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RE-GENERATING THE CULTURE FACTORY: Deconstructing Interpretations of Culture in the Hybrid City

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Town and Regional Planning by Research

Johannesburg, 2006

I hereby declare this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Science in Town and Regional Planning by Research in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

_____day of_____, 2006

_____
Yasmeen Dinath

Thank You:

Mohammed – for your warm loving support, encouragement, friendship and fun, for being you and for creating the space for me to be me

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ABSTRACT:

What is culture? What is the culture of the city?
The premise of this study is that the construction of an official rationality of culture, as a concept that underlies culture-led urban regeneration and place-marketing, is often limiting and exclusionary. The official concept of culture often overlooks the important political nuances and complexities that are involved in the representation and appropriation of cultural identities. It also neglects the value of the symbols and practices that are produced in the everyday life of the city, which may provide a real inclusionary, socially relevant understanding of identity and difference in the city.

The study explains the need to prompt urban practitioners and theorists to begin to deconstruct prevailing interpretations of urban culture so that we may begin engaging with alternative interpretations of identities, cultures and difference to more authentically reflect the fluid meanings produced in the realm of urban everyday life.

Beginning with a brief glimpse into the various meanings constructed for culture over time, the study then proceeds to analyse the official documented discourse on culture constructed for the city of Johannesburg. These ideas are then distilled into four critical themes acting as a conceptual framework relating to the interpretation of culture in the city. These four themes lead to an exploration of the space of everyday life as an alterative source of the multiple shifting meanings and identities being formed daily in the everyday life of the city. This study extends an invitation to urban theorists and practitioners to embark upon the task of critically deconstructing the realities and political complexities of prevailing interpretations of culture in the city that underlies urban regeneration. In this way the study aims to stimulate the development of alternative rationalities in urban planning about the nuances and representations of social life, identities and difference in the city, urging a

critical review and critique of urban decision making and its consequences for the everyday social experience of the city.

This research concludes by suggesting that the concept of culture be deprivileged in the context of urban regeneration and that a new direction in practising urban regeneration and place-marketing be explored in the spaces of everyday life.

CHAPTER ONE: MANUFACTURING CULTURE

1. THE TURN TO CULTURE:

> *"The city, as one finds it in history, is the point of maximum concentration for the power and culture of a community. It is the place where the diffused rays of many separate beams of life fall into focus, with gains in both social effectiveness and significance. The city is the form and symbol of an integrated social relationship: it is the seat of the temple, the market, the hall of justice, the academy of learning. Here in the city the goods of civilization are multiplied and manifolded; here is where human experience is transformed into viable signs, symbols, patterns of conduct, systems of order. Here is where the issues of civilization are focused: here too, ritual passes on occasion into the active drama of a fully differentiated and self-conscious society."*
> (Mumford, 1938)

Since the 1960's the changing urban economy in cities of the world meant that city planners and politicians have had to focus on re-imaging, and re-shaping cities and towns. The major shift in emphasis of urban economic activity from manufacturing to service industries (Landry et al, 1996) has often been accompanied by a loss of unique local competitive advantage. More and more, cities have worked at developing new competitive advantage in order to compete on global markets. Everywhere cities have been striving toward 'world-class city' status.

In most instances this has led to a turn toward the concept of Culture and to Culture-Led Regeneration as a panacea to declining city status and growing perceptions of obsoleteness and decay.

This study serves to highlight the fact that an uncritical and unreflective espousal of culture as a basis for urban regeneration of declining areas in the city can impede the creation of inclusionary urban environments and public spaces and risk the long-term sustainability of costly culture-led

regeneration initiatives. The turn to culture may be exclusionary and may not yield the desired outcomes if urban practitioners do not critically engage with the complex set of politics associated with understanding culture in the city. This exploratory study intends to delve into this complex set of politics associated with prevailing interpretations of culture in the city. It is meant to act as an invitation to urban practitioners to begin to deepen their understanding of culture in cities and to subsequently develop approaches that will mitigate the negative consequences of the commodification of culture in cities and will ensure that reliance on culture-led regeneration is based on a broader, revised, critically reasoned and inclusionary - rather than exclusionary - understanding of culture. This is especially important in the context of hybrid cities today where the presence of cultural and ethnic 'Others'[1] has presented a challenge to the way in which public space and cities as a whole are considered.

Before urban practitioners embark on further large scale culture-led urban regeneration and culture-led city imaging projects they would need to critically examine the fundamental assumptions that are held regarding the very meaning of culture and the consequences these have for the city.

1.1. CULTURE-LED URBAN REGENERATION:

As a context one should bear in mind that the use of cultural activity as a catalyst to urban regeneration was principally economic in conception and purpose (Landry et al, 1996). Urban cultural projects have been aimed at attracting local residents who can spend money on paying for performances and exhibitions. They are also aimed at an external tourist market and often form part of elaborate destination-marketing strategies. Often these cultural urban regeneration projects represent only a very narrow and selective interpretation of culture.

[1] 'Others' refers to 'the Other' defined as groups or individuals positioned at the physical and theoretical margins of society for being perceived as different.

Nevertheless massive resources are allocated to such culture-led re-imaging projects in the city. The results of these strategies of culture-led regeneration are difficult to measure and various criteria have emerged.

Past experiences in culture-led urban regeneration initiatives in European and British cities have highlighted that although some important, worthwhile and lasting redevelopment has occurred in some cities, a few drawbacks were noted (Landry, et al, 1996):

- Cultural regeneration undertaken to re-image the city through flagship capital projects could prove very costly. In a developing country, urban practitioners are faced with limited resources with which to provide essential services and therefore must prioritise spending and ensure that initiatives such as large cultural regeneration strategies are sustainable in the long term
- Culture-based regeneration projects often have a long time span and it is a long wait before projects grow to yield benefits. In the meantime, the construction industry gains more benefit than any other stakeholders.
- Very often these projects required substantial revenue support from the public sector on completion.
- These initiatives often proved inappropriate for and beyond the reach of some parts of the city and small towns
- Most importantly in the context of this study was the observation noted in Landry et al (1996) that these culture-led regeneration initiatives did not always relate easily to local people and their needs.

This study will not interrogate measurable economic successes of culture-led regeneration projects. It will reflect on the rationale of culture-led urban regeneration and aim to understand the degree to which the prevailing representation of a selective interpretation of culture (reflected

in culture-led regeneration projects) is exclusive or inclusive and the degree to which it articulates with the spaces and rituals of everyday life of the city.

1.2. CONCEPTUALISING CULTURE IN THE CITY:

For all the popularity and rhetoric around the idea of culture-led regeneration very little critical analysis has been done to question, critically re-frame or 'deconstruct' the prevailing notion of 'culture' in the city. There have in recent decades been extensive postcolonial writings within the academy focussing a critical eye on the conceptualisation of culture. This rise in cultural studies has brought with it a host of varying and divergent views on the meaning of culture and the politics associated with its definition, representation, authenticity and change. Unfortunately not much of this powerful critical debate has been translated into a revision of the concept of culture in the city.

This study aims to highlight the need for a critical re-engagement of the meaning of culture in and for the city. After numerous exhausting attempts to uncover the full gamut of theories on the meaning of culture it must be stated here that this study cannot provide an exhaustive account of developments in cultural theory. The field of cultural studies and its leading theorists exists to explain the meaning of culture in all its forms and to pursue related theoretical debates. For this reason, this study has had to, out of necessity limit its engagement with the superfluity of theories that the field of cultural studies has to offer.

It does however attempt to explore the various conceptions of culture through the ages and the resulting effect this has had on approaches to urban development over time. It also attempts to briefly explore how and to what extent selective interpretations of culture have been used as an exercise of power to support prevailing political ideologies or hegemonies.

Five key themes related to the complex politics associated with the interpretation of culture for urban regeneration and development in cities are highlighted in this study and these form the conceptual framework of the study as represented in Fig 1.:

Culture and the Urban Everryday is explored as a new direction in which the interpretation of city identity and meaning can be pursued

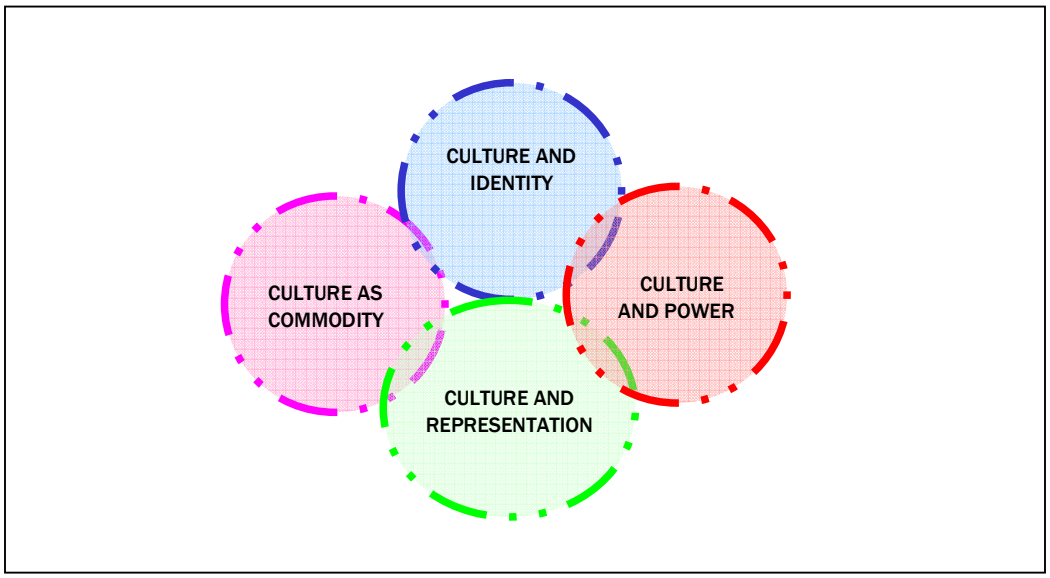


Figure 1: Diagrammatic Representation of Conceptual Framework of the Study.

1.3. (DE)CONSTRUCTING CULTURE IN JOHANNESBURG:

A critical part of the study examines the official discourse of culture in the city of Johannesburg created by authorities and agents of the City of Johannesburg as one particular type of rationality constructed to explain and support culture in the city.

This is done so that we may begin to deconstruct the official interpretation of culture in the city and explore its value and limitation and so that we may then see this particular construction of culture in Johannesburg through the lens of the 5 critical themes of the conceptual framework

The study will not attempt to provide an exhaustive account of the history of Johannesburg. Numerous other sources provide that. It will only discuss Johannesburg in relation to the research question and focus of this study.

Johannesburg is a city fraught with contradiction. Since the colonial times the city has had two faces, a double life, multiple conflicting rationalities, an official regulated formalised realm and a vibrant dynamic pulsating underbelly where different currents ran deep.

Through its troubled colonial and Apartheid past the spontaneous vibrant diverse and conflicting everyday life of Johannesburg was often suppressed, oppressed, ordered into invisibility, denounced, 'planned away' and sterilised by successive city authorities who were either too threatened to engage with it or were led by a modernist urban governance rationality and its impulse to cleanse and purge the city of informality, spontaneity and difference, structuring and ordering it for better control. Over time this official city planning rationality of sanitised and structured ordered cities became surprisingly pervasive and in the 1980's when the city powers began to be challenged and the city's raw underbelly was bursting at its seams the city was perceived to have started a downward spiral into crime, grime and anarchy.

It was not long though that the modernist impulse of city authorities could be stayed. The city and its fathers lamented the 'slip' of the city into the hands of a spontaneous, diverse and unpredictable underbelly. The ensuing panic over the loss of the city prompted a hasty and hurried borrowing of urban renewal and regeneration solutions from Europe and the US. Authorities acted quickly to introduce various forms and brands of Urban Regeneration. This became the official city focus.

In all its various forms it was an attempt to save the city. Much work done was noble in intention and produced some agreeable outcomes. For the most part however methods were not sufficiently critically analysed or

questioned before appropriation and often led to the further suppression of the real lived everyday city. In recent years the theme of urban regeneration has often focussed on culture-led urban regeneration and the provision of official 'cultural' amenities to raise the city's profile, attract tourists and create a sense of place. This approach has been hastily adopted in line with international city-imaging and place-marketing trends. Its uncritical and simplistic adoption however may have unintended long term effects on the public environment of Johannesburg and on the users of the city.

The present political climate however suggests that we may now hope to allow ourselves to engage with alternative rationalities and understandings of Johannesburg, that we may begin to see and know the city differently. This hope can only be realised however if we begin to re-imagine and review our understandings of the city. It is for this reason that a critical analysis of the official view of culture and culture-led urban regeneration in Johannesburg is examined.

1.4. THE RESEARCH QUESTION:

Following on from the discussion above, the aim of the study is to explore the following research statement:

> The conceptualisation of Culture that informs culture-led urban regeneration and urban tourism promotion is narrowly defined and often exclusionary, ignoring the political complexities of the meaning of culture and neglecting the production of cultural meanings, forms and symbols in the urban everyday realm, which may provide a real, exciting, veritable, inclusionary and socially and temporally relevant conceptualisation of culture in the city.

The study will also attempt to explore the following research question:

> How may urban practitioners begin to deconstruct prevailing interpretations of urban culture so that we have a starting point from which to expand these interpretations to more truly reflect the ever-changing socially constructed symbols, practices and meanings being produced in everyday urban life?

1.5. ENVISIONED OUTCOMES:

This thesis is intended to contribute to the field of urban studies particularly to the field of urban regeneration and urban tourism studies by:

- Highlighting the need for a more critical and reflective urban practice in the context of culture-led urban regeneration,
- Illuminating some of the theoretical debates around culture and the complexity of the politics that accompany it so as to better understand its current and potential role in urban development projects,
- Reframing the way in which we view culture-led urban regeneration projects and urban cultural tourism initiatives in Johannesburg,

- Highlighting the value of examining the everyday life of the city, and
- Acting as an invitation to urban planning and regeneration to revise the way in which we conceive of culture in the city so as to give more integrity and longer term sustainability to culture-led regeneration while at the same time mitigating the negative consequences of a narrow interpretation of culture.

2. SCHEMATIC:

The study is introduced in this first chapter and will be hereafter structured as follows:

Chapter 2 discusses a range of theories on the meaning or interpretation of culture and will provide examples of how these interpretations have influenced cities and urban development at different periods of time.

Chapter 3 introduces Johannesburg as an area of focus and provides a critical analysis of the official interpretations of culture in Johannesburg discussing various culture-led regeneration and urban cultural tourism approaches in the city.

Chapter 4 presents a conceptual framework providing a range of four culture-related theoretical arguments and discussing these in relation to research conducted. This includes a discussion of the realm of the urban everyday and explores transforming ideas and assumptions about the politics at play in the production of cultural meaning in the city.

Chapter 5 suggests a turn toward examining 'cultural' signs and meanings in the spaces of everyday life in the city and extends four invitations to planners toward a revised critical and reflective urban practice in relation

to culture-led urban development engaging with the idea of conflicting rationalities.

The final chapter briefly sums up the arguments made throughput the study, re-emphasising the limitations of current official conceptions of culture in the city and concludes with a suggestion to planners that has the potential to change the direction of urban regeneration.

An Appendix includes some of the research material used in this study.

CHAPTER TWO: UNPACKING CULTURE

"Hotly debated in the social sciences, often indiscriminately used in the media, claimed by the political Left as a framework for emancipative efforts from the bottom up and by the political Right as an element of order and delimitation from the top down, the idea I am referring to is 'culture'." (Wicker, 1997)

The meaning of culture is undoubtedly an area of debate and contestation both in the lived realm and in the sphere of intellectual theorising. This is not a revelation.

Since the 1800's, the concept of "culture" has been socially and politically constructed and reconstructed to reflect and support prevailing social systems and hegemonies of the time.

Hans Rudolf Wicker (1997) suggests that ideas follow a process of development from formation, to scientific dissemination, to reasoned argued adaptation to popularisation until they are finally consolidated. The test of the idea is time. If the idea turns out to be of little explicative value or if it creates more confusion than it is able to resolve in practical or political implementation, then its fails the stage of clarification and is not recognised as a valid theoretical concept.

If however it proves its usefulness and is of value, then the idea has a lasting contribution to intellectual theorising by solving complex problems in unexpected ways.

According to Wicker (1997) the concept of culture has (re)turned to the stage of consolidation. He holds that there is no convincing proof to show that the idea of "culture will come to be recognised as invalid and be discarded nor is there evidence to show that it will be retained as a vital tool for the interpretation of social realities."

Despite this uncertainty in Wicker's (1997) position, culture with its constantly transformed meanings has been, and continues to be, not only pervasive but a powerfully influential factor in understanding social realities and in dealing with difference.

The focus of this study calls for an analysis of critical defining perspectives on culture as they have been used and developed over time, since the processual development and interpretation of the concept of culture has had significant real impact on cities of the world. Since their inception cities have been the stage upon which culture – whatever it was conceived to be - has been produced and portrayed. This does not imply that cities are incubators of culture in a simple deterministic sense but that the relationship between the prevailing interpretation and construction of culture of the time and urban development is complex and undeniable. Cultural theorising has had an impact on urban decision-making and thus on urban environments. Much of the interpretation of culture in cities today draws on different strands of this cultural theorising.

It thus becomes necessary to delve into the turbulent contested area of exploring various perspectives on the meaning of culture as it has been constructed. This discussion is not exhaustive nor is it chronological. It distils the salient ideas in various critical perspectives on culture and briefly refers to the impact these have had on cities. The purpose of such an exercise lies in the search for a horizontally and vertically expanded reading of the meanings of culture in urban areas by urban practitioners.

1. UNPACKING CULTURE:

1.1. Culture as 'Embourgeoisment'

The evolutionism of the nineteenth century saw culture as enlightening advancement, a process of "ennobling the spirit". Wicker (1997) suggests that this claim to a civilising enhancement and the resulting imperative to break down and do away with oppressive traditions – such as the restraints of feudalism – are inherent to the bourgeois-evolutionist conception of culture.

Culture first came to be theorised in a scientific way in British anthropologist E.B. Tylor's seminal work 'Primitive Culture' (1871). Although Tylor (1871) was undoubtedly influenced by the idea of culture as a civilising, progressive enhancement of human social life, his founding definition of culture stimulated a post-evolutionist view of culture and introduced it as a scientific theoretical concept.

This early theoretical definition of culture was:

"*That complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."* (Tylor, 1958)

Tylor's post-evolutionism no longer associated culture with a striving for progress but with the presence of unbroken and persisting tradition.

Most importantly however, Tylor's definition identified the concept of culture as a complex whole.

2. CULTURE AS A COMPLEX WHOLE:

The definition and theorising of culture in this inclusive sense has been remarkably persistent in cultural and anthropological theory. It seems, Tylor's definition of culture as a complex whole (Tylor, 1958), established a framework of interpretation for social scientists up until the mid-twentieth century. The idea was also surprisingly persistent in urban planning and

was translated into urban form. Examples of this will be referred to throughout this chapter.

Social science could now describe cultures as complex wholes or as collective sums of ideas, behaviours and activities, representations, beliefs, referring throughout to culture as some kind of bounded totality (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952)

The greatest excitement this caused was its implications for the epistemology and methodology of social and anthropological studies.

To represent cultures as neatly defined complex wholes made it possible and indeed easy, as Wicker (1997) suggests, to develop three trajectories of the concept of culture in theory.

2.1. Generalisation

Firstly, it enabled the search for patterns that give identity to social groupings or entities.

Theories that developed out of this viewpoint attempted to narrow down the conceptual terms by finding ways to collectively represent the complexity of the culture as a whole - making it possible to generalise within one bounded culture. (Wicker 1997; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997)

Ideas of a coherent cultural grammar shared by a group were put forward in the theories by Emile Durkheim (1985) who viewed culture as a collective representation of a social grouping, as the bonding agent that makes social cohesion possible. Ruth Benedict (1935) referred to these complex cultural wholes generating 'patterns of culture', and Parsons and Shils (1951) searched for the shared cultural tradition in the complex whole that 'guides the choices of concrete actors".

In this view, the culture of a people provides them with tradition and guides everyday thinking and acting (Wicker, 1997). It allowed the

particular to be grouped, bounded and made general. In cities, this allowed urban practioners to group people by their perceived 'culture' and make general inferences about their needs or perceived desires.

2.2. Cross Cultural Comparison

The second view was that such a definition made way for clear cultural delineation according to a scientific logic enabling cross-cultural comparisons and the treatment of totalities.

This enabled ethnographic study and theory to identify the uniqueness of cultural entities only by emphasising their relative difference. In other words, the existence of a cultural totality is evidenced by the mere fact that it is different to another when compared. Undoubtedly this further entrenched difference and the self/other binary as a definitive factor in understanding culture. It was a way of delineating a unique and mystic cultural 'other'. This view allowed the distinction between belonging to a culture (inside it) and being alien to (outside) it to be entrenched as an essential principle of human existence.

This developed into a call for reciprocal acknowledgement between 'cultures' as opposed to marginalisation. This was later articulated as cultural relativism.

2.3. Dissection of the whole

Thirdly, the assumed internal complexity of cultures in this sense also made it possible to ethnographically consider parts of these cultural wholes. This idea rests upon the above two viewpoints. Tylor's definition prompted theorists of cultural and social anthropology to investigate, categorise and carefully document the component parts of the complex cultural wholes. Favoured categorisations were myths, social structures, systems of belief etc.

