2019. In photo 3, I asked the rickshore operator to pose for a photo in front of the sand sculpture, and he refused. And then he negotiated that I should actually pay him for a ride and he might consider taking the photo. I didn't want to take a rickshaw ride, and I was

To talk about art in eThekwini, is to talk about the persistence of colonial and apartheid exclusions. Certainly, there is a continuing tension between the past and the present in how art is produced and consumed in the city, and a sense of being stuck in an endless limbo. Practices retained from the colonial and apartheid past intrude into the present historical conjuncture, shaping attitudes toward what is and is not art, and whose art should be recognised, how, and why, and even where such art should be "housed" and who must patronize it. Thobeka stated that "Galleries preserve segregation, to say this is elite art for elite people. You're seen in the gallery with a glass of wine, looking at art you probably don't even understand – this is the look that's being curated". While Ongezwa speaks about the issue in terms of class, Olsen (2019: 4) talks about this "divide" in terms of "the apparent tension between the aesthetic and the social". Thus:

> This tension marks one of the major challenges for artistic practices that marks an orientation towards the social: the contradiction between seeing artistic practice as a presumably free aesthetic space and the social and institutional reality of art with all of its implicit exclusions. These exclusions are constituted by social and material dimensions relating to, for example, neoliberal institutional constraints, aesthetic judgement and understanding, artistic autonomy and issues of instrumentalization, and ethical questions concerning how art 'should' operate (Olsen 2019: 4).

What could be hiding in plain sight, however, are colonialism and apartheid, rather than just class or elitism. The mere mention of segregation in South Africa directs us, not to class or aesthetic elitism, but to persistent power and hegemony of deeply entrenched colonial and apartheid structures of habit and life. "Curation" of art and galleries and the management of their elitist space is merely an incipient excuse that conceals what the biggest challenge for eThekwini (and South Africa) is. That challenge is how to substantively move past persistent colonialism and apartheid, especially considering the growing disillusionment with the ideals of Nelson Mandela's and Desmond Tutu's Rainbow Nation. That the entrenched cultures of galleries and museums serve only to sustain a culture of elitism should draw our attention to the resilience of "dompas cultures" that regulate access – just as apartheid was mostly about operationalizing influx control in the interests of sectional, racist white power. In light of this interpretation of resilient influx control, Hall's conception of culture as the

---

just anxious with collecting my data and wanted to move on. As I walked away, I took a picture of the scene, a distance from the rickshaw operator, and it captured exactly what I wanted.

distinctive way of life of a people, community, nation or social group should make us question how and if South Africa has ever evolved a distinctive way of life as a "nation" and as a singular community. If the artistic and cultural cultivation programmes of eThekwini continue to sustain and normalise structures of "segregation", then the "freedom dividend" of 1994 has not amounted to much. Indeed, the participants in the focus group concurred, more or less, that "freedom" was an illusion. The elitism of curation practices and the narrow selectiveness of exclusive formal art spaces, collections and exhibitions contributes simultaneously to the culture of art appreciation of "high art" by select clubs of audiences, providing a cultural currency that legitimates, licenses and classifies certain artwork as art, while alienating, silencing and erasing the majority that have never been fully included into the "new" South Africa.

If "curation" adds to the "culture" of the city, the question that remains is, still, about whose culture it is that predominates in eThekwini. This question is still relevant in 2023 as it was in 2019, in 2009, in 1994, and in 1960. Continuing lack of access to spaces, and how such spaces perpetuate exclusiveness, barely conceals how the issue is still about persistent influx control. Thobeka was insistent in her responses that galleries in eThekwini are inaccessible spaces for most people and that the fact that we see this inaccessibility as a logical extension of aesthetic distinction and taste illustrates how little art critics have learnt from the past, or how depoliticised and dehistoricised art appreciation has become. The aspect of the persistent informality of sand artists serves to subject them to non-recognition, easy exploitation, and gross under-renumeration, thus continuing the constant theme of apartheid cheap labour. Apartheid and colonialism could not survive without cheap black labour. In 2019, the artistic reproduction of eThekwini is still anchored in cheap black labour as Thobile interrogates in the excerpt below:

> *who is the artist, and how do we engage in the economy? Because it's so informal, does the person creating the art understand how advertising works? How advertising is sold – is how many eyes see it. Because he's on the promenade, millions of people see it, and he could charge companies accordingly. If it went on a magazine or TV, it would cost millions. But you say it will cost you R100 to take pictures*.

Thobile's nuanced probing highlighted two critical points for this study. Firstly, it reintegrates the discussion of the structural exploitation at the heart of the capitalist relation. Essentially, none of the "cheapness" of sand art – costing R100 instead of

hundreds of thousands in advertising revenue – is an accident. Instead, this is just capitalism. Secondly, Thobile links the cheapness of the artist's labour to his racial profile. In this way, race and capitalism conspire to keep "art" unequal and socially unjust, unable to cross the harsh demarcations of the formal and informal zones of artistic production and consumption in the city. That the only way to formalise the "informal" is through "advertising" points to the continuing salience of regulation. The fact that "what is allowed into galleries, elitism and the barrier of entry is never made clear to people" (Thobile, 2019) indicates that one of the central ways the art scene in eThekwini refuses to transform is through retaining opaque and arcane practices and, essentially, rigging the game by "insiders" against "outsiders".

Art establishments carefully curate their "formal aspect" to rigorously keep out the "informal", partly through monopolising sources of funding and, therefore, economic power. The informal is constantly othered and left to occupy "unauthorized" marginal spaces that attract neither funding nor advertising and marketing Rands. Instead of attracting the formalities of curation, the informal remains "outside". The longer it remains outside, the more it reinforces its otherness and the sense of the inevitability of the historical divide between inside and outside. Indeed, how was the sand lion even curated? If it was not deemed to need curating, was it even "art"? If it was considered art, how were the rules "bent" to accommodate the sand lion in the formal spaces of the Nkosi Albert Luthuli Convention Centre? Thobile questioned, "We see this on the beachfront, and it's a black man who has created it. But for this exhibition, was it a black man? Or was it a white sculptor who was asked to come and do this because we are doing an exhibition and we have thousands of Rands to give you?" The commissioning process of the artwork was completely opaque, and the identity of the artist surplus to requirements. Thobile's questions are poignant in interrogating the fake "inclusiveness" of eThekwini's art scene. Her line of questioning, in fact, reintroduces race into the analysis, compelling the re-politicisation and re-racialisation of the discussion. The lion sculpture becomes the tip of spear in the attempt to rethink the frame of reference when we think about transformation, non-racialism, reconciliation, the "new" South Africa, the Rainbow nation, and other cliches that hold hostage any search for new explanations about what is going on in South African society. The lion becomes a symbol of invisible artists and, by extension, of resilient coloniality and inequality. The study of resilient coloniality, of course, is a central pillar

of decoloniality (Gallien and 2020 , كلير جاليان). The study of persistent apartheid harm, on the other hand, is the province of what Mboti (2023a, 2023b, 2023c) formalises as Apartheid Studies. The (mis)appropriation and fake inclusion and formalisation of the sand lion sculpture heightens the otherness of informal “street art” rather than lessen it.

Portia and Fathima’s pictures of exhibitions, book launches, and other activities representing the city’s cultural scene, such as events held in the city’s lush parks and gardens, served to underline the “now open but still closed” nature of the city’s spaces in the face of resilient coloniality. That is, there is a tension between Durban (colonialism/apartheid) and eThekwini (a municipality trapped in limbo between past and present and struggling to become a “future city”) reflected even in spaces that are ostensibly “open”, such as city parks. Whereas galleries and museums retain exclusiveness merely by their architecture of having walls and being part of the built environment that can only be accessed through grid-lined city streets, city parks do not contain “hard” features of access control or influx control once a visitor goes through the gates. Recurring comment was made of how parks were different, as open spaces for multicultural and multiracial access and socialisation. Fatima’s elaborates on her photo (photo 4) was that “This was at Botanic Gardens. I was noticing that there's so many different types of people that come there. People that would otherwise not be together but it’s one of those places where everyone goes and it’s not in any kind of box” (Fathima, 2019). The claim is that a park is “not…any kind of box”. This differentiates the city parks from the resilient influx control of the built-up spaces of the galleries and the museums, for instance. Essentially, the parks, for Fathima, carried more scope and potential for true reconciliation and the vision of eThekwini as a future city built on equality, integration, and the Rainbow Nation concept. In the parks, Fathima suggested, the tension between formal and informal (and, indeed, between races and ethnicities) disappeared. Miraculously, even neoliberal hegemony was seemingly no longer ascendant in the green spaces of the park.

Describing one event in one such park, Portia revelled in the details of the seemingly more organised and planned, yet also more cultural, authentic, open and welcoming, experience. She noted that:

The idea was for it to be regular, he's [event organiser] done this before but it's kind of been irregular. It was a jam in the park, so the idea is to have musicians rock up the park with their instruments, get people to come watch and there was actually quite a lot of people. They came with their blankets and it's free but for me as an artist, the special thing about that, there were groups of people I had never seen before or worked with. We got together up there at different times of the day and just jammed. Other places I've had this experience are at the Jameson pub and other events like this. The reason why I put that under this theme is because as a musical artist, in terms of creative spaces as an artist, you can go and show your work and collaborate and have a fulfilling experience where music, poetry or whatever art museum you are doing is appreciated. You are sharing authentically with other artists in the moment and that's always specific individuals who push that and make that happen and then everyone comes together. It just made me think how the city is very much reliant, depending on your niche, on individuals creating that productive energy and creating spaces for people who identify with whatever particular art expression to come and be represented.

The key words that are highlighted in Portia's description are expression, spontaneity, authenticity, and individuality – terms which serve to separate parks from formal exhibition spaces such as the Inkosi Albert Luthuli Convention Centre, galleries and museums. Parks are simultaneously more affirming and welcoming, embodying freedom and creativity. Portia reflects on how eThekwini artists fully utilise and maximise such conducive, participative and facilitative spaces for creative expression. At the same time, she acknowledges the coordination and organisation involved in such events, thus differentiating the experience of the park from the overcrowded chaos of the city streets. The wholesome embrace of parks and other green spaces can be understood in the context of the history of segregated uses of parks, park benches and other open spaces for leisure. Africans could not sit in the same park benches as Europeans, if at all they were allowed in those parks. Rather, Africans could only walk white people's pets or tend to white children and families playing and socialising in the parks. This outward change is depicted in the photos by Fathima and Portia below. The parks' multiracial mixing, the leisure, relaxation, appearance of people having orderly fun, can suggest a diverse and enriched multicultural society that has successfully dealt with ghosts of the past (Puwar, 2004). For Portia and Fathima, therefore, the activities in the parks, and the spaces of the parks, come closest to embodying the deferred dream of the Rainbow Nation. The parks represent oases of a non-racial South Africa. Interestingly, Brück (2013: 196) insists that public parks, at least in terms of their colonial origins, "were landscapes in which normative models of class, gender, and colonial identities were constructed." Issues of who had access and how they were to behave were central to the "disciplining" of parks as

urban spaces. At any rate, it is important to emphasise that parks, like other urban sites and spaces, do not exist in a vacuum. Instead, they have a history and a genealogy, and in eThekwini that history and genealogy is often colonial.

Photo 3 by Portia: eThekwini Parks, Bulwer Park

The themes of relaxation, diversity of activities, and harmonious coexistence that urban parks spaces make possible are elaborated upon by Fathima. She says, “There are so many different types of people there doing their different things” (Fathima, 2019). That is, the park as social space naturally encourages social harmony, communion, and diversity, allowing people to be themselves in an enabling social space. This is a far cry from apartheid where the movements of non-Europeans were monitored and access restricted or prohibited. So, the park appears to be a fragment of what could be or could have been. In fact, as a social experiment, given that access is free, it could be extended and expanded to the rest of South Africa, if this were possible, as an example of the *ideal*. Other amenities, however, such as public transport would need to be addressed. Furthermore, African townships and locations

are located far from such city amenities, and therefore peripheral to this “ideal”. In Photo 3 we see a scene in Bulwer Park that can be described as a picnic in the park with music, food, and a family-friendly environment. There are children and pets (in the foreground), and lots of parking (in the background). The musicians are playing from under a tree, rather than an elaborate stage, thus illustrating the pastoral, rural simplicity of the set up. The subjects in the photo are multiracial, and most seem invariably young (that is, the post-apartheid “born free” generation). This picture utilises contrast to emphasise differences with the built-up concrete jungle of eThekwini. Here the operative element is the open-air experience, with ample clean space to sit and eat and lounge, elements which diffuse into the subjects who are themselves relaxed and at ease. Such a scene would seem to set up a contrast with the dimension of resilient influx control that marks social intercourse on the beach spaces or the galleries, museums, and mega events venues. The openness of the space, and the pastoral simplicity of the scene, would also exclude the neoliberal impulse to privatisation of spaces and regulation of access. Instead, the park scene of Photo 3 is anchored on enhanced publicness, far away from the crowds and gentrification of the CBD. Everything seems benign, socially healthy, well adjusted, and agreeable.

Photo 4 by Fathima, Botanic Gardens

Photo 4 is taken from the Botanic Gardens and extends the idyllic scene of Photo 3. It captures a multiracial demographic relaxing on the grass, on park benches and under

trees, all of them under clear blue skies and socially distanced by wide open spaces. The Africans sitting on the park bench to the left of the picture encapsulate the park as a transformed public space due to the counterpoint it creates with iconic pictures of apartheid that show park benches with the illustration “Europeans Only”. Now, Africans can also sit in those benches that only Europeans could sit in. On the surface, this is a picture that assumes “racial progress” and the success of the racial transformation project of South Africa. Both Photo 3 and 4 unsettle the easy labelling of subjects in the frame as tourists, since there seems to be little “touring” happening. Instead, the subjects seem to be relaxing in their neighbourhood, as part of a community partaking in the commons. The subjects thus seem to be local citizens, participating in civic city-making by “taking it easy” with other people with a shared idea about how and where to spend “quality” time on weekends and public holidays.

Photo 5, “Europeans Only” bench[29]

The transformation of public spaces such as parks does not involve the same dramatic changes as in-built environments, where buildings intended for only a few are

[29] Source: Children sit on bench along the waterfront in Durban, a big modern city on the Indian Ocean, May 27, 1960. Park benches like this are reserved for whites only. South African natives are not permitted to use them. *AP Photo/Dennis Lee Royle*

suddenly opened to eight or nine times their original holding capacity. Instead, parks are always already spacious and available, such that access is automatic if the ingrained culture about who historically had easy access to such sites changes and breaks down. Where Africans could only traditionally access parks as domestic workers, nannies, and maintenance workers, parks are a “low hanging fruit” site to begin to chip away at these heritages. Photo 5 above shows a typical bench during apartheid South Africa, park benches like these were reserved for ‘whites/ Europeans’, and non-whites were not permitted to use them. The fact that access is open to all, without needing invitation, contrasts both with the past of influx laws and the present where many sites are still privileged and “by invitation only” (see Photo 6 below).

Photo 6: Durban University of Technology Autumn graduation, 2019 at Steve Biko campus, by Sana

Photo 6 is dense with meaning, from inclusion and transformation to the struggles of #FeesMustFall. The photo is characteristic of “invited spaces” that are ostensibly open to all provided one pays and books to be there. Unlike the parks, one cannot just access these interior areas without a reason or access credentials. The graduation, like the book launch of Photo 7 below, and unlike the parks of Photo 4 and Photo 3

above, are invited spaces of a peculiar kind where the person who is invited is there on specific terms and conditions, echoing the “temporary sojourner” paradigm of apartheid influx laws and influx control. In Durban’s invited spaces, just like any invited space anywhere else, the invited person cannot be there too early or too late, there is constant security to regulate access, and access is only showing a token of identification like a ticket, a message or some form of identification to show that one is a bona fide guest. The graduates have access *as* graduates, and as long as they can show their credentials. Otherwise, they would not have access. As such, entrance to invited spaces remains conditional. Invited spaces in eThekwini echo apartheid controls, although the basis is no longer racial segregation or based in law. Rather, it is all about one’s “credentials” in the new South Africa, whether one can afford access, and whether one has been invited. Outside those conditions, access is restricted and unavailable.

During graduations, invited spaces such as the one in Photo 6 are accessed and patronised by many African students and their families. Being in such spaces cements the sense of having “arrived”, while also contributing material proof to the vision of education “as the future”. Invited spaces can still be inclusive in a limited sense if there is a conscious attempt to transform them through “inclusive policies, encouraging diversity, and inclusion of different bodies” (Puwar). Thus, access to “spaces from which they have been historically or conceptually excluded… disturbs the status quo while at the same time bearing the weight of the sedimented past” (Puwar, 2004: 1). Graduation season in South Africa becomes charged with heightened meaningfulness considering not only that the majority previously needed special “invitation” to gain access and have university education, but that Bantu education was limited and limiting. Graduation season thus becomes a symbolic event for contesting belonging and identity in the city, a time to colour the city’s spaces in shades not normally seen there. For students, graduation has an added layer of meaning and symbolism because South African higher education institutions remain highly regulated and restricted, accepting only a small proportion of those who pass their matric and excluding many who cannot afford the fees and who miss out on state subsidies such as the notoriously inefficient and inadequate National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS).

In 2012 the case of Gloria Sekwena, who died in a stampede at the University of Johannesburg, grabbed national headlines, serving to highlight the constraints that persist in this space. The education space is regulated by the lottery of the application system, with its notorious inefficiency and arbitrary deadlines. Furthermore, students struggle daily against the "inability to cope with financial demands of studying, related to fees, textbooks, accommodation and transport" (Swartz et al., 2018). Like every other site of South African life, South African higher education expresses the ongoing struggle to transform social structures, spaces, and institutions. These struggles are "simultaneous historically and contemporary, practical and ideologically" (Swartz et al., 2018: vii). Graduation season at the Durban University of Technology (DUT), just like at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, Mangosuthu University of Technology and the University of Zululand, is a time to, once again, test institutional access and how inclusive eThekwini's spaces are since the repeal of Bantu education. The merging of institutions that catered to racial minorities has always posed problems of integration, about who belongs, how much they belong, and who is visible. Photo 6 exemplifies the growing presence of Black graduates, particularly Black women, within the province. This demographic shift highlights the evolving composition of the student body and its potential impact on the use and cultural significance of these spaces. For the city itself, graduations cement a picture of progress through education. It adds to this picture that the city is a hub of knowledge, literacy and skills development. Only in this way can the city compete nationally and globally.