In sum, the concept of culture was constructed as a complex whole that manifested itself either as a fixed social system, in stereotypical patterns of thinking, acting and knowing, in a way of life of a people, or even in the process of adaptation to the environment. In this way the concept of culture is scholastically constructed in terms of objectifying philosophies that assume a silent inactive ethnographic or anthropological subject. Individuals therefore appear merely as conveyors of culture. The purpose of their existence is to lend expression to their culture, which only through them, is able to fulfil its destined purpose. (Wicker, 1997)

The idea of the cultural whole became the basis upon which cities and their neighbourhoods were structured. In colonial cities the idea of cultural bounded wholes being completely separate and alien to each other was used as a rationalisation for creating socially and spatially segregated cities. The colonial city, with its formalised segregation and separation of living areas using buffer zones, ensured that the perceived cultural wholes and their respective practices were concretised and delineated spatially. European colonizers were thus safely removed from any kind of contact with the perceived cultures of 'the Other'. Simultaneously, the creation of amenities such as theatres, museums and art galleries were introduced in cities of the colony to assert the cultural dominance of the colonisers and to exhibit exotic representations of the cultural 'native' 'Others' that they had come across in their exploits and had safely hidden, segregated or ordered away in other parts of the city. (Adebayo, 2001)

3. PROBLEMS WITH THE COMPLEX WHOLE

One of the dangers with this idea of culture as a complex whole is that it has its origins in the study of small well-defined societies whose traditional ritual practices were a clear way of delineating them from other groupings (Werbner, 1997). The uncertainty lies in whether theories about culture or assumptiosn about other cultures, developed from studying such small neatly delineated cultural groupings, can be transferred to large complex social groupings. This kind of transferral would rest on the classical

assumptions that arise out of treating cultures as complex totalities viz. cultural homogeneity, cultural coherence and cultural continuity (Wicker, 1997).

As long as these assumptions are reverted to, the idea of cultural totalities as comparable subjective entities will persist. Such assumptions will then continue to serve as a rationalisation for urban planning that attempts to construct specific areas that are assumed to 'cater for' the externally perceived needs of the homogenous cultural whole.

3.1. APPLICATION

These notions of culture, being a totality belonging to socially defined groups of people, have far-ranging application. Since early forms of writing about culture began during colonial expeditions into foreign territory, the conception of culture as a complex whole has been applied in different ways to serve various functions in support of prevailing political and social ideology. These varying applications of culture often originated at the scale of geo-politics yet were lucidly translated and articulated in urban environments. The many applications of culture as the complex whole are multifarious. A few of the most powerful constructs are suggested here in order to demonstrate their effect on urban policy and resulting development:

3.2. Culture as Order:

The very act of defining culture and then representing it is an exercise in constructing an ordered logical understanding of things foreign or different. To define cultures as bounded entities helps the defining group to better harness and 'deal with' the differences they see in the practices of 'Others' so as to mitigate the fear of 'the other'. In other words, the process of defining culture is quintessentially about the power to define and label 'the Other'.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in colonial imperial practices of defining culture. Edward Said (1993) successfully demonstrated how Colonialism and Imperialism used its power to define and represent the cultures of subordinate people in a way that allowed them to possess a form of authoritative knowledge and ownership of the practices of 'the Other'.

Colonial cultural constructs made the 'Other' more comprehensible and easier to manipulate or oppress. This was the taming of the wild and unpredictable 'native savage'. Colonial hegemony constructed an epistemology of culture that in some forms persists to the present day.

Said expressed this point poignantly in the following words:

"When it came to what lay beyond metropolitan Europe, the arts and the disciplines of representation – on the one hand, fiction, history and travel writing, painting; on the other, sociology, administrative or bureaucratic writing, philology, racial theory – depended on the powers of Europe to bring the non-European world into representations, the better to be able to see it, to master it, and, above all, to hold it."(Said, 1993)

Imperialism thus attempted to create coherent order by constructing the culture of colonised people as a unified whole that belonged to a people or territory or both.

To represent this and thus make it coherent, colonial travel writing, art and cartography and other forms of description, communication and representation became principle cultural forms that played an important role in the formation and reinforcing of imperial attitudes, references and experiences (Said, 1993)

Colonialism's power to construct narratives on culture and override or block other alternative culture narratives from developing and surfacing

was essential to its existence. It created an order that for years was firmly entrenched as the truth about culture. The practices of ethnography historiography, linguistics, sociology, and literary history were all avenues for the exploration and documentation of cultures as bounded wholes belonging to tribes, nations or peoples (Said, 1993).

The imperial project to define the cultures of the world as discretely bounded introspective wholes entrenched the idea of culture as order that prevailed for a very long time in western theory and had a profound impact on practices of cultural representation. Forms of representation such as the collection of artefacts, artistic representation of the native Other and literary forms such as the novel and expedition journals became powerful ways of representing the culturally identified other. In cities, Metropolitan Museums began to play a major role in bringing back the evidence of the exoticised mystic cultures of colonised lands to the Imperial state thereby fetishising them often for the pleasure of the male gaze.

The metropolises of the Colonial Motherland thus became the seat of (somewhat triumphantly) exhibiting the cultures of the colonised natives.

Amilcar Cabral(1973) suggests that in order to avoid the possibility of cultural resistance by colonised or oppressed peoples imperialist colonial domination attempted to formulate "…theories [of culture] which, in fact are only gross formulations of racism, and which, in practice are translated into a permanent state of siege of the indigenous populations on the basis of dictatorship. He uses South African Apartheid as an example to illustrate this point.

The idea of culture as order was one that augured equally well for proponents of an Apartheid policy in South Africa as it did for European imperialists. The idea of the 'Bantu' possessing a culture of their own that explained their different behaviour became a convenient tool for the justification of separate development. Apartheid justified various levels of

social and spatial fragmentation in the Apartheid City by suggesting that its policies would allow all of the various racial groups to preserve and develop their cultures separately and in harmony.

In so doing it created or adopted the essentialist view that culture is racially and biologically determined and thus exists exclusively as a whole belonging to a people. The idea of essentialist cultural identity is discussed in Chapter 4.

As previously discussed, the Imperial and Apartheid construction of cultures as an ordered set of delineable wholes was reflected in the logic of urban development.

3.3. Culture as Territory

The idea of cultures existing as coherently bounded wholes found unproblematic translation in space. The notion that such cultures were spatially articulated and territorialized also became entrenched in the colonial project. To say that culture belonged to a spatial territory helped to make sense of the different practices of people in the colonised or travelled lands outside of Europe. Colonial cartographic practices even produced cultural maps showing the world as a series of discrete and territorialized cultures.

This geographic spatialised idea of culture also made it possible to link conquest of land by foreigners, to the conquest and domination of a homogenous cultural grouping. Place–making attempts became people-making attempts on a geo-political scale. (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997)

Edward Said's work on Orientalism (Said, 1995) shows an example of the depiction of the culture of the Orient as a spatially describable entity.

The literal description of the West and western culture as a singularly identifiable one is another way of territorializing culture into a bounded whole.

Gupta and Ferguson (1997) contest this movement to territorially bound cultures stating that cultural territorialisations must be understood as complex and contingent results of ongoing historical and political processes and not naturally pre-given entities.

Culture envisioned in this way also served to spatially construct islands of cultural difference that required exploration and enunciation by those possessing the power to document and represent and thus make sense of 'the Other'.

Culture and territory were related on various spatial scales. Regions and Nations were described as having a uniform discretely bounded culture. The cultural subject was thus to be studied in its habitat. This logic was translated and was used to rationalise the designation of separate parts of the city to different ethnic groupings and to suggest the now popularised notion that a single city has an inherent 'culture' e.g. 'the culture of Johannesburg'.

3.3.1. Nationalism

The emergence of nationalism served as a particularly powerful way of describing culture as belonging to a spatial territory. Geo-political borders became cultural boundaries and citizenship meant that one belonged to a nationally defined culture that was alien to a citizen of another country.

Said (1993) states that culture is often aggressively associated with the nation state creating an 'us' vs. 'them' or self/other distinction that is almost always accompanied by xenophobia. Culture here becomes an important and rather combative source of identity.

International mass migrations and transnational culture flows in the present era expose the invalidity of this concept of culture as belonging to a nation state. Cultural borders cannot uncritically be attached to nation/state borders and policed or defended in the same way. There can be no South African Culture because such definition only subsumes the intricate differences in the cultural practices of the citizens and inhabitants of the country.

These conceptualisations of National Culture are often expressed in urban environments where national political monuments, statues of national heroes or important political figures are strategically placed in the urban environment as an exercise of power by the state in a bid to cement a unified strategically selected memory of the nation. These monuments are usually subjective representations of history and of who, or what, is deemed important to the history and memory of the state. Another expression of national culture in cities is the recent trend to create historic theme-parks that claim to exhibit national culture to tourists and local visitors. The dilemmas of such representation of a select concept of culture are discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

3.4. Culture as Race/Ethnicity

The association of culture to a biological and genetic essence is a long-standing and particularly powerful idea that remains entrenched in cultural policy and everyday practice. Therefore culture and especially ethnic culture is unquestionably made to appear as a collective order of natural laws that are a fundamental consequence of biological forces.

According to Gerd Baumann (1997) this appeal to biological reductionism remains a popular source of cultural identity for the two strategic advantages it yields: - it appeals to a popular biological reductionism and it officially allows for discursive closure.

Of the appeal to biological reductionism, Baumann (1997) states:

"It is still a popular assumption, found as easily among anthropology students as in mass media across the globe, that ethnos – much like 'tribe' – and, indeed, like the scientifically discredited notion of 'race' – designates a biological fact. These purported 'natural' cleavages between humans are easily and widely associated with cleavages of 'culture'."

(Baumann, 1997)

The idea that culture is a pre-given natural property of racial or ethnic groupings carries a reassuring strengthening quality of being, an un-problematically identifiable unified whole without room for contestation. The reassurance in this popular biological reductionism appeals no less to those threatened by the cultural difference of the Other than it does to the groupings constructed as the 'Other' giving the latter a sense of being not only an ethnic, social, and political collective but also a legitimised cultural whole that can together (with a presumably stronger 'voice') claim cultural rights from nation-states.

3.4.1.Cultural Essentialism

Theories and definitions of culture that attach culture to a biological natural genetic essence may be identified as cultural essentialism. To essentialise culture or identity is to assign a fundamental, natural, unquestionably required constitutive quality to a person, social category, ethnic group religious community or nation.

Essentialism falsely suggests an unchanging continuity and discretely bounded organic uncontaminated unity.

Cultural essentialism and indeed all kinds of essentialism unquestionably attribute cultural difference to natural biological difference and in this way is criticised for obscuring the relational, socially, and historically constructed aspects of group culture or identity. What essentialism does instead is assign a value to the cultural subject in itself, as if it existed autonomously and separated from context unrelated to anyone or anything

beyond its cultural/ethnic/racial border and unattached to any discursive objective.

3.5. Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism's call for cultural, ethnic and religious rights for different cultures that exist side by side implicitly reinforces the notion of cultural bounded totalities. It only maintains the conception of cultures existing side by side in a mosaic where the component parts remain intact and unitary.

When nation states view the recognition of cultural diversity and identity as the basis of multicultural state policy, they presume and reinforce the idea of cultural wholeness, instead of questioning culture's construction as an undisturbed whole. In this way, Multiculturalism does little to disrupt the colonial and imperial construction of the cultural self/other or subject/object binaries.

The lobby for reciprocal cultural rights and respect of the cultural Other presents 'the' way of life of a cultural group as property deserving protection, thus making them comparable entities structured upon ideas of homogenous and coherent cultural groups in a classically defined way. The call for mutual respect of cultural difference in cultural pluralism, multiculturalism and cultural relativism all presume the incompatibility of cultures and unwittingly fall back on the classic construct of the cultural complex whole

Even ideas of the existence of subcultures and ethnic communities draw consciously or (more often) unconsciously on the idea of cultures existing as delineable entities. Allusions to the cultural whole also exists in studies that depict 'Western society' as a culture and try to depict or theorise its basic premises and patterns as a comprehensible totality, such as in the works of Marshall Sahlins (1976).

It becomes apparent then that the construction of culture as a coherent but complex whole is surprisingly ubiquitous in theories on the nature of culture since Tylor's founding definition (Tylor, 1871). While the ideas of how culture is manifested and its resultant effects have changed from colonial times, the basic premise of cultures as complex wholes remained intact even through seemingly progressive movements such as Multiculturalism.

For urban practice recent practical engagement with cultural difference in most cities around the world has been to privilege multicultural dialogue that grants rights and overtly token representation in various forms to a diversity of separate perceived cultural totalities *so that they may live together (but separately) side-by-side in harmony*. The trend has been to incrementally grant rights and representation to those groups who mobilise to demand rights to the city and who gain increasing voice in the urban political arena. This is mostly reactive (not proactive) action on the part of urban practitioners and politicians that further entrenches the idea of separate cultural totalities in cities.

3.6. Critique of the Cultural Complex Whole

One could argue that the critique of this classical construct of culture as a unified complex whole can also be an equally powerful redefining of culture. Postmodern and more particularly, postcolonial critical theory and practices have exposed the flaws of the classical concept of culture. Most vociferous are the arguments exposing the subjective and oppressive effect of this concept of culture on colonised and marginalized peoples of the world.

There is a wealth of theory that contests the concept of culture as a complex whole. A thorough analysis of every oppositional argument is

beyond the scope of this study and is being aptly conducted by leading theorists of cultural studies. It is however crucial that the inadequacy of this classical concept of culture be expounded in order to highlight the need for a revised idea of the meaning of culture that may begin to transform culture-based practices in urban development.

Wicker (1997) suggests that criticism of the cultural whole comes from two broad categories of critics:

The first criticism sees the classical view of culture outlined above as a perpetuation of previous concepts of race and suggest that neither culture nor race remain useful categories of analysis. Proponents of this critical position argue that physiological, biological characteristics had been inadequate bases for grouping people into concrete unchanging neatly bounded 'races'. Similarly, cultural signs are too unclear and ambiguous and cannot therefore form a basis for classification of cultures into defined separate totalities.

Perhaps the most important part of this first critique is its emphasis on cultural definition as an exercise of power. Critics maintain that culture and race are both ideological systems of classification that are constructed to serve the purpose of constructing order for political systems of power.

Relativist calls for cultural rights and the right of a people to their cultural identity perpetuates difference and changes culture into a product of cultural collectivities that use the rhetoric of cultural rights to promote and strengthen the collective "We". The Us versus Them and Self / Other delineation is thus firmly entrenched using cultural relativism and cultural rights.

Culture here is a classification of order. It is a strategic reciprocity of cultural recognition that has enabled the political right to maintain its borders based on the idea that different cultural forms are incommensurable, clearly establishing the link between race and culture.

For the large part, early multiculturalism is also firmly entrenched in this way of thinking about incommensurable wholes that require reciprocal respect and public rights to exist as a cultural totality.

Indeed even critics' calls for human equality implicitly and without introspection centre their views on concepts of culture as complex wholes by emphasising the need for equality above the need to negate ideas of the existence of objective cultural difference in the first place.

Proponents of ethnicity provide a more attenuated critique of the classic concept of culture as a complex whole.

The classic definition of cultures allows for the clear demarcation of borders between cultures in order to examine them as complex totalities. Ethnicity research has begun to concern itself with precisely these borders that classic cultural studies delineated and the mechanisms in place to preserve these borders.

According to Wicker one of the most important findings of this kind of approach was that:

"…ethnic lines of separation were found to constitute and preserve themselves through processes of ascription – to self and other."(Wicker, 1997)

However, while cultural phenomena were certainly used in delimitation strategies they did not contain enough information to explain the existence of ethnic borders and conflicts. So the basis of demarcating margins does not rest on the identification of cultural phenomena but on ethnicity. Even as cultural convergence inevitably takes place between interacting groups, this cultural convergence does not at all affect the strength of ethnic borders. Even in conditions of full cultural assimilation ethnic margins can persist (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975).

This group holds that the strengthening of ethnic borders from within and without can be strategic device to achieve social and political control for the state or the ethnic group itself.

Evidently then the critique of culture as a complex whole, from both groups of critics, highlights that cultural concepts which result in clearly delineated, homogenous and coherent cultural entities lend themselves to the establishment of cultural types that can be used as instruments of power.

This applies to the demarcation of ethnic, racial and cultural social and spatial boundaries as well as social groups in a position of power who (by virtue of their power) are able to define and establish these kinds of boundaries and employ them as a device of power. In cities this enables those in power to rationalise spatial segregation and the creation and commodification of separate cultural enclaves in the city. This is discussed in Chapter 4.

4. TRANSGRESSIVE VIEWPOINTS ON CULTURE

It is exactly these delineated cultural boundaries or borders introduced above that became the core focus of postmodern and postcolonial trangressive viewpoints on culture.

4.1. Questioning the Borders: Protest Space

The idea of the power-driven oppressive delineation of cultural borders in colonialism and then the subsequent intolerance of border-crossing events or people, ideas about marginalized people inhabiting the space of the border and being rendered silent by virtue of their position all contributed to the development and enunciation of transgressive viewpoints on the meaning of culture and cultural identity.

In the theoretical realm, marginalized people occupying the metaphorical or physical space at the borders of society began to question their unique

location. Various key sentiments began to emerge in critical theory pertaining to these cultural frontiers.

There were critiques levelled at the colonial act of border delineation as an exercise of power designed to suppress and neatly package “The Other” into manageable units for suppression.

Other theory focussed on the despair and disillusionment of people straddling cultural borders - the terror and alienation of border crossers whose realities are shaped in the spaces beyond a single cultural border. Debates about the realities and resistance to creolisation (Hannerz, 1980) and hybridity emerged strongly to express this.

A derivative of the above debate in theory then began to celebrate rather than lament the unique position of existing in the space between traditional cultural boundaries. Ideas of what Sandercock (1995) calls a ‘Mestiza consciousness’ as the liberating and exciting position of people of mixed cultural and ethnic origin became powerful tools with which to re-consider cultural identities and the very meaning of culture.

Not only were criticisms expressed in critical theory but also more importantly the expression of this transgression of cultural boundaries and protest of cultural domination were most evident in the everyday realm of the worlds rapidly changing metropolises.
Exciting new hybrid cultures and subcultures began to express themselves in cities, a change that was concordant with the massive trans-national migration of labour that significantly changed the demographics of cities all over the world and most notably the cities of the colonial powers. Paris and London are two examples of this.
The idea of cultural hybridity emerged strongly in both theory and in everyday practice in cities around the world. This hybridity is manifest in the borrowing and transforming of everyday symbols and means of expression in the everyday life of cities.

4.2. Cultural Hybridity

Critical cultural theorising refuted the existence of cultural wholes in favour of a more realistic view that instead of cultures existing as undisturbed wholes cultural and social contact was producing hybrid cultural identities all over the world. Thus, the idea of cultural hybridity grew in strength particularly among those, positioned at the cultural margins that were tyrannised by their obligation to choose whether they belonged to one cultural whole or another.

The theories and practices dealing with cultural hybridity as a powerful progressive understanding of culture are multifarious. Indeed the question around cultural hybridity is in itself an entire discourse, one that is being pursued across a number of fields with fascinating vigour and progress. The hybridising of cultures is arguably a process that is amplified if not prompted in urban environments. The world's metropolitan and cosmopolitan cities are the battleground of cultural positions and meanings. To recognise the powerful forces at play in cultural hybridity urban practitioners need to grapple with the exciting challenges being posed to static notions of urban cultures existing as defined identifiable wholes belonging to specific groups of people. Such theoretical exploration is necessary if cultural meaning is to be understood in the built environment and if it is to be democratically represented in urban environments allowing cultural expression by users in the everyday.

It is important to stress that cultural hybridity is not only dialectically negotiated in intellectual theory, it is actively produced, experienced and portrayed most strikingly in the realm of everyday urbanism. It is upon this everyday exhibition of hybridity that theorists launch their debate. It is therefore this everyday cultural hybridity upon which urban practice may build and reflect.

Nevertheless, this study requires that we explore the theoretical viewpoints on cultural theory in order to interrogate current urban cultural policy and

envision possible ways in which urban practice can better understand urban cultural production in the everyday life of cities.

According to Werbner's (1997) analysis of the dialectics of cultural hybridity, a paradox exists in the issue of cultural hybridity.
One view of cultural hybridity celebrates it as being "powerfully interruptive"
Paradoxically the other view of cultural hybridity theorises it as being "commonplace and pervasive".
According to her analysis, we can trace the paradox back to the shift between modernist and postmodernist viewpoints. The paradox seems also to be reinforced by forces acting to pose integration and on the other hand, those that are anti-essentialist.

4.2.1.Hybridity as "Powerfully Interruptive"

Werbner (1997) suggests that this viewpoint has its roots in modernist theory. Hybridity here holds immense power to transgress ordered systemic categorisations of culture. It applies in a modernist context where society was thought of as being structured into bounded entities with strict codes, universal truths and official discourses.

In this sense, hybridity exists to transgress and subvert categorical distinctions and stimulate cultural change. These hybrids, be they hybrid moments or spaces or objects are not part of mundane everyday reality. They are unique elaborate events judged as being good or evil. Hybridity here acts as a theoretical meta-construction of social order acting to re-organise society at a larger scale. This viewpoint holds popular mass culture and carnival as means of subverting and inverting official discourses, high culture and the elitism of those in power in cities.