For anyone who may not be aware of the salience of the trope of decolonisation, and the struggles that raged between 2015 and 2018 to transform the academe, photo 6, taken by Sana, may not seem salient. The picture depicts ordinary graduates, celebrating a milestone. The context surrounding the picture is particularly relevant to my research. I embarked on it during a period of heightened decolonial fervour, such that the study owes part of its impetus for those calls to transform the academe from within its "invited spaces". For those of who are within the academe, #FeesMustFall was a political cultural moment that linked the struggles of old with the new generation's own independent action and interpretation of the problems of the status quo. The new generation that had seemed largely depoliticized showed an astute understanding of social and spatial justice. At the Durban universities, calls for spatial transformation, removal of statues, and free quality education all merged to bring a

new counterpoint to my study of the production and consumption of space. There is no way a study conducted during this time could ignore or not be intersected by the radical imagination of #FeesMustFall. The graduates in Photo 6 are therefore beneficiaries of these recent struggles of transformation which are now imprinted on the national consciousness, the latest iteration of the struggle against the persistence of coloniality and apartheid.

The contemporary South African university is an extension of the contestation over the future of the city. If eThekwini is to be a "world class" city of the future, much of that will depend on how it leverages the youth dividend. Africa has the world's youngest population (70% of the people in 'sub-Saharan' Africa are under the age of 30). In this demographic dividend lies the answer to any future reimagination of the place of eThekwini and, broadly, the place of the untransformed apartheid city in South Africa. Graduations thus attract heightened symbolism in this context. At the level of social visibility, the graduation ceremony marks both a personal milestone for the student and his or her entrance into the world of work where they can participate in shaping the future. On the other hand, it has heightened symbolism for the changes in eThekwini's spaces and their uses. At the same time, it captures the contradictions of a still white-controlled economy that will not absorb many of these graduates. Assessed "in terms of its capabilities to lay the foundation for better career pathways" (Swartz et al., 2018: 121), the graduation season shows the irony of inclusion at the level of increased visibility for the African student and exclusion in the economy. Thus, "a few [students] do not see the point in a university degree, as it was not preparing them for real life, and they see it as a formality and a piece of paper that they have to obtain to 'actively participate' in the world" (Swartz et al., 2018: 121). Nationally, "69% of all the newly unemployed people were youth under the age of 35".[30]

Essentially, the questions about the meaning of education as a driver of social transformation become even more visible. While Sana's picture captures the graduates' enthusiasm, and excitement, it also fits into a broader national question

[30] https://www.iol.co.za/dailynews/news/durbans-unemployment-rate-up-in-the-fourth-quarter-7d1b69b4-6915-49d0-b71a-fed613d73eaf (accessed 10/10/2021)

about the sustainability of a “freedom dividend” that generates thousands of graduates every year without assuring them of a place in the productive economy. The reality of unemployed graduates in the country is an important marker of the darker side of the Rainbow “dream”. It is not enough just to access formerly exclusive institutions. The youths must also be empowered to contribute to shaping the future. Thus,

> Of the 10,2 million persons aged 15–24 years, 32,4% (approximately 3,3 million) were not in employment, education or training – implying that close to one in three young South Africans between the ages of 15 and 24 years were disengaged with the labour market in the first quarter of 2021.[31]

Sana’s picture shows that a majority of the graduates are non-white, reflecting the student population of the Durban University of Technology, and, indeed, of most South African institutions of higher education. It is these students who continue to shoulder the burden of marginalisation and scarce economic opportunities. The cosmetic changes on the surface cannot hide how the economy still caters to the minority White population and has not been radically imagined to fit with the aspirations of the many. The scarcity that characterises NSFAS continue to graduation and, more importantly, after the students leave university. As such, the structural contradictions of the South African polity are sharply reflected every year when graduation season rolls around. Sana’s picture, and the discussion it provoked, sought to capture this. A further notable observation in the discussions provoked by the picture was the issue of the perennial mass exodus of young jobseekers to Johannesburg, the economic hub of South Africa. That Johannesburg remains the business hub for employment and business opportunities is a further indication of the structural contradictions in eThekwini. The picture of eThekwini as a hub of knowledge, due to these graduations, is undermined by the stark economic realities that lead to so-called “semi-gration”. How can eThekwini compete nationally and globally if all its “cream” leaves for greener pastures? The graduation ceremonies thus reflect the continuous low intensity pressure on the city authorities to do more not just to attract but to retain most of the young talent.

---

[31] http://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=14415 (accessed 10/10/2021)

Sana's picture also led to a sideways discussion about the gender profile of the graduating students, and what this means for her visibility in eThekwini's spaces. Apartheid was a man's world, putatively, which legally treated black women as minors who needed to be taken care of by men, fathers and husbands. Furthermore, women were supposed to stay in the rural areas while the men worked in cities on one-year contracts. Graduation season in eThekwini shows how far this profile has changed. The table below, adapted from the *Fact sheet: Gender Parity in Post-School Education and Training Opportunities* report, indicates that more females than males participated in both public and private universities for the period 2011 to 2019 resulting in a Gender Parity Index of 1.5 in 2019. Female student enrolment was 50% higher than that of the male students (Khuluvhe and Negogogo, 2021).

Year	Public universities	Private universities	Total
2011	1.4	1.1	**1.4**
2012	1.4	1.2	**1.4**
2013	1.4	1.2	**1.4**
2014	1.4	1.1	**1.4**
2015	1.4	1.2	**1.4**
2016	1.4	1.3	**1.4**
2017	1.4	1.4	**1.4**
2018	1.5	1.4	**1.5**
2019	1.5	1.4	**1.5**

Fig 5.2. Table adapted from report: fact sheet: Gender Parity in Post-School Education and Training Opportunities" (Khuluvhe &Negogogo, 2021: 9)

As such, the apartheid glass ceiling that historically faces black female students is being shattered, from graduation to graduation. This observation animated the discussion about the gendered nature of transformation, and if the city's space is reflecting the changes that the Table above shows, for instance. There was consensus that this is not the case. In keeping with all the contradictions that I have been noting, the gender dividend is an isolated bright spot in the transformation matrix. More importantly, female graduates struggle to find employment as much as their male counterparts. The female graduates will still join the trek up north, to Johannesburg. If eThekwini is to realise its aspiration as a world class future city, it would need to stem

this regional brain drain. However, the structural conditions that caused mass exodus to Gauteng in the 1900s are still causing mass exodus in 2023. It can be argued that there is no greater marker of apartheid and colonial patterns than this.

Photo 7: Book launch, supported by the city

Photo 7 by Sana shows a book launch. Like Photo 1 of the lion sculpture, this event is supported by the city, indicating the city's drive for social capital through sponsoring and headlining cultural events. In the city's own marketing messaging, it seeks to be seen as a centre of culture and knowledge, and books – just like the graduations of Photo 6 – are an important element of this agenda. The book launch images shared by Sana are thus aspirational. They reflect how the city seeks to cultivate an image of a progressive culture of knowledge and knowledge building, a progressive hub of knowledge exchange, culture and literacy, and a welcoming host for the arts and the lettered. The book launches reflect and express a commitment to a progressive culture of knowledge building which goes beyond the academic hubs of the universities to a larger social base. This knowledge exchange is not in competition with the universities but, rather, co-exists with them and plays a largely complimentary role. The municipality's website messaging cultivates an image of the city as a creative hub for a vibrant reading culture, a haven for writers, and a place where citizens critically

engage with literature. Some of the messaging says that, as a “Creative City of Literature”, Durban envisages:[32]

- *organising the Africa International Literary Festival in tandem with the Durban International Book Fair to enhance best practices and involve advocacy stakeholders for literary industry;*
- *organising the Festival of Children's Literature through well-resourced schools, promoting mother-tongue literatures and fighting low literacy levels amongst the youth;*
- *strengthening cross-cutting approaches by linking the Durban Script-Writing Festival with the Durban International Film Festival;*
- *promoting the Megazone Online Radio Station, bringing the voices of Durban writers to the world;*
- *organising a translation workshop at the UKZN Department of Creative Writing, and the Department of Africa Literary Studies UKZN, seeking to translate English works into vernacular languages; and*
- *enhancing international outreach of the Poetry Africa Festival by involving poets of different nationalities, notably from the UCCN.*

This self-image by the city as a hub of cultural refinement is how the city portrays itself as arts and culture friendly. Thus, the book launches go hand in hand with reading spaces and the container library at the Workshop (shopping mall located in the CBD). In this way, the city presents itself as taking a “reading culture” to the residents and making reading accessible. Boosting literacy helps the goal of dismantling the legacies of apartheid through education and through new heritages of literacy. After all, Bantu education made literacy into a hardship during apartheid. By providing literature, literary spaces, and other cultural events, the city is promoting itself as a friendly, humanised, caring space. The container library and the reading space at the Workshop complement this effort. The setup also alters the city’s space to offer space to the reading public free of change and in an enabling environment. The reading units, like the parks, indicate alternative ways the city can seek to bring its people together and heal the dark heritages of apartheid.

[32] https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/durban (accessed 11/10/2021)

Photo 8, eThekwini as a "Creative City of Literature": A reading space at the Workshop (2023)

Sana spoke about how she saw the book launches and the graduations as contributing to an image of the city as progressive, modern, and a hub of culture, learning and knowledge and cultural production. She added,

> *"I think…at such events, people gather and it's an acknowledgement of the creative and intellectual advances and achievements of our people and city. It's also a way of encouraging other people to study further and write books"*

Sana is plugged into these creative, arts, and cultural circles, and so has wider familiarity with what is going on. For instance, she informed the focus group that there is a WhatsApp group with members who usually participate in book launches and other cultural events, where people engage and network and gain publishing contacts and valuable links. At the book launches, she said, "It was mainly middle-aged people and also there's a lot of people who attend the Durban Book Fair event and there's a WhatsApp group called #Books so people get to hear about events and then get to attend it." It is interesting to note that the popular media medium WhatsApp has become facilitative in contributing to the "invited space" of the book launch. The WhatsApp group can moderate discussions and police entry, determined by the

groups' WhatsApp administrators. One limitation of closed social media groups is that benefits and discussions often remain confined within their membership. This can lead to a lack of diversity in perspectives, including racial, cultural, and age demographics, and hinder cross-pollination of ideas. Sana's photo selection exemplifies this limitation. While it celebrates female authors, it focuses on a specific demographic – older and middle-aged women of Indian descent. This highlights how "invited spaces," while fostering community, can also unintentionally exclude others. This limited representation stands in contrast to the city's broader message of social cohesion, inclusivity, and integration. If invited spaces such as book launces facilitate networks drawn from closed social media groups, this can reflect how communication and information can facilitate or hinder cross-cultural contact. Important information can be funnelled only in certain ways and to certain groups, thus undermining the city's carefully cultivated image of warm, welcoming, and friendly enabler of contact and sharing of knowledge and culture.

Photo 9 by Sana: Book launch discussion

Closed and insular social media groups can reflect logical choices to interact only with one's peers and those of similar persuasions, or it can be a symptom of greater social cohesion issues. eThekwini's multiracial society is sensitive about, and prone to, conflict and breakdown of social cohesion as evidenced by the events in Phoenix in 2021. Some of the hysteria that led to murders of innocent Africans was driven by

social media groups. When social media as a tool of communication that amplifies messages, whether good or bad, is thrown into fraught history of Durban, it can present strategic headaches for the city's authorities. The tendency must be towards more, rather than less, social cohesion. Yet divides persist between African against Indian, and African against White, and, in some cases, White against Indian. During the July 2021 incidents, racial divisions emerged in eThekwini, with some residents aligning along racial lines, as seen in instances where whites and Indians tended to group together against Africans. This highlights the complexities of fostering unity and reconciliation as envisioned by the Rainbow Nation ideals.

Phot 10, A book is a friend: "New Durban Central City Library"

5.3 The City as a Site of Representation, Production, and Consumption

> *Across the street stood the foundations of a building; the floor and pillars wore green mold from repeated rains. Between the pillars, a woman had erected a buka, no more than a rickety lean-to made of sheets of corrugated iron roofing and plastic held together by hope (Abani, 2004)*

Chris Abani's novel *Graceland* describes a scene set in 1986, Lagos, Nigeria. The same scene can be compared with the photo shared by Portia from the informal settlement in Springfield, eThekwini. eThekwini exhibits a kind of social schizophrenia, a city striving for a modern identity yet haunted by the ghosts of its colonial and apartheid past. This fragmented legacy creates a tension between the city's present reality and its unhealed wounds. This is the case, in fact, with all of South Africa's urban centres. Systems of oppression built over 300 years do not just disappear, even if formally a case can be made for saying that apartheid has ended. Schizophrenia here is an effect of the deep inequality that exists in the midst of nearly first world affluence. Apartheid made sure that stark contrasts could live side by side. On the one hand, parts of the city appear as "developed" as any 'first world' city. On the other hand, the city reveals the most heart-wrenching third world impoverishment and deprivation. What worried me greatly in my study was the apparent acclimation among eThekwini residents to living with these social divisions. The horrific interracial violence in Phoenix during July 2021 serves as a stark reminder that neglecting these deep-seated racial and class divides, alongside entrenched societal inequalities, creates a volatile situation. The division that Fanon describes, in *The Wretched of the Earth*, between the coloniser's town and the colonised town, is still reproduced in eThekwini.

Photo 11, Blended informal and formal settlement, bottle stores and spaza shops

In residential terms, South African towns and cities are divided into townships with subhuman and inadequate basic infrastructure, mostly for Africans (including "Coloureds" and Indians), and well-endowed suburbs where most white people traditionally live. In his discussion of what he calls "contested cities", Harvey (2007: 17) states that cities across the world are producing and reproducing "marginalisation, disempowerment, alienation, pollution and degradation" Portia's photo, I would argue, is reproducing this dangerous and alienating schizophrenia. The photo reveals the schizophrenia of the city by showing the physical appearance of "the other side" and how it lives. The photo illustrates the difficulties that the city faces in reconfiguring space in the image of an ideal eThekwini. The issue is that the marginalised and peripheral areas of the city have remained where they were pre-1994, and some have become worse. When definitions of progress are tested against life in the townships and the locations, they fail. Portia describes how she took the photo as she drove past in Springfield. She describes the interaction thus:

This first picture here is taken from Springfield, and it's that part of Springfield with a mixture of informal and formal settlements. There's a little spaza shop there, and there's a liquor store next door. There's actually two spaza shops. Within that space where people live, people set up their own businesses and the businesses cater for people who live in that area for convenience. It's quite cheap, it's not a Spar, Pick n Pay or Checkers. What I find interesting is that no matter where you go, there's a liquor shop even in the most informal areas, there's always a liquor shop. Obviously, it goes from certain degrees, is it a tavern or a bottle store or both. I've noticed that even as you go further into rural areas, there's always a wonderful option of liquor stores or taverns. Probably more so than any other shopping option. Alcohol is a very big business in [this] country.

Portia elaborates on what she finds to be confounding urban space. The assertion that "no matter where you go, there's a liquor shop even in the most informal areas, there's always a liquor shop" is interesting because it links back to the so-called Durban system where municipal beerhalls and other amenities in the "locations" were set up deliberately to ensure that revenue from the location is the one that was used to fund any developments in the location. Essentially, if the oppressed needed to drink away their sorrows and suffering, they did so at a municipal beerhall, which took the little money they spent on recreation and reinvested in the beer trade itself with minimal benefit to the townships. This system effectively perpetuated a cycle of economic dependence and hardship for the colonised population.

Photo 11 by Portia illustrates not just the intersection of class, race, poverty and wealth but also their financialisation under a neoliberal urbanism. That a blend of informal and formal settlements co-exist side-by-side without any sense of crisis is illustrative of the "ethos" and paradigm of apartheid (cf. Mboti 2019, 2023a, 2023b, 2023c). All the usual demarcations of rich and poor, and the markers of inequality and unequal access to space and wealth within the city of eThekwini, are present in the picture. eThekwini, again like other cities in the global south, has been "shaped in the crucible of colonialism and by the labour of race" (Nuttall and Mbembe, 2008). This "shaping", instead of dissolving under three decades of democratic rule, shows no signs of ending. In fact, it has become even more entrenched. Entrenched coloniality is one of the persistent risks for eThekwini's hopes of transformation and expansion into a "world class" future city. In Portia's picture, informality, with all its entrenched disadvantages, is the archetypical space occupied by and reserved for non-white South Africans. In keeping with a settler colonialist model, whites occupy the "formal"

side of the city, with all its entrenched advantages. In essence, Portia's photo poignantly captures how the legacy of colonialism continues to influence the spatial organization of the city, often reflecting racial divisions that were once thought to be dismantled.

The notion of informal settlement, which refers to housing or areas that are often illegally built on municipal land (Cape Town Project Centre, 2014), and that are mostly unserved or severely underserved by city services and amenities, links back to the picture of the African as an unwanted temporary sojourner in the "white" city. Informal settlements are "dwellings that are built out of rudimentary materials as a dominant feature of informal settlement" (Marutlulle, 2017: 2). Datta (2012: 7) defines informality as "the lack of formality (legal or institutional), might refer to the ways that housing, services, infrastructure, and employment are accessed outside of formal mechanisms". Informality can also be "morphological", where "the building of houses, streets and settlements, and the provisions of infrastructure are laid out without attention to zoning regulations, planning guidelines or building by-laws" (Datta 2012: 7). African informal settlements account for 20% of the global total of slum dwellers. Thus, "between 75% and 99% of urban residents in many African cities live in squalid slums of ramshackle housing" (Carrington, 2015; Giddings, 2007; Marutlulle, 2017: 1). The UN-Habitat (2015:2) has noted that informal settlements are caused by interrelated factors, "including population growth and rural urban migration, lack of affordable housing for the urban poor, weak governance (particularly in the areas of policy, planning, land and urban management resulting in land speculation and grabbing), economic vulnerability and underpaid work, discrimination, marginalisation and displacement caused by conflict, natural disasters and climate change." As Braathen et al (2016) point out, urbanisation in the global south "occurs at a pace that renders formal urban planning processes and capacity insufficient", leading to entrenched informality. Portia's picture invoked all the ugliness of informality, as well as how South Africans are still subjected to iterations of laws that were imposed by colonialism and that were further institutionalised by apartheid laws. Such laws create an inherently jaded society "who often feel completely overwhelmed by seeming intractability of economic, spatial, social physical and cultural divides" (Pieterse, 2016). But worse than this jadedness is the sense that this sort of life is natural and is how it

always was. If eThekwini is to transform, then it must address this persistent inequality, the persistence of poverty, and the reproduction of disadvantage.

Koonings and Kruijt (2009: 1) argue that cities are “places where poverty has become directly visible in structural articulation and close daily proximity to ‘development’ and ‘relative affluence’, and where the poor have found many ways to develop ‘agency’.” The reproduction of the entrenched division between the coloniser’s town and the colonised town in Springfield is a matter of livelihood and historically constrained life chances. In the townships and informal settlements, a constant struggle for livelihoods is waged. Many residential homes, for instance, have become shared economic spaces to supplement household incomes. Informal “businesses” take place on the premises, from barber shops to spaza shops and taverns. This aspect of the residential homes as economic space illustrates the effects and adaptations of protracted informality. Furthermore, a lack of stable and worthwhile employment forces difficult economic solutions, choices, and options on poor residents. Informal settlements and their chronically inadequate housing easily fit the framing of the global housing crisis (Marutlulle, 2017) yet have a very local and localised quality to them. After all, apartheid was headquartered in South Africa. What is notable is that the reproduction of inequalities takes place despite the South African constitution which has specific and articulate provisions for the right to adequate housing, sanitation, water, and other amenities that are, in any case, universal rights.