4.2.2. Cultural Hybridity as Commonplace and Pervasive

In postmodern theorising, hybridity came to be seen as routine and pervasive. In this viewpoint, hybridity is an undeniable and inevitable part of the everyday life of the city. This is the case more so now than ever before in the context of trans-national migrations and the socio-cultural changes precipitated by globalisation.
Cultures and identities are constantly being renegotiated and hybridised in the everyday. What is important, however, is that cultural identities seem to resist hybridisation so that forces which aim to transcend differences must contend with forces which act to resist hybridity and the fusion of identity positions.

It seems then that urban practice is confronted with having to simultaneously grapple with everyday urban cultural production that reaches across cultural differences appropriating practices and transforming them, as well as with the parallel demands for cultural rights and the right to have different cultural practices by urban inhabitants.

This twofold explanation of the paradox of cultural hybridity is chronologically ordered into a set of positions about culture and its role in society. Yet that does not mean that we should be forced into choosing one of two positions on hybridity. Such a categorisation with its accompanying Modernist and Postmodern labels is far too limiting especially in light of our frustration with Modernist theories and our anxiety about postmodernism.
Surely, the existence of cultural hybridity in the commonplace everyday realm of the world's cities does not disable its transgressive interruptive power. The debate then becomes whether the cultural mixings and crossovers of cultural hybridity that have become routine can simultaneously be transgressive and powerfully interruptive.

Evidence of this double quality of cultural hybridity must be sought in the everyday life of the city. Do the cultural mixings and crossovers, occurring

in this realm challenge established social orders subverting through everyday practices the dominant discourse and high cultural aesthetic forms? If so, the "powers brokers" (Friedmann, 1999) in urban development may be guided not by globally dominant discourse or ideas of high culture in cities but instead by these culturally hybrid subversive everyday tactics2 of urban inhabitants.

If cultural hybridity has become merely a commonplace and pervasive phenomenon that results from cultural crossovers and mixings of various social groupings that in itself possesses no power to be transgressive and transform social structure then urban cultural production melts into a pool of undifferentiated practices in the urban everyday. The idea of culture then becomes merely a false intellectual construction, having little bearing on identity.

The challenge is to move beyond these arguments to search for an understanding of how everyday cultural hybridity practices possess destructive or revitalising power and of why cultural hybridity is experienced as dangerous or revitalising despite its everyday pervasiveness.

4.2.3. Unconscious Organic Cultural Hybridity

To aid our understanding of cultural hybridity we may turn to Mikhail Bakhtin's work on the 'Dialogic Imagination' (Bakhtin, 1981). Werbner (1997) suggests that Bakhtin's distinction helps to explain why on a culturally hybrid globe, cultural hybridity is still experienced as empowering, dangerous or transformative

Bakhtin (1981) makes a distinction between two forms of linguistic hybridisation. The first is an unconscious 'organic' hybridity. This Bakhtin

[2] "Tactics" refers to the conceptual differentiation made by Michel de Certeau (1984) between Strategies and Tactics in the practice of everyday life. These concepts are discussed in Chapter 4.

(1981) explained as a feature of the historical development of all languages. Applying this type of hybridity to culture, we begin to understand that despite the delineation of cultural wholes, cultures have in reality evolved historically through inadvertent borrowings, appropriations, exchanges and interventions. This view substantiates the idea that there is no culture that exists as a unit and that has a natural authentic origin.

Aijaz Ahmad (1997) in his seminal work, "The Politics of Literary Postcoloniality" seconds this notion of cultural hybridity saying:

"The cross fertilisation of cultures has been endemic to all movements of people… and all such movements in history have involved the travel, contact, transmutation, hybridisation of ideas, values and behavioural norms." (Ahmed, 1995)

This kind of organic hybridisation does not however disrupt the structure, order or continuity of a language according to Bakhtin (1981). The appropriation of new images, words or objects occurs unconsciously. In this view, cultures remain intact and resilient in the unconscious process of appropriating new codes of behaviour or social practices.

Unconscious hybridity holds the potential to shape and develop new directions and worldviews over time. Cultures evolve unconsciously and in the process may potentially change direction of growth or ideological standpoint. This unconscious cultural hybridity is understood then as a historical process of change rather than a powerfully transgressive moment of cultural hybridity.

4.2.4. Conscious Intentional Cultural Hybridity

Bakhtin's (1981) second type of linguistic hybridisation is conscious intentional hybridity. This intentional crossover and mixing of language or culture builds on the historical foundation of organic hybridity with the purpose of transforming, challenging, shocking, revitalising or disrupting

dominant cultural delineations by deliberately fusing and combining unlike cultural practices and codes.

Conscious intentional hybridity creates irony through a deliberate collision of different viewpoints on the world. Intentional hybridity as a deliberate provocative challenge to the embedded social order may be threatening to some and revitalising or exciting to others depending on their social positions.

These intentional crossovers are not the same as the routine unconscious cultural borrowings of ethnic or migrant groupings. These intentional hybrids are dramatically different.

Bakhtin's (1981) distinction here is useful if we regard unintentional hybridity as the historical backdrop upon which intentional hybridity is enacted in a way that prompts anti-hybrid anti-integrationist reactions or alternatively pro-hybrid zeal. The critical difference is that unconscious organic hybridity allows members of cultural groupings to hold on to stable cultural identity positions within a defined cultural unit that is evolving unconsciously over time. It is intentional hybridity that transgresses cultural boundaries and disrupts cultural categories challenging single cultural identity claims in a way that threatens the sense of belonging of members of cultural groupings or alternatively in a way that allows an exciting and often liberating flexibility and choice in the process of claiming cultural identities. This tension is evident in the worlds hybrid cities today.

4.2.5. The Politics of Cultural Hybridity

In this way then cultural hybridity can be both pervasive and normal and simultaneously be powerfully interruptive. There is a co-existence of inevitable cultural change and resistance to change in ethnic or migrant groups or in nations.

In the massive trans-national migrations of ethnic groupings to the worlds major metropolises evidence of the politics of hybridity is clear. Trans-national migrants do not simply replicate culture in their new setting in the sense of a simple cultural assimilation. Their cultural hybridity is unconscious but is also collectively negotiated in practice. Their allegiances are rooted in trans-local social networks not in the global ecumene. The incredible social and economic hardship they must contend with necessitates that they draw on culturally constructed networks of sociality and mutual aid for survival. These survival communities (Sennett, 1971) draw rigid boundaries, which become protective insulation against what they perceive to be threatening incursions and deliberate externally driven transgressive hybridity.

Hybridity in this sense becomes a condition perceived by cultural actors to be threatening to their sense of moral integrity and belonging and therefore a highly politicised issue that must be contested. (Werbner, 1997)

Cultural Hybridity has thus become something that is actively and indeed consciously contested and negotiated between cultural purists and cultural innovators. This makes it a cultural product in itself defined through contestation.

Baumann's (1997) identification of two forms of cultural discourse expands on the notion of the politics of cultural hybridity. He identifies 'dominant' and 'demotic' discourses of culture.
The Dominant discourse of culture establishes culture as an essence by holding on to currently accepted divisions based on ethnicity, religious affiliations, nationality etc.
The Demotic discourse conversely transgresses these divisions in interaction so that shared popular cultures exist across these divisions allowing for a fusion of cultural identities through cultural aesthetics forms. This intentionally subverts reified cultural boundaries.

Nevertheless, these discourses of culture are further politicised as those who ascribed to the demotic discourse revert to the dominant discourse and its classifications on public occasions where it becomes necessary to occupy a definite cultural identity position. Any public challenge to this rigid dominant discourse is then likely to be offensive to those who assume responsibility for preserving the cultural boundaries, (usually community elders). Baumann (1997) is careful not to suggest that either discourse is false. He asserts instead that together they render 'culture 'an active term of debate and negotiation in everyday life. This emphasises the importance and necessity for urban practitioners and policy makers to begin critically engaging with the meanings of 'culture' so as to review the spatial and social implications that prevailing interpretations of culture have on cities.

4.2.6. The Limits of Cultural Hybridity

Besides producing a politics of cultural identity ascription, cultural hybridity has elicited some critique in the realm of theory.
Aijaz Ahmad (1997) expresses his reservations about cultural hybridity saying that it does not move beyond the transient and contingent therefore masking long-term political and social continuities and transformations. In reality, he argues political action is not founded in flux and displacement but in stable historical positions by possessing a clearly understood sense of belonging and commitment to one's class, gender or country. Ahmad (1997) is of the view that this committed positioning with its ethical responsibilities and moral action is the foundation of a form of oppositional politics that aims to effect real change.

Hutnyk (1997) adds to this by saying that instead of being powerfully radical, hybridity becomes a political dead-end which trivialises minority political activity.

Spivak (1996) then explains that too much hybridity has its dangers in that it fails to resolve persistent problems of class exploitation and racial oppression.

This study would therefore consider that it may not be possible to posit that the present cultural landscape is absolutely hybrid without any existence of borders. This study will therefore call for further investigation toward a mediated understanding of culture and its production in cities.

5. A Revised Multiculturalism

The above debates about cultural hybridity with its powerful transgression of cultural boundaries and its anti-hybrid reactions make Multiculturalism and other associated cultural policies, as fixed policy practice, impossible. This necessitates that urban practitioners move beyond viewing the city as a multicultural one, especially if this view sustains the idea of the cultural whole. The negotiated hybrid and yet morally committed nature of culture and ethnicity means that we have arrived at an understanding that there are no clearly identifiable fixed cultural entities within modern nation-states. Cultural groupings are defined through politically imagined pure or impure cultural boundaries.

What is necessary therefore is a revised concept of multiculturalism and cultural policies that accounts for differences in socio-cultural practices but does not do so in a way that perpetuates the idea that cultural wholes exist in our cities or even in nation-states.

The impossibility of multiculturalism in policy impacts on urban practice in the sense that urban development that aims to showcase various local cultures cannot revert to multicultural mosaic concepts of various bounded cultures that require representation and rights in the city. What urban practice has the potential to do is actively engage with the processes at play in cities that challenge distinct cultural groupings and begin to find means of representing and supporting negotiated cultural forms and practices. For example, ethnic enclaves must be actively reconsidered to question whether the multicultural city is one in which a composite arrangement of distinct ethnic-cum-cultural groupings and functions is developed and imposed, or, one in which cultural positions may be actively negotiated in the everyday.

6. Recent Returns to the Cultural Whole

The hybridisation of culture and the war of transgressive positions on what culture may be have prompted recent (re)turns to essential concepts of culture. Forces have arisen particularly in postcolonial times to generate anti-hybrid essentialising discourse stressing cultural boundedness, ethnicity, racism or xenophobia.

According to Said (1993), culture in this context becomes a "combative" means of deriving identity creating the platforms for militant exclusions and xenophobia. He maintains that recent returns to a fundamental sense of culture, religion and tradition come with strict codes controlling intellectual and moral conduct that are militant backlashes to the permissiveness associated with the liberal philosophies of multiculturalism and hybridity.
Social groups now have various interests in sustaining cultural boundaries. This kind of strategic essentialism, where people lay claim to an essential cultural identity, is encouraged and fuelled by policy that grants rights to apparently bounded cultural groupings that collectively can lobby for privileges.

Such urban cultural policy would then only act to intensify militant cultural identity ascriptions by rousing fears of a loss of identity. Further nuances of the power associated with articulating identity are discussed further in Chapter 4. Such policy could also seriously jeopardise the flexibility and freedom of city users to choose multiple cultural identity positions in the practice of everyday life in the city.

7. CONDITIONS THAT NECESSITATE AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW OF CULTURE

The analysis of cultural viewpoints in this chapter enables us to identify the existence of conditions that force us in the contemporary urban context to re-interrogate present conceptions of the meaning of culture.

To summarise, part of the rationale for a call to review conceptions of culture are underpinned by the following:

Cultures and ethnic groups do not exist solely as autonomous totalities with a fixed identity but they are in reality constantly hybridising and transforming.
Spatial territorial borders of culture and ethnicity have disintegrated through the power of transnational migration and diaspora leading to what Appadurai (1990) has termed a 'De-Territorialisation of Culture'.
Networks of communication and interaction are now transethnic, transcultural and transnational and not confined to specific culturally delineated spatial locales.
Hybridity is producing ever-changing new meanings of culture generally and in the city.
Contestation and mobility at the borders of perceived cultural wholes, the so called 'voices at the margins' are providing fresh new insights and challenges to rigid concepts of cultures as complex wholes and creating a consciousness about cultural hybridity and multiple identities.
Hybridity is threatening to some, and is forcing a reversion to notions of cultural unified existence, cultural purity and militant cultural identity formations
Complete hybridity if it suggests a dissolving of borders needs to find an explanation for continued cultural shared practices and persistent popular views of cultural belonging and identity.
The postcolonial deconstruction of culture has left no practical definitional viewpoint on what culture may be interpreted as. It only tells us what culture is not.

The following chapter will begin to examine the meanings of culture that are embodied in the dominant official discourse of culture constructed by authorities in City of Johannesburg's and show how these manifest in culture-led urban regeneration in Johannesburg.

CHAPTER THREE: DECONSTRUCTING THE OFFICIAL STORY OF CULTURE IN JOHANNESBURG:

In order for us to understand how urban practice may begin to engage with new ways to understand the meaning of culture in the culturally hybrid everyday life of the city, it becomes necessary to explore the present conception of culture in the city and examine the aims and objective of culture-related projects and enterprises in the city. This could provide a foundation from which to suggest the need for a transformed practice and conception of culture in the city

To fulfil these objectives, this study involved a review of various documented material published by a range of sources.

The following types of sources were explored:

- Internet Based Official information provided by the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality
- Promotional and Internet Based Information regarding Culture-led Regeneration Projects
- Promotional and City Marketing material from the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality
- An Audit of Cultural Resources commissioned by the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality
- The Joburg 2030 long term strategy development plan for the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality
- The Spatial Development Framework of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality
- The Integrated Development Plan of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality
- Internet Based Travel Guides on Johannesburg written by international agencies
- Itineraries of City Tours that advertised an emphasis on culture in Johannesburg.

- International documented information on the city of Glasgow's experience as a European City of Culture

The sources of information were chosen specifically to reflect the dominant official, published and public, construction or 'packaging' of culture for and in the city by those with whom the power to define culture resides.

Use of media discourse in research cannot be presented without the acknowledgement of the highly subjective nature of media reporting and the presence of media sensationalism especially when dealing with matters relating to the wider city-public.
Nevertheless media perceptions must also be acknowledged as having a significant impact on public opinion and are thus a valuable source of perceptions relating to the subject at hand.

In order to capture evidence of dynamic hybrid cultural production in the streets of the everyday that point to a more inclusionary definition of culture for urban regeneration, a attempt was made at Visual Ethnography using photographic images of the city. Details of these methods are presented further on in this chapter.

1. RESEARCH METHOD:

The preferred method of research for this study is Discourse Analysis through an examination of official documents generated by the City of Johannesburg and its development agencies and departments.
The rationale for this particular form of research was the need for this study to extract and reflect upon the official construction of the concept of culture in the city by agencies directing the trajectories of growth through culture-led urban regeneration strategies.
Ina Bertrand and Peter Hughes (2005) in providing guidance on using documents in researching institutional approaches extol the advantages of using documents in analysis by listing the following:

- *"It is written in the institution's professional language, which may well be part of what the researcher is studying."*
  Indeed the language of official documents on culture in the city reveal much about the approach of the city and its official bodies to the conceptualisation of culture in the city. When one factors in the contingency of language and the power of rhetoric to the analysis of documents this source becomes even more relevant as a research method.

- *"It is relatively permanent, so it can be consulted repeatedly."*
  This particular advantage of document analysis makes it superior to interviewing city officials for a sense of how culture has been conceived for the city. It is a relatively more accessible and dependable form of extracting such information than interviewing techniques.

One must concede, however, that there are certain limitations to the use of documents for analysis. Bertrand and Hughes (2005) document the following:

- *"Documentation may be difficult to track down, if the record-keeping processes within the institution have been flawed, or if the documentation has been culled over time."*
  In this study, documentation of an explicit approach to culture-led regeneration has been extremely difficult to uncover. Instead a broad range of urban policy documents were consulted in order to extract only relevant parts of each and thus distil an argument on the official position on culture in the city. Internet sources were also consulted to broaden the range of documents analysed.

A way to overcome the difficulty in finding enough official documentation to analyse may be, as Bertrand and Hughes (2005) suggest, using documents written from outside of the official institution being studied such as commentary by journalists, academics, commentators or critics of the institution. This enriches the analysis and extends debates.

This study uses newspaper journalism and academic commentary as supplementary sources of information to the official documentation of the City of Johannesburg. These are analysed and synthesised through the same critical lens applied to official documents.
The analysis of documents in this study is intersected with an understanding of the contingency of language and the power of rhetoric.

2. CONSTRUCTING CULTURE: THE OFFICIAL TEXT:

Chapter two has demonstrated how culture has been interpreted and redefined to serve particular ideologies and hegemonies over time. In Johannesburg, the interpretation of culture has been inextricably linked to the prevailing political ideology of the time.
This study has attempted to analyse and deconstruct the official text on culture created by urban practitioners who are vested with power and interest to define culture for and in the city.
To do this, the study examined key planning tools and documents expressing the views of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, its urban regeneration agency the Johannesburg Development Agency and its Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage.
A useful point of departure is an examination of the overarching vision document and mega-strategy called Joburg 2030 (C.o.J, 2002) to which the City of Johannesburg has devoted considerable resources and faith.
The rationale behind the Vision 2030 strategy is the perceived need for the City of Johannesburg to work toward a long-term vision in a proactive rather than a reactive way.

2.1. Joburg 2030

The vision constructed by the city authorities is expressed in the elaborate Joburg 2030 document as follows: Joburg 2030 (CoJ, 2002)

*"In 2030 Johannesburg will be a **African world class city** with service deliverables and efficiencies which meet **world best practice**. Its economy and labour force will specialise in the service sector and will be strongly **outward orientated** so that the city economy operates on a **global scale**. The strong **economic growth** resulting from this competitive economic behaviour will drive up city tax revenues, private sector **profits** and individual disposable **income** levels such that the **standard of living** and quality of life of all the city's inhabitants will increase in a **sustainable** manner." (CoJ, 2002, original emphases)*

Of relevance to this study is the emphasis on the construction of Johannesburg's image as an "African World Class City". This phrase, now a common feature of the city's daily political rhetoric presents a label for the city's future identity that is not critically discussed nor rationalised in the document. The process of attaching an identity to a place as a place-marketing strategy has been documented widely by theorists and is often criticised for being in disjuncture with the everyday experience of city users who are often not part of the process out of which such identities are constructed. The City of Johannesburg does not qualify what the term "African" signifies, whether it is merely a geographical label, a cultural identity, a signifier or how narrowly or broadly it is imagined is this context. The document does not deal with the sense in which the city would be seen as an African one.

Furthermore, the somewhat ambiguous label "World Class City" is not clarified in the document. The term world class city needs to be critically examined beyond official definitions of World Class Cities. What does being a world class city mean for the everyday urban experience of city dwellers, (the audience to which such a Vision Statement must relate)? Does the label "world class city" signify a city able to compete globally with other cities through a formal "outward orientated" economy. If so then surely the political social and cultural implications of such a definition have been neglected in this official text.

The explicit focus on economic growth, profit, income levels, an outwardly orientated economy and support for a particular economic sector points to a disturbing economic reductionism in the definition of a long-term vision for the city. The Joburg 2030 does not critically unpack the implications of imposing an official image of the city as a World Class African City on the everyday urban life experience of city users and circumvents any notion of the City of Johannesburg evolving its own dynamic hybrid real identity that might transcend (or even subvert) the officially constructed identity of an African World Class City.

Under the overarching vision of Joburg 2030, the City has produced further texts that are of use to this study in that they point to the City's (CoJ) official construction of a cultural identity for and in Johannesburg.

2.2. Integrated Development Plan 2004/05

The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) (CoJ, 2004) for the city presents a comprehensive account of all forms of planning for the City of Johannesburg. A discussion of Integrated Development Planning is beyond the scope or ambit of this study. The IDP 2004/05 has been selected as it is the planning tool that aims to integrate various aspects of development in the city. As such it presents sectoral plans that deal with the key challenges, objectives, strategies and programmes and projects that each of the city's many divisions deal with.

The City of Johannesburg's IDP 2004/5 (CoJ, 2004) is examined here to analyse and explore the present conception of culture in the city and examine the aims and objective of culture-related projects and enterprises in the city. Of primary focus are the plans laid out for and by the Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage.

The Integrated Development Plan 2004/05 (CoJ, 2004) on page 89, deals with arts, culture and heritage services and offers a definitional sense of what these terms encompass in the following statement:

"*Arts, culture and heritage embraces custom, tradition, belief, religion, language, crafts and all art forms like music, dance, the visual arts, film, theatre, written and oral literature. It permeates all aspects of society and is an integral part of social and economic life"* (CoJ, 2004)

If we are to deconstruct this statement, we need to interrogate the meanings it combines for arts, culture and heritage.
"*custom":* a way of doing things that has evolved over time
"tradition": practices handed down over the ages
"belief": religious conviction
"religion": system of faith and worship
"language": method of communication
"crafts": creative objects made in traditional ways
"art forms" – "music", "dance", "the visual arts", "film", "theatre", "written and oral literature" (CoJ, 2004)

Critically, one could argue that "custom", "tradition", belief, religion and language could all be related directly to heritage and to the historicity in the evolution of peoples and places. Since all are historically evolved and have a temporal dimension one could root each of these in the history of people and not necessarily explicitly or exclusively to the meaning of culture.