Portia addresses the omnipresence of liquor and bottle stores, noting the constant proximity of bottle stores to residential areas. Again, this fits into the paradigm of the Durban system. She notes that “there’s a lot of advertising around alcohol and it depicts culture and people coming together. It's always on point in terms of looking at youth and what they’re into. It almost becomes our identity.” Messaging in alcohol advertising not only rely on stereotypes but manufactures consent about how and why people drink. It conceals that the business of alcohol sales has nothing to do with coming together, but with the bottom line: profits. Such profits are made at the expense of the poor who must, supposedly, drink whenever they make a bit of money. Alcohol in South African society is historically interrelated to many societal and health problems (Bertscher and London, 2021). The Control of Marketing of Alcoholic Beverages Bill, drafted by the government in 2012 to restrict advertising, marketing, sponsorship, or promotion of alcohol beverages except at the point of sale (Bertscher

and London, 2021) was heavily opposed by vested interests and lobbyists for the corporations who argued that “it would unjustifiably violate human rights. These include freedom of expression, and consumers rights to information” (Bertscher and London, 2021). Scuppering the Control of Marketing of Alcoholic Beverages Bill illustrates not only the ways of the powerful alcohol industry lobby, but also the link between capital and harm. The need to persist with uncontrolled marketing of a substance that has significant, damaging consequences over socioeconomic conditions is inexplicable except in terms of the fundamental misanthropy of apartheid and coloniality. One can already see how poor communities are constantly milked and exploited in the business of harmful commodities like alcohol. What is not said is how alcohol has historically facilitated regimes of social and behavioural control of the colonised.

Stereotypes of disobedience, absenteeism at work and talking back to their employers have been used as excuses by those in power to control and regulate alcohol consumption for Africans, while prohibiting its brewing by locals (Setlalentoa et al., 2010). Schler (2002) argues that the policing of alcohol consumption and brewing has racist underpinnings. These policies expressed and reinforced the stereotype that Africans could not control their behaviour around alcohol, further infantilising them. The “trusteeship” model of apartheid, which assumed that Africans could not manage modern life without white stewardship, belongs to the same infantilising impulse behind the micromanagement of African’s alcohol consumption. The real reason that Africans were to be managed in terms of their drinking habits, however, was to manage cheap labour and its availability. This included profiting from this control of when Africans drank, what they drank, and how much they drank. In the Cape wine farms, alcohol was used to exploit farm workers as a wage “benefit”. The “tot” and “dop” system whereby Dutch settlers and the French Huguenot wine farmers added wine as part of the salary package for their African labourers was institutionalised (Scully, 1987; Setlalentoa et al, 2010). This system, not surprisingly, entrenched a heavy culture of drinking. The measures to control such drinking gave further power to whites. Thus, “alcohol was used by colonisers as a mechanism to seize power a form of political, economic and socio-cultural domination” (Setlalentoa et al., 2010: 11).

Photo 12: Image of Super Spar in Glenwood, by Ongezwa

While locations, townships and informal settlements are generally served, at least for their day-to-day needs, by “cheap” and informal spaza shops, as Portia’s discussion suggested, major retail chains dominate the grocery and food supply chain in formal areas, reinforcing the formal/informal divide that has today become a core shorthand for the apartheid paradigm. The theme of the formal business domain in eThekwini is reflected in Ongezwa's image of the Glenwood SuperSpar, through its distinctive logo. Glenwood, where this branch is situated, is one of Durban’s oldest suburbs which was formerly only for whites. The shop in Glenwood sits on the fringe of Durban's inner city. Durban Central is just a ten-minute commute away, and Warwick Junction is even closer. These large retail chains generate significant profits annually, catering to a diverse customer base. This reflects the increased economic participation of Black South Africans following the dismantling of apartheid's formal structures. Once the undesirables of the city, Africans are now just consumers, seen only in terms of what they buy. There is an interesting intersection, but also arbitrary occlusion, of race and class in how the Spar caters to its clientele, which includes taxi drivers, especially

during lunch hour. This is reflected in the selection of traditional African cuisine, such as *uJeqe, usu*, and *ubontshisi*. Notably, the store is also known for its *inyama ye nthloko*, a dish traditionally associated with male customers. With formal apartheid gone, and now everyone an "equal" paying customer, who cares? The Spar also stocks a variety of powdered spices and curries, reflecting the "Indian" influence and to cater to Indian customers. From the deli, there are options for beef, mutton, and chicken curry, rice and salad. The blend of food types at the Glenwood Spar speaks to a dissolving of formal apartheid distinctions on the altar of capital. It is a pity that such forms of "bringing people together" are not replicable in social discourse. Indeed, it is not that the distinctions have dissolved, but that money does not care who brings it to the till. Only capital, exercising this supreme indifference, can use a Scandinavian brand to sell *inyama ye nthloko* for Zulus next to chicken curry for Indians. On the surface, this is globalisation at work, and appears to fit well with eThekwini's aspiration to be a "world class" global city. The more open a city is to footloose capital; the happier investors are. A deeper study of financialisation in South Africa, however, shows that, if there is any lesson from the operation of capital in South Africa, it is that money can see race or, at least, ownership of capital is easily the most race-based element of the South African social strata. Neoliberal financialisation has settled easily within the apartheid paradigm.

5.4 Global aspiration of the city

Global "cityness" aspiration, closely linked to a network of things that include a global image, global branding, and global capital flows and economics. The notion of a global city defines a city that is open to investments and flows of international finance and advanced services for the business and financial class, a city where the rich can come to play, and move their money in and out without hassles. The global city is described as disembodied from its national territorial base as it occupies an extraterritorial space (Charnock, 2013). Ultimately, it is interconnected with other cities and across a transnational field of action than the national economy. Global cities deal with the challenge of urbanization, urban development and redevelopment, and urban planning in a certain way. These cities are open to tourism and neoliberal financialisation, and respond to shifts in the international political, cultural and economic order. Put simply,

the concept of a global city is an extension of the old theme of globalisation, with all its conceptual challenges. eThekwini's greatest highlights in this regard would be hosting global events such as COP17 and the 2010 FIFA World Cup. If global cities and cities that aspire to global cityness espouse neoliberalism, financialisation, market deregulation, and so on, this would mean also that they suffer similar fates in terms of familiar inequality, class divisions, and the co-existence and gentrification and urban renewal and redevelopment. Suffice to say that the theme of eThekwini as a global city is entirely in the domain of the aspirational. However, the city exhibits characteristics shared by established global cities like Cape Town within South Africa, and London and Paris in Europe, or Tokyo, Beijing, and Shanghai in Asia, and Rio de Janeiro in Brazil.

Contemporary trends assess changes of shifts that Africans have taken or will have to take to realise a new set of ideals, digressing from colonialism. Similarly, and closely linked to global mega events is the trend of tourism economy, a huge contributor to the city's growth. The authentic local cultural processes often get relegated to a lower order, to sustain interest of outsiders who visit the city. Globalisation provides this opportunity, while simultaneously, could be perceived as a neo-colonial process. Thobeka commented on this neo-colonial component and offers a suggestion that "*We need to do our thing and be authentic that's how we are going to be global not to follow a blueprint for something that does not agree with what we stand for." In this instance,* Thobeka, was commenting on the Essence festival that was recently held in the city between 2016 and 2017. Thobeka's critique focuses of the classism that exists and the privileging of international celebrities over local talent. The financial investment that the city commits to for these events perhaps is lucrative for the coffers and offers the space for profiling the destination. Thobeka, who is a local event organiser, claims intimate knowledge of these complex issues. She extends her experiences to her radio DJ experience and blames the mass medium for perpetuating international American music as better than the local output. In her framing of the local, she includes the 'African' content. She validates that the hegemony of the western influences, stating "To be global is not to aspire to any of the things that they are selling us- it's all rubbish. We need to do our thing and be authentic- and not to follow a blueprint for something that does not agree with what we stand for" (Thobeka, 2019)

The festival is ultimately a contemporary factor that post-94 South African cities experienced. As a Global event (mega event), it carries significant economic implications, that include exchange of culture, finding cultural similarities that exist between the cities. It merges the social upliftment of women and youth. Maqhawe, however critiques the festival for its arrival and how the city had to clean-up for the arrival of American celebrities, and views this as losing the authentic appeal the city has to accommodate the American celebrities, mentioned (Steve Harvey, and Beyoncé's mother as an example). This comment coincides with what Thobeka states as an unequal access to artist payments, as American (or International) artists are paid millions, while local artists are clearly paid less. She elaborates:

> *When it comes to finding artists to perform, it doesn't excite me to have all these people who are paid millions of Rands to come here by the government. What excites me is to have the local artists who have been grinding, they are talented and amazing, but there is this notion amongst government, business people and even event organisers that would say "oh we need to find Beyoncé" or whoever to be recognise. They'll pay millions for an American artist who already has billions, she doesn't (Beyoncé) need that million* (Thobeka, 2019)

With following a 'blue print' that Thobeka referred to, this can be perceived as a standard set from culturally dominant cultures. The dominance therefore implies a sequence and prioritises American culture (in this particular instance of discussing the American versus local African artists). Both Maqhawe and Thobeka accurately bemoan the city losing its authenticity, that prioritizes international standards. This disjuncture marginalizes local artists, and consumers of art who are disconnected from international mega events. The cultural producer is disenfranchised by being compared with celebrities who have global status. Moreover, the funding circulates within a small circle of the wealthy. Thobeka further justifies herself with global artists appropriating dance "Then you'll find when she gets here, she'll expropriate (word used in conversation) Gqom in her dance moves but festival organisers won't pay R5000 to a local who does Gqom but Beyoncé would get millions for it" (Thobeka, 2019).

Photo 13: Essence festival attendees[33]

Global economies are, of course, extensions of colonial projects and colonial empires of the nineteenth and the twentieth century which spread the economic and political mores of European society into the rest of the world, seeking to shape it in their image. The result of these transnational movements of money and power created a “melting pot” dynamic that witnessed the side-by-side expansion of the world's biggest urban metropolises and architectural expansion with massacres and atrocities, including slavery, apartheid, genocide, and colonisation. These contradictions gave birth to rules of “world order” about how global societies engage with each other and on what terms, and about the business of development. The focus on the standard operating procedures of a free market friendly world is, as Harvey (2013) would say, less concerned with challenging the “hegemonic liberal and neoliberal market logics, or the dominant modes of legality and state action”. Instead, they are broadly compatible with them. This, in a society like South Africa, with its deep historical scars, is significantly problematic. Whatever aspirations eThekwini has to global cityness, it must involve respect for social justice norms and the full development of all its residents. When considering cities and globalisation processes, it is essential to have a broad

33 https://www.essence.com/festival/essence-festival-durban/essence-festival-durban-2017-photos/#27046 (accessed 10/08/2023, the image is taken from the Essence festival archives, and is captioned: Beautiful display of African culture were plentiful.

awareness of what it is that is being “globalised” and what patterns of globalisation. The question already presupposes that the city is not entirely “global” and is, therefore, an emerging chrysalis, with all the attendant contradictions and complexities. The city must be looked at within the lens of the broader contexts of the global network of cities, but also as a local city with a strong sense of the weight and burden of history about what they thought and felt about their city belonging within an expanding network of economic opportunities and relationships, and new meanings of global citizenship, global relations, and cultural and artistic practice, among other things.

Durban's tourism industry, a key component of the city's economy, extends beyond just attracting leisure visitors. The sector encompasses various sub-categories, including recreational seaside tourism and culturally-focused experiences. These diverse offerings are prominently featured in Durban's campaigns promoting the city as a global destination. This focus aligns with contemporary trends in establishing global city status, as identified in this study, which emphasize a nuanced approach that considers local contexts. Mikel further explains how the city engages tourists more deliberately --- stating, “*About the city going global, increasing the tourist industry is taking people to shisanyama- tour buses with white people pouring into shisanyamas. So, if someone comes here, they are taken straight to Max’s Lifestyle after three hours and back to the ship”.* In addition, Mikel’s narrative validates the city’s marketing strategy to afford the tourist a gastronomical experience of popular local cuisine.

Another associated factor is language and connectedness in the African continent; Ongezwa recalled her world travels to Kampala, Livingston, Lusaka and Oslo as a moment to reconnect with the city of Durban. She shares the memories of centralizing herself during her travels. The workshop that she refers to below is a space of commodification of African goods, sold by small informal business owners from across the globe. Herein also is the evidence of BRICS countries finding a transactional space in the city. Thus, “*to find Swahili being spoken at the middle of the market by the workshop disrupts the idea of xenophobia.”*

Globally, ‘Xenophobia’ is experienced, for example, when there is an influx of displaced people due to unrest in their countries, hence the imposition of stricter migration policies. South Africa is an accessible country for asylum seekers and

economic migrants. This country with its unequal economic opportunities, experiences what is now commonly termed Xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals. Interestingly linked to Ongezwa's comment, the attacks are predominantly against black African migrants, who are categorized as "Nigerians", as these migrants are stereotyped as "corrupt, who take jobs; sell drugs; and take women". As the number of foreigners grows in South Africa, there is a significant count of East Africans, Kenyans, Congolese, and Somalians- although they are often branded as Nigerians. Attacks on African foreigners in South Africa are distinct and viewed from the structural problems that marginalise the African foreigner. The marginalised in their frustration (i.e., the South African blacks), vent out their unemployment situation on equally marginalised foreign nationals. The unrest surrounding 'Xenophobic' attacks should also be considered 'Afrophobic' as Africans are usually at the end of the violence. Ongezwa's statements relate to the merging of African cultures, which are now due to 'xenophobia' linked to Africans not working together with South African blacks.

In seeking to establish each participant's positionality, I questioned whether participants viewed the city as a cultural site, and what else. This was fundamental to clarify their views, values, and location in time and space, which influences understanding of the world and the city. I observed that Mikel, a white male participant in his 70s, differed in this response from the predominantly black/ women of colour and some black men. Mikel explained that:

> *My view differs from everybody's because the places I used to go to when I was between twenty and twenty-five have all closed. All night clubs, restaurants and coffee shops have all closed on Smith Street and all the arcades. Durban was known as a city of arcades. There were all these arcades – but everything that I knew has left the city.*

Essentially, Mikel felt that eThekwini used to have a "modern" brand that it could have built on as an aspirational city, but this is gone now. The arcades would have been that competitive advantage. Porter's theory of competitive advantage presupposes that a given entity, whether a city or a firm, must possess either a low cost of doing business or have a unique selling point or differentiation. Mikel, one could say, does not believe that eThekwini has what it takes to be a global city.

At another level, Mikel's answer reveals his nostalgia for the past. Because he is in 70s, he would have been twenty or twenty-five in the 1970s, which was at the height of apartheid. This is interesting because he does not appear to factor in if an apartheid city can be a global city. Certainly, Africans would not feel that a South African city in the 1970s had anything to offer them. In fact, the Durban strikes of 1973 began the cycle of resistance that ended with the negotiated settlement and democracy in 1994. As such, the world Mikel was nostalgic for would have had to be dismantled before it achieved any substantive global cityness. Mikel's response emphasises his disconnectedness and dislocation within the city. His claim that "everything" has disappeared, and "everything" has closed down is interesting because, to the African participants, this does not seem to have been a bad thing. If apartheid had to be dismantled, then the vestiges of the past had to pass. In the lingo of #FeesMustFall, the city Mikel was nostalgic for had to fall. eThekwini, then a colonial city and later an apartheid city known by its colonial name of Durban, retained spatial planning that meant that access to the city (outside of menial jobs) was preferentially reserved for whites. Was Mikel feeling disconnected from the current "face" of the city because it has now opened to more racial demographics? Was he pining for the influx laws of old? True, the opening of the city to the majority Africans presents a challenge to whites, but this is not the African's problem. It is a problem caused by apartheid and how whites benefitted from segregation.

Mikel's interesting response made me think about how, in eThekwini and, broadly, in the rest of urban South Africa, the present is fully complicit with the past. That is, eThekwini, like Cape Town, Pretoria, and Johannesburg, is still firmly an apartheid city and a colonial city that has merely been juridically opened to the previously dreaded influx of Africans. A networked architecture reproduces a *cordon sanitaire* that confronts the Africans in the city. The dilapidated city with its derelict architecture mingles with the racist blackmail of swart gevaar and the white phobia about what will happen if the white city is opened to the African masses. That is, the dilapidation of eThekwini is blamed on the unregulated access, or influx, of too many Africans. This racist view was the basis of the Penny Sparrow saga in 2016 (see Fig, 3 below). Access to the city (and in the Penny Sparrow case, to the beaches) by large numbers of Africans is seen as a sign of the beginning of the collapse of a once beautiful, clean and ordered city. These assertions re-use and refurbish racist apartheid tropes,

suggesting that the juridical end of apartheid only prepares the ground for its restoration by other means.

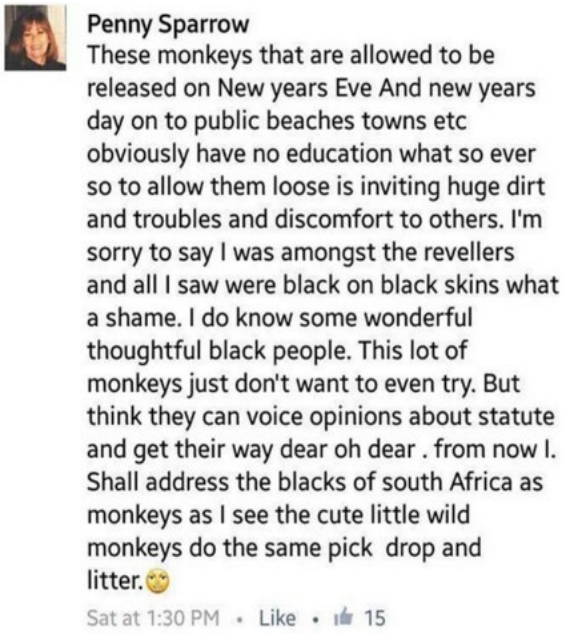

Fig 5.3. Penny Sparrow's infamous post

If the arcades, clubs, restaurants, and coffee shops that Mikel was nostalgic for from the 1970s came to Durban as a result of a process of globalisation even then, this it indicates that globalisation itself is also complicit with coloniality and apartheid. This speaks to the notion of "form or representation of legal systems" (Kara, 2019: 108). The illegalisation of black bodies and their limited access to the city under influx control was legal and acceptable to most whites in colonial and apartheid contexts and legal systems. They saw nothing wrong with it. Within the circuit of culture, regulation which describes the formal and informal rules that affect how the city operated and operates, especially considering the city's entrenched colonial and apartheid socio-economic fabric. The city was exclusively and preferentially designed for white persons and their needs. In the circuit of culture – in this case the circuit of apartheid culture – the regulation factor functions to reveal the inhuman conditions of the city rather than any superlative qualities that would recommend it as a global city. It was very instructive that Mikel emphasised that "everything is closed" suggesting that he no longer

identifies with the current cultural fabric of the city or its future aspirations. It is interesting that he considers that “everything is closed” when the city has opened up to Africans and is now fairly accessible, even if the old spatial designs remain. What is to one person an opening is to another a closing. Although Mikel is, from experience, the complete opposite of Penny Sparrow above, it is interesting that their views on “everything is closed” are almost a carbon copy of each other if we set aside Sparrow’s reference to monkeys.