This statement provides an all-encompassing view of what the Department means by the phrase "arts, culture and heritage" but provides no explicit sense of what it means by culture. Nor does the reader know whether or not the official discourse constructed here sees any definitional difference between each of the three categories it deals with i.e. Arts, Culture and Heritage. No such difference is alluded to in the IDP document or any of the other documents analysed and this leads one to conclude that Arts, Culture and Heritage are seen as synonymous.

What requires further analysis is the scope of the meaning of each of the terms used to describe arts, culture and heritage. The word "custom" could stand to include only a narrow essentialist idea of practices that have evolved over time or could be broadened to include the multiple customs that are evolving, originating, and diversifying at an electric rate in the dynamic fluid and overlapping lifeworlds of the city's everyday realm. It is hard to tell from the official discourse how broadly or narrowly terms such as "custom" "tradition", "belief" and "language" are defined. This would in turn determine the extent to which the official discourse constructed for culture in the city in exclusionary or inclusionary, inclusive of only high culture or all forms of the everyday 'cultures' evolving in the everyday realm of the city as well.

One could question whether Graffiti in the city is considered an art form or whether the 'farfi' players, who energise street corners with their dramatic pavement gambling antics are part of the "tradition", or "custom" mentioned in the IDP 2004/05.
These are types of questions the study aims to raise for reflection.

Moving on to analyse the text of the IDP2004/05 (CoJ, 2004):

"It permeates all aspects of society and is an integral part of social and economic life". (CoJ, 2004)
This extension of the definitional statement on arts, culture and heritage is rhetorical and is vague and general. It does not specify what the word "It" refers to and the reader in unclear as to how and to what extent "it" *permeates all aspects of society*.
As a statement it offers no real clarity on the meanings of Art, Culture and Heritage in the official sense.

"The Department manages the City's museums, historic sites and buildings, as well as coordinating and presenting arts events and festival programmes, including urban regeneration." (CoJ, 2004)

This statements helps to relate the city's perception of a link between arts, culture or heritage and urban regeneration. It is however, unclear from this statement as to what specifically the relationship is between arts events or festival programmes and urban regeneration is envisioned as.

Nowhere in the following pages of the IDP 2004/05 dealing with the Arts, Culture and Heritage services of the City is the relationship between urban regeneration and culture given much clarity.

What is implied however is that arts and culture-related major events have, in the official view, some articulation to urban regeneration.

Further on, in dealing with Service Delivery in the Department, the IDP 2004/05 document states the following:
"A new area of focus will be regional audits to identify arts, culture and heritage assets, with the intention of embarking on an urban regeneration strategy. Consequently projects such as those that have taken place in Sophiatown and Fietas will be implemented." (CoJ, 2004)

Again the relationship between cultural assets and urban regeneration is vague. What form will these audits take and what functions in the city are regarded as "cultural assets"?

The notion of cultural assets is often used without a critical deconstruction of what is meant by the term or what constitutes a cultural asset. If cultural assets are seen as formal sites of high culture such as museums, theatres, historic monuments and officially recognised sites of cultural production then this study would contend that this is an exclusionary definition of cultural assets. A more inclusionary reading of cultural assets in the everyday life of the city would lead to a more sustainable and inclusionary definition of culture in and of the city that could inform more responsive forms of urban regeneration. If the city is to devote resources to culture-led urban regeneration strategies based on a preliminary identification of

cultural assets then it is crucial that the definition of "cultural assets" is critically revised.

A further section of the IDP2004/05 document (CoJ, 2004) mentions that increasing partnerships between the Department and the Johannesburg Development Agency (the City's development and regeneration agency) are likely to involve joint projects but again the intended relationship to urban regeneration is not made explicitly clear.
In Table 7.1 pg. 90 of the IDP 2004/05 document, the department highlights the following challenges related to culture and urban regeneration in the city and notes programmes or initiatives to address these challenges :

Challenge	*Programme*
The Department's impact on poverty alleviation and urban regeneration	*Public/Private Partnerships* *Interdepartmental Partnerships*
Repositioning arts, culture and heritage as a key economic sector that is capable of being a significant contributor to the City's economic growth and development drive	*Public Performances/ Carnival* *Marketing and Communication* *Major Events* *10 Years of Democracy*

The City of Johannesburg clearly sees arts, culture and heritage as a potentially influential part of the city's' economic growth and development drive and this may point to a dangerous economic reductionism and the use of culture primarily or exclusively as a commodity for the city. In addition, the programmes proposed to reposition the arts, culture and heritage sector as a contributor to economic growth are limited and mention only major events and public performance or carnivals as viable ways of improving economic contributions. This is exclusionary and neglects the contribution that other less formal and less costly practices might make toward attracting economic growth.

While major events and public performances certainly raise the profile and image of the city, helping to cement a cultural identity for it, these events are often costly for cities to host and have a limited time-span in terms of impact on city residents and global image. In addition, major 'cultural' events and carnivals can serve to fashion a very particular spectacle of cultural consumption designed for entertainment value, to please and attract crowds. Often this serves only to cement images of an exoticised fetishised cultural 'subject' or cultural 'Other' as spectacle for consumption. Such representations belie the hybrid dynamic nature of cultural identities by the 'Other' and in the city and can entrench oppressive binary distinctions between self and other. This is discussed further in Chapter 4.

Of the "Capital Projects" listed by the Department as part of its IDP 2004/05 (Table 7.2) two are museum related upgrade projects, one involves the upgrade of a Cultural Village, one is an upgrade of the city's art gallery and the other two projects involve the upgrade of heritage sites. None of the Capital Projects deal directly or indirectly with supporting or recognising informal, local, everyday forms of cultural production in the city.
As a conclusion the city offers the following:

"The income distribution patterns associated with developing economies, has created an environment where the utilisation of arts, culture and heritage facilities is a privilege that a small part of the community can be part of. It is the intention of the Department to bridge this gap by encouraging participation and education in targeted areas, to allow for the growth and appreciation of the rich cultural diversity and artistic talents that reside within the City. The partnerships will increase the resource pool for the development and implementation of projects and initiatives, while restoring the heritage of the City and growing artistic talents – consequently creating urban regeneration through culture."
(CoJ, 2004)

It is encouraging to note the Department's awareness of the fact that only a small part of the community can make use of "*arts, culture and heritage facilities"* as they are currently conceived of and instituted and the desire to address this issue. This signals willingness towards social inclusion. Encouraging participation and raising awareness are both noble intentions in this case, however the statement of intent above seems to suggest that people will be invited to participate and be more aware of the city's cultural and artistic forms where these forms are defined as worthy of recognition in the official discourse of culture by the City of Johannesburg. This may only further serve to entrench and even popularise a narrow conception of culture for, and in, the city.

The intended partnerships mentioned in the statement above seem to be associated with three key benefits:

- securing resources for projects
- restoring heritage of the city and
- supporting the growth of artistic talent.

Again these are undoubtedly positive effects for the city, however, the assertion that in gaining these the City will be "- consequently growing urban regeneration through culture" is a risky assumption to make without qualifying the scope in meaning of "culture" and without clarifying the perceived and intended symbiosis between culture and urban regeneration. Such an assumption points to the very basis of the faith held in Culture-led urban regeneration by urban strategists.

Table 7.4 of the Integrated Development Plan 2004/05 for the City of Johannesburg (CoJ, 2004) presents a Balanced Scorecard for the Department of Arts Culture and Heritage Services. The scorecard is important to this study as it states the Key Performance Areas and Performance Indicators prioritised by the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council in relation to Culture in the city.

The Balanced Scorecard has been analysed and the relevant sections have been summarised in the following table:

KEY PERFORMANCE AREA	*KEY PERFORMANCE INDICATOR*	*BASELINE*	*TARGET*
1. ***Ensure Service Delivery Excellence and Enhance Access to Arts, Culture and Heritage Services***	*% positive perception of the city achieved in the annual customer satisfaction survey for 2003/04 produced by August 2004*	*75%*	*80%*
	Number of visitors at arts and culture facilities and activities	*186 730 visitors*	*201 668 visitors*
	% of customer complaints resolved	*100%*	*100%*
Analysis:	Access to arts culture and heritage services is of prime importance to a more inclusionary conception of culture in the city. Unfortunately the scorecard does not deal adequately with access in term of identifying indicators. An indication of the number of visitors at art-related facilities and activities is useful though hardly a measure of access to arts, culture and heritage services in the city. Again, this neglects the numerous informal cultural facilities in the city.		

2. *Profile The City Through Arts, Culture And Heritage Events And Initiatives*	*Number of facilities that are PWD (people with disabilities) accessible*	*4*	*3 Of 11*
	Number of Programmes targeting people with disabilities	*Establish baseline*	*4 programmes*
	Number of programmes targeting women	*Establish Baseline*	*4 programmes*
	Number of schools running City-initiated arts and culture education programmes	*N/A*	*1 per region*
	Number of people that attend Arts Alive Festival Events	*35 000 people*	*40 000 people*
	Number of City to City arts, culture and heritage agreements implemented (agreements in place with New York, Birmingham, London and Berlin)	*Nil*	*2 International agreements* *2 Local agreements*

	Completion of a public performance strategy	*Nil*	*100%*
	Implementation of the public performance strategy and the City Carnival as per City Carnival Plan by target date. (Hillbrow New Year's Carnival)	*Nil*	*100%*
Analysis: It is encouraging to note that a more inclusionary approach is suggested by the incorporation above of performance indicators relating to programmes targeting marginalised groups such as women, the disabled and school-children. Marginality in the city in terms of arts, culture and heritage is experienced by many 'categories' of people in the city and profiling the city through culture-related events and initiatives should involve the deliberate targeting of many more marginal and subaltern groups in the city. More importantly this profiling of the city could benefit from what marginal or sub-altern groups have to contribute to the production and profiling of culture in the city.			
3. Promote and facilitate Citywide conservation and regeneration	*Number of exhibitions at which art is displayed*	*Nil*	*Establish baseline*

	Number of Arts, Culture and Heritage Projects implemented in the inner city (including Newtown)	*4 Projects*	*4 projects*
	Number of Urban Regeneration projects implemented that involve identified heritage structures that have been restored.	*2 projects*	*4 projects*
Analysis: This performance area shows that the Department of Arts Culture and Heritage Services sees as part of its role, "Citywide regeneration". It is unclear to the reader how this aim is related to the number of exhibitions at which art is displayed, a key performance indicator mentioned above. The Inner City is clearly an area of focus related to the Department's Regeneration aims. Yet as an official document that is meant to present a comprehensive plan for the department the relationship between the inner city regeneration and cultural projects is at best cursory and is not clarified.			
4. Promote social and economic development through arts, culture and heritage	*Number of Arts, Culture and Heritage Activities implemented as per tourism strategy.*	*1 activity*	*2 activities (Oppenheimer Garden and Drill Hall)*

	Number of emerging artists being supported by the city	*Clarify current baseline*	*Set Target (dependent n Budget)*
Analysis: The relationship between promoting social and economic development through arts and culture as it is represented in this scorecard is also cursory and unexplained. A footnote in the document suggests that support for emerging artists is already happening through the Johannesburg Art Gallery and the Sandton Art Gallery. These are formal institutions of culture and thus one would need to question what the criteria are for recognition of emerging artists in the city. For example, are the city's Graffiti artists whose murals enliven the periphery of the Newtown Cultural District considered emerging artists?			

Table 1: Balanced Scorecard for Arts, Culture and Heritage Services - Adapted from CoJ IDP 2004/05 (CoJ, 2004)

In the previous IDP for the year 2003/04 (CoJ, 2003) the Department of Arts Culture and Heritage were introduced as such:
"ARTS CULTURE AND HERITAGE:
Arts, culture and heritage are repositories of social values and play a pivotal role in the construction of a national identity. Johannesburg has always been a magnet and launch pad for many individuals, groups and formal and informal institutions involved in arts and culture. The city boasts developmental programmes, several theatres, museums, galleries, hundreds of NGO's and a myriad of festivals and exhibitions each year." (CoJ, 2004)

This is a clear indication of culture being equated with a national identity as expressed in Chapter 2. Here the text seems to suggest that the culture can play a role in constructing an identity that is common to all 'citizens' and that culture is defined by geo-political boundaries or borders. The limitations of such a view have been expressed in Chapter 2.

Further there seems to be little evidence in the IDP 2004/05 Performance Scorecard that informal institutions have been supported in a significant way by the Department.
In order to further examine the official text on culture that informs culture-led regeneration by those in power to define culture for the city, this study further examined official texts of the City of Johannesburg's Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage.

2.3. Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage Website

In its introduction the official website (CoJ, date unknown) states:
"Johannesburg – renowned for its diverse arts vibe – plans to use arts, culture and heritage as a key economic sector to help in the fight against poverty and squalor."
Again the Department asserts its aim to strengthen the economy of the city. The unilateral focus raises concerns about the primacy of economic objectives over other social and political foci that are at risk of being marginalised in an attempt to be economically competitive.

"Central to the city's vision is to attract poor communities to this growing sector through museum services, educational programmes and events. The Hector Pieterson and Uncle Tom's Hall in Soweto have been targeted to facilitate this goal." (CoJ, date unknown)

Here the city's vision seems to be a single linear process of attracting the poor to officially recognised sites such as museums and official events initiated by the Department. What is neglected here is the potential for sites, events and educational programmes that originate in the marginal, everyday, ordinary spaces of the city to attract a wide and diverse audience and consequently receive support for their activities.

One example of this would be the Hlalanathi Community Theatre Project. This is a group of men and women who voluntarily and without remuneration organise public street theatre performances on the streets of

Hillbrow to address issues that relate to the everyday life experiences of city dwellers. They conceive of a performance, practice it and then choose a site on a street corner or open space, beating a drum to attract a crowd and then begin a performance that soon evolves into an interactive discussion or performance with city dwellers who have come to view their performance and who wish to generate dialogue around the issues represented in the play. One particular performance viewed as part of the research of this study represented police corruption on the streets of Hillbrow. The performance represented issues related to police corruption and to the everyday life of this electric suburb of the city. Organised crime, violence, the everyday lives of Illegal immigrants, xenophobia, the abuse of sex workers, and other issues in the everyday life of Hillbrow were all represented in this performance. From discussions with the performers it is evident that they almost always attract fervent response from city dwellers who view their performances and they are able to generate discussion giving ordinary people the opportunity to voice their joys, frustrations, anger and opinion in an environment that allows free expression. Sadly, when interviewed the performers said that they had had no formal support (monetary or otherwise) or recognition from the Department of Arts Culture and Heritage or from any other organ of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council. Like the Hlalanathi Theatre Project, there are many other such groups who voluntarily are creating and representing the cultures and experiences of everyday life for city dwellers across the city. It is support for these kinds of myriad activities initiated by ordinary people in the ordinary everyday lifeworlds of the city that need to form part of the "*city's vision"* in terms of arts, culture and heritage services.

This study does not negate the potential of the Department's activities to be educational but would enquire as to the possibility of expanding the audience and making the process more than a single linear relationship of attracting the poor.

One could argue further that identifying "*poor communities"* as the target market may come from a rather narrow perception of the needs for education through cultural initiatives. One could infer that in a city and country where mutual learning about cultures and heritage has been artificially stunted by several years of formally entrenched social segregation, not only the poor need to be attracted to museums, opportunities for 'cultural' learning, and events or educational programmes of this nature. Indeed, facilities such as the Hector Pieterson Museum and Uncle Tom's Hall in Soweto should form part of a bid to attract a range of diverse groupings including the upper income sector of the population who may never be exposed to such environments or to knowledge of the heritage that these facilities represent.

"*With crafts, music, visual arts, film, theatre, written and oral literature – the city aims to turn itself into an arts mecca.*" (CoJ, date unknown)

One could argue that if the myriad, multiple, diverse expressions of identities and hybrid cultures found in the urban everyday life of the city of Johannesburg were recognised and supported as part of the cultures in and of the city, then the city would already be more than just "*an arts mecca".*

As part of its "Objective" publicised on this website the City's Department of Arts Culture and Heritage states the following:

"Core strategic objectives of the city are to implement, promote, and facilitate the heritage and event aspect of the urban regeneration strategy." (CoJ, date unknown)

Unfortunately no document or source could be found that gives clarity on what the heritage and event aspects of the urban regeneration strategy are. In this text it seems that the relationship between heritage and events to urban regeneration is automatic and assumed.

What would need to be analysed further is the criteria for an event to be recognised i.e. What constitutes an event? Does the assembly of 150 or more people on a pavement in Klein Street, Hillbrow on a Sunday afternoon gathered around a street performer constitute an event that contributes to urban regeneration in the view of the Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage?
How does the Department choose to represent an event? Are the spontaneous everyday urban rituals enacted in the spaces of everyday life considered as events? This study aims to raise these and similar questions of representation and the power to define and recognise culture in and of the city.

"Through its service delivery commitments, the city aims to increase the number of visitors to museums, cultural activities, and other social activities. It is hoped that such an increase will ensure maximum participation by the public." (CoJ, date unknown)
Much like in the Balanced Scorecard of Performance documented in the IDP 2004/05 there is again text pointing to a strong focus on museum visits as an indicator of public participation in culture related activities in the city.
This demonstrates the narrowness and inherent exclusionary effect of the official view of culture in the city. Cultural activities here seem to be limited to those that require people to formally visit them and be counted as a visitor by some formal means of recording.

It is also unclear as to what is regarded as a social activity. Again, the text seems to indicate that social activities are of the kind people need to visit where visits are recorded. While the organising of formal activities by the Department is undoubtedly necessary and vital, the text seems to neglect the myriad other social activities happening in the everyday life-spaces of the city.

Further on in the text, the Department also lists its challenges as :

1. "*Attracting previously disadvantaged communities to museums and galleries, as well as training and developing these communities.*"

   The text uses a familiar signifier "*previously disadvantaged communities"* in a very vague way. The text privileges two very formal institutions of culture, i.e. museums and galleries as worthy of attracting previously disadvantaged communities.
   The text also does not clarify what is meant by the training and developing of these communities, what training is envisioned and what are the type of development needs perceived. The phrase *developing these communities* seems to suggest that these communities are in need of having the Department develop them, which without qualification is a precarious assumption to make. This study would raise the question of why these communities, whoever they are defined as, need necessarily to be introduced, to and trained to these formal state-authorised institutions of culture. The premise of the argument here would support the idea that such communities be exposed to a diverse range of cultural activities that city dwellers (including themselves) already enact in the everyday life spaces of the city and that they begin to regard that as inclusive of the cultures and cultural identities of the city.

   The text also points to an assumption that disadvantaged communities are subjects that must receive or be the target of city-conceived interventions – rather than acknowledging the fact that they may be veritable repositories of cultural forms and symbols and may have much in terms of culture to teach the city and much to give in terms of alternative forms of everyday production of cultural meanings in the city.

2. *"Repositioning the sector as a major contributor to the city's economic growth."*

> The aim here has been echoed in previous texts analysed. This study would contend that while it is important that we recognise that culture as a commodity is an important economic contributor to the economies of post-industrial cities, we must be guarded against a sweeping and grand economic reductionism of the importance of cultural production and representation in the city.

The website (CoJ, date unknown) providing public information on the Arts and Culture Component of the Department highlights only three main themes:

1. Arts Alive:
   This is the Arts Alive International Festival hosted and sponsored by the City of Johannesburg

2. Museums:

"*For those who want to learn about South African history and culture, Johannesburg and Pretoria feature many superb museums that will both educate and entertain."* (CoJ, date unknown)

While it is true that museums play an important role in educating people about heritage, they also embody an official interpretation of culture and heritage that is not open to contestation in public space. The privileging of museums as sites of arts and culture ignores the political complexities of the meaning of culture and entrenches a belief that only high culture and its forms are worth attention in the city. Museums can act to objectify the 'Other' in the city – depicting difference in the city as exotic and fetishised for the official gaze.

3. Art Galleries:

Art galleries are important repositories of artistic creation yet they need to be understood as only a small part of the artistic creation in and of the city.

Again, this is a question of power and representation. Are the forms of art exhibited in galleries the only ones worth the attention of the city? What has been excluded from these gallery collections? How do people on the margins of society access the formal institutional realm of the art galleries in the city? If they cannot, do their own artistic forms go unnoticed? Above all – what does the word "art" stand to mean in "art galleries"? What is considered art? Is graffiti in the city considered "art"?

Also on this page of the website, there is no clear distinction made between Arts and Culture – nor any definitional sense of what culture may be in the context of the city. Arts and culture here seem to be equated.

The opening line of this website states:
"*The Arts and Culture division of the department runs visual and performance arts programmes in all their many forms, including music, dance, film, visual art, craft and poetry.*"
The second paragraph focuses on major arts or music-related festivals and events that are organised in the city. Only 4 are mentioned.
How many spontaneous city events not officially organised or even recognised here act to change the nature of our city's spaces and transform our notions of urban public space and where do they occur? What is the significance of the rituals that occur in the everyday life of the city to the city and its development? These are just some questions raised by the analysis.

The use of festivals, as strategic approaches in city arts and culture initiatives, has been studied in international arenas and has not always proven beneficial to the city and its users. An exploration of this experience in the City of Glasgow is provided later in this chapter.

In order to further explore the approach of the city in recognising alternative forms of cultural production and meaning in the everyday life of the city and its approach toward a form a conceptualisation of culture

for the city, it is useful to analyse the Frequently Asked Questions section (CoJ, date unknown) of the Official Website on Arts Culture and Heritage:

"What events does the City of Johannesburg sponsor?"
Here again, the text deals with the official Arts Alive International Festival describing it as "*the city's biggest arts and community cultural event"*.

The meaning of *community cultural event* is not clear – and to what extent this means inclusivity of all communities is unclear. A further development of this study may examine an itinerary of the Arts Alive Festival to interrogate the extent to which the event is a 'community cultural' one.

"What kind of partnerships interest the Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage?"

Here it is encouraging to note that the text states the department's interest in "*partnerships at all levels: community groups, NGO's, other levels of government and business*." The mention here of community groups is encouraging. The debate that follows must be how formal an institution the community group must be to be recognised as a potential partner. The text goes on to provide some examples of current partnerships. Unfortunately, of these examples none are informal or less formal community groups but are Major institutions such as the Smithsonian Institute and Michigan State University as well as the Anglo American Centenery Trust Fund.

Moving down the hierarchy of city policy documents for the city of Johannesburg, this analysis turns to focus on the more fine-grained local spatial plan developed by the city, i.e. the Spatial Development Framework (SDF 2003/04).

2.4. The Spatial Development Framework

The SDF 2003/04 is designed to provide strategic direction in a spatial way delimiting categories of space and the envisioned development of areas in the city.

One of the stated development objectives of the Spatial Development Framework was to:
"Ensure optimal accessibility to opportunities and the city experience (City Use)" (CoJ, 2003)

The document does not provide any clarity on what "the city experience" signifies in the official sense.

In outlining the "*Image and Aesthetic*" of Development, The SDF states that:
The development of a distinct character for local environments is crucial for nodal development and for ensuring investment in higher density housing in strategic areas. Also, strong local environments promote civic pride and encourage private-sector investment. This in turn creates market value of the area and promotes local tourism and even international tourism where there are corresponding developments." (CoJ, 2003, *pg 53)*

Often local environments already have a distinct local character that has evolved out of the spaces and rituals of everyday life. What this statement suggests is that urban practitioners need to set out to create a character for the area in order to serve the economically advantageous spin-off results outlined here. This kind of economic reductionism ignores the contribution of the vitality and vibrancy inherent to the urban everyday and in suggesting that distinct character must be developed risks the creation of artificially imposed official concepts of character for local environments. All too often, this results in superficial urban beautification programmes that neglect local everyday urbanism and tends to sterilise public space.

An extension of the official text can be found by analysing in the initiatives of the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), the City of Johannesburg's agency that is tasked primarily with Urban Regeneration Initiatives and with area-based economic development initiatives across the metropolitan area.

2.5. Johannesburg Development Agency 'Progress in the City 2004' Report

The JDA has been responsible for various high-profile culture-led urban regeneration initiatives and has produced various documents pertaining to its activities.

One of the documents analysed here is the annual Progress in the City Report 2004 (JDA, 2004)

The report is meant to reflect the impact of the city's urban regeneration plan and the combined efforts of the City of Johannesburg's various related agencies based on Performance Indicators developed by the JDA for development in JHB's Inner City 2004.

The 24-Hr City

One of the performance indicators used to assess progress in the city looks at the extent to which Johannesburg is becoming a 24hr city. Interestingly it is listed as a Key Economic Indicator.

The degree to which Johannesburg acts as a 24hr city is measured only by examining attendance figures at the following types of inner city venues (JDA, 2004):

- Ellis Park Stadium
- Theatres
- Museums
- Galleries

The report states that 1 059 480 people attended the various inner city venues in 2003 which apparently was an increase of 23% on attendance in 2001. The report fails to mention what proportion of this figure were tourists.

To measure the extent to which Johannesburg may be becoming a 24hr city, alive with entertainment and cultural activity by looking only at institutions that represent high culture or the arts disregards and discounts the myriad likely activities of this nature that are taking place in the urban everyday on a 24hr basis. To assess only attendance at theatres, museums etc is to limit an understanding of 24 hr activity in the city to a very rigid and selective –if not Eurocentric – interpretation of cultural activity.

Confidence in the Inner City

As an indicator related to peoples perceptions of the Inner City, the report measures Confidence in the Inner City. The JDA annually interviews businesses to measure their confidence related to a number of issues in the Inner City.

It is interesting to note that the JDA consults only businesses when measuring confidence in the Inner City. Surely then the view of the thousands of people who are intimately in contact with the real everyday spaces of the city on a daily basis are excluded in this measuring exercise.

Nevertheless, one of the factors around which confidence in the inner city is measured is:

"Indicator 5: Is confidence in the Inner City improving?" (JDA, 2004)

Within this category the JDA has also measured public confidence in the Cultural Arc Project as part of its progress indicators relating to perception of the inner city.

The report states that in 2004 the overall confidence index for the Cultural Arc increased by 29% to 62.9 when compared to the previous year (JDA, 2004).

The confidence indices used were as follows: "*Management, Cleanliness, Orderliness, Crime Decline, Remain here, Optimism, Turnover, Expected Turnover, Employment, Expected improvements and Awareness"* (JDA, 2004).

A second factor measured *"What are the impressions of city life?"* It is questionable as to how qualified businesses in the inner city are to comment on inner city life. Perhaps what would have been more pertinent is a public consultation exercise that involved city dwellers who are involved in shaping and creating city life and who reside in the city. The document notes that "*52% said that city life was not yet satisfactory but improving (compared with 28.8% last year)."*
It is unclear as to what a 'satisfactory' or 'city life' means here, nor is it clear how this is measured. Under this confidence factor the following categories were provided as choices to describe the respondent's image of the city and city life:

- *Clean and Safe*
- *Attractive and Welcoming*
- *Vibrant*
- *Dirty and Unsafe*
- *Not yet satisfactory but improving* (JDA, 2004)

The views of respondents who are all businesses must be seen as only one select representation of perceptions of inner city life. It would be interesting to note what a broader definition of city users as respondents would yield in a similar survey.

A further indicator measures the following:
"How aware are people of the JDA and are they satisfied with its work? (JDA, 2004)

This study would propose that a more accurate reflection of this indicator could be to ask how aware inner city businesses are of the JDA and its work, since the question surely does not represent the views of the people of the city in general.

When businesses were asked how they would like to see the Inner City in future years one third of respondents expressed the need for a 24-hour city with and active street life and more public entertainment activities and tourist attractions.

Unfortunately many of the cities activities and 24 hour active street life that occurs in the spaces of the everyday urban realm is not officially recognised by those in a position to represent them as viable activities that enrich the city, a process that contributes to the misguided popular perception that the city lacks these activities and active street life and public entertainment activities.

A further third of respondents to this survey expressed the desire to see Johannesburg as a "*World Class African City*". Unfortunately the consequences, meanings or implications and associations signified by this now hackneyed phrase is uncritically accepted as the goal to which the city should and will strive. This is a view that finds a comfortable resonance for inner city businesses whose primary objectives are economic gain.

This analysis then leads to the conclusion that the Survey is unfortunately only a selective rather narrow representation of 'progress' in the inner city of Johannesburg. Had the indicators and respondents been more inclusive and broadly conceived of, more accurate and inclusionary representations of perception of the experience of everyday life in the city may have emerged.

In the year 2000, the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC) set up a team that worked towards the creation of a Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA). Part of the teams work was to examine the

potential for culture-led urban regeneration in Johannesburg's Inner City. Prof. Peter Stark, the Director of the Centre for Cultural Policy and Management at the University of Northumbria in England was commissioned to conduct an audit of Johannesburg's 'Inner City' cultural assets (Stark, 2001).

2.6. Interim Audit of City Centre Cultural Assets

The rationale behind the need for such an audit was the city's concern that they may have underestimated or overestimated the current strengths, "robustness" or "quality" of Inner City Cultural assets and the strategies put in place to develop these (Stark, 2001).

The report on the Interim Audit of Inner City Cultural Assets (Stark, 2001) proved very influential in prompting the JDA to establish the Cultural Arc in Johannesburg, a project to which much political emphasis and resources have been devoted. This study will attempt to analyse this very important interim audit report produced by Prof. Stark so as to further understand the official text constructed around the meaning and interpretation of culture in the city of Johannesburg.

According to the brief for the Interim Audit, it was meant to provide the context upon which the development plans for cultural projects in the Inner City including Braamfontein and the Newtown Cultural Precinct would be reviewed.

The report holds that the audit is focussed on *"City Centre Cultural Assets and their potential to contribute to a measured strategy to deliver real cultural strength at the heart of the City by 2010."* (Stark, 2001)

While cultural audits have become popular in the work or urban management and urban regeneration the parameters of such audits and the way in which they define and interpret cultural assets including the motivation behind identifying them can not be an objective and value-free exercise.

In the above statement, one would need to interrogate how "*City Centre Cultural Assets*" are defined, what criteria qualify them as cultural in

nature, what makes them assets and, if assets, to whom and how do they bring benefits.

Further text in the report may give some clarity (Stark, 2001):
"A simple definition of "City Centre Cultural Assets" would be that they:

- *Connect the City to the rest of the country and to the world.*
- *Provide an international launching pad for the cultural products of the city and nation*
- *Provide a first port of call and distribution hub for the best cultural products that the world has to offer the country.*
- *Deliver a service to the whole community of the City including visitors.*" (Stark, 2001)

This definition of city centre cultural assets presents what seems to read as a set of normative statements of what "city centre cultural assets" should be in the opinion of the author. If it is truly definitional then it is a definition that seems to be focussed primarily on traditional formal institutions of culture rather than the other myriad cultural assets that are evolving in the city everyday and the everyday shaping and configurations of cultural change in the everyday realm of the city. In this way, the definition is testimony to the narrowness of the interpretation of culture in the city.
While it is undeniable that the city needs to be globally competitive and establish a global identity, the explicitly outward (international) focus of the above definition risks the exclusion of the local importance and value of 'city centre cultural assets'. Such a definition may contribute to the construction of the cultural identity of the city in terms of, and in relation to the international urban culture arena. In this way 'the' cultural identity of the city risks being (mis)represented as an over-simplified truth.

Further on comes the acknowledgement that:
"The audit is not however, limited to the largest institutions. It recognises that international roles can be filled by smaller and more specialist organisations." (Stark, 2001)

Still the report does not, by stating this, acknowledge the existence of informal tactical ways in which cultures are being reconfigured in the everyday realm. The report only acknowledges and accepts, using vague language, the possible inclusion of smaller organisations

"Nor does the focus on City Centre functions deny the importance – in their own right – of cultural functions, facilities and institutions that work at a local or city-wide level. The vital linkages between those functions and City Centre functions to the long term cultural health of the City are fully acknowledged." (Stark, 2001)

This is an important acknowledgement in the official narrative of Culture in Johannesburg. Unfortunately, it is unclear whether the terms "*cultural functions, facilities and institutions"* would be inclusive of the everyday tactics of cultural production in the everyday life of the city, even on a city-wide level. The phrase seems to suggest a certain level of formality of these functions and their linkages to inner city 'cultural' facilities.

Through the process of identifying "City Centre cultural strengths" the report identifies Johannesburg's cultural strengths in the following;

- "*certain fields of music where the city draws on the strengths of its immigrant communities as well as indigenous musicians*
- *collections – particularly in cultural and social history*
- *areas of the contemporary visual arts – particularly work beyond galleries*
- *aspects of dance*
- *media production* (Stark, 2001)

The report also asserts that *"the Market Theatre is its only internationally recognised cultural institution*." (Stark, 2001)

Again, such a reading of the city's cultural strengths privileges a static rigid and perhaps dated concept of what culture is in the life of the city. In this particular case culture is almost equated with art forms.

"In these areas and others, the City has real cultural strengths to build upon but it lacks the institutions – whether buildings, 'events or festivals' or lightweight 'virtual' organisations to develop those strengths, add new ones and give a clear focus to the City's cultural 'offer' into the international marketplace." (Stark, 2001)

The necessity of, and fixation with, formal institutionalised cultural production that is globally competitive is a *leit motif* of the official narrative of culture in Johannesburg. It is of course necessary for a city to provide entertainment services and facilities for art forms to flourish. What requires critical reflection is whether this, first and foremost, is still valid as 'the culture' or 'the cultural strength' of the city.

Much of the rest of the report on an Audit of "City Centre Cultural Assets" discusses the support and establishment of formal institutions of cultural production in the city.

"None-the-less the key recommendation of this report is that – acknowledging that much is already underway in the area of physical infrastructure – further authoritative action should start now in fields as diverse as:

- *additional and immediate environmental improvements in Newtown*
- *a review of facilities for museums, galleries and temporary exhibitions*
- *the creation of a new agency for business support and training*

- *concept development for Johannesburg Fort and Constitutional Hill*
- *new structures for promotion, co-operation and co-ordination"* (Stark, 2001)

The approach, where it does extend to admit marginality among some cultural producers in the city proposes ways of capturing and educating marginal 'artists' or cultural producers so as to formalise them and fit them into the mould or form required by those in authority in the city. (The report proposes that the JDA establish a "Cultural Business Development Centre" for this purpose.) It is questionable whether much of the subaltern production of cultural meanings in the everyday realm of the city will ever be identified as worthy of formalisation by official urban regeneration practice. These may even evade identification completely. Even if they are identified the very process of formalising these so that they are comprehensible and suitable to the official internationally competitive cultural image of Johannesburg, is a process that might destroy and distort them to such an extent that they become cultural commodities for global consumption. In such processes much of the subaltern, tactical, dynamic, real expression and representation of the identities of the city and its users can be lost.

Furthermore, the report proposes development in two key, if not iconic, related culture-led urban regeneration projects that have since enjoyed much public attention and City resources. These are:

- The Cultural Arc, and
- The Newtown Cultural District

Both are culture-led urban regeneration initiatives of the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA). These types of projects are real spatial

manifestations of the consequences of the official narrative constructed for Culture in the City, by those with the power to construct this official text.

Both warrant in-depth analysis and investigation as culture led projects. Due to the constraints of this study these projects will be only briefly analysed to examine the environments that the official text on 'culture in the city' seeks to produce and some likely effects of these.

2.7. The Cultural Arc

The idea of the Johannesburg Cultural Arc, developed by Prof. Caroline Hamilton of the University of the Witwatersrand, is based on the idea that given the size of the City of Johannesburg there is a need to develop 'clusters' or major "centres of cultural activity" in order to maximise cultural and economic "synergies" and to ensure the creation of safe environments that encourage "footfall".

Prof. Hamilton's observation was that there seemed to be a collection of major 'cultural' projects in the Inner City and Braamfontein that, spatially, formed an arc on a map (See Map 1 below). The arc began at Constitution Hill, linking that with the Johannesburg Civic Theatre, through Braamfontein to Wits University's School of Arts and Wits Theatre , over the Nelson Mandela Bridge, and terminating in the Newtown Cultural Precinct.

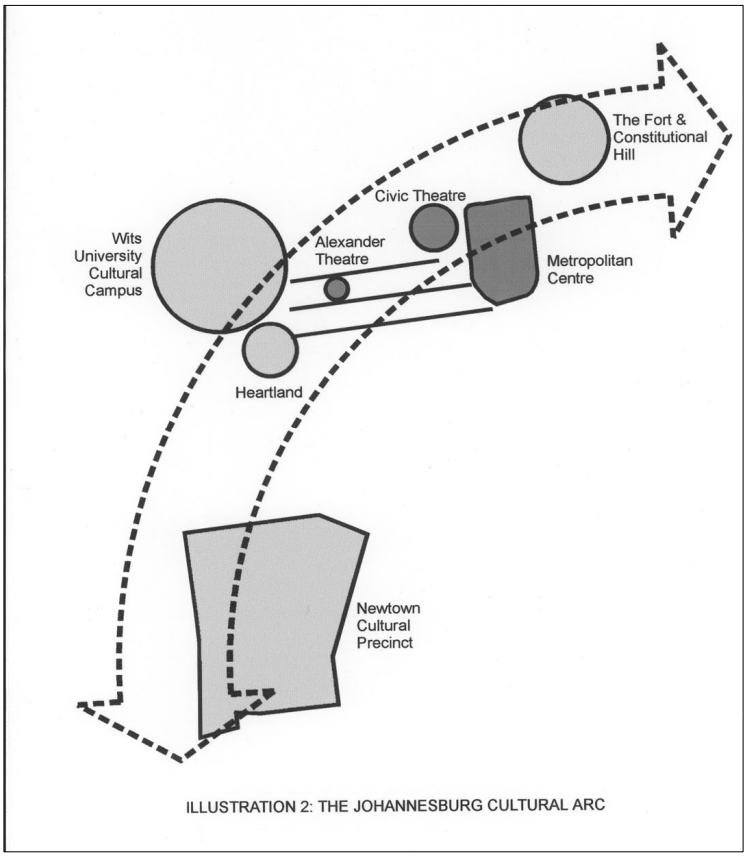


Figure 2: The Johannesburg Cultural Arc, (Stark, 2001)

To extend the idea of this Cultural Arc being established the "Interim Audit Report of City Centre Cultural Assets" suggested that the focus of the Cultural Arc be broadened to include projects beyond the ones that make up the arc.

Further considerations suggested providing a linkage to the wealthier northern suburbs that will be perceived as safe. This makes the target market of such cultural regeneration initiatives explicitly clear. They are named in the report as "*the residents of the Northern Suburbs"*. This in itself is exclusionary in that it excludes the possibility of other users as a target market and suggests that the facilities could and should attract only a select public.

The Nelson Mandela Bridge and Carr Street Interchanges have both been costly city-imaging projects designed to support urban regeneration

specifically as part of the Cultural Arc. In addition to the role of the bridge in providing an alternate route for traffic flow in and out of the inner city, the bridge serves two important functions in support of this urban regeneration strategy. Firstly, it is an iconic place-marketing project that is designed to improve the city's image to sell to local and foreign tourists and investors. Secondly, it is a (costly) means of creating direct access and egress to these cultural projects from the generally wealthier northern suburbs of the city – access routes that safely, swiftly and cleanly deliver this target market to 'cultural' attractions and expensive restaurants/cafés avoiding contact with the real everyday realm of the inner city.

The report also goes on to suggest that the transport interchanges located in Newtown and Braamfontein nearby should be seen and used as a "cultural entry point" for township residents. This suggestion is reminiscent of the colonial assumption that the 'Other' requires exposure to the cultural forms of the empire in order to enrich their lives. This harks back to the idea of Culture as Embourgeoisment (see Chapter 2).

Another suggestion in the report was the possible future development of the Arc to include the Windybrow Theatre and the Johannesburg Art Gallery. Both these are institutions of a particular representation of culture which could loosely be termed high culture. Both are highly formalised institutionalised entities that interact in a limited way with the everyday life spaces of people in the city. What must be questioned then is how representative these types of institutions envisioned for the Cultural Arc really are of Culture in Johannesburg.
Another suggestion is that creative new ways be developed to bring in the public to the Inner City during the evenings and at weekends for specialised evening retail function, entertainment and catering. From the report a verbal image is produced of a city where people would shop at night while walking the streets and dining at restaurants and attending theatres. This may be a particularly Eurocentric western approach to culture stimulating regeneration. The text also seems to presume that the city has no night-time activity. A recent documentary broadcast on

television tracked the nightlife of a group of inner city residents who are foreign nationals living and working in the inner city. The groups of young men hold night-time cricket matches that are played in the cities streets, pavements and public spaces. The programme featured these young men using unlikely everyday spaces of the city for entertainment of this nature through the night and into the early hours of the morning. Yet the official discourse on culture as portrayed in this report on the Cultural Arc does not seem to recognise the existence of alternative forms of entertainment and night time activity already occurring in the Inner City. To pre-empt a discussion, one might deliberate as to the future of such informal everyday culturally produced practices in the everyday spaces of the city in the face of proposed formalised and private-sector sponsored strategies for culture-led urban regeneration.

The report also does not clarify who "the public" is when referring to bring "*the public back to the City Centre in the evenings*" (Stark, 2001)
The creation of a Cultural Arc is then likely to be targeted at a selected "public" and seems to represent only a very selectively interpreted form of cultural activity in the city. There is no evidence in the literature on the Cultural Arc to suggest that it attempts to include cultural production and practices that are enacted in the everyday life of the city.
The idea of the Cultural Arc that sweeps across Braamfontein from the Civic Theatre towards the Wits University Campus neglects to mention the changes occurring to the public everyday realm of the rest of Braamfontein through which tourists and Cultural Arc customers are meant to pass. Braamfontein has developed an everyday life of its own, with corner pubs, shops selling ethnic clothing and new nightclubs opening yet these developments are not detailed in official reports on the Cultural Arc. Where they have been mentioned they are portrayed as signs that Braamfontein requires regeneration and improved urban management. Research then suggests that while the Cultural Arc may bring a useful injection of funds to the arts industry of the city, it is a culture-led urban regeneration strategy that is geared toward tourist and upper and middle income consumption of formally recognised cultural products in the city.

Also culture-led urban regeneration projects such as the Cultural Arc and the Newtown Cultural Precinct spatially contain the experience of cultural production in the city by limiting the visitor's interaction with the real and everyday lifeworlds of the city where cultural practices are being hybridised and produced to reflect the multidimensional lifeworlds of the city's users and inhabitants.