While Mikel's perspective is the opposite of Penny Sparrow's racially charged remarks, it's worth noting the similarities in their statements about the city’s transformation if we disregard Sparrow's offensive language. This comparison underscores the complexities of urban experiences and how perceptions of inclusion can differ.

Mikel elaborated about his nostalgia, indicating that he associates “everything closing” with the absence of “white faces”. For him, the familiarity of white faces in the city centre has been replaced by the new of African faces. He appears to associate the presence of African faces in the city with “loss”. This is a loss of authenticity – white authenticity in Durban. He continued:

> *because the white population left the city… well I don't want to use the word “flight” but all the schools that were there have closed and now replaced by shops or churches. You can walk down west street now at lunch time, you won't see a white face or an event in the inner city or BAT centre you don’t find white people there.*

It is unclear why Mikel associates the absence of white faces/presence of black faces with dilapidation of the city. It is as if white presence equals vitality, progress, and development, and the black presence is the equal of decay and loss of authenticity. Furthermore, South Africa and eThekwini are majority African, and hence not meeting a white face in Africa is quite normal. Mikel’s views are interesting because they are what I would call *apocalyptic*. They associate white absence with death or the end of time. It would have been interesting to find out what Mikel thought was to be done with apartheid and, especially, influx laws whose repeal led to white “retreat”. Furthermore, Mikel would not make the same apocalyptic claims about North Beach or Umhlanga Rocks, where there are far more white faces than African, even though this is still the African continent, or, say, complain about black consumers spending money in white-owned shops like the Glenwood Spar. What is interesting is not only that the end of

formal apartheid also marked a stage of grief and mourning for whites but that, thirty years later, feelings are still strong about the rights and wrongs of these last thirty to fifty years.

Another participant, Maqhawe, uniquely counters Mikel's argument by referring to the informal and formal structures that persist through the resilience of racialised forms. Maqhawe does not see that there is a problem if the city mostly has black faces, it being an African city. Where white faces predominate, as in Umhlanga, this is a sign of persistent coloniality. Maqhawe says:

> *To …the issue of race, when you walk in the CBD or the market, there are all black faces. But the moment there's conversations of investing in property and renewing the buildings, there's companies like Urban Lime involved. So, I go to them, although I know I can't afford to buy property, but I see that wow so you can have an event in the CBD and 95% of the people who are there will be white and for me it's interesting the hustling in the CBD during the day selling bananas for R2, buying and selling herbs, jumping in and off taxis -that's part of the black experience. The moment you talk about ownership it has a white connotation.*

Maqhawe's point seems to be that he has detected hypocrisy in Mikel's position. That is, even the properties that are now majority-black patronised are still white owned real estate. That whites are no longer being seen in the CBD is not because they have disappeared but rather that they have gone elsewhere. The white retreat from the CBD is in fact proof that whites have options in South Africa in terms of where they play and spend leisure time. What Maqhawe refers to as "the black experience" appears to be what white people like Mikel give as reasons for the white retreat from the city centre. This would, in effect, be swart gevaar: the irrational fear of being swamped by "hordes" of Africans.

Photo 13: Photo of Pixley Kaseme House, within Pixley Kaseme Street, Central eThekwini

Maqhawe shared a photo of Pixley kaSeme House, a building in the city centre. Pixley kaSeme was one of the founders of the ANC. To Maqhawe this architecturally accomplished building was an example of how black history can be commodified. He says, *"What I also find interesting with historical figures – this is Pixley Kaseme House [refers to photo], we live in an era where we take all this black pain and then make money out of it – which is what happened with KaSeme House*". That is, he feels that Black names are being commodified in the naming of buildings and landmarks in the city, yet the buildings are still owned by white companies such as *Urban Lime* and *Propertuity*. These companies benefit from projects that the city has identified as development zones for gentrification projects. Pixley Seme, who fought against the colonial paradigm that made Africans into strangers in their own land, would be turning in his grave to see that his name is now a commodity on a gentrification project. Gentrification has long been identified as harmful to the poor and marginalised.

Atkinson (2005) calls it the “new urban colonialism”. To name a gentrification project after Seme, is the ultimate irony.

The practice of naming sites in the city, whether roads or buildings, is a progressive one. It can add to the decolonisation and Africanisation of the cityscapes. If the city is to be remodelled in the image of Africans, renaming is important. Using the names of African icons is thus commendable. However, Maqhawe’s point is not to reject Africanisation of the cityscape. Rather, he is being critical of cynical uses of this Africanisation option. Naming sites that are inaccessible to most Africans after African heroes is the height of cynicism. In fact, it turns these heroes into the icons of anti-black projects and thus alienates them. The owners of these projects were cynically identifying and using African names not because they believe sincerely in the rightness of the cause of African liberation but simply because the names sound African or because the historical figures are well known to Africans. They are thus using the African names to “African-wash” their businesses! This African-washing (that is, whitewashing using Africans) is morally wrong and despicable. There must be an alignment between the values that the African icon stood for and those of the person using the name.

Maqhawe showed another set of photos, with two other gentrification projects, highlighting how prevalent and pervasive gentrification was as well as African-washing. In Photo 13 to the left is a large mural of Anton Lembede, a famous leader of the ANC Youth League who led it before Nelson Mandela and OR Tambo. The same criticism about Pixley Seme House applies. Anton Lembede, who had very strong views about colonialism and how it had to be crushed, is now the poster boy of capitalist exploitation and encroachment on the lives of the African poor. It is also quite interesting to note that the ANC gave its blessing to such naming projects.

Photos 13 and 14, further examples of gentrification in the Durban inner city

However, we will be missing the point if our only critique is that the gentrified buildings are using African names to sanitise themselves. The key criticism is that the city dares to find, in gentrification, an acceptable strategy and policy framework for city redevelopment. Gentrification has been roundly criticised, and rightly so, and has never proved to work for the poor. Instead, it pushes them out and redevelops cities on behalf of capital. It is a supreme irony that a city that claims to care and to be progressive also adopts gentrification as an option and looks sideways as these developers get their projects off the ground.

Gentrification in eThekwini is, at least on its surface, affiliated with rejuvenation, renewal or changeover. It is accompanied by collaborative instances where organisations ranging from government, private property developers and community groups gather to reimagine the social space. The discourse is that they do so to enhance economy, safety and security, to capitalise on ruined, deteriorated buildings to preserve architecture and to erect new buildings as they revise the city. The trend to gentrify is as aggressive as it is global (cf. Visser, 2002), targeting, among other things, the transformation of previously industrial spaces to be more residential or spaces for recreational activity for emerging entrepreneurs. In South Africa, specific examples can be found in the country's major cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town where gentrified spaces are euphemistically referred to as "precincts" and the idea is to "transform" previously industrial buildings to be more residential (Nevin, 2014). In eThekwini the same "precinctification" trend is evident. Indeed, the theme was discussed in the focus group with the photovoice participants to examine

“precincts’” relevance for the city and how they contribute to the production and construction of the city’s social space and the forms of consumption of space that “precincts” engender. Gentrification, normatively linked to two “catalytic” geographical factors, the economic and the cultural (cf. Bond and Browder, 2019), has been an evident strain within eThekwini’s post-1994 economic development initiatives to “grow the city”. The biological metaphor of “growing” is hardly interrogated but is seen as self-evident, self-explanatory, and self-justifying in discourses of gentrification as a catalytic factor. Biological growth, however, can be affected by other internal as well as external, environmental factors. Growth can also be cancerous and malignant. However, such warnings are routinely ignored and bypassed as being anti-developmental and anti-transformation. As such, “catalytic” gentrification of city spaces continues in linear fashion. Its modus operandi is “renovation” and visibly altered appearance of city space, as noted by Bond and Browder who note that “aside from investments in residential or retail structural renovations, installations of fashionable exteriors and high-quality interior design add to the sudden change in an area’s appearance”(Bond and Browder, 2019: 2). In the study, I observed, along with the focus group participants, that the catalytic curation of gentrified spaces in eThekwini has seen the city encourage “development zones” that include Glenwood suburbs, Florida Road in Morningside, the inner city (through the refurbishing of Art Deco buildings), the beach promenade, between North Beach and South beach, and Station Drive.

In 2019, at the time of the focus group interviews and photovoice discussion, Amanda and Fathima owned shops and offices in Station Drive. The salience of Station Drive is its location just after a major junction that “splits” Durban into four parts, including Durban North and Umhlanga, the N2 towards King Shaka International Airport, Kwamashu, Inanda and Phoenix, Morningside and Springfield, and the inner city towards the Durban Station. Station Drive, situated in the Umgeni area of the city, enjoys proximity to the north of Durban, Moses Mabhida Stadium and its ready-made 2010 FIFA World Cup “aura”, and the Kings Park Stadium, famous for hosting rugby matches in the city. In Station Drive, therefore, the economic and the cultural collide and combine. Amanda and Fathima thus provided insights into the complex gentrification process in Durban as they experience it from day to day, reflecting on its

limits and benefits, especially for them as business owners, including how they generally perceive the "growing" and development within the economic and cultural structure for the city. Station Drive, as a "precinct", is strategically placed as a node both in the architecture of eThekwini and the discussion of the production, construction, and consumption of city spaces in this study. This 'Precinctification' has incorporated "typical" gentrification opportunities where old industrial buildings are turned into vintage shops, art galleries, art trading, coffee shops and office spaces for creative artists who do graphic design and photography. The precinct is also well known for the Durban Gin refinery, Distillery 031,[34] which infuses patrons' drinks by pairing gin with meals and making for a unique eating out experiences of house drinks accompanied by meals prepared at the restaurant. The gin, made and distilled within the city, promises the unique experience of eThekwini which, according to Fathima, "feels very Durban".

In the focus group and photovoice discussion, Fathima, who is a graphic designer, reflected on her experience of the "precinctified" city through a photo focused on a street close to the gentrified Art Deco building which has now been transformed into a low-cost backpacker's establishment called Curiously. She stated that:

> *I just liked that I got some people in it and they looked interesting. These are predestinarians but you can see they're quite comfortable there. This is where they frequent and it's their common route. The buildings around are the old Durban city style…it feels very Durban, it's a Durban scene (Fathima, 2019).*

The notion of a "Durban scene" draws on the perception of a city that remains unique even if commodified and even through the commodification, gentrification and Precinctification. In fact, in the participants' views, the "Durban scene" survived the attempts to "precinctify" the city. This "cultural aspect", whereby city objects and spaces "feel very Durban", demonstrated itself through resilience. Such an aspect defied the linear essence of gentrification and precinctification, infusing it with detours and within limits shaped by the people who, like Amanda and Fathima, work and make their livelihoods in those spaces. The other participants in the photovoice focus group discussions concurred with Fathima that capturing people in the image is important in

[34] https://cuizine.co.za/2016/04/distillery-031/ (accessed 19/12/2021)

conveying the “feel” of the city. The reason eThekwini “feels very Durban” is because of its people, their livelihood and habitats “split” and refracted by the Station Drive junction.

Photo 15. Durban scene from Fathima

Interestingly, despite the impulse about the resilient uniqueness of eThekwini, one can never definitively say that a picture can capture the reality of a place or of anything that it depicts. After all, pictures are merely representations rather than the real thing (Hochberg, 2007). I noted that Fathima could not further elaborate on what exactly it means to “feel Durban” and to describe a scene as a “Durban scene”. How exactly does Durban feel? Whose Durban? Which Durban? What exactly are the elements of a “Durban scene”? The assumption that there is a consensus about the answers to these questions contradicts the complexities of the photovoice experience captured in the study. The production and circulation of culture, its representation and circulation, filtered through the precinct of Station Drive, indicate a far opaquer relationship to eThekwini. The assumption of a transparent “Durban scene” just does not exist. “Precinctification” is challenged by such opacity. At the same time, the yearning and

longing for just such a “scene” is a necessary element of belonging. The sentiment cannot be dismissed, but its variables are far more complex than Fathima suggests.

The opacity of the urban scene in eThekwini’s “precincts” is captured in my own photovoice image, and thoughts and reflections about it, which I shared in the focus group conversation with Fathima and Amanda. I noted that:

> *This is by Clairwood. I wasn’t interested in the people but in the buildings. The mosque is slightly hidden by the robot but for me it was a juxtaposition of the mosque and the Hullets. As well, all the little signs like the Coke sign there, Shaven engineering – there was so much happening in that shot. It was all happening in the south of Durban which is Clairwood and we know the history of how a lot of people moved from Clairwood as it got very industrial but they still needed people to work in that industrial industry. So, you see the mosque of those people who were moved but they were still accommodated in the periphery in that time – hence, the mosque. That space has been a bit neglected now. That whole road, that whole stretch is just dirty but there’s life. People are still opening up their businesses, people are moving and there’s a mosque so people are still worshipping (Ngema, 2019).*

My photo captures the “incompleteness” of both the eThekwini city scene in general and its “developmental” precinct. By focusing on the buildings and the interaction of the built environment, it was clear that the attempt to remove people to the industrial periphery and centre capitalist enterprise was challenged by the Clairwood Mosque. the mosque showed the “intrusion” of religion – and therefore belonging – into matters of trade and industry. The “apartheid idea” failed to solve the contradiction of completely removing people that it needed as cheap labour. The gap created by that contradiction is the one through which urban culture is produced, constructed, represented, regulated, and consumed. Thus, even the notion of urbanity that “feels very Durban” and the “Durban scene” is wrapped inside this incompleteness. This finding confirms some of the thinking around the “elusive metropole” developed by Nuttall and Mbembe (2008) even if the “elusivity” of the metropole seems far more nuanced and culturally generative than it seems on the surface. Taming the “disorderly city” (Murray 2008) is easier said than done.

Photo 16 (Ngema)

The transformation of the post-apartheid city, thus, is “incomplete” and, even, disorderly. Amanda, a Muslim who grew up in Wentworth but was forced to go to the Clairwood Mosque as there was no mosque in Wentworth area, responded to my probing by asserting that “Wentworth didn’t have a mosque, so people from Wentworth would go to that mosque. It’s tiring because you literally have to drive out of your area to find the nearest mosque which is in Clairwood because it was a Muslim and Indian area” (Amanda, 2019). Assertions such as “Clairwood is an Indian area” confirm the hold that the apartheid “paradigm” (cf. Mboti 2023a) still has not just on the ordinary vocabulary of South Africans but also in their physical set up of their settlement patterns. Thus, we still have so-called “Indian areas”, “Coloured areas”, and “Black areas”, taking us back from 2019 to 1960, as it were. At work in Amanda’s comments is not just the Group Areas paradigm at work but also the Population Registration Act paradigm, showing how much coloniality persists “innocently” in language and habits. The persistence of coloniality is a strong theme in eThekwini’s spaces and, by extension, in this study. Interestingly, Amanda, is “Coloured” (if one goes by the Population Registration Act “paradigm”) and Muslim. She goes to an Indian Muslim Mosque because there is none in the “Coloured” Wentworth area. I say “interestingly” because there is a stereotypical expectation that Amanda must be Indian if she is

Muslim in Durban rather than “Coloured”. Amanda’s identity as a Coloured Muslim who worships at an “Indian” Muslim mosque thus defies stereotypical pigeonholing. Yet the city’s spaces themselves reinforce that pigeonholing. It is the persistence of the Group Areas and Population Registration paradigms that, for instance, is behind the Phoenix Massacre of 2021 that occurred as I wrote this thesis. Amanda’s example also provides hope that South Africans may, will, can and do cross these artificial social, cultural, racial, and religious barriers from time to time. If a viable, nuanced, and inclusive framework can be found to build on this hope, then post-apartheid South African cities can transcend the harmful paradigms of old. What is elusive in the metropole is, in this case, a viable framework of hope for the future.

Thobeka addressed her positionality towards the “incomplete” and “elusive” metropole in a way that can be juxtaposed to Mikel’s. Whereas Mikel’s response was apocalyptic, Thobeka’s is infinitely optimistic and grounded, suggesting the stirrings of a “framework of hope” for the city. Thobeka’s positionality turns on her insistence that she does not look at the city through the eyes of another but through her own. Her lens re-appropriates the city as a cultural site for which she has a deep passion and personal affiliation. She explains:

> *I’m one of those people who love being in the city and likes to see what's going on. I'm very curious. How I engage with the city is not being afraid of it. The only thing I'm scared of is living in fear. I don't want to hold tight to my bag and be like “oh I want to get home”. I don't want to live like that. I mostly carry backpack when I'm rolling in the city, I've got things in my bag. I just love being in the city and see what's going on.*

Thobeka’s attitude is one of “love”: “I just love being in the city and see what’s going on”. The idea of loving being in the city suggests that the interstices within which urban culture flourishes could be a way out of the pervasiveness of the Group Areas and Population Registration paradigms that dominate South African urban spaces. What I framed above as a framework of hope is, for Thobeka, a framework of love for the city. In a framework of love, the African in the city is unapologetic. Their affiliation and belonging are total and unreserved. Thobeka’s “loving the city” approach can be seen as a whole-of-person resistance to the age-old marginalisation of the African in the apartheid and colonial city. The African subject “embraces” the city which rejected her.

By embracing the city, it does not mean that Thobeka is naïve about how cold, hard, and alienating eThekwini's spaces may be. She is, rather, choosing to re-appropriate the city culturally, as a domain of love, loving, and the fullness of belonging. This framework completely upends the Group Areas and Population Registration paradigms. Certainly, it seems to be a beginning point for the authentic transformation that we seek in South Africa's traumatised city spaces. Whereas Mikel treats the inner city as a plague, Thobeka reacts with love and infectious passion, zeal, and excitement. She dares the city to reject her. If eThekwini were to choose between Thobeka and Mikel for a brand ambassador, there is little doubt who it would choose. This is because Thobeka *believes* that the city can be reshaped in the image of most of its residents and that they belong to it as much as it belongs to them. Thobeka's "I just love being in the city" and Mikel's "Everything is closed" are two comments that are universes apart, even if they are describing the same space, in the search for viable frameworks. This juxtaposition shows the wide variety of perceptions an attitude about the city from its own residents. More importantly, it shows the nuance needed in urban studies. It justifies the "cultural studies" approach taken and deployed by this study.

Thobeka's comment about *not* fearing the city is quite instructive for the productive avenues of analysis it opens up in our thinking about the city and its spaces. How are we to respond to the city resident's phobia for the city? Fearing a place that one lives in reflects and internalises the schizophrenia that marks the city. Such schizophrenia is not a viable framework for the future. Yet, it marks South African cities, with the security companies patrolling the streets, CCTV, and high, barbed-wire walls. Thobeka had been responding to, and addressing, the views of some of the participants who stated that they literally feared walking in the CBD. Crime, from the pettiest, such as pickpocketing to the most serious, such as robbery, rape, hijacking and murder, is uppermost in the minds of many South Africans. As such, crime would come up in any discussion of the city and our attitudes to the city. In eThekwini, as in other major South African cities such as Cape Town and Johannesburg, the apprehension is compounded by the constant presence of a permanent population of

individuals who struggle with *whoonga*[35] addiction. Often referred to as "amaphara," these individuals may participate in the informal economy to support their drug habit, resorting to activities like scrap collection, recycling, or petty theft.

The presence of *whoonga* addiction in city spaces adds another layer of complexity to understanding urban dynamics and the evolving culture of contemporary cities. How is one to “embrace” *amaphara* without seeming to be naïve? Should they not just be rounded up by the police and taken out of sight? One is reminded of Karl Marx’s problematic attitude towards the “lumpen proletariat” whom he tended to regard as unrehabilitated and impossible to rehabilitate. Certainly, the existence of *amaphara* in urban spaces tests Thobeka’s “love” framework. How is one to “love” such seemingly degraded humanity? How is one to “love” in the city without exposing oneself to “unnecessary” harm? In such cases, Mikel’s apocalyptic approach, which sees the city as a plague, is more tempting. Hunter (2018) notes that:

> piece-work jobs underlie a stop-start rhythm that feeds the craving heroin…whoonga addicts form part of the country's modern army of casual workers. But they are not the underpaid factory workers employed through labour brokers and championed by trade unions… *ukuphanta* is not new, but it became a way of life when drugs mix with inequality and joblessness (Hunter, 2018)

There are in eThekwini whole zones of activity that have been “colonised” by the addicts, including Albert Park near the harbour, Victoria Embarkment, Russell Street, certain parts of Mahatma Gandhi Road, and bridges close to these areas. For some residents of eThekwini these sites are no-go areas. The young men who abuse drugs in these places are typically “invisible” if you are driving past but can be easily encountered if one is a pedestrian. Drugs have had such a foothold in eThekwini partly because it is a busy port city. With so much freight transiting, it has become a hub of the drug trafficking industry as well (Hunter, 20018).

The perception that the street drug trade is the domain of foreigners in the city, especially Nigerian kingpins, is pervasive in the city spaces of eThekwini. These

[35] *Whoonga* is a recreational drug, that is made up of a mixture of low-grade heroine and other additives like rat poison and HIV antiretroviral (ARV) medication. It is a popular drug amongst the youth and has caused many to be homeless and destitute due to the drug use. The other term for Whoonga is Nyaope.

perceptions drive antipathy, fear, and resentment of “foreigners”, for instance. The “foreigner”, thus, is another layer that tests belonging and the framework of “love”. “Foreigners” typically means Africans not from South Africans (Africans from the rest of the continent), rather than white-skinned foreigners from Europe and America. Nyamnjoh (2006) has noted, for instance, how whites have literally had the freedom of the world when it comes to “migration”, a privilege that other races do not enjoy. Thus, in the context of colonial modernity, Caucasians have been “combing the world for opportunities has been the privilege of whites, their imperial governments to settle in foreign territories and who have always benefited from fellow whites on the ground, from colonial officers, missionaries through businessmen, journalists and scholars” (Nyamnjoh 2006: 28). The presence of “foreigners”, the so-called *makwerekwere*, just like that of *amaphara*, tests Thobeka’s “love the city” framing when juxtaposed with Mikel’s “city as plague” framing. In public discourse, including on social media, Mikel’s framing is far more pervasive while Thobeka’s seems naïve. The temptation, therefore, is to approach the city’s spaces as a public health problem needing sweeping interventions by public health officials, police, social services, and immigration.

The cycles of xenophobic attacks in eThekwini are predicated on pervasive accounts about invasive “foreigners”, which supports Mikel’s “city as plague” framework. In 2015, then Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini stoked controversy with his comments that “foreigners” should go home, leading to fears that this would amplify attacks. The South African Human Rights Commission found the comments “hurtful and harmful,” but not constituting hate speech. Thus, even the hurtful and harmful was, officially, not hateful. Even then, the love framework shines through the plague approach. Portia was of the view that Durban needed “its foreigners”, that it was a richer and more prosperous place culturally because of the diversity and multiculturism that was due to the presence of non-South Africans. She elaborates:

> *For me, Durban is a richer place now, you can see an Ethiopian, Somalian, Pakistani and Congolese on the streets. Yes, we have our local languages, but you get to experience the rest of Africa and the world. Now you can see a white person, down and out, that's like reality -any person can be in any sort of economic situation here. Three years ago, I moved back to Westville because the air was getting bad here and I was concerned about my daughter's chest issues. But I immediately felt that separation and I really miss that connection with diverse people. Yes, the suburbs have changed*

because more people of colour are able to invest in property but it's still that quiet place where the walls are up, you don't hear your neighbours' music or even see them. The city, since I was young and to this day, had remained that place of culture.

Portia takes a Pan-Africanist position on the question of the "desirability" of foreigners in eThekwini. Like Thobeka refuses to succumb to generalisations about criminals and crime in eThekwini's CBD, Portia refuses to generalise about foreigners who cause social dislocation in eThekwini. Her view is that whatever binds us as Africans – and as humans – is far more than what divides us. Crucially, Portia's positionality regarding foreigners makes the city a focal point for the materialisation of a very complex and dynamic contemporary form of cosmopolitanism. Without such cosmopolitanism, a city cannot sustain aspirations to be a truly "global city". How eThekwini embraces people from other developing countries is a marker of its "global maturity". It is not just its global cosmopolitanism but also its Afropolitanity and Pan-Africanism that is put under the test. Beyond such surface readings about cosmopolitanism and global cityness, there are real questions about the quotidian constitution of everyday "cityness" and what frameworks can be developed to address contradictions and tensions that arise amongst the poor and oppressed themselves. This is because the problem of *amaphara* and "foreigners" is seen in every major urban area in every country, whether developed or developing.

Portia questions the continental disconnect. Beyond the physical borders that exist, there are mental and *cognitive borders* that further disassociate African from African on the African continent. These cognitive borders are a strong aspect of the city's schizophrenia that this study outlines broadly as a marker of the contemporary African city. For Portia, this disconnect contributes to underdevelopment at diverse levels, from how African markets have less significance at the global level to prohibitively expensive and visa-restricted travel within the continent. The lack of regional integration is further hampered by inadequate infrastructure, with poor road and flight networks hindering connectivity. Finally, trade patterns remain unbalanced, with African nations heavily reliant on the US, EU, and China for trade, while neglecting potentially fruitful partnerships with neighbouring countries. In a sense, these cognitive borders are a perpetuation of the colonial project in Africa. Interestingly, travel in Africa is far easier for foreign tourists who are not seen as *makwerekwere*, even if such travel continues the tradition of colonial exploration of the "dark continent". Colonial invasion

was initially through expeditions, later morphing into dominance through cultural (mis)education, language, politics and economics (Hattem, 2017). Africa inherited this closed culture that sustains limited access, travel and interaction between the continent's own countries confined within colonial borders. If Africans cannot travel easily through Africa, how will they learn from each other? How will the cognitive borders fall? Kimeria (2016), a travel blogger, has assiduously mapped the "African disconnect" and the physical and cognitive borders through her travel blog. The challenges include cost and duration of visas and permit regimes, ambiguity of visa processes, inflexible bureaucracy, flight costs and shortage of amenities and tourist facilities (Kimeria, 2016). The persistence of limited inter-African cultural and economic exchange raises questions about the legacy of colonialism on the continent. This lack of regional integration can be seen as a factor contributing to ongoing challenges in Africa.

Where contemporary city spaces in African cities are concerned, the "city as plague" framework by Mikel is intuitive and, for some, even appealing. Politicians, for instance, routinely campaign on the promise of "cleaning up" the city and ridding it of petty criminals and "foreigners". This framing continues the paradigm of treating the city as a public health issue. The context of structural violence, reflected on the surface as crime, drugs, and xenophobia, means that the typical reaction from the participants to the narrative about crime and walking in the CBD, and about who does what to whom, is to express ingrained fear and misgiving about the social space in the city. Maqhawe, for instance, explained:

> *Going back to what Ongezwa mentioned about taking pictures on field street, there's a lot of street people and vast crowds of people. There was a fear because there you don't take out anything, especially a cell phone, because of the crime. There was no freedom to just take a photo.*

Phobia in the city is thus an offshoot of the framing of the city as a plague. It primes for top-down "clean up" interventions that are reminiscent of Group Areas removals. Noticeably, Thobeka and Portia, as we noted, react differently to Mikel and Maqhawe: with care and sensitivity rather than hysteria and panic. In any case, as they suggest, hysteria and panic will not make one less of a target. To deal with the inherent risks of schizophrenic spaces, one needs calm and understanding, and a deeper and studied

awareness of the historical and everyday issues. A *laager* mentality amongst Africans is quite anomalous and Thobeka, for instance, refuses to be sucked into the hysteria around crime. Rather, she responds with a duty and vocation of care. This vocation of care might be crucial in the checklist of the sort of attitudes needed in a truly global Afropolitan city. At the same time, a lingering question is if any global city can ever be rid of crime. If this is an impossibility, why is it such an issue in the branding of African metropoles? Surely, Los Angeles, London, and New York have high levels of crime too? In the search for generative frameworks, the positionality of the likes of Thobeka and Portia is worth revisiting, if only to use it to infuse Mikel and Maqhawe's positions with nuance.

Notably, Thobeka elaborates about how she navigates the city's fraught spaces, surviving, bypassing, and sometimes confronting both *amaphanta* and *amaphara* – whom she calls "her whoonga family" – by connecting with the city on its own terms but also in humanised, humanising terms, with empathy and sensitivity. She finds that this ubuntu-for-the-streets is the only way to properly understand the city's social fabric. In a word, her attitude is that of an insider. It is her insider's perspective which allows Thobeka to see *ukuphanta* with such knowledge and authority. Hence, she says:

> *It's like being part of the city and having no qualms with anybody. You know like the whoonga family there's no need to be scared, there's a mechanism to work around that if you roll in the streets. When you see them greet them and be like "Yoh what's up fam". The minute you break off that "I'm scared of you' vibe they'll protect you. I'm not saying this will work for everyone, but these are things I've learnt from the city, because I've spent time there and I'm literally interested in the things that happen. From the ladies on the streets to the whoonga family, you'll see it's all business transactions going on. I buy a lot of things from the city centre. People are interacting with each other, so by the time I get my smokes, someone else is getting my weed so that when I go around the corner, I just pick up my weed and go. Everything is happening in codes and signs and it happens so quickly. Another thing is when I'm walking in the city, my hair is colourful and it pulls a lot attention, people and children stare wondering about it or laughing. There's always something happening when you're walking. I like seeing the reaction of everyone in the city and studying all of that. My business is not a normal business like in an office. My art is my business and seeing what people do and what I admire from it inspires me. Have you seen the documentary Sins of the Inner City obviously it's not actual sins it's about the city at night? Seeing what happens at night in Durban is also very interesting, it's a whole different thing (Thobeka, 2019).*

The vocabulary of "codes and signs" and knowing how to "roll" in the streets from Thobeka suggests her fearlessness but also her empathy, awareness, and sensitivity,

and how much she took time to be accustomed to “the ways” of the city’s often cold, hard, and alienating spaces. Instead of imposing her misconceptions and misgivings on the city, she explores the city on its own terms and in terms that lend her an insider’s eye and ear. As such, unlike Mikel, she finds that things are “open” rather than “closed”. Again, Thobeka is not naively blind to the dangers she navigates. She has already priced in the risks and costs. She just does not see any other way to navigate the CBD except by walking where some others fear to tread. More importantly, if she is to be a contemporary African in a contemporary African city, she has no choice but to be fully Afropolitan. The cognitive borders must fall.

Concluding remarks

This chapter analyses the photovoice discussions and focuses on citizens/art/cultural producers of eThekwini who navigate the city daily and derive cultural and artistic livelihoods from its urban spaces. For these participants, the camera became a tool that both facilitated and challenged their engagement with the city. It allowed them to capture and express their desires, anxieties, and aspirations while highlighting tensions and dynamics within the city's social fabric. Despite commodification and gentrification, the notion that eThekwini (Durban) "feels very Durban" highlights the importance of local culture and community in imagining their urban spaces. Participants in the focus group discussions agreed that capturing the human element in their images was crucial for conveying the authentic essence of the city. One significant aspect of the analysis is its deviation from traditional Photovoice methods by including participants who did not take photos in the discussion sessions. This approach fostered open dialogue and flexibility, allowing for broader insights into the participants' collective experiences and perceptions of belonging within the urban landscape. Moreover, the discussion incorporates insights from Photovoice data, which provide a nuanced understanding of eThekwini's cultural spaces.

The analysis highlights sand sculpting as a form of resistant art practised predominantly by black male artists along South African coastlines. Despite being marginalised within traditional art classifications and Western art classifications, sand sculpting is a cultural marker that sustains coastal identities and challenges dominant cultural norms. The discussion also acknowledges the historical context of parks in

eThekwini, originally designed and controlled under colonial norms that segregated public spaces along racial lines. Despite this history, the photographs and narratives by Portia and Fathima celebrate the current multiracial and multicultural interactions within these parks as symbols of a hopeful, non-racial Rainbow Nation envisioned post-apartheid. This, therefore, challenges conventional notions of urban culture by embodying a vision of inclusivity and creative freedom that resonates with the city's aspirations for a more equitable future.

Culture is the defining element that transforms eThekwini from mere urban infrastructure into a vibrant social complex. However, this cultural vibrancy exists alongside persistent challenges rooted in colonial and apartheid legacies, which continue to influence the city's dynamics even in the post-1994 democratic era. The chapter critiques the Circuit of Culture model for its inadequacies in fully addressing poverty, inequality, and historical divisions within eThekwini. It argues that these structural inequalities manifest in various forms, including racial tensions and violence, such as the resurgence of historical conflicts between Indian and Zulu communities witnessed in events like the 2021 Phoenix violence.

Furthermore, Portia's photograph and commentary serve as a poignant critique of urban inequality and the persistent effects of colonial and apartheid urban planning policies in eThekwini. It challenges the city's aspirations to be a "future city" while confronting the stark realities of spatial segregation, economic disparity, and social marginalization that continue to define its urban landscape. Addressing these deep-seated inequalities requires policy interventions and a fundamental re-evaluation of urban planning strategies and economic justice frameworks to create more inclusive and equitable cities in post-apartheid South Africa. Portia's critique extends beyond the physical composition of Springfield to encompass broader socio-economic issues. She highlighted the exploitative nature of alcohol advertising and its impact on community health and well-being. The Control of Marketing of Alcoholic Beverages Bill, which aimed to regulate alcohol advertising, faced opposition from powerful corporate interests, underscoring the economic forces at play that perpetuate harmful consumption patterns among vulnerable populations.

Thobeka and Maqhawe highlighted the broader implications of global events on the city's social fabric and economic distribution. They argued that while these events may boost tourism and showcase eThekwini on a global stage, they often do so at the expense of local empowerment and cultural integrity. The prioritisation of international celebrities over local artists perpetuates economic disparities and reinforces cultural hegemony that marginalises local narratives and creativity. Their critiques call for a more inclusive approach to cultural and economic development in eThekwini—one that values and invests in local talent, promotes cultural authenticity, and challenges global norms that tend to favour dominant Western paradigms. This perspective underscores the need for policy interventions and community-driven initiatives prioritising local empowerment and equitable economic opportunities within the global context of city branding and cultural exchange.

Portia's perspective delves further into the significant issue of cognitive borders within African cities, which she believes perpetuates underdevelopment and hinders regional integration. These borders extend beyond physical boundaries, encompassing mental and cognitive barriers that separate Africans from each other within their own continent. She argues that these divisions are reminiscent of colonial legacies, fostering limited inter-African travel, trade, and cultural exchange. This view offers complementary perspectives on the complexities of African urbanism. Portia critiques the systemic barriers that hinder continental integration and economic growth, while Thobeka exemplifies an empowered urban dweller who navigates the city with empathy and understanding. Together, their perspectives highlight the need for overcoming cognitive borders and fostering inclusive development within African cities.

The discussion highlights both the economic transformation aspects and the socio-cultural complexities of gentrification in Durban, particularly through the lens of gentrified precincts. It underscores the dynamic interplay between economic development, cultural preservation, and community resilience in shaping urban eThekwini.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The study interrogated the shape, form, nature, and flow of urban interactions and experiences within the socio-cultural space, location, and setting of the South African Indian Ocean port city of eThekwini. This investigation of the production of urban space was done, firstly through a critical discourse analysis of eThekwini-based newspapers. This analysis examined how these newspapers represent and discuss urban space, revealing potential underlying power structures and ideologies that shape its development. Second, the study employed focus groups and photovoice techniques. Focus groups were held with purposefully selected residents, cultural producers, practitioners, and ‘consumers’ of eThekwini's city spaces, all of them living and working within the city’s historically salient and structured urbanity. These participants discussed their experiences and perspectives on the urban environment. Photovoice involved participants taking photographs of their surroundings and then discussing them in a group setting, providing valuable insights from the people who live and work in the city.

Photovoice

The study is framed by the circuit of culture model to understand the production, construction, representation, regulation, and “consumption” of space within an African city. The “cultural studies” perspective was considered critical to unravelling the connections between history and the present, the flow of everyday life, and the mapping of future trajectories.