2.8. The Newtown Cultural Precinct

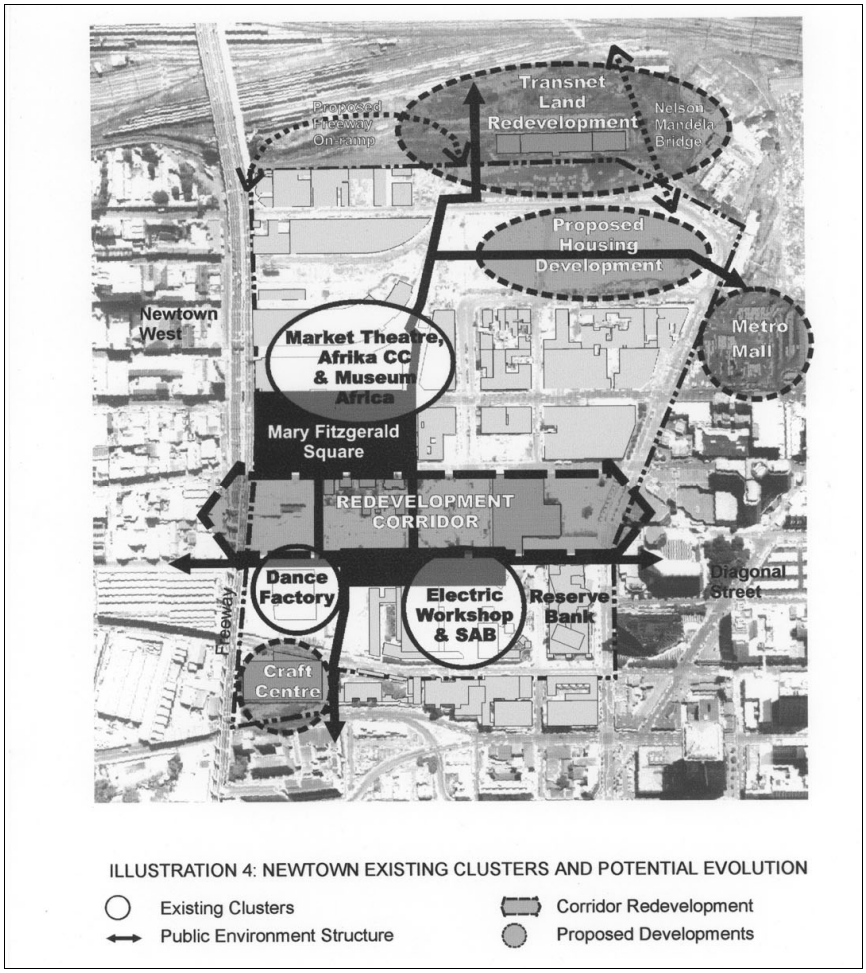


Figure 3: The Newtown Cultural District (Stark, 2001)

The Newtown Cultural Precinct (See Figure 3 above) is seen to be one of the biggest achievements of urban regeneration in Johannesburg in the past 10 years.

The area that the cultural precinct occupies has had a long and rich history that reflects its use by various groupings of people since the early days of Johannesburg as a mining camp in the late 1800's. An exhaustive history of the area is beyond the ambit of this study and can be found elsewhere.

What is relevant however is the rationale behind the establishment of a cultural precinct as a culture-led urban regeneration initiative and the impact that this initiative has had.
According to Hobbes (2001) the Newtown Cultural Precinct began around 1994 and was an initiative of the then Director of Culture in the city, Christopher Till. The area is home to the Market Theatre, the Africana Museum and had a historically significant large open public space that had, over the years, been used for various protests and public gatherings as well as for an informal open-air market on weekends. Years of successive urban redevelopment proposals were considered until finally the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) was tasked with coordinating the project that included a substantial urban design intervention, and the clustering of culture-related industries to form a cultural precinct. The precinct is meant to regenerate a part of the city that had been recognised as having the potential to attract tourists and residents from the generally wealthier northern suburbs back into the city centre that had decayed badly and had suffered the effects of disinvestment and decentralisation.

Millions of rands were spent on regenerating Newtown to a cultural precinct. Much of the public environment was reconfigured through urban design. Today the precinct houses the Museum Africa, Mary Fitzgerald Square, the African Bank Market Theatre, a National Design and Craft Centre, the SAB World of Beer, the Afrika Cultural Centre, Dance Factory, Kippies Jazz Bar, Moving into Dance, Newtown Music Centre and the much celebrated iconic Nelson Mandela Bridge.

Of the functions located within the precinct, a large majority are institutions of high culture that focus on the development of art forms which in itself is not problematic but one must question then the extent to

which the Newtown Cultural Precinct is representative and inclusive of alternative forms of cultural production that are not arts-related in a formal way but that depicts and reconstructs the cities identities by reflecting the multiplicity of lifeworlds of the city's users in the urban everyday.

The central open space that forms the core of the Cultural Precinct around which all other amenities are located is the Mary Fitzgerald Square. As previously mentioned this space has a long and deep history of varying uses, from protests and strikes, to open air flea-markets, the space arguably has always been a highly visible and busy one. The re-design of the Mary Fitzgerald Square has focussed on improvements to the public environment such as floorscape, some landscaping, the addition of street furniture on the perimeter of the square, two sky disks hailed as "major elements of the square" and a 55m² LED Screen (hailed to be the largest outdoor LED screen in the continent). A special mention in material related to the square and the Cultural Precinct always mentions the installation of French-designed lighting that is purported to improve the image of the area as well as well as give it a "unique ambience". The monetary spending on these urban beautification strategies in the cultural precinct have been substantial.

Unfortunately, after many hours and months of observation and research, this study contends that the square is rarely used as a vibrant public space of the everyday and that the much lauded urban regeneration applied to it and to the precinct has succeeded in planning the space to the point of sterilisation. A socio-spatial analysis of the square conducted by undergraduate students studying an Urban Planning degree in the Planning Programme at Wits University revealed that most people traverse the square only to access destination points beyond or at the periphery of the Newtown. Almost no people gather within the square during the day (unless a formal major event is being held) and it appears deserted throughout most of the day. The recent inclusion of a less formal Basketball facility at the far east end of the square has attracted a few users

to the square during the evening but the numbers of users who choose to dwell in the square are very low.



Figure 4: Designed but Deserted - Mary Fitzgerald Square, Newtown Cultural Precinct

The square has been a viable venue for highly organised City of Johannesburg or State-sponsored major events because of its sheer size and audio-visual infrastructure capacities. Yet, conceptions of public space that have been gleaned from global precedent seem to suggest that more than just public events are needed to retain the vibrancy and vitality of urban public open space. Ordinary people using the space in ordinary everyday ways, inhabiting it for a multitude of reasons, expressing in it their diversity and identity endow a public urban space with vitality and meaning to the everyday life of the city and its users.

The term public space is applied with caution in this context as a visit to the Newtown Cultural Precinct will reveal that the space is indeed policed and that the area has been privatised. Signboards have been put up that caution users against improper behaviour that may result in eviction or prosecution. The Cultural Precinct as a whole and the Mary Fitzgerald

Square in the name of culture-led urban regeneration have carved out a portion of the public everyday realm of the city and transformed the space into a semi-public semi private policed space that can accommodate only activities deemed fit and proper in accordance with its desired image and identity and with the desires or goals of its developers.

The re-design and development of the Mary Fitzgerald Square is one that has grabbed the attention of the media and the public and has thus gone some way in satisfying the place-marketing objectives of its developers. It is surely a highly visible change of environment that has been publicised and marketed and even praised by the local media. But it is also indicative of the result of the zeal in urban regeneration to apply urban beautification strategies and public environment management to the city's less formal less organised spaces on the assumption that 'pretty places' attract the 'right kind of people' and help to dispel perceptions of urban decline especially amongst investors and tourists, i.e. the moneyed public. These types of projects are also relatively short and painless route for the state to be seen as serving the interests of its constituents and thus can easily become part of political campaigning strategies in addition to city-marketing bids. A powerful critique of this approach to effecting change in the public environment is eloquently covered by Bremner (2004) when she cautions the following of Newtown's Cultural Precinct:
"*Somehow Newtown's always becoming yet never belonging culture – theatres, museums, galleries and music venues – cannot quite counter their urban antipathy. It is going to take more than the fancy French lighting and strange midget-sized busts littering Mary Fitzgerald Square (which has just undergone a R4.5 million makeover) to change things*."
(Bremner 2004; pg 62)

In fact, these sentiments may apply to the idea of the Newtown Cultural Precinct as a whole .The creation of cultural precincts is a particularly popular albeit Eurocentric idea of Culture-led urban regeneration particularly in the worlds ex-industrial cities that are re-imaging themselves to attract tourists and compete favourably for 'world-class city'

status. This suggests that the founding fathers of the idea of a Newtown Cultural District have, consciously or less so, adopted a substantive planning formula for urban regeneration that relies on the judgement of cultural precincts as 'favourable, good or positive' for urban regeneration of declining areas, a judgement that may well have been determined elsewhere in a temporal, social and spatial context quite unlike the context of Newtown in a Post-Apartheid Johannesburg.

Further to this argument one might question the idea of the Newtown Cultural Precinct in terms of its desired target market. Arguably the target market for the cultural industries and institutions of the Newtown Cultural Precinct (as with the Cultural Arc) are a select few who have the means (material and otherwise) to access these types of facilities and may only be those select few who attach great significance – that originates within their particular 'system of meaning' or 'lifeworld'[1] - with the forms of art and high culture that are on offer in the precinct.
To this extent the concept of the Newtown Cultural Precinct as it is served by its current conception of 'Culture' may be exclusionary not only in terms of use of space but also in the broader sense of access by a greater public. An extension of this argument may be also to interrogate how inclusive and open the Newtown Cultural Precinct is to accommodating less formalised, non-institutionalised agents of cultural production where that cultural production cannot neatly be classified as high culture or as a particular art form. Again the example of the lesser known Graffiti artists who cover the less prominent walls on the periphery of the Newtown Cultural Precinct with colourful animated graphics that sometimes carry social satire and at other times everyday thoughts of their 'artists' comes to mind. If such actors do not qualify for recognition in a positive way in the Newtown Cultural Precinct, then the interpretation of culture for this culture-led regeneration strategy is exclusionary.

[1] The terms 'system of meaning' and 'lifeworld' are deliberately used as a reference to the writings of Patsy Healey (Healey, 1983)

A further critique of the Newtown Cultural Precinct is that, like the Cultural Arc, it geographically and spatially contains a particular experience of culture hailed as *the* seat of culture in the city and packages a particular experience of 'culture' in Johannesburg as authoritative. This packaging and commodification of culture is selective and exclusionary (even merely on spatial terms) and is at risk of developing theme-park environments [1] that are 'Disneyfied' to the extent that socially and historically constructed meaning evaporates into a series of consumption based activities and spaces. Theoretical discussion on the commodification of 'culture' is dealt with in Chapter 4.

Overall, the Newtown Cultural Precinct is a concretisation of the selective interpretation of culture held in the 'official' state discourse of culture in and of the city. It is thus a spatial articulation of the power to define "culture" in and of the city that rests with the urban practitioners with whom this power resides.

3. MEASURABLE CULTURE

The example of the Newtown Cultural Precinct as an iconic cultural regeneration of in the city and the exploration of official city documents dealing with culture in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality point to the influence of the particular outcomes-driven ethos and approach taken by local municipalities. Local government is increasingly focused on achieving measurable quantifiable outcomes. This is driven by a range of factors, one of which is the need to produce visible results in the public environment. Local Government is increasingly under pressure to produce outcomes that are immediately visible and impressive to their constituencies. The implication of this is that the official interpretation of culture in the city is limited by the need to measure development of culture in the city against measurable quantifiable criteria. The often intangible and complex politics of cultural identity in the city are

[1] Most astutely researched and commented on in the works of Michael Sorkin (1992) and Sharon Zukin (1995)

not measurable enough to appear on Departmental Scorecards and are thus not given much weight in the interests of expedient visible implementation.

To extend research on the official narrative and interpretation of culture in the city the study aims to briefly demonstrate how the official discourse on culture in the city (explored thus far in this chapter) is actively adopted, translated and thus concretised into representations of culture in Johannesburg by the urban tourism sector in order to stimulate public consumption.

4. SELLING CULTURAL PLACE: CULTURAL TOURISM IN JOHANNESBURG

The official narrative and interpretation of how culture exists in the city manifests itself strongly in the arena of urban tourism. The select interpretation of culture in the city, by city (regeneration) agencies and authorities, is often directly translated into a very narrow and select representation of the city to visitors. Often these representations are concretised by the work of tourism agencies, official or private, who wish to sell a particular representation of culture as a commodity to foreign or domestic tourists.

This study will provide a brief montage of the language and representations of culture in Johannesburg as they appear in brochures, tourism strategies and promotional material, marketing a "cultural" experience of Johannesburg:

"From imaginatively crafted ceramics and beaded aprons, to wonderful watercolours and mammoth stone sculptures, Johannesburg lies at the artistic heart of South Africa, and its artistic expression remains the most significant showcase for the nation's cultural heritage. It is filled to the brim with museums and galleries that act as treasure houses for the

country's historic pieces, as well as contemporary examples of culture in the merging democracy, with eye-opening photographic exhibitions filling gallery walls, to modern film documentaries, and even cinema of the new age. Both the inner city and its outskirts are alive with the sights and sounds of indigenous cultures breaking new ground, and provides a wide selection of art, craft and entertainment venues – traditional and contemporary – ranging from cabaret to gum-boot dancing."
(CoJ, 2003 a)

This excerpt views formal artistic expressions in the city as signifiers of national cultural heritage. The text also describes museums and galleries, both formal institutions of official 'culture' in the city, as examples of culture in the "emerging democracy". It is unclear how museums and galleries act as such in the context of the arguments made about such institutions of cultural representation in this study (See Chapter 4).

The inner city is described as a site where indigenous cultures are breaking new ground. This may allude to cultural practices being produced in the everyday life of the city but the use of the term indigenous remains ambiguous in this context. Especially since this is immediately related to formal officially recognised arts, craft and entertainment facilities.

"*Situated as it is in the very heart of South Africa, Johannesburg is the cultural home of many of its peoples and offers a broad selection of art and entertainment venues that reflect the cultural diversity of the nation."*
(CoJ, 2003 a)

Again the language of this phrase links the concept of culture in the city to the existence of art and entertainment venues that promise to provide the consumer with a spectacle of the differences of the 'Other'.

'Johannesburg is a multi cultural city with surroundings that give rise to many traditional restaurants, markets and cultural villages."

(Tours South Africa, 2004)

This rather odd statement suggests a link between the surroundings of the multicultural city and the establishment of traditional restaurants, markets and cultural villages. There is no clear understanding of how these establishments arise out of the multicultural city.

"*The first thing to realise about the **South African culture** is that it is not one single **culture**: instead it is a whole range, representing every level of this very stratified community. **South Africa** invites you to view the cell in Robben Island where former president Mandela was imprisoned, dance and sing with the tribal folk of Shakaland in KwaZulu-Natal, hear the sound of the bones shaken by the Sangoma, view the final rest place of the symbol of woman empowerment Saartjie Baardman, explore the oldest **rock art culture** sights in the Drakensberg Mountains, or view South African art and drama in one of the many **art galleries** and **theatres** found in almost every city and town.*"
(South Africa.com, 1995)

An extract featuring the Lesedi Cultural Village as a tourist attraction related to culture and heritage states the following:

"*Visitors to the Protea Hotel Lesedi - A Cultural Village and Gauteng's most exciting showcase of African culture are bound to receive a warm African welcome. As the sun sets over the bush, guests are escorted by Lesedi cultural hosts for an experience of a lifetime during which they are introduced to the art, dancing, history, tribal legend and cuisine of five Southern African tribes.*

The cultural programme begins with a multi-visual presentation on the history and origins of the rainbow nation, followed by a tour of four ethnic homesteads - Xhosa, Zulu, Pedi and Sotho. Guests are then escorted to the boma for traditional singing and dancing and the people of Lesedi tell stories that date back to the days of their ancestors.

A traditional African-style feast is served in the restaurant, with a full bar close at hand. At the end of the evening, guests can either gather around the open fire and talk late into the night, or be escorted back to their cosy huts by members of their host family."

(South African Tourism, 2005)

Both of these extracts associate culture with tribalism, tradition and history and both serve to objectify the 'cultural' Other for tourist consumption. Neither present a view that would challenge the concept of a mysterious, traditional, authentic cultural wholes existing in the country.

The Lesedi Cultural Village experience is a form of staged cultural authenticity. The implications of this and of these texts are further analysed in Chapter 4.

The following excerpt is by the Gauteng Tourism Authority:

"*Welcome to Gauteng, Place of Gold – the economic powerhouse of the Southern African region and home to Africa's greatest cities. From the vibrant metropolis of Soweto, through dynamic Johannesburg, City of Gold to the tree-lined diplomacy of Pretoria, Gauteng is a cosmopolitan, multicultural mix of people from all walks of life, from all four corners of the world.*

Gauteng's wealth is not in our gold, but in our people. Our unique cultural and social legacy is our multicultural melting pot, evidenced in our many excellent museums, theatres, galleries, cultural precincts and craft markets. We have a rhythm, movement and style of our own…and we never stop dancing."

(Gauteng Tourism Authority , 2005)

The idea that the province is a "multicultural melting pot" seems to suggest the presence of complete cultural hybridity that may in fact be an idealized view of reality. The implicit assumption that multiculturalism in the

province can be evidenced in "*excellent museums, theatres, galleries, cultural precincts and craft markets"* privileges spaces of official dominant formal culture in the province and does not excludes evidence of cultural hybridity that may be found in the everyday spaces of the city.

A broader theoretical discussion of the commodification of culture in tourist destinations is undertaken in Chapter 4. For now, the discussion of the official story of culture in the city will briefly discuss an international case.

5. INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON PACKAGING CULTURE IN THE CITY

In 1990, the city of Glasgow in Scotland achieved the 1990 European City of Culture Status. This momentous occasion was lauded by a great many for changing perceptions, both local and international of the city. For the occasion, Glasgow committed much funding and effort toward culture-led regeneration projects and cultural events that were both meant to change the city's fortunes and turn it into a world-class city.
The Centre for Cultural Policy Research (CCPR) located at The University of Glasgow has been researching the long term impacts and public perceptions of culture-led regeneration and cultural events designed to relate to urban regeneration and city imaging (CCPR, 2004)
One particular report produced by the unit (CCPR, year unknown) analyses public perceptions as portrayed by the media of the impact of Glasgow's year as European City of Culture in 1990 (CCPR, 2004).

It is interesting to note that while perceptions were that the city's international profile and global image as a tourist destination had improved, locally based perceptions accompanied positive changes in the Image of the city with increasing recognition of persistent problems of exclusion, and basic needs such as housing and employment. What this kind of cultural imaging had done for the city is expose the deep cleavages and inequalities it was grappling with.

The issue of accessibility and exclusion (or inclusion) was also explored. Here the problem of culture-based events and regeneration as being elitist was raised. The event (Year of Culture 1990) was seen as imposed and organised from the top-down and thus being exclusionary. The event was also criticised for not representing or relating to local identities or cultures. A concurrent tension was the view that Glasgow was showing the world that it could hold world-class events (instead of 'just' locally-specific ones). It is evident even in the official discourse on culture led regeneration and development in the city that the zeal for world-class city recognition tends to pit a global focus against a locally specific and locally representative focus in cultural developments and events. As was the case in Glasgow, a locally specific cultural representation is often seen as being too parochial by urban actors in a Global arena (CCPR, 2004).

Another tension expressed about accessibility is the pricing of events suggesting that the conception of the target market is often class-biased and excludes, through pricing, a large proportion of people who cannot afford the cultural amenities on offer (CCPR, 2004). This may be related back to previous discussions of the accessibility and target market identification of formal institution of culture within Johannesburg's proposed Cultural Arc and Newtown Cultural Precinct.

Pricing is but one way to subtly exclude the interaction of those deemed outside of the desired target market from participating in cultural amenities and events (CCPR, 2004).

In another study evaluating cultural projects and events and their relationship and legacy for urban regeneration, by Dr. Beatriz Garcia of the CCPR at the University of Glasgow, three case studies of three major culture related events in three cities hosted with the aim of regenerating the city are compared (CCPR, 2004).

Glasgow's bid for European City of Culture 1990 delivered to the city an image (marketing) transformation, a tourism boost and culture-led urban regeneration in the city. The study found, however that there was no indication of whether there had been any improvement in the ability for

communities to access and be involved with culture related activities in the city or surrounds. Importantly it was also not certain whether local cultures had been represented. The report does not qualify how local cultures but suggest that these are everyday cultures.
In Sydney, in 2000, culture-led urban regeneration for the bid and hosting of the Olympic Arts Festivals (classified as a cultural event by the CCPR) brought with it increasing numbers of urban tourists and the mainstreaming of certain aboriginal groupings. Yet the event did not prove to improve awareness of cultural differences in the city. It did little to encourage mutual learning across perceived cultural divides. In addition, there were uncertainties as to whether this 'cultural' festival portrayed a fully representative image of the present city (CCPR, 2004).
In 2004, Barcelona hosted the Universal Forum of Cultures. One of the rationales behind this was the need for the event to drive urban physical regeneration. Some gain was made; new neighbourhoods were created and the cities image as a centre of culture was strengthened. Questions could be raised however, as to the opportunities for meaningful representation of the city's diverse communities and to the longer term sustainability beyond the physical infrastructure (CCPR, 2004).

From these three case studies it seems evident that culture-led urban regeneration drives bring mixed blessings to a city and often are shorter term measures that are at risk of distorting or neglecting authentic representations of difference for and by all groups in the city. They have also shown to be exclusionary of local hybrid practices of the production of meanings and signifiers in the urban everyday.

6. PACKAGING CULTURE IN JOHANNESBURG– OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has sought to unpack, analyse and critique the official interpretation of culture in the city and for the city, as it is revealed in the official narratives relating to culture and culture-led regeneration in the city.

It is clear from the above texts analysed that the official view of culture in Johannesburg has been limited to few formal institutions and mechanism of recognition of cultures in the city. The analysis has revealed questions around the power of representation of culture and the extent to which the official interpretation of culture in Johannesburg is exclusionary or inclusionary.
It has also revealed the City of Johannesburg's strategic objective to view culture as a commodity for the city. The analysis has attempted to decipher the official view of culture as it is related to identity in the city and has suggested that various possibilities have been neglected in terms of cultural activities, representation and expression in the urban everyday life of the city. These themes will be condensed into a theoretical discussion in Chapter 4.

Two particularly strong themes have emerged about the interpretation of culture as the basis for urban regeneration in Johannesburg:

One, is the idea of culture as a term used to describe and encompass forms of artistic representation and institutions of high culture such as museums and heritage facilities, theatres, art galleries, craft exhibitions, music halls and dance facilities.
The second is the concept of culture as being a mysterious, exotic, fetishised spectacle of difference in concrete material forms such as dress, traditional foods, dance, artefacts, artforms, crafts etc seemingly possessed by various groups of 'the Other' in the city (that originate in lifeworlds that

may be roughly labelled or perceived as non-western) . This is the spectacle of difference, the exotic Other, worthy of consumption, the commoditised ethnographic subject that is lauded as being part of the cultural 'melting pot', the 'rainbow nation', the indigenous people, the diverse 'multicultural' city. In this conception of culture people, their behaviour and their forms of representation are forced into a categorisation according to perceived bounded cultural wholes in order to be sold as the authentic cultural experience.

The next chapter will redress the interpretations of culture mentioned in Chapter 2 and will attempt to expose the limits of the current conception of culture that has been expressed in official narratives by urban practitioners in this Chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: CULTURE AND THE CITY: Four Critical Themes

1. Unpacking Culture:

The concept of Culture has evolved over time into a theoretical minefield. This study has attempted to briefly review and critically deconstruct selected ideas and interpretations of culture in the city, exploring both, the evolution and impact of ideas about culture on cities as well as the official narrative of culture constructed by city decision-makers in the city of Johannesburg.

What has emerged from this review is a set of conditions that expose the limitations of current and preceding interpretations of the meaning of culture in the city. Neither multiculturalism - understood as a progressive version of seeing culture as a mosaic of bounded cultural entities - nor absolute cultural hybridity can seem to convincingly account for the multiple practices and signifiers that are produced and negotiated in the everyday spaces of the city. Neither the discourse of multiculturalism nor cultural hybridity theory can singularly be privileged as a practically evidenced inclusive view of cultural difference as it plays out in the everyday life of cities.

2. An Understanding of Culture as It Exists in the City Today

The various concepts of culture discussed in Chapter 2 have had a powerful impact on urban practice and on the development of cities. Culture has been used to gain power, voice and agency and its meanings have been manipulated in the arts of representation so that it is now being sold on global markets as a commodity.

Chapter 3 of this study exposed two dominant conceptions of culture in the city by official city narratives in Johannesburg. In addition it showed

examples of the translation of perceived cultural differences into commodities that would stimulate economic growth for the city. Further, the analysis showed numerous examples of the creation of a selective cultural identity for the city through the privileging of formal institutions of high culture in culture-led urban regeneration.

An alternative way of making sense of contemporary cultural production practices in the city is needed if we are to dynamically respond to the changes in cultural practices and meanings that are themselves reshaping cities in the realm of everyday life. Before proposing that urban practice start to imagine a re-interpretation of 'Culture' in the City, it is necessary to explore critical theoretical themes (that have emerged in Chapter 2 and 3) that may help us to interpret the relationships between concepts of culture and the contemporary city.

To this end, four key themes have been identified and will be explored in terms of the construction and interpretation of the meaning of culture and the relationship this has had to cities up to the present day.

3. CULTURE AND IDENTITY: THE POLITICS OF DIFFERENCE

The notion of Identity has changed.

Modernist theory held it to be some form of pure, authentic original existence that resides deep in one's consciousness and that cannot and must not be tainted by exposure to all that is foreign. It was assumed that one must remain true to this core identity.

Minh-ha (1987) convincingly tackles this understanding of Identity saying it positioned the 'Self' as being completely apart from the 'Other', or in some cases the self as being dominant over the 'Other'. This concept[5] of

[5] The deliberate use of the term concept here is to connote an abstraction from reality.

identity thus created and entrenched a distinction between 'Self' and the 'Other'. The result was that, departure from this core identity was thought of as relinquishing the ability to fulfil ones role as the *real* self, the *real* African or the *real* man *or* woman.

Minh-ha (1987) aptly points to the search of Identity in this rigid sense of the word as being:
"*A search for that lost, pure, true, real, genuine, original, authentic self, often situated within a process of elimination of all that is considered other, superfluous, fake, corrupted or Westernised."*
(Minh-ha, 1987)
This is an essentialist view of identity that is hegemonic and works to iron out differences and standardise contexts and expectations. Difference as such was indeed used as a tool of segregation to create a power structure based on racial, sexual, or ethnic essences. This is the type of strategic essentialism that Apartheid was rooted in and that it laboured to entrench deeply in South African society.

Shepperson and Tomaselli (2001) observe that the Apartheid state used cultural identity in its narrowest and most essentialist form to support arguments for racial division. They draw on anthropologist Johan Sharp's observation that the Apartheid government extended their pro-Apartheid argument by replacing racial identity with cultural identity re-enforcing the idea that cultures are inherited through some form of biological essence that sets groups of people apart (Shepperson and Tomaselli, 2001).

This idea of cultural identity being a true real biological essence is, even now, so pervasive that it might be difficult to convince even those in power and those in urban practice that cultural identity can be anything but this. It is little wonder then that culture in South African cities and elsewhere in the world is still represented as if it were a mysterious biologically transmitted set of truths, guarded and possessed by a people.

There is however a significant counter hegemonic move in the introduction into theory of the notion of a new kind of identity politics. The anti-essentialist position toward cultural identity is a rejection of the idea that at the core of an African must lay an essential "Africanness" and that an African cannot concurrently be a Frenchman or Indian. It rejects the essentialist assertion that identity is bounded to essence such that identities may not overlap or shift and traverse boundaries.

This position is an insurgent deconstruction of the power structures that position the Self in binary opposition to the Other. The essentialist position strategically fashioned to produce a hegemony reacted to expressions of deviating overlapping and hybrid identity by resorting to discipline and punishment. Min-ha (1987) sardonically exclaims: "*Those running around yelling X is not X and X can be Y usually land in hospital, a rehabilitation center, a concentration camp or a reservation.*" (Minh-ha, 1987).

One may argue also that this contestation of an essentialist view of identity is happening in the everyday life of cities and not exclusively within the theoretical realm of academia. People everyday in everyday spaces are actively contesting and subverting the rigid identity boxes they have been placed in. These kinds of contestation give the city multiple shifting, alternative identities, an alternative spirit and life – one that becomes increasingly divergent from the official state narrative on cultural identity or culture in the city. For this reason we must ask for a more heuristic understanding of the cultural identity of the city.

In order to grasp the complexity of cultural identity, it is necessary that we attempt to understand the politics of identity and the process of its formations

Anti-essentialist discourse views identity as a social and political construct influenced by history and politics and thus hybridised, dynamic and fluctuating. Identity cannot be fixed or taken for granted it is constantly

evolving. Each of us has multiple shifting identity positions that allow us to occupy different identity groupings simultaneously without necessarily having to relinquish our position in other identity groupings. We constantly traverse borders of cultural identity and are influenced by the myriad cultural identity positions available to us.

Many would disagree with the notion held here that we have no bound cultural identity, and would argue that our behaviour and tradition and customs are culturally conditioned and shared amongst a defined grouping. Certainly that holds true for many previously ethnically defined groupings but this study would reason that common custom, tradition and shared ways of living, being and acting may be better attributed to a shared history and shared set of historical circumstances than a shared bound defined 'culture'.

3.1. The Construction of Identities

An understanding of the formation of identify is a step toward being able to read its complex articulation in spaces of the city.

According to Cornel West our constructions of Identity is contingent upon how we construct desire. West defines desire as "*The longing to belong, a deep visceral need that most linguistically conscious animals who transact with the environment (that's us) participate in*". (West, 1995)

To understand Identity, West (1995) asks that we examine "*the different ways in which human beings have constructed their desire for recognition, association and protection over time and in space…*" (West 1995)

Everyday urbanisms of city users are expressions of this desire in space. It is the construction of everyday ritual and meaning in space that displays the way we desire to be recognised, which in turn constructs our identity. This is understood in opposition to and despite state narratives that attempt to dictate what the identity of the city and its inhabitants might be.

In West's (1995) conception of Identity, material resources also play a part in shaping Identity according to the distribution of resources. The haves and have-nots separate their activities in space and engage in different rituals. Groups of school-going children or women may create more local and easily accessible spaces in the city because they may not have access to motor vehicle transport or to monetary resources needed to partake in other gatherings in elite privatised spaces of the city (particularly in the case of children).

Gordon Mathews (2000) describes the present confusion about cultural identity by describing cultural identity as a product available in a global supermarket from which people are free to choose cultural identity positions they wish to own for whatever length of time they wish to own it. This, Mathews (2000) holds, is a market-orientated view of cultural identity, one that is becoming increasingly powerful in shaping the identities of people around the world. This it would seem has seriously threatened state narratives of cultural identity being tied to nationality. People in cities and regions around the world are themselves deciding who, 'culturally', they are. An example in Johannesburg might be the appropriation of common identity between local urban fans of trance music culture in the city, who share a code of practices, that for the most part transcend race, age and ethnicity, related to their common interests and who meet in a highly organised way in unofficial unlikely spaces of the city in great numbers to collectively share a group identity they have appropriated for that particular time and space. At a recent event 14 000 people gathered at a water-park in Johannesburg to appropriate a group identity for a specific trance music event.

Mathews (2000) describes market related identity as having no particular ties to place but rather to the market and its particular cultural forms. While this may be true in developed nations and in affluent society where access to global products in global markets is pervasive, the poor of the world are still very much rooted to ways of being living and acting in particular locales. Important however is the assertion that even when fixed

in place people do have access to the influence of world markets and its accompanying cultural forms. American gangster rap and hip-hop reaches both affluent neighbourhoods in New York and poorer townships in Johannesburg. The reach of global cultural forms and commodities still transforms cultural identity even for people relatively rooted in place.

It is also important to note here that Mathews (2000) differentiates between two forms of the cultural market from which cultural identities are available – "the material supermarket" where an abundance of diverse international products is available within reach all over the world.

The other form of market, where cultural identities may be appropriated and manipulated, is what Mathews (2000) calls the cultural supermarket, where a flood of information and diverse potential identities are available to a wide range of people in all parts of the world. Mathews echoes the idea of cultural identities having always being hybrid by stating that:
"*Probably the cultural supermarket, like the material supermarket, has existed in rudimentary form for as long as there have been human beings…"* (Mathews, 2000, pg 9)
Ideas have had no borders and similarly cultural identities that are formed and appropriated based on these ideas cannot have borders either.

The cultural supermarket of identities has exploded over the past few decades. Its reach and the rapidity of its transformation have forever crippled fixed notions of cultural identity. The unprecedented rate of communication of ideas has transformed identities all over the world.

State narratives have had to try hard to re-assert a common national identity amongst citizens in order to counter the borderlessness of cultural identities available to its peoples. Often this state assertion comes in the form of representing bounded fixed glorified national cultural identity to which it asks its citizens to subscribe. South African narratives of the country as a rainbow nation, the New South Africa advocating a unified

national identity position for its citizens is so far removed from everyday reality that it is difficult to subscribe to it with any conviction.

There is a difficult tension between defining cultural identity as being a fixed bounded one and defining cultural identity as being offered and dictated by the market. The former as we already have discussed is far too rigid and inflexible to reflect the rapid changes occurring in the everyday life of cities and the latter is so 'slippery' and contingent that it is hard to identify it at any given moment in time. It would seem that a middle ground is needed to understand cultural identities in our cities today.

A middle ground might be to acknowledge that people's individual sense of cultural identity is forever in flux and that any strong assertion of a group cultural identity must be understood not in terms of a fixed mysterious biologically inherited essence but as a socially and more importantly, a historically constructed label of opportunity whose meaning is in constant flux. This process of constructing a group or individual identity over time is not only transformed by organic unconscious hybridity from cultural contact but also by selective appropriations from the global cultural supermarket.

This is nowhere more apparent than it is in the vast diverse cosmopolitan cities of the world where different city dwellers are constantly mediating existing identities and appropriating new globally traded identities in everyday spaces of the city.

Everyday use of public spaces in the city is a spatial expression of individual or collective identities. The rituals of everyday life in the city are multiple, layered, fluid, constantly being shaped and reshaped. The multiple and hybrid forms of interactions with urban spaces are also multiple and hybrid social constructions of identity. To understand culture in the city's everyday realm is to understand the complex dimensions of cultural identities. A critical understanding of the nuances of identity politics is a tool toward a socially relevant reading of the city.

Grasping identity politics as viewed through the lens of culture in the city is a significant step toward a critical, responsive and relevant praxis for planners and designers facing the challenges of a meaningful urban practice.

Identities expressed in the spaces of the city are, as this study will argue further, a riddle of various influences and characteristics that is in constant flux. Even though identities are constantly hybridised and crossed, culture is portrayed in its official sense by the dominant as possessing discrete unified meanings.

3.2. Hybrid Cultural Identities

"*...Identity is not fixed, nor is it self-evident, and it becomes meaningfully different in different contexts*." (Sandercock, 1995)

Reflecting on Anzaldua, (cited in Sandercock, 1995) Identity cannot be conceived of as a singular phenomenon; we are simultaneously constituted of multiple identities. Each user of the city is "not only inhabit(ing) the borderlands, but perpetually travelling, traversing the boundaries/frontiers between classes, races, cultures..." (Sandercock, 1995)

This hybridisation of Identities extends to cultural identity positions.

Furthermore, if we recall Mikhail Bakhtin's (1985) unconscious organic hybridity discussed in Chapter 2 then the idea that our origins and identities are rooted in a defined culture is questionable since cultures have always been hybrid and more importantly have always been mutating and transforming over time. Groups of people have adopted customs traditions and everyday practices from other groups and these have in turn hybridised and changed over time such that we cannot speak of "cultures" ever having existed as concrete bounded wholes.

It follows from this and from discussions in Chapter 2 that drawing the borders between perceived cultural systems or discrete cultural identities is impossible.
One cannot exclusively claim to possess a singular undeniable cultural identity.
While this exciting debate could be argued at greater length it is more important that we move beyond knowing what cultural identity is not and discovering what it might be and might mean in our rapidly changing increasingly hybrid cities.

Indeed the very notion of defining cultural identity in our city today will be fraught with difficulties and paradoxes. The aim in this study is not to present a concrete definition of culture or cultural identity, not least because it is the contention of this study that no such conclusive definition can exist, but instead to highlight that cultural identities of people or place cannot be assumed or taken for granted or dictated by state narratives. Cultural identity, if we as urban practitioners are to understand it, has to be critically questioned and dissected in the context of rapid demographic and political changes in cities of the world.

If the city is overlaid by a web of varied everyday spaces that each express multiple cultural identities in the ways they are used, how radically democratic are such articulations of Identity?

3.3. Power, Identity and Space: The Politics of Articulating Identity

When people define identity in terms of culture, gender, race or nationality it is usually a set of statements that positions them as either being A or non-A, as dominant or victim as belonging or not belonging, as conforming to a dominant identity or not. Who decides though what constitutes the dominant or mainstream? Surely, the effect of such cultural or ethnic group identities being expressed in space serves only to construct Identity from a position of power- it creates a political difference in status between

what is articulated in space as dominant and what is articulated as marginal.
Therefore, to address the moral content of Identity as expressed in space over time is to question how democratic certain forms of narrow cultural identity politics are.

Joan Scott (1995) explains that difference in Identities must be recognized as part of the politics of the process of the construction of power. It should not be taken as a separate sociological fact or as the "*reflection of some enduring/pre-existing 'culture'*".

3.4. Creating the Self/Other Relationship In Space

The political consequence of articulating a group identity in mental or real space is a reaffirmation of difference – a creation of a sense of the 'Other'. This according to Scott (1995) is the contradiction we're caught in when claiming an identity – an act that may become at time an unavoidable political tactic.

Therefore, a spatially expressed solidarity or identity results in a clear definition of the "us versus them", which has implications for both spatial and social integration and mixing in the city.

Neill (2004) relates that the dilemma facing cities is reconciling the tension between the acknowledgement and articulation of cultural identities and cultural difference with an idea of commonality, unity and social integration among city dwellers.

3.5. Identity-Space Ascriptions

Identity, however it is constituted, manifests itself in rituals of everyday life in the everyday spaces of the city. Spaces chosen for everyday living by different users of the city confer upon those users an unspoken identity through association. Each choice of location and use of space holds a meaning and statement of identity about the user. That is not to suggest that this identity statement is in any way rigid universally legible

translatable or fixed. Identities expressed in space and conferred upon users through the use of particular spaces in particular ways are framed by a particular temporal and socio-spatial context. The shifting nature of cultural identities in everyday spaces means that identity-space ascriptions are difficult to identify or establish.

This frustrates the modernist impulse to rationally identify and order identities in space. Identity ascriptions in space can only be fixed when identity, particularly cultural identity, is conceived of in narrow rigid terms of cultures existing as bounded wholes within which city users are categorised or when cultural identity is used to define and describe the practices of the mysterious 'Other' in the city. This may explain the ubiquitous persistence of the idea of a bound cultural identity – this becomes an indispensable tool with which to rationally order the city with and prevent the threat of physical, moral or any other form of perceived anarchy.
The example of the creation of cultural enclaves as a strategy of culture-led urban regeneration seems particularly relevant here. The zeal to create Chinatowns or Little India or Little Italy in culture-led urban regeneration testifies to the need for urban practice to ideologically and physically ascribe a fixed bound cultural identity to geographical space so as to create order, to stabilise cultural identity ascriptions in the spaces of the city and, to offer a neatly contained organised spectacle of the perceived "culture" of 'Othered' social groups for tourist consumption or entertainment value. The result is often that perceived cultural group identities are the basis for ghettoising groups of the city in particular spaces of the city.

An example in Johannesburg is the drive by urban regeneration companies to revive an area of the city known prior to the democratisation of the country and the decentralisation of the city as "Chinatown". What is envisaged is a part nostalgic re-creation, part world class enclave that would rival other Chinatowns in other cities of the world and would attract tourists. Interestingly enough, despite the desire of the city fathers to re-establish Chinatown in its former location, a large number of the Chinese

members of Johannesburg's public have voluntarily and organically clustered in an area called Cyrildene, an eastern suburb of Johannesburg and have created a high street lined with Chinese supermarkets, pharmacies, and restaurants. This process had not been stimulated or strategised by the City's urban practitioners yet the area has informally become widely known as Johannesburg's Chinatown. Yet the city continues to work toward artificially recreating a spectacle of Chinese 'Culture' in a particular space of the city prescribed by their regeneration strategists.

The process of assigning cultural identity to space and of assigning space to express a perceived cultural identity is vastly different in the realm of the everyday life and space of the city when compared to the process in the realm of official urban practice.
The latter seems to be driven toward manipulating identity/space ascription to concretise and market a particular identity of place.

3.6. Place Identities

Places like groupings of people are also ***assigned*** identities by those with whom the power to assign these rests i.e. urban decision makers

There is an uncanny parallel between the past approaches to cultural identity and past approaches to place identity.
Michael Barke and Ken Harrop (1994), writing as late as 1994, defined place identity as an objective truth describing the true nature of a place. They assert that "Places also ***have*** identities". This does not differ too much from the parallel early view that cultural identity was an objectively given fact describing a true essence of being or nature of self.

In contrast to this rigid view of place identity, this study would again contend that identity – even place identity – is a socio-political construct not an objective truth about a place.

Urban practitioners and city politicians have over the years sought to re-fashion *their* city's identity in order to respond to political pressure, global economic competitiveness or the perceived desires of the city's most powerful and prosperous stakeholders.
In much the same way as we need to interrogate our understanding of the cultural identities of city dwellers, the official identity ceremoniously awarded to our cities by urban practitioners also needs to be questioned.

Often the ambitions of the 'city fathers' to create an identity for the city are based on factors other than responding to the needs of the city's population. In many cities around the world, the identity chosen for the city is often a misrepresentation of the everyday reality of the majority of the city's users. These ascribed place-identities choose to build on only a strategically selected few qualities of the city that can be made into the "*sexy stuff*" of city imaging drives and place-marketing projects to attract tourists and foreign investors.