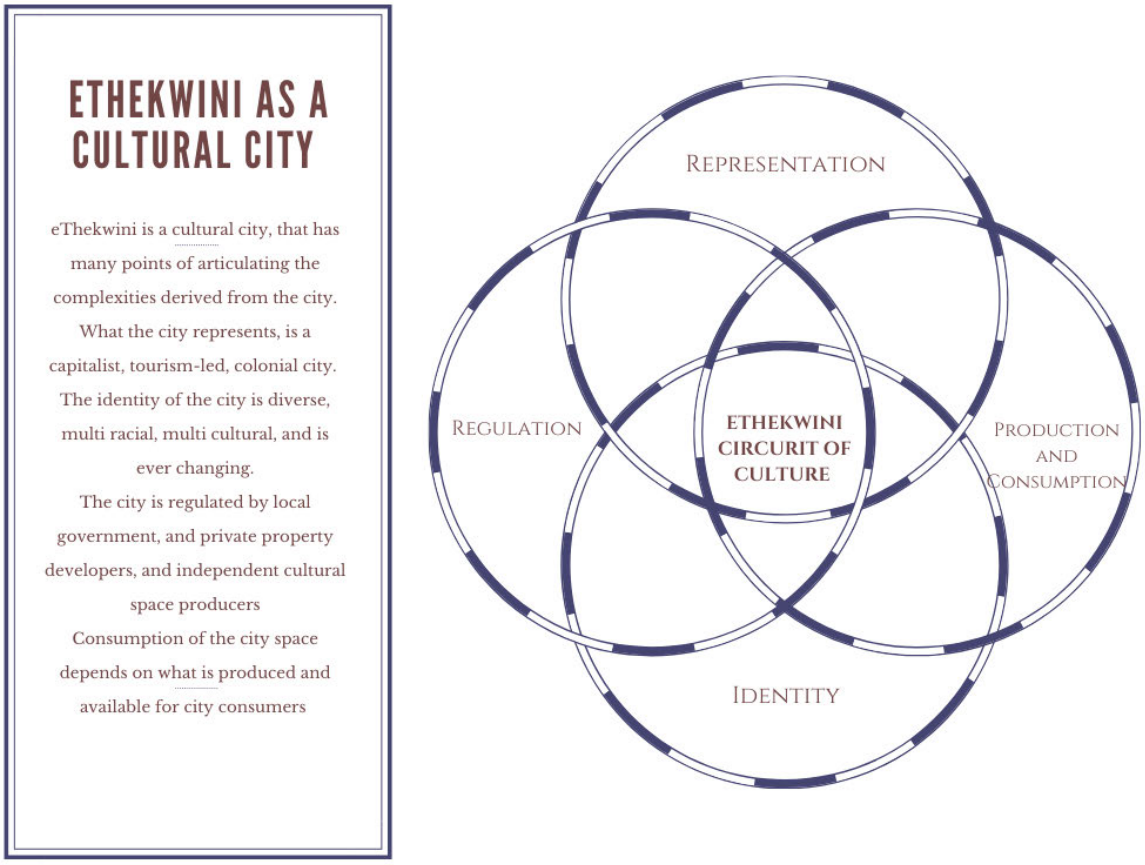

Figure 8.1: eThekwini's Circuit of Culture

A major, perhaps unsurprising, finding of this study is that the spaces of cities are complex, contested, and incomplete. The city's evolution is ongoing, marked and shaped by history and the present towards an uncertain future with no guaranteed outcomes. This finding is filtered through the cultural studies approach and, specifically, the circuit of culture, which affirms the city's centrality as a "cultural site" and a "cultural product" made and reinvented by people and their experiences. The "culture" of the city, including access and the "rights" to and "rites" of place, is caught up in the complexities of the power, belonging, identity, representation and regulation, the dynamics of which the participants in the study and the newspaper analysis captured. The city's aspirations to be a "global city" drives its developmental and investment outlook, modified by the need to be inclusive and "transformed" considering eThekwini's trauma-bearing heritages of colonialism and apartheid. Such grand aspiration has become normative in how the city authorities market eThekwini on the global stage as a destination of choice for investors and tourists. Yet, at the same time, such aspiration is contested by the quotidian flow of everyday interaction,

livelihoods, and the historical make-up of the city's social fabric that shows racial, class, and ethnic fault lines. Race remains a dominant definer, determiner, and container of the overall experience of eThekwini's city spaces, intensified by a capitalist, privatising, neoliberal developmental paradigm. The colonial and apartheid project determines the tourism-led branding and marketing of the city, whilst the realities of poverty and inequality impose themselves from the margins to the centre, making for a deeply schizophrenic city. The study found that opportunities for economic, creative, cultural, and social advancement abound in eThekwini. However, these opportunities can only be fully realized if a way to achieve genuine inclusivity is established. Current frameworks often fall short: they exclude many, perpetuate victim-blaming narratives, and prioritize organizational image over meaningful change.

The study revealed that eThekwini's schizophrenic identity stems not just from how a given place is home to multiple populations with differing sense of and attachment to the space but, also, from the persistent and unresolved coloniality of city spaces. Surface designs conceal much deeper problems. The divisions of the past continue in other forms. As Secor (2008) notes, "While the diversity of cities has been celebrated and urban public spaces idealized as arenas of tolerant encounter, cities are also marked by process of exclusion, segregation and repression" (Secor, 2008: 353). The spectacle, opulence, and affluence of annual branded mega events such as the Vodacom Durban July, for instance, shows eThekwini to be "marketable" and nationally (and internationally) relevant, while it foregrounds the schizophrenia of poverty and inequality that is the backdrop of the Durban July. Thus, schizophrenia as an analogy of eThekwini explains how the urban space and the experience of urban space are organised around entrenched inequality and deep divides between the haves and have-nots such that some of its citizens are out of touch with the reality and experiences of others and, indeed, their interests are worlds apart. That there is so much poverty and inequality is one aspect of it. That we still have so-called "Indian areas", "Coloured areas", and "black areas" is another. The division between informal settlements versus formal settlements, spaza shops versus formal supermarkets, the Warwick Junction market versus the formal mega mall structure, formal art galleries versus the informal street art, the formal mega events versus the informal underground events, also speaks to the schizophrenia. Racism, class divides, tribalism,

xenophobia, poverty, underdevelopment, and inequality are therefore some of the schizophrenic manifestations that denote how eThekwini is one huge contradiction. So, to remain ordered and keep out “disorder”, the city pivots to regulating social exclusion of the poor who are seen as a risk and a threat. Regulation, as a marker of power and control, is a significant component within the circuit of culture, regulating access, entry, and exit to specific city spaces, as well as who uses what, who gets what, and who goes where and with whom, for what purpose. While regulation might use overt force and municipal bylaws, such as the control of the homeless, “touts”, and informal traders during the FIFA World Cup in 2010, often the control happens through restricting access to private spaces for those who cannot afford it. Private art galleries in eThekwini, for instance, are regulated in this way. Broadly, regulation facilitates economic ownership of means of production by the few, thus entrenching monopoly. The attempt to use public land for private property development at Vetch Pier without public knowledge by the previous city manager, Michael Sutcliffe, in 2011, shows how economic development can be cover for colonial patterns of land expropriation, with the development of public property facilitated by colonial laws such as the Seashore Act of 1935 rather than by open, democratic, public input.

In the study, the loop of the “circuit” of culture twisted and turned much more within the inner city, up to the Station Drive precinct, to Florida Road, and to eThekwini’s fast-expanding city “project” to the North, West, and South. Expansion to the East is towards the shore, and so is physically limited by the ocean. This expansion itself reveals contemporary developmental practices that layer interconnectivity on top of exclusive heritages, thus reinforcing, consolidating, and intensifying schizophrenia and cognitive borders. The cultural studies approach enabled the investigation of “social space” as an aspect of human wellbeing and the ability to survive the pace and scale of urbanisation (cf. Harvey, 2013). As urban sociologist Robert Park opines, human beings create new spaces to remake their hearts’ desires. In my study, such desires are not innocent or value free. Instead, they are inflected by heritages of coloniality, by dominant western paradigms of city making, sustained by local politics, enriched and eroded by capitalism, and regulated by developmental imperatives and city bylaws. As per Park (1925), humans gravitate towards and create spaces where they reinvent themselves. Invention and reinvention of the city of eThekwini is an

aspect of what Lefebvre calls the production of space. The lived experience of those who produce, consume, and live in the city is the counter(re)invention that adds to a complex state of survival, livelihood, and creativity in a city that historically excluded Africans and was designed for a *racial few*. The paradigm that sustained the "racial few" has not dissipated but continues to shape how the city operates. Thankfully, such a harmful paradigm is contested and questioned.

"Culture" in eThekwini, like culture anywhere else, is always already contested, more so where cultural patterns stem from colonial and apartheid exclusions and where unequal socio-economic conditions permeate the current context and inequality is experienced and reproduced at different levels. The persistence of coloniality and apartheid was reflected, in the study, in terms of what I called the Group Areas paradigm and the Population Registration paradigm. This paradigm organises eThekwini's spaces into "White areas", "Indian areas", "Coloured areas" and "Black areas". The "white areas", typically affluent suburbs, have ironically seen slightly more desegregation for those from the Indian, Coloured, and Black areas who can afford it. Class, elitism, neoliberalism, and privatised spaces have become the new containers of coloniality and racist logics. The Phoenix massacre of 2021 is evidence, however, that the Group Areas paradigm and the Population Registration paradigm holds sway still. Social cohesion, inclusivity, transformation, livelihoods, and promotion of wellbeing are all framed in neoliberal terms that do little to dismantle ingrained harmful paradigms of old. Post-1994 urban planning, framed as projects to reinvent or rejuvenate eThekwini's city spaces, are designed after socio-economic development imperatives that seek to match leading world cities but are forced to reckon with the ingrained historicity of the city itself, as the discourse analysis of the newspapers showed. The art practitioner and cultural production scene provided inductive fragments and snapshots where participants discussed the persistence of harmful exclusions and struggles with belonging and identity within certain spaces in eThekwini.

The study revealed that specific frameworks operate to regulate and organise the perception and reception of the city as a cultural object. The two most salient were those by Thobeka and Mikel. Mikel saw the city as necessarily closed, while Thobeka regarded it as open. For Mikel, the tendency was to treat the city's spaces as a plague

that needed public health, police, social services, and immigration control and intervention. The reinvention and reimagining of the city was, in a sense, a public health issue, a throwback to the studies (Maylam, 1995) of how colonial projects utilised epidemics such as the bubonic plague to plan and justify segregated cities. For Thobeka, the city as a cultural object was open and could be approached from a framework of love. While this approach might be seen as naïve on the surface, it reveals an “Afropolitan” positionality that is sensitive to the poor and downtrodden. For both frameworks, the city is necessarily “incomplete”. The question is whether incompleteness is necessary for growth, change and development or a hindrance. The closed city framework suggests that the incomplete city is a problem and a risk and must be “solved” by order, planning, and authority. The open city treats incompleteness as an advantage for contemporary African cities such as eThekwini.

The study revealed that viable frameworks for change within the city must focus on several layers of what people in eThekwini find meaningful. These include, firstly, education and the culture of learning. Within higher education, spaces such as the Durban University of Technology (DUT) and the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal (UKZN) need to be inclusive regarding increased access, especially to African women and the poor and underprivileged. More graduates from these groups will enrich the sense of transformation in a higher education sector still weighed down by the heritage of Bantu Education. Public education as an aspect of social change and transformation would seem to belong to a framework of love of an open city. However, challenges with NSFAS suggest that the closed city framework has an antipathy for “too many” students joining what was previously an exclusive space. The future will thus see outcomes between these two contending frameworks of open and closed, “love” and “plague”. But even the closed, top-down city is able to embrace the discourse and rhetoric of empowerment, such as through promoting literacy. Hence eThekwini does not just host important literature festival and authors, including many emerging authors, but reading and literacy are foregrounded. The city’s identification as the city of literature for UNESCO exemplifies how a closed city system can open up even from the top.

Secondly, the frameworks of open and closed contend in the domain of cultural cultivation, promotion, and preservation. Through arts and culture related festivals, the city encourages events that centre culture as a cultural product and important branding platform for the city. Examples include the Durban International Film Festival (DIFF), Time of the Writer and Poetry Africa, some of which I have been involved with for several years. The frameworks of open and closed city spaces also organise the consumption of culture through creative industries and tourism, catering to different, emerging, niche markets, of consumers. Through “city walks”, citizens respond to the city’s pivoting to tourism, thus taking advantage of top-down access to imprint their own “belonging” on city spaces. Such “consumption”, of course, remains contested. The Essence festival, seen as essential to connecting eThekwini with other global city networks, was criticised by focus group participants as prioritising the global artist over the local artists. The same criticism has been levelled at DIFF, for instance, leading to the formation of the eThekwini Filmmakers Association to remedy this exclusion. The Essence festival was seen by participants as dominated by Americans and promoting the American experience. Indeed, the eThekwini version was designed to clone and mirror the Essence festival that takes place in New Orleans.

Thirdly, informality and the culture of *ukuphanta* has a place in the “futuring” of the city at varying levels: *Ukuphanta* has heightened meaningfulness for survival in a city marked by unemployment, hunger, and poverty. While the study identified both formal and informal sectors as economic drivers within the city, and that both coexist to solidify a specific way of living, being, socialising, producing, and consuming the city, it is informality – as inductively seen at Warwick Junction – that offers the most promise for a reinvented eThekwini. Contested since the 1940s, Warwick Market still stands as a symbol of the resistance, against erasure and “precinctification”, of the “informal” and the hybrid. Plans to “upgrade”, “modernise”, and formalise Warwick Junction must contend with this resistance and contestation. So, the “informal” in eThekwini has never been completely “precinctified”, unlike the formal industries that operated within the orbit of international capital. While spaza shops and informal markets cannot compete with the capital of big business, they have a resilience and viability that defies colonial logics. They also employ hundreds of thousands in a country where the unemployment rate is one of the highest in the world. Places such as the Phansi

Museum and Cool Runnings, which host the ‘underground’ culture of ‘battle rap’ in the city, show the viability of informality as an aspect of the cultural production of cities. The commute of the minibus taxis within the inner city (towards and from North and South beach) – replacing the rickshaw of the past – illustrates an “informal” transport network that is now inseparable in the transport ecology of the city and that connects commuters with taxi ranks and places of work, recreation and retail, through major stops providing a stop and go service. The convenience of taxis for moving quickly and safely within the city is now a permanent part of the “Durban scene”. People use taxis to get from place to place and partly as a safety measure against petty crime such as bag snatching or mobile phone snatching. In this context of pervasive informality, neoliberal privatisation and capitalist exploitation, including monopolistic control of the factors of production (land, labour, and capital), were identified, both in the discourse analysis of the newspapers and the photovoice discussions. Participants highlighted how these factors, including the monopolistic control of resources like land, labour, and capital, create harmful "extractive logics" that perpetuate colonial patterns and marginalize the poor.

Fourthly, the city, if it is to be a viable “black space”, must contend with cognitive borders that perpetuate colonial and apartheid divides. Gentrification projects that aim to “rejuvenate” the city space, in particular, illustrate the “closed” African city. The neoliberal capitalist footprint is evident in gentrification, new property developments in the North, South, and West of eThekwini, and formal business precincts and retail and lifestyle spaces such as malls and shopping centres, and large global and local supermarket chains that control the food, clothing, equipment, and electronic goods market. These spaces are problematic because they are easily accessible only to those with disposable income. What happens to the rest? Gentrification is not all bad. Hence, the refurbishment of the once dilapidated Addington Children’s hospital to a modern facility, through donations under the KwaZulu-Natal Children’s Hospital fund, is an example of “rejuvenation” “renewal” in the city. The hospital, once completed, will be the second largest Children’s hospital in Africa after the Red Cross Memorial Hospital in Cape Town. However, the gentrification paradigm harbours more harm than good. Thus, new property development projects that betray a nostalgia for the “white South Africa” of the past, alongside pleas to reverse “white flight” and

“semigration” (to Cape Town), represent reinforced cognitive borders. The same white nostalgia is seen in the art deco architecture of “Durban”, revisited and sustained, and added to low-cost backpackers and marketed as a slice of “Old Durban”. In that fraught context, “change” that still sustains inequality and the power relations of the past is not really change. Because the study considered space as social, as producing sociality, and as social product (Lefebvre 1991: 26), eThekwini’s social space produces and reproduces itself in new logics that draw on old logics.

The city as a cultural object set against the flow of everyday experiences is, of course, increasingly, constantly, and heavily mediated (Harvey & Lefebvre, 1996). Representation, in the circuit of culture, articulates what is made visible against that which is kept outside public discourse. Within the context of colonial and apartheid logic, the “racially invisible” (Goldberg, 2016) is historically inscribed. City spaces as elements of representation are typically “white”, where, as Goldberg suggests, “whites could be everywhere”. In newspaper discourse and photovoice discussions, the branding and marketing of the city as wholesome and “friendly” to tourists, as offering a return on investments to investors, and in the promotion and hosting of mega events, the subtext marks, denotes, and represents the city as a “white space”. This is despite the visible top-down efforts at “transformation” embarked on by the municipality since 1994. A tourism-led approach, showcasing the city’s beaches, hotels, sight-seeing, and leisure spots, invites access to those with money.

The 2010 FIFA World Cup is the single most salient event that accelerated the trajectory of eThekwini towards being a “global city”, open to the rest of the world’s (monied) citizens but closed to most of its locals who could only watch the matches on television. The infrastructure built for this mega event catered to a specific, exclusive class of “haves” while mostly ignoring embedded and existing socio-economic issues. The homeless were targeted for rounding up and relocation, while *ukuphanta* in the city was increasingly criminalised where it could not be incorporated and coopted by FIFA and its sponsors. The upgrading of transportation systems for the World Cup helped to “modernise” eThekwini but at what cost? The daily commute continues for Africans who live on the periphery of the city, costing them nearly half of their monthly income. The mega event planning was geared towards the “international” audience, and locals were only to benefit via trickle-down. Hence,

interminable service delivery problems continued unabated despite the World Cup. The explosive growth of informal settlements, and the problems of slum-dweller organisations such as Abahlali baseMjondolo, did not stop or go away. The corruption, to the tune of billions of rands, linked with the infrastructure projects enriched only the top construction companies such as Aveng, Murray & Roberts, Group Five, WBHO and Basil Read. That the benefits of the 2010 FIFA World Cup accrued mostly to the “principal contractors” is indicative of the deep-seated problem in the contemporary South African city where patterns of accumulation were set during colonialism and apartheid. These patterns have not been dismantled in the 30 years of democracy. In any case, the “globalising” and “internationalising” of local economic and infrastructural development and investment, and the linking to the global capital, markets, investments, and economies, can be seen as a deceptive way to bypass perennial local service delivery problems and failures. So, indeed, the FIFA World Cup accelerated the schizophrenia in the city.

The study also identified promising signs of progress. The promotion and curation of street art competitions offer a path towards inclusivity. By profiling local artists and opening up previously exclusive spaces like art galleries, these initiatives challenge traditional notions of belonging and contribute to a more inclusive vision of eThekwini. This convergence fosters a sense of shared ownership, creating a space where the "local city" and the "global city" can coexist meaningfully. I noted, for instance, that the KZNSA gallery, typically designed to sustain privilege and elitism, now represents diversity and ‘openness’ to housing different, representative art forms. This cultural inclusivity is notable as the selection of the art on display or exhibition. The hosting of street art events such as the sand sculpture competition, facilitated by eThekwini municipality and the Durban Art Gallery, where artists were provided with further skills and training and awarded prize money for winning the competition, show the converge of the “closed” and “open” under a framework of the necessarily incomplete. I noted, also, cultural production from eThekwini, such as Gqom music and Gqom “culture”, fronted by popular eThekwini-based company, Afrotainment (headed by DJ Tira and showcasing names such as DJ Sindo, Juicy, Big NUZ, Babes Wodumo, Dludla Mshunqisi, Zodwa Wabantu, and “Durban Rocks” with DJ Sox), is an instance of organic “rejuvenation” that is not catalysed from the top. Gqom “products”, such as the

career and persona of Zodwa waBantu, the music constantly blaring in eThekwini commuter minibus taxis, and the dance moves like Gwaragwara, Ivosho and bhenga, now appropriated in the choreography of international artists, reveal that a “global city” need not grow only from billion-dollar investments and mega events such as the FIFA World Cup.

For eThekwini to transcend its deeply entrenched schizophrenia, there is much work to be done. The Phoenix Massacre of 2021 suggests that while the social fabric of eThekwini is made from diverse threads, some of it is unravelling and coming apart at the seams or being maintained by means of the costs levied on the poor. Old and harmful paradigms of development, which thrive on segregation and exclusion, remain. The poor and economically vulnerable continue to commute large distances, expensively, from the outskirts for work in the city. Policy work remains top down. The voices of the poor are routinely ignored. The growth of gated communities, heavily patrolled by private security companies, in residential areas like Westville, Zimbali, Umhlanga, Hillcrest and Ballito, and the fact that we still speak in terms of so-called “Indian areas”, “Coloured areas”, and “Black areas”, articulates the new form that the Group Areas and Population Registration paradigm takes. Inequality is perhaps the single biggest threat to city living and the city’s stable, harmonious future. The histories of colonialism and apartheid must be prioritised for dismantling. Still, opportunities for genuine social cohesion and socio-economic development exist. Furthermore, eThekwini’s people are resilient and resourceful. However, first, real, material, and cognitive borders must fall, accompanied by substantive changes in the ownership of the factors of production in the city. Naming a building as Pixley Kaseme house, on Pixley Kaseme street, is not enough.

REFERENCES

ABANI, C. 2004. *GraceLand*, New York, Picador.

AIELLO, G. & TOSONI, S. 2016. Urban Communication| Going About the City: Methods and Methodologies for Urban Communication Research — Introduction. *International Journal of Communication* 10 1252-1262.

AMIN, A. 2008. Collective culture and urban public space. *City*, 12, 5-24.

ANDERSSON, S. 2016. Inequality didn't just happen... It was Created! [Online]. *DISQUS*, Sweden. Available: http://sorenandersson.com/inequality-didnt-just-happen/ (accessed 19/12/2018) [Accessed].

APPADURAI, A. 2013. *The future as cultural fact: essays on the global condition*, London, New York: Verso Books.

ARDÉ, G. 2020. The burden of Durban's porters may get heavier [Online]. *New Frame*. Available: https://www.newframe.com/the-burden-of-ethekwinis-porters-may-get-heavier/ (accessed 29/12/2020) [Accessed 2020].

ATKINSON, R. & BRIDGE, G. 2005. *The new urban colonialism: gentrification in a global context*. University Of Tasmania.

BAKER, P., GABRIELATOS, C., KHOSRAVINIK, M., KRZYŻANOWSKI, M., MCENERY, T. & WODAK, R. 2008. A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. Discourse & society, 19, 273-306.

BALDWIN, A. 1975. Mass removals and separate development. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 1 (2), 215-227.

BAZELEY, P. & JACKSON, K. 2013. Qualitative data analysis with NVivo (Second). *Journal of Education for Teaching*.

BERTSCHER, A., LONDON, L. & ORGILL, M. 2018. Unpacking policy formulation and industry influence: the case of the draft control of marketing of alcoholic beverages bill in South Africa. *Health Policy and Planning*, 33, 786-800.

BERTSCHER, A., & LONDON, L. 2021. We tested claims that limiting alcohol advertising in South Africa would violate rights. *The Conversation* (theconversation.com/africa)

BJORVIG, A. C. 1994. Durban 1824-1910: the formation of a settler elite and its role in the development of a colonial city.

BLATMAN-THOMAS, N. & PORTER, L. 2019. Placing property: Theorizing the urban from settler colonial cities. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 43, 30-45.

BLOMMAERT, J. & BULCAEN, C. 2000. Critical Discourse Analysis. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 29, 447-466.

BOND, P. & BROWDER, L. 2020. Deracialized Nostalgia, reracialized community, and truncated gentrification: capital and cultural flows in Richmond, Virginia and Durban, South Africa. *The Aesthetics of Neighbourhood Change*. Routledge.

BOONZAAIER, B. G. 2014. Beyond the formal/informal dichotomy: Towards a strategic perspective - the case of Warwick Junction in Durban.

BRAATHEN, E., JORDHUS-LIER, D., AASEN, B. & SUTHERLAND, C. 2016. 7| URBAN POVERTY AND INEQUALITY IN RIO DE JANEIRO, CAPE TOWN AND DURBAN. Poverty and Inequality in Middle Income Countries: Policy Achievements, *Political Obstacles*, 143.

BRAUN, V. & CLARKE, V. 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3, 77-101.

BREETZKE, K. 2009. From Conceptual Frameworks to Quantitative Models: Spatial planning in the Durban metropolitan area, South Africa—the link to housing and infrastructure planning [Online]. Available: http://www.assaf.org.za/files/2010/04/Spatial-Planning-2009.CaseStudy.Chapter.08.Durban.pdf [Accessed 01/10/2018 2018].

BREITBART, M. M. 2010. Participatory Research Methods. In: CLIFFORD, N., FRENCH, S. & VALENTINE, G. (eds.) Key Methods in Geography 2nd ed. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi: Sage.

BRINK, H. I. 1993. Validity and reliability in qualitative research. Curationis, 16, 35-38.

BROWN, C. 2005. " Museum Spaces in Post-apartheid South Africa": The Durban Art Gallery as a Case Study. Rhodes University.

BRÜCK, J. 2013. Landscapes of desire: parks, colonialism, and identity in Victorian and Edwardian Ireland. International Journal of Historical Archaeology, 17, 196-223.

CAPE_TOWN. 2019. Economic Landscape [Online]. Available: https://www.capetown.gov.za/Work%20and%20business/Invest-in-Cape-Town/Why-invest-in-Cape-Town/Economic-landscape (accessed 03/01/2019) [Accessed].

CAPE_TOWN_PROJECT_CENTRE. 2014. Informal Settlements in South Africa: Langrug Community [Online]. Available: https://wp.wpi.edu/capetown/projects/p2014/wash-up-business/background-research/informal-settlements-in-south-africa/ (accessed 17/10/2021) [Accessed 17/10/2021 2021].

CAREY, J. 1989. Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society, Boston, Unwin Hyman.

CARMICHAEL, D. 2023. Wealth accumulation and de-risking strategies among high-wealth Individuals. Social Inclusion, 11.

CARTER, E., DONALD, J., and SQUIRES, J., (eds) 1993. *Space and Place: Theories of Identities and Location*, London: Lawrence and Wishart.

CASTELLS, M. 1977. The urban question: a Marxist approach, London, Edward Arnold.

CASTELLS, M. 2009. Communication power. Oxford, UK ;: Oxford University Press.

CHARNOCK, G. 2013. Global city [Online]. Britanicca. Available: https://www.britannica.com/topic/global-city (accessed 27/10/2021) [Accessed 2021].

CHILISA, B. 2012. Indigenous research methodologies, Thousand Oaks, California, SAGE Publications.

CHILISA, B. 2020. Indigenous Research Methodologies. 2 ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications US.

CHILISA, B. & KAWULICH, B. 2012. Selecting a research approach: Paradigm, Methodology and Methods. In: WAGNER, C., KAWULICH, B. & GARNER, M. (eds.) Doing Social Research: A global context London: McGra-Hill: Higher Education.

CLARKSON, C. 2008. 'Remains of the Name', in Attie de Lange et al. (eds), *Literary Landscapes: From Modernism to Postcolonialism*, pp. 125–142, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

CORNELISSEN, S., BOB, U. & SWART, K. 2011. Towards redefining the concept of legacy in relation to sport mega-events: Insights from the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Development Southern Africa, 28, 307-318.

CRESWELL, J. W. 2013. Steps in conducting a scholarly mixed methods study.

CRESWELL, J. W. 2015. Revisiting mixed methods and advancing scientific practices.

CROWE, S., CRESSWELL, K., ROBERTSON, A., HUBY, G., AVERY, A. & SHEIKH, A. 2011. The case study approach. BMC medical research methodology, 11, 1-9.

CRUZ, T. & FORMAN, F. 2015. Informal Public Demands. CityScpaes: Re-thinking Urban Things. Cape Town: Tau Tavengwa & ACC.

CRYSLER, C. G. 2003. Writing spaces: discourses of architecture, urbanism and the built environment, 1960–2000, Routledge.

CUTHBERT, A. R. 2008. The form of cities: Political economy and urban design, John Wiley & Sons.

DAIRO, M. 2021. The City in Literature: The Image of Lagos City in Lagos Noir. City, 59.

DARAWSHEH, W. 2014. Reflexivity in research: Promoting rigour, reliability and validity in qualitative research. International journal of therapy and rehabilitation, 21, 560-568.

DÁVILA, A. 2004. Barrio dreams: Puerto Ricans, Latinos, and the neoliberal city, Univ of California Press.

DAVIS, M. 2006. Planet of slums, London; New York, Verso.

DE ANGELIS, M. 2022. THE CITY AS A COMMONS. Post-Growth Planning: Cities Beyond the Market Economy.

DERY, D. 2000. Agenda setting and problem definition. Policy studies, 21, 37-47.

DESAI, A. & VAHED, G. 2016. The South African Gandhi: Stretcher-Bearer of Empire, New Delhi Navayana Publishing.

DIPHOORN, T. 2017. The 'Bravo Mike Syndrome': private security culture and racial profiling in South Africa. Policing and society, 27, 525-540.

DOUGLAS, I., ALAM, K., MAGHENDA, M., MCDONNELL, Y., MCLEAN, L. & CAMPBELL, J. 2008. Unjust waters: climate change, flooding and the urban poor in Africa. Environment and urbanization, 20, 187-205.

DU GAY, P. 1997 (a). Doing cultural studies: the story of the Sony Walkman, London, Sage, in association with the Open University.

DU Gay P. 1997 (b). Production of culture/cultures of production, London: Sage in association with Open University

DYLL-MYKLEBUST, L. 2012. Public-private-community partnership model for participatory lodge (tourism) development. Cultural Tourism and Identity. Brill.

ENVIRONMENTAL ALLIANCE 2011. Feeling the Heat in Durban. Capitalism Nature Socialism, 22, 50-73.

ERICKSON, B. & ROBERTS, M. 1997. Marketing local identity. Journal of Urban Design, 2, 35-59.

FAIRCLOUGH, N. 1992. Discourse and social change, Cambridge, Polity Press.

FANON, F. 1963. The Wretched of the Earth, London; New York; Victoria, Penguin Books.

FANON, F. 1965. A Dying Colonialism, New York, Grove Press.

FEREDAY, J. & MUIR-COCHRANE, E. 2006. Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. International journal of qualitative methods, 5, 80-92.

FLICK, U. 2013. The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis, Sage.

FRESCURA, F. & ROSSENBURG, A. L. 2011. Town planning & regional development: Case Study Grey Street Complex [Online]. Available: https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/durban-segregated-city (accessed 29/03/2019).

FREUND, B. 2002. City Hall and the Direction of Development. In: FREUND, B. & PADAYACHEE, V. (eds.) (D)urban Vortex: South African City in Transition. Pietermaritzburg: University ofNatal Press.

FREUND, B. 2006. State, capital and the emergence of a new power elite in South Africa: 'Black economic empowerment' at national and local levels. Harold Wolpe Trust Tenth Anniversary Colloquium. Cape Town.

FREUND, B. & PADAYACHEE, V. 2002. (D)urban vortex : South African city in transition, Pietermaritzburg [South Africa], University of Natal Press.

FOX, J. 2000. 'On the Road' in S. Nuttall and C.-A. Michael (eds), *Senses of Culture: South African Culture Studies,* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

GALAL, S. 2023. Largest cities in Africa 2023, by number of inhabitants.

GALLIEN, C. & 2020 .ك ,جاليان. A Decolonial Turn in the Humanities - في للاستعمار ضّوقملا المنعطف الإنسانيات. Alif: Journal of Comparative Poetics, 28-58.

GALSTER, G. & SHARKEY, P. 2017. Spatial foundations of inequality: A conceptual model and empirical overview. RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences, 3, 1-33.

GARDNER, L. 2012. Taxing colonial Africa: the political economy of British imperialism, Oxford University Press, USA.

GARSIDE, J. 1993. Inner city gentrification in South Africa: the case of Woodstock, Cape Town. GeoJournal, 30, 29-35.

GEIß, S. 2022. The Agenda-Setting-Effects of News Factor Exposure: A Field Study Comparing the Transmission Paths and Impact of Issue Exposure and News Factor Exposure. SAGE Open, 12, 21582440221091259.

GEORGE, R. & SWART, K. 2012. International tourists' perceptions of crime–risk and their future travel intentions during the 2010 FIFA World Cup™ in South Africa. Journal of Sport & Tourism, 17, 201-223.

GIDDINGS, S. W. 2007. Housing challenges and opportunities in Sub-Saharan Africa, International housing coalition Washington, DC.

GOIST, P. D. 1971. City and "Community": The Urban Theory of Robert Park. American Quarterly, 23, 46-59.

GOLAFSHANI, N. 2003. Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. The qualitative report, 8, 597-607.

GOLDBERG, D. T. 2016. Racial subjects: Writing on race in America, Routledge.

GORDIMER, N. 1983. Living in the Interregnum.

GORDON, L. R. 2000. Existentia Africana : understanding Africana existential thought, New York, Routledge.

GRANT, R. 2009. Globalizing city: The urban and economic transformation of Accra, Ghana, Syracuse University Press.

GRAY, A. 2003. Research Paractice for Cultural Studies, London; Califonia; New Dehli Sage Publications Ltd.

GRUEBNER, O., RAPP, M. A., ADLI, M., KLUGE, U., GALEA, S. & HEINZ, A. 2017. Cities and mental health. Deutsches Ärzteblatt International, 114, 121.

GUARDINO, M. 2019. Framing inequality: News media, public opinion, and the neoliberal turn in US public policy, Oxford University Press.

GUEST, G., MACQUEEN, K. M. & NAMEY, E. E. 2011. Applied thematic analysis, sage publications.

GUY, J. 2013. Theophilus Shepstone and the Forging of Natal : African Autonomy and Settler Colonialism in the Making of Traditional Authority.

HABITAT, U. 2015. Global City Report2016.

HALL, P. 1997. The future of the metropolis and its form. Regional studies, 31, 211-220.

HALL, S., EVANS, J. & NIXON, S. 2013. Representation, London, Sage : The Open University.

HARVEY, D. 2013. Rebel cities : from the right to the city to the urban revolution.

HATTEM, M. D. 2017. “As Serves our Interest best” Political Economy and the Logic of Popular Resistance in New York City, 1765–1776. New York History, 98, 40-70.

HE, S. & WU, F. 2009. China's emerging neoliberal urbanism: Perspectives from urban redevelopment. Antipode, 41, 282-304.

HENNING, E., VAN RENSBURG, W. & SMIT, B. 2004. Finding your way in qualitative research, Pretoria, Van Schaik.

HILTON, B. T. 2011. Frantz Fanon and Colonialism: A Psychology of Oppression. Journal of Scientific Psychology, December, 45-59.

HINDSON, D. 1996. The apartheid city: construction, decline and reconstruction.

HOCHBERG, J., 2007. The representation of things and people. In *the Mind's Eye: Julian Hochberg on the Perception of Pictures, Films, and the World*, p.148.

ERUSMUS, D & HLANGU, L. 2021. ‘Phoenix massacre’: What really happened in the deadly collision of brutalised communities, https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2021-07-

28-phoenix-massacre-what-really-happened-in-the-deadly-collision-of-brutalised-communities/ (accessed 27/10/2021)

HOME, R. 2013. Of planting and planning: The making of British colonial cities, Routledge.

HOOKS, B. 1990. Yearning: race, gender, and cultural politics, Boston, MA, South End Press.

HUGILL, D. 2017. What is a settler-colonial city? Geography Compass, 11, n/a-N.PAG.

HUNTER, M. 2018. The work of whoonga, an epidemic on the move [Online]. Available: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-07-27-the-work-of-whoonga-an-epidemic-on-the-move/ (accessed 27/10/2021).

JACKSON, A. 2006. Cato Manor. Retrieved October, 3, 2012.

JAYNE, M. 2006. Cities and consumption, London; New York, Routledge.

JOHNSON, R. 1986. What Is Cultural Studies Anyway? Social Text, 38-80.

JOHNSON, R., CHAMBERS, D. & RAGHURAM, P. 2004. The Practice of Cultural Studies : a Guide to the Practice and Politics of Cultural Studies. London: Sage Publications.

JUCKER, A. H. 2011. Mass media. Pragmatics in practice, 248-263.

KARA, B. 2019. The impact of globalization on cities. Journal of Contemporary Urban Affairs, 3, 108-113.

KESSI, S., KAMINER, D., BOONZAIER, F. & LEARMONTH, D. 2019. Photovoice methodologies for social justice. Transforming research methods in the social sciences: Case studies from South Africa, 354-374.

KHULUVHE, M. & NEGOGOGO, V. 2021. Fact sheet on NEETs. Pretoria: Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET).

KIMERIA, C. 2019. Seven Things You Need to Know About Traveling in Africa on an African Passport.

KING, N. 2004. 21——using templates in the thematic analysis oftext——. Essential guide to qualitative methods in organizational research, 256.

KITCHIN, R. 2018. Reframing, reimagining and remaking smart cities. Creating smart cities, 219-230.

KNOX, P. & PINCH, S. 2014. Urban social geography: an introduction, Routledge.

KOOPMAN, A. n.d. The Names and the naming of Durban [Online]. Available: http://www.durban.gov.za/Documents/DiscoverDurban/Our%20History%20and%20Communities/names_and_the_naming_of_durban.pdf (accessed 19/12/2018)

KYBURZ-GRABER, R. 2004. Does Case-Study Methodology Lack Rigour? The Need for Quality Criteria for Sound Case-Study Research, as Illustrated by a Recent Case in Secondary and Higher Education. Environmental Education Research, 10, 53-65.

LANDRY, C. 2012. The art of city making, Routledge.

LARKIN, C. 2010. Remaking Beirut: Contesting Memory, Space, and the Urban Imaginary of Lebanese Youth. City and Community, 9, 414-442.

LEFEBVRE, H. 1974. The Production of Space, USA; UK; Australia, Blackwell publishing.

LEFEBVRE, H., KOFMAN, E. & LEBAS, E. 1996. Writings on cities, Blackwell Oxford.

LEVE, A. M. 2012. The Circuit of Culture as a Generative Tool of Contemporary Analysis: Examining the Construction of an Education Commodity. Australian Association for Research in Education (NJ1).

LIEBENBERG, L. 2018. Thinking Critically About Photovoice: Achieving Empowerment and Social Change. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 17, 1-9.

LIPTON, M. 1986. Capitalism and Apartheid: South Africa, 1910-1986, New Africa Books.

LOGAN, J. R., MOLOTCH, H. L., FAINSTEIN, S. & CAMPBELL, S. 2013. The city as a growth machine. The gentrification debates: A reader, 87-102.

MABONENG_PRECINCT. Available: http://www.mabonengprecinct.com/ (accessed 04/01/2019) [Accessed].

MACBETH, D. 2001. On “reflexivity” in qualitative research: Two readings, and a third. Qualitative inquiry, 7, 35-68.

MAKHULU, A.M., 2015. Making freedom: Apartheid, squatter politics, and the struggle for home. Duke University Press.

MAGUIRE, M. & DELAHUNT, B. 2017. Doing a thematic analysis: A practical, step-by-step guide for learning and teaching scholars. All Ireland Journal of Higher Education, 9.

MAHARAJ, B. 1999. The integrated community apartheid could not destroy: The Warwick Avenue Triangle in Durban. Journal of Southern African Studies, 25, 249-266.

MARKS, S. 1980. South Africa: 'The myth of the Empty land'. History Today [Online]. Available from: https://www.historytoday.com/shula-marks/south-africa-myth-empty-land [Accessed 06/11 2018].

MARSHALL, J. 2001. Self-reflective inquiry practices. Handbook of action research: The concise paperback edition.

MARUTLULLE, N. 2017. Causes of informal settlements in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality: An exploration. Africa’s Public Service Delivery and Performance Review, 5, 1-11.

MATAKOVIĆ, H. & CUNJAK MATAKOVIĆ, I. 2019. The impact of crime on security in tourism. Security and Defence Quarterly, 27, 1-20.

MAYLAM, P. 1995. Explaining the apartheid city: 20 years of South African urban historiography. Journal of Southern African Studies, 21, 19-38.

MAYLAM, P. & EDWARDS, I. 1996. The people's city : African life in twentieth-century Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Portsmouth, NH, University of Natal Press ; Heinemann.

MBEMBE, A. 2015a. Africa in the new Century. CityScapes: Re-Thinking Urban Things. Cape Town: Tau Tavengwa & ACC.

MBEMBE, A. 2015b. *On the Postcolony*, Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

MBOTI, N. 2019. Circuits of Apartheid: A Plea for Apartheid Studies, *Glimpse* 20,15-70.

MBOTI, N. 2023a. *Apartheid Studies: A Manifesto*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

MBOTI, N. 2023b. Introducing Apartheid Studies (AS): A new forensic-inductive philosophy for abolishing harm. *Filosofie & Praktijk* (Philosophy and Practice) 44(1), 58-73.

MBOTI, N. 2023c. South African Silences, Japanese Erasures, Apartheid Studies: Blackman Ngoro and the Persistence of Apartheid. *Communitas* 28, 177-191.

MBOTI, N. 2024. An Apartheid Studies Approach to the Study of Violence and Harm. In: Chitando, E., and Mlambo, O. (Eds.) *Palgrave Handbook of Violence in Africa*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature, 53-75.

MCKITTRICK, K. 2006. Demonic grounds : black women and the cartographies of struggle. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

MCPHAIL, T. L. 2009. Development communication: Reframing the role of the media, Wiley Online Library.

MEFALOPULOS, P. 2008. Development communication sourcebook: Broadening the boundaries of communication, World Bank Publications.

MELE, C. 2013. Neoliberalism, race and the redefining of urban redevelopment. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37, 598-617.

METCALF, P. 2001. Global 'Disjuncture' and the 'Sites' of Anthropology. Cultural Anthropology (Wiley-Blackwell), 16, 165.

MILES, M. 1997. Art, space and the city, Routledge.

MILES, M. 2007. Cities and cultures.

MILLER, A. 2009. Getting it wrong 101: Durban name changes [Online]. Available: https://thoughtleader.co.za/andrewmiller/2009/03/12/getting-it-wrong-101-durban-changes-name/ (19/12/2018) [Accessed].

MNGXITAMA, A. 2015. Not Only Our Land but Also Our Souls. In: PIETERSE, N. E. E. (ed.) African Cities Reader III: Land, Property and Value. Vlaeberg, South Africa: Chimurenga.

MODIRI, J. 2012. The Colour of Law, Power and Knowledge: Introducing Critical Race Theory in (Post-) Apartheid South Africa. South African Journal on Human Rights, 28, 405-436.

MONGE, P. R. & CONTRACTOR, N. S. 2003. Theories of communication networks, Oxford University Press, USA.

MULLENBACH, L. E. 2022. Critical discourse analysis of urban park and public space development. Cities, 120, 103458.

MURRAY, M. J. 2011. City of extremes : the spatial politics of Johannesburg, Johannesburg, Wits University Press.

MZOMYA, P. 2013. 'Afropolis': Cities of Africa stake a claim on the future.

NARAYANASAMY, A. 2015. Reflexive account of unintended outcomes from spiritual care qualitative research. Journal of Research in Nursing, 20, 234-248.

NEUDORF, K. 2018. The Markets of Warwick Junction, Durban [Online]. Available: http://opencityprojects.com/the-markets-of-warwick-junction-durban/#:~:text=The%20area%20around%20the%20Warwick,has%20had%20a%20turbulent%20history (accessed 28/12/2020) [Accessed 28/12/2020 2020].

NEUWIRTH, R. 2015. Cloning the African City. CityScapes: Re-Thinking Urban things. Cape Town: Tau tavengwa & ACC.

NEVIN, A. 2014. Instant mutuality: the development of Maboneng in inner-city Johannesburg. Anthropology Southern Africa, 37, 187-201.

NGEMA, L. N. 2014. *Questioning notions of authenticity: Zulu beadwork as cultural tourism*. University of KwaZulu-Natal.

NICHOLSON, J. A. & SHELLER, M. 2016. Race and the Politics of Mobility—Introduction. Transfers, 6, 4-11.

NIEFTAGODIEN, N. 2012. The Spatial Politics of the Past and the Present: A Brief History of Alexandra. In: PINTHER, K., FÖRSTER, L., HANUSSEK, C., RAUTENSTRAUCH JOEST, M., HAUS, I. & GOETHE, I. (eds.) Afropolis: City Media Art. Auckland Park: Jacana Media

NOWELL, B. & ALBRECHT, K. 2019. A reviewer's guide to qualitative rigor. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 29, 348-363.

NUTTALL, S. 2004. Stylizing the Self: The Y Generation in Rosebank, Johannesburg. Public Culture, 16, 430-452.

NUTTALL, S. & MBEMBE, A. 2007. Afropolis: From Johannesburg. PMLA, 122, 281-288.

NUTTALL, S. & MBEMBE, A. 2008. Johannesburg: the elusive metropolis, Johannesburg, Wits University Press.

NYAMNJOH, F. B. 2006. Insiders and outsiders : citizenship and xenophobia in contemporary Southern Africa. Dakar, Senegal, London ; New York: Codesria Books ;in association with Zed Books ; Distributed in the USA exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan.

O'SULLIVAN, L., FEENEY, L., CROWLEY, R. K., SUKUMAR, P., MCAULIFFE, E. & DORAN, P. 2021. An evaluation of the process of informed consent: views from research participants and staff. Trials, 22, 1-15.

OGLETREE, T. & KAWULICH, B. 2012. Ethical Considerations in Conducting Research. In: WAGNER, C., KAWULICH, B. & GARNER, M. (eds.) Doing social research: A global context. London; Boston: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.

OLSEN, C. S. 2019. Socially engaged art and the neoliberal city, Routledge.

ORGERET, K. 2015. Where the streets have no names. Mediating name change in post-apartheid South Africa. 10.5040/9780755619030.ch-004. (accessed 24/02/2025)

PARK, R. E. 1925. The City: Suggestions for Investigating Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment. In *The City*. University of Chicago Press. Chicago. 1-46.

PEDDLE, M. 2022. Maintaining reflexivity in qualitative nursing research. Nursing Open, 9, 2908-2914.

PIETERSE, E. 2013. Inventing new stories. In: O'TOOLE, S. (ed.). Cape Town, south Africa: African Centre for Cities.

PIETERSE, E. A. 2008. City futures : confronting the crisis of urban development, London; New York; Capetown, South Africa, Zed Books ; UCT Press.

PINCH, P. K. S. 2013. Urban Social Geography: An Introduction, Harlow; London; New York; Boston, Pearson.

PUWAR, N. 2004. Space invaders : race, gender and bodies out of place. Oxford ;: Berg.

QUIJANO, A. 2000. Coloniality of power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. International Sociology, 15, 215-232.

RHODES, C. 1894. The Glen Grey Speech. A transcription of Cecil John Rhodes' speech on the second rereading of the Glen Grey Act to the Cape House Parliament on July 30 1894.

RICHARDSON, J. E. 2007. Analysing newspapers: an approach from critical discourse analysis, Basingstoke [England] ;, Palgrave Macmillan.

RITCHIE, H. & ROSER, M. 2021. Forests and deforestation. *Our world in data*.

RITCHIE, H. & ROSER, M., 2018. Urbanization. *Our world in data*.

ROBERTS, D. C. 1994. The design of an urban open-space network for the city of Durban (South Africa). Environmental Conservation, 21, 11-17.

ROGERS, E. M. 1974. Communication in development. The annals of the American academy of political and social science, 412, 44-54.

RUFFIN, F. A. 2013. Municipal international relations: The South African case of metropolitan eThekwini. Loyola Journal of Social Sciences, 27, 119-141.

SAVIDES, M. 2008. Street names must reflect Durban's history [Online]. Available: https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/street-names-must-reflect-durbans-history-419295 (accessed 19/12/2018) [Accessed].

SCHENSUL, D. 2009. Remaking an apartheid city: state-led spatial transformation in post-apartheid Durban, South Africa. PhD thesis, Department of Sociology, Brown University, USA (np).

SCHERER, J. & JACKSON, S. J. 2008. Cultural studies and the circuit of culture: Advertising, promotional culture and the New Zealand All Blacks. Cultural Studies? Critical Methodologies, 8, 507-526.

SCHLER, L. 2002. Looking through a glass of beer: Alcohol in the cultural spaces of colonial Douala, 1910-1945. The International journal of African historical studies, 35, 315-334.

SCHMIDT, T. R. 2016. The circuit of culture: A model for journalism history. CM: Communication and Media ISSN 2466-541X; 2466-5452 (Online), 11.

SEAMSTER, L. 2015. The White City: Race and Urban Politics. Sociology Compass, 9, 1049-1065.

SECOR, A. 2004. “There is an Istanbul that belongs to me”: citizenship, space, and identity in the city. Annals of the association of American Geographers, 94, 352-368.

SERVAES, J. 2008. Communication for development approaches of some governmental and non-governmental agencies. Communication for development and social change, 201.

SETLALENTOA, B., PISA, P., THEKISHO, G., RYKE, E. & LOOTS DU, T. 2010. The social aspects of alcohol misuse/abuse in South Africa. South African Journal of Clinical Nutrition, 23, 11-15.

SHARIFI, A., KHAVARIAN-GARMSIR, A. R., ALLAM, Z. & ASADZADEH, A. 2023. Progress and prospects in planning: A bibliometric review of literature in Urban Studies and Regional and Urban Planning, 1956–2022. Progress in Planning, 100740.

SILAJ, J. 2014. Looking Through the “Other” City: How to activate the socio-spatial connection within an heterotopic framework looking through the case of Durban’s Warwick Junction.

SIMON, D. 1989. Crisis and Change in South Africa: Implications for the Apartheid City. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 14, 189-206.

SIMONE, A. 2004. People as infrastructure: intersecting fragments in Johannesburg. Public culture, 16, 407-429.

SIMONE, A. & PIETERSE, E. 2018. New urban worlds: Inhabiting dissonant times, John Wiley & Sons.

SMITH, D.M. ed., 2003. *The apartheid city and beyond: Urbanization and social change in South Africa*. Routledge.

SOSKE, J. 2010. Navigating difference: Gender, miscegenation and Indian domestic space in twentieth-century Durban. In: GUPTA, P., HOFMEYR, I., PEARSON, M. N. & PEARSON, M. N. (eds.) Eyes across the water : navigating the Indian Ocean. 1st ed. ed. Pretoria: Unisa Press.

STAVRIDES, S. 2016. Common space: The city as commons, Bloomsbury Publishing.

STEGER, M. B. 2002. Globalism: The New Market Ideology, Lanham; Boulder; New York; Oxford, Bowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC.

STEINMAN, E. 2020. Unsettling as agency: Unsettling settler colonialism where you are. Settler Colonial Studies, 10, 558-575.

SWANSON, M. W. 1968. Urban origins of separate development. Race, 10, 31-40.

SWANSON, M. W. 1983. "The Asiatic Menace": Creating Segregation in Durban, 1870-1900. The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 16, 401-421.

SWARTZ, S., MAHALE, A. & MOLETSANE, R. 2018. Studying while black : race, education and emancipation in South African universities, Cape Town, South Africa, HSRC Press.

TUCKETT, A. G. 2005. Applying thematic analysis theory to practice: A researcher's experience. Contemporary nurse, 19, 75-87.

TURNER, J. C. 2010. Social categorization and the self-concept: a social cognitive theory of group behavior.

UNESCO. 2016. *Culture: urban future; global report on culture for sustainable urban development.* https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000245999 (accessed 17/10/2021)

UNITED NATIONS. ORG. 2024. *30 years on, South Africa still dismantling racism and apartheid's legacy*. https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/april-2024/30-years-south-africa-still-dismantling-racism-and-apartheid%E2%80%99s-legacy#:~:text=%E2%80%9CThe%20legacy%20of%20colonialism%20and,divide%20mirrors%20the%20economic%20one (accessed 08/07/2024)

VISSER, G. 2019. Gentrification in South African cities. The geography of South Africa: Contemporary changes and new directions, 195-202.

WAGNER, P. E., ELLINGSON, L. L. & KUNKEL, A. 2016. Pictures, patience, and practicalities: Lessons learned from using photovoice in applied communication contexts. Journal of Applied Communication Research, 44, 336-342.

WEBER, R. 2002. Extracting value from the city: neoliberalism and urban redevelopment. Antipode, 34, 519-540.

WEBER, R. P. 1990. Basic content analysis, Sage.

WODAK, R. & MEYER, M. (eds.) 2009. Methods of Discourse Analysis, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi: Sage

WOLFE, P. 2006. Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native. Journal of genocide research, 8, 387-409.

WORLD_RESOURCE_INSTITUTE_ROSS_CENTRE. 2019. Prize for Cities [Online]. Available: https://prizeforcities.org/project/warwick-junction (accessed 29/12/2020) [Accessed].

YIN, R. K. 2012. Applications of case study research, London, SAGE.

YIN, R. K. 2014. Case study research : design and methods, Los Angeles, SAGE.

ZHANG, JX., CHENG, JW., PHILBIN, S.P. *et al*. 2023. Influencing factors of urban innovation and development: a grounded theory analysis. *Environ Dev Sustain* **25**, 2079–2104 https://doi.org/10.1007/s10668-022-02151-7

APPENDIX SECTION

APPENDIX A: Ethical Clearance Approval

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

10 June 2019

Ms Luthando Ngazile Ngema (203507660)
School of Arts
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Ngema,

Protocol reference number: HSS/2079/017D
Project title: Representing urban social space: Media constructions of eThekwini Central Business District Development

Approval Notification – Amendment Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application and request for an amendment received on 23 April 2019 has now been approved as follows:

- Change in Research Methodology (No Risk -> Expedited)

Any alterations to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form; Title of the Project, Location of the Study must be reviewed and approved through an amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for period of 3 years from the date of original issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours fa[redacted]

.....
Dr Rose[redacted](Chair)

/ms

cc Supervisor: Professor Jea-Phillipe Wade
cc Acting Academic Leader Research: Dr Sandra Pitcher
cc Post Graduate Administrator: Mr Christopher Eley

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 **Facsimile:** +27 (0) 31 260 4609 **Email:** ximbagp@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

APPENDIX B: Informed Consent Form

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

(HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL

For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Project Title: Representing urban social space: Media constructions of Ethekwini central business district development

Date: 06/09/2019

Hello

My name is **Luthando Ngazile Ngema** from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, in the Media and Cultural Studies Department. (ngemal@ukzn.ac.za, [redacted]).
You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves interrogating urban cultural communication and development to understand the disjuncture between urban development policies, representation and cultural practices in urban spaces.

The aim and purpose of this research is to understand everyday lived experiences of people who live and work in the city. Representation of urban social space is at the centre of this study, through the media constructions of Ethekwini central business district. The study is expected to enroll 8 to 10 participants in total, through a photo voice project, through the themes that are used to codify important themes for this study. The research site will be focusing on Durban, and the individual experience will contribute towards the dialogues formed from the research participants. It will involve the following procedures: Three phases of the data collection. Phase one of the Photo Voice Project, will be to introduce participants to the study. Photography training will take place, and this will familiarize participants with using the camera, as this will be important as the image/ picture will have to capture the moment in ways that the image/picture will relay a story. The second phase is completely independent. The participants will engage photography and express their lived experiences over a three months period. The Photo voice project, will gain direction from the following themes:

- The City as a Site of Production, Consumption; Identity; regulation and Representation
- Global aspirations of Ethekwini
- Contemporary Trends in the City
- Communication Power: Historical situations and Social Actors

From the four themes mentioned here, participants will have to select 4 images per theme. The story telling process will be drawn from such images. And, phase three, will be the dialogue to unpack the context of the individual's city experience. To understand (in-depth) ways of living; creating culture and social space in the city. The key questions of the study are used here as direction of the focus group dialogue. The duration of your participation if you choose to enroll and remain in the study is expected to be over a three month period. Camera's used for the photo voice project, will be provided by the researcher and should be returned at the end of the project. The study is funded by the National Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences, for Doctoral studies support.

The study will not involve any risks and/or discomforts. We hope that the study will create direct benefits to participants. However the study aims to bring forth new ways of thinking about the city (Ethekwini), from a cultural studies perspective, in order to guide South African urbanization through the lens of the community that produces and consumes urban social space.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number: SS/2079/017D).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at (ngemal@ukzn.ac.za, [redacted]) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Participation in this research is voluntary, and participants may withdraw from participation at any point. In the event of refusal/withdrawal of participation, the participants will not incur penalty or loss of treatment. You will be requested to return the cameras provided to execute the photography to enable other participants to use the equipment.

There are no costs incurred by participants due to participation in the study. If participants require transport fees to attend the focus group session, their fees will be paid for by the researcher as a way to reimburse them for their time and removal from their usual schedules. Refreshments will also be provided during phase one and phase three specifically (Total budget: R250 per individual).

Personal information, will not be used where the participant clearly states that they require confidentiality. Pseudonyms will be used to ensure confidentiality. Image and pictures produced by the participants will be used solely for research purposes: that is, contributing towards the Doctoral research and for exhibition to display for further dialogues generated through this research. Data will be stored by the researcher within the Media and Cultural Studies. It will be shredded after a five year period.

CONSENT

I _____(Name) have been informed about the study entitled **Representing urban social space: Media constructions of Ethekwini central business district development** by Luthando Ngazile Ngema.

Please indicate with an (X)

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.	
I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction	
I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.	
If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at (0[redacted] or ngemal@ukzn.ac.za)	
If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za	

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable
I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my focus group discussion YES / NO

Use of my photographs for research purposes YES / NO

_____ _____

Signature of Participant **Date**

_____ _____

Signature of Witness **Date+**