The process of construction of place identities by those in power in cities of the world deserves to be explored and discussed at greater length. There has been vast research into the process of constructing place identity and this cannot be exhaustively explored here. It is sufficient to relay some thoughts on the process of constructing a cultural identity for the city by those in urban practice and politics as an exercise of power. The outcome of this process attempts to dictate to the city dweller, the tourist and the potential foreign investor what they should perceive the city to be rather than present to these parties the everyday urbanism of the city as it is experienced by its people.

Neill (2004) cautions that constructing a single dominant place identity and image for the city is likely to lead planners into neglecting to address the distinctiveness of place. One could then argue that for urban regeneration the limitations of creating a totalising narrative of the city's identity is at a tension with the dangers of *enclavizing* a place based on particularities of place that are too narrowly perceived.

Culture-led regeneration projects that seek to refashion an area as a "cultural district" or ethno-cultural enclave neglect the possibility of an already existing symbolism and set of hidden meanings currently invested in the space through the enactment of ritual in the everyday life of its users. Often these possibilities are overlooked in the urban planners' search for rational technical visual assessments of the status quo of the area deemed fit for culture-led redevelopment. This critique suggests a further point for reflection on the construction of place identities: To what extent can the urban planner/practitioner, whose own 'system of meaning' is not organically connected to the particular area or space (mentioned above) cultivate a critical sensitivity to existing symbolisms, identities and meanings in the space, when empowered (by virtue of her/his claim to professional expertise) to fashion an official place-identity?

In Johannesburg, the employment by the City of Johannesburg of a foreign (albeit expert) consultant from the United Kingdom, to conduct an Audit of Inner City Cultural Assets (analysed in Chapter 3) raises exactly the same question (raised above). A related concern then is whether the identification and audit of "cultural assets" in the city centre can be a value-free exercise for the urban practitioner that is entirely unrelated to his/her interpretation of cultural identity formed within his/her own lifeworld or system of meaning?

This raises a politics of constructing place identity raising questions of power and agency in such a process.

At the same time as there is a move by the city fathers to construct an official narrative of place identity, there is a simultaneous force shaping place identit*ies* in myriad ways all over the city. This is a force driven by the city's many multiply diverse and richly varied dwellers who in their everyday ways of living, knowing, being and acting are at work (consciously or subconsciously) to change the city's identities in different ways at different moments in time and space. This study would contend

that it is this process of identity formation for the city that is better attuned to the pulse of everyday changing realities in the city.

What is important to note about these two concomitant processes of cultural identity formation for the city is that both is guided by socio-political strategies of existence in the city, each with its own motives and each having a different desired effect on the city as it is experienced in everyday life.

At the risk of repetition, it must be re-emphasised here that the process of identity formation, be it personal or place identity is an exercise of power; that the choice of a particular identity-label at a particular moment in time and space necessarily invokes the power of choice.

An understanding of the relationship between culture (cultural identity and cultural representation) and power is crucial to our understanding of the interpretation of culture in the city and how we may revise the way in which we conceptualise culture in the city.

4. THE CULTURE/POWER RELATIONSHIP IN CITIES

As discussed earlier in this study the social and political construction of culture as a concept has undoubtedly been an exercise of power.

The concept of culture as being inherent to 'a people', a tribe' or a nation is an attempt to create a bounded subject which may be studied from afar. This subjectivisation almost always presumed the cultural subject as a silent voiceless 'Other'.

This is but one level on which the construction of culture as a concept can be oppressive and create subjectivity.

In the colonial and Apartheid eras "culture" was essentialised and thus attributed conveniently to those of the same race or ethnicity. The definition of culture as being derived from sharing the same biological

essence supported the theory that people of colour or another race were fundamentally and biologically different in all aspects of life and thus helped to justify all forms of racism, discrimination and human rights abuses. It also helped to justify segregationist urban planning strategies and the resulting spatial logic of the Colonial and Apartheid City, including such oppressive spatial forms as the Native Indian Reservations of North America and the South African Bantustans. Not surprisingly culture has always been theorised by those in whom power and authority was vested in the city. This is some of what Sandercock (1998) refers to as the darker/ 'noir' history of the planning profession.

This surprisingly persistent writing and theorising of culture must be carefully inspected and interrogated if we are to prevent a hegemonic conception of culture from driving culture-led urban regeneration.

There are two dimensions to the relationship between power and culture that are particularly relevant to this study:
The *first* is questioning by whom the meaning of culture in the city is, or can be constructed and the *second* is questioning how 'culture' is used to reinforce power in the process of its representation?

As to the latter question, the representation of culture as an exercise of power especially in an urban context could stand alone as an area that deserves in-depth research and documenting. Regrettably this kind of study is beyond the ambit of this thesis. The politics of representation will however be discussed briefly in the following fourth theme of this chapter.

For now, what we need to question is the process by which culture is defined for the city. Chapter 2 (Reframing Culture) discussed at some length the various constructions of culture that were used to reinforce power and construct hegemony. The discussion here relies on those insights to discuss who holds the power of constructing dominating discourses of culture for and in the city.

Accordingly, a response to the first question raised above is based on the examination of the official discourse of culture expressed by city authorities in a range of various documents pertaining to the City of Johannesburg, analysed in Chapter Three.

City authorities in Johannesburg have selected two particular interpretations of culture in the city upon which to base their ideas for culture-led urban regeneration. These are used to best suit their specific objectives of boosting economic growth via culture-led urban regeneration and attraction of investors and tourists by constructing place identities that rely on the representation of cultural identity.

4.1. Power and the Rationality of Culture in the City

In examining the process by which culture is defined for the city by city authorities this study has found it particularly useful to draw on the ten propositions created by Bent Flyvberg (1998) to explain the commutative relationship between power and rationality.

Flyvberg (1998) shows in his study of a urban planning project in Aalborg how power determines what counts as valid knowledge. In this study the process of defining culture for and in the city is a way of determining, as an act of power, what is regarded as authoritative knowledge about culture.

Following on from this, power also determines what forms of knowledge about culture in the city are recognised and accepted as valid suggesting that some ways of knowing about culture are privileged and others are excluded.

Flyvberg's assertions (1998) on the link between power and rationality in urban practice are an invaluable frame for analysis of the construction of meaning for culture as an exercise of power.

Flyvberg's first proposition claims that "Power defines Rationality" (Flyvberg, 1998). Those in power create a reality rather than seek to discover what reality actually is. In cities, city governments construct their own select meaning and interpretation of culture in the city and represent this in official spaces rather than seek to discover what the real culture in the city might be in the everyday life of the city.

The second proposition asserts that rationality is rooted in the context of power and that power confuses rationality with rationalisation (Flyvberg, 1998). In this way rationality is penetrated by power and the two cannot be seen in isolation. The particular official rationality on Culture in the city (examined in Chapter 3) is borne out of the power of city authorities to construct it and communicate it. The process of communicating it in official spaces and texts is often more about seducing the urban population with imagery and glamour rather than pure argument. This process of communicating produces this rationality to be able to justify urban decision making about culture-led development in the city. Flyvberg's contention here is that power produces rationality to achieve rationalisation of its ideas (Flyvberg, 1998).

A third proposition explains that rationalisations for the actions of those in power are actually strategically presented as rationality. This Flyvberg (Flyvberg, 1998) maintains enables power to define reality. For the city to sustain and maintain their chosen reality of culture in the city, official texts present rationalisations disguised as rationality for culture the city. These are contained in some of the official texts analysed in the last chapter. In this case the official rationality of culture in the city is what is seen as most important on the surface yet below this surface it is actually the rationalisations created to serve the authorities position of power that really dominate.

It must be noted here that Flyvberg warns that the process of constructing rationality is not always a conscious exercise of power by city authorities. Often the institutions themselves have rationalised their ideas to such an

extent that they themselves believe their rationality to be reality (Flyvberg, 1998).

A final proposition selected for application in this study is Flyvberg's idea that "the greater the power the less the rationality" (Flyvberg, 1998). Applied here this means that the greater the power vested in city authorities and strategists, the more power they will have to define the reality of culture in the city and the less likely that they will be compelled to come to terms with how reality is really constructed by ordinary people in the everyday life of the city. This may also be followed by an unwillingness to provide reasons and rationale for decisions made about representing culture in the city indicating their freedom to define reality for the city's users. Flyvberg (1998) holds that this often leads to power falling into self-deceptions and false rationalisations to serve its purposes. In this way city authorities might move further and further away from the realities of the everyday life of cities.

5. CULTURE, POWER AND CULTURAL REPRESENTATION IN CITIES

Culture is primarily constituted in its representation. Various cultural forms and practices, from the colonial novel to Chinese gangster rap, refract and reshape our understanding and interpretation of culture.

Representation fundamentally involves making decisions about what 'truths' are presented for public consumption, about the manner and form in which selected 'truths' are presented in a tangible way, and the motives for representation. These decisions suggest to us that representation is inextricably linked to power and that cultural representation is based on the truths that are held about the meaning of culture by a particular group in a specific temporal and spatial context.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Flyvberg's propositions on Power and Rationality suggest that those who hold power are in a better position to construct their own rationality and thereby define reality. (Flyvberg, 1998)

This study would extend that argument by suggesting that power not only enables the construction of a particular rationality to serve its purposes but also enables the selective representation of this constructed rationality and that this selective representation is based on rationalisation. For example, research detailed in Chapter Three suggests that city-level state entities such as CoJACH (City of Johannesburg Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage) and its cultural-development allies possess enough decision-making power and financial leverage in the city to construct a particular rationality around the meaning of culture in and for the city, perhaps to serve their purpose of attaining urban regeneration and economic growth, and in turn by virtue of the power vested in them take decisions about what is represented as culture in the chosen spaces of the city. These decisions to represent culture in a particular way - for example as consisting of art forms and institutions of high culture such as theatre, museums and dance facilities - are rationalised by arguments stating standards in other "world cities" and those stating the tourism impact of such facilities in the city.

Flyvberg's suggestion(Flyvberg, 1998) that often those who possess power uncritically immerse themselves in their constructed rationality to the extent that the difference between the rationalisations they create to support their rationality are blurred with this rationality such that those in power cannot themselves differentiate between what they represent as truth for public scrutiny and what their behind-the-scenes motives or justifications might be for that representation. The research conducted on the official discourse of culture in the city and of selected culture-led regeneration initiatives suggests that the uncritically adopted rationality constructed around culture in the city and the decisions taken about how it is to be represented - for example in the Newtown Cultural District making up the Cultural Arc – are difficult to differentiate from each other. It is even more difficult to differentiate between the rationalisation of this particular representation of culture in the city and the dominant or prevailing rationality constructed around the meaning of culture.

Extending Flyvberg's argument then helps elucidate the inextricable link between the representation of culture in the city and the exercise and possession of power, i.e. the power of city-decision-making bodies to selectively represent culture in the city in the way that they conceptualise it.

5.1. Cultural Representation: The Exotic Spectacle of the Other in the City

Cultural representation of the 'Other' – or of the culturally different – can be traced back to imperialist and colonial travel and expeditions.

Chapter 2 makes references to how the cultural 'Other' was represented as exotic in the capital cities of colonial powers. Colonial expeditions to Africa and the East were means of accumulating objects and accounts of "native" peoples or tribes and what was perceived as "their cultures". A Sunday Times newspaper article (Sunday Times, 2003) entitled 'Been There, Done That, Bought the Hottentot" suggests that souvenirs from colonial expeditions were often humans who were transported - by the colonial explorers who discovered them - to European cities to be studied and to entertain by creating a spectacle of the exotic, almost fetishised Other. The well documented story of slave-girl Saartjie Baardman who was taken to Europe for such purposes is a renowned example of the objectification exoticising and fetishising of the perceived cultural Other.

Today the representation of culture particularly in post-industrial cities - that are actively and competitively involved in image creation and place-marketing - relies heavily on the exhibition of the perceived cultural differences of 'Othered' groups - debatably in slightly more humane ways – through the creation of formal institutions of representation in the city that are often classified as cultural facilities. All that is not perceived as being part of the 'dominant culture' is perceived as being "exotic" and as a valuable resource for spectacle and consumption and thus for place-marketing in the city.

The result is often that culture-led urban regeneration and related cultural tourism initiatives rely heavily on the provision of this type of spectacle of the cultural 'Other' in formal so-called 'cultural' institutions in the city – primarily for tourist consumption.

5.1.1. Preferred Formal Institutions for the Representations of Culture in the City.

Museums and Galleries are formal institutions often seen as high culture. They too have their roots in colonialism and are spaces within the city created for the exhibition and spectacle of the art forms, artefacts, and the representations of cultural difference of the 'Other'.

These types of institutions have presented a selective representation of perceived cultural difference that in being exhibited is often "frozen" and thus divorced from physical, social and temporal context. Zukin (1995) provides further input on the selective representations of museums saying that they have sparked much conflict over representation including questions about whether a museum has the right to divorce objects from their temporal and spatial contexts to exhibit them for public consumption.

The viewers understanding of the spectacle provided in such a setting is limited or prescribed by the interpretations and representations of the curators of the exhibits. Museums and galleries have the power to select a particular representation of culture. In this way they help to re-enforced the interpretation of culture in the city as being that which comprises institutions of high culture that are meant to educate and entertain people about the cultural 'Other'. In Johannesburg, the Cultural Arc seeks to formally establish this interpretation of culture in the city.

When culture-led urban regeneration projects rely on museums and galleries as institutions of urban culture they are supporting a very selective representation of culture in the city. In Johannesburg, museums

and art galleries are often listed (refer to Chapter three) as cultural resources of the city that should or do form part of cultural regeneration projects. Often these types of 'cultural' facilities are less accessible to the everyday public and only validate certain formalised and established forms of cultural production. In this way they can be exclusionary. Zukin (1995) adds to the debate that the museum and its exhibits involve highly political decision-making by suggesting that even the location and importance of museums in the city become a point of conflict. In Johannesburg, there is recent mention of plans to move the Johannesburg Art Gallery from Hillbrow to the Newtown Cultural Precinct so as to capitalise on the clustering of 'cultural' activities in the district.

The district then will have both an art gallery and a museum that official narratives pose will strengthen the identity of the area as a "Cultural District".

The creation of a Cultural District in the city as a regeneration strategy is not a new concept nor it is unique to Johannesburg. The creation of cultural districts in the city has been popular in cities around the world since the 1990's. Zukin (1995) states that:

"Cities from New York to Los Angeles and Miami seem to thrive by developing small districts around specific themes." (Zukin, 1995, pg10)

She elaborates by saying that the "symbolic economy", constructed for these kinds of cultural districts, relies on the consumption of 'culture' and a social or ethnic division of labour. In this way cultural districts may be deemed exclusionary in the context of the argument is this study.

Cultural Districts, with their concentrations of activities like art galleries, museums, cultural craft exhibitions and other specialised 'cultural ' functions create a social space for the elite and thus create a heightened sense of awareness amongst ordinary people of the cultural consumption patterns of the elite. These spaces then form a reference point for the way

in which ordinary people see and interpret the spaces of the city. (Zukin, 1995)

An examination of the Newtown Cultural District in Johannesburg in its broader context immediately highlights to the user its specialised characteristics and sets it apart from its dense surrounding areas and streets and thus perhaps by design isolates it from the rest of the city as a place of elite consumption. In other words the city user gets a heightened awareness of the Newtown Cultural District as being a place of specialised elite consumption and of the surrounding city streets in juxtaposition to the cultural district. The user then reinterprets the city by comparison to the Newtown Cultural District i.e. using it as a point of reference.

Cultural Enclaves and Cultural Quarters are used in much the same way in culture-led urban regeneration drives in the city as Cultural Districts are. Cultural Districts however refer more to districts were there is a perceived clustering of institutions of high culture such as galleries, museums, jazz clubs, theatre etc. Cultural enclaves or quarters refer more often to ethnic enclaves in the city where there is a perceived concentration of a particular resident ethnic grouping. The irresistible urge in urban regeneration initiatives is often to demarcate, homogenise and formalise such 'ethnic' enclaves for consumption or representation as the site of cultural production and expression of that ethnic grouping. It is often presented as a place for local and foreign visitors to visit to be able to experience the unique culture of, for example, the 'Chinese community' or the city's "Indian Community". This is evidenced in the creation of Chinatown's in cities around the world. Urban regeneration of these areas often involves urban design interventions that seek to re-enforce a traditional cultural ethnic identity to the space of the enclave and thus enhance the exotic nature of the spectacle of the 'Other' to present for consumption and to enhance place-marketing.
This is a type of selective cultural representation to serve motives other than merely to create a vehicle for expression of ethnic difference in the city.

The creation of these spatialised forms of representation of cultural difference in the city that are selected by city decision-makers can often begin to develop areas of the city as theme-park environments designed for consumption.

There is much current documentation of the landscapes of theme parks. This study will not to seek to comprehensively analyse the material. It is sufficient here to recognise that in choosing to selectively represent a particular interpretation of culture in the city, a loss of authenticity of any semblance of cultural practices that may be held by the 'Other' and the commodification and re-creating of perceived cultural images of the 'Other', is involved. Cultural signifiers and symbols of the exotic 'Other' are presented as kitsch objects for consumption. Theme parks create a virtual reality for users who have the means to access them often by selectively representing local cultures and sanitising the environments to remove all signs of any harsh realities in the city. Representations of culture in theme park environments are completely divorced from the real landscapes and features of everyday life in the city. Shaw and Williams (2004) referring to Disneyland as an example of a theme-park environment suggest that visitors to such theme parks enter a "*carefully constructed, heavily regulated and well-choreographed space*".
They emphasise that these types of environments provide - primarily through the power of representation - a strong contrast to the realm of everyday life in the city. They also are exclusionary environments that result in the privatisation of space and systematic exclusion of the 'Other' or of those who the authorities believe should remain invisible in such environments such as the destitute or homeless.
An extension of theme parks as selective representations of culture in the city are those spaces created through regeneration and urban planning for cultural tourism.

The tourism potential for regeneration projects are combined with the turn in place –marketing toward a focus on culture. Together this provides the

impetus for the city authorities and agents to create spaces in the city for the consumption of select representations of 'culture'.

Yet these spaces constructed with the aim of encouraging cultural tourism such as the Cultural Arc Project and the Newtown Cultural District as well as the Lesedi Cultural Village situated outside of the Inner city of Johannesburg reduce and sanitize perceived cultural practices , religious rites, ethnic rites and festivals to match tourist expectations resulting in a type of "staged or reconstructed ethnicity" (Robinson, 1996) Robinson further states that in such environments "*tourists get* **staged** *authenticity; instead of getting exotic culture, they get kitsch*.' (Emphasis original) (Robinson, 1996, pg. 22)
These kinds of environments act to manufacture the tourist experience of the city so that tourists do not experience the city but do experience a faked landscape that is created to conform to the place-marketing images of the city that are sold to them in tourism brochures and travelogues.(Shaw and Williams, 2004)
Another danger of such tourist spaces created in the city is that they selectively represent overly simplified and commodified versions of traditions and lifestyles (sold as "cultures') that are significantly more complex in reality, only to be able to sell in an easily digestible form to tourists. The real complexities and conflicts that are part of these lifestyles, histories or traditions are "compressed and packaged" (Shaw and Williams, 2004) into themed spaces for easy consumption.

According to Chang et al (1996) local agencies aren't merely passive recipients of tourist consumption. Many destinations tend to highlight and embellish themes perceived to be peculiar to 'their culture' in a bid to market these as a commodity and separate themselves from their competitors.

Alternative forms of representation of 'culture' are in what Zukin (1995) calls the symbolic economy of the city. Evidence of representations of culture in the city are found in television commercials, local television

programmes and the cities plethora of visual "cultural" symbols presenting through highly visual forms of advertising. These form alternative representations of culture in the city.

The above forms of selective cultural representation in the spaces of the city all relate closely to the interpretation of culture as a commodity particularly by urban decision makers who are vested with the power to create such sites.

6. CULTURE AS A COMMODITY IN THE CITY

'With the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and periodic crises in government and finance, culture is more and more the business of cities – the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique, competitive edge." (Zukin, 1995, pg 2)

Cultural consumption has preoccupied debates about the impact of globalisation. Global cultural symbols have begun to take on a high commodity value. The culture industry has received much attention in theory over the past decade.

Cities manufacturing culture have through the culture industry enhanced their ability to create cultural representations and the spaces to accommodate these representations.
Chapter 3 examined some of the strategies in place to create or concretise these kinds of 'cultural' spaces in the city of Johannesburg as well as the official voice or discourse that informs the construction of culture and its role in the city.

In fact this study would claim that much, if not all, of the representation of culture that is underpinned by the official city government construct of culture is an exercise in using that particular concept of culture as a commodity to be sold on local and global competitive markets.

6.1. The Process of Commodification of Culture:

A point of departure in understanding this process, echoed in the ideas of Meethan (2001 in Shaw G and Williams AM, 2004) is that we view the commodification of culture and place (reciprocally) on two inter-discursive levels.
The first involves the production of images through various mechanisms for place marketing initiatives targeting foreign investment and tourism by city governments, the tourism industry and private sector stakeholders. This involves all the media for cultural-spatial image making that exist in cities.

The second (related) level relates more closely to cultural tourism and the engineered tourist experience in local areas and perceived local 'cultures'.

An important link between these is the fact that the tourist experience of 'culture' in the city and place-marketing initiatives often end up sharing exactly the same physical spaces of the city (Meethan, 2001) and can be said to be mutually dependent on each other. Culture-led urban regeneration that is informed by current limited interpretations of culture in cities then becomes a vehicle for the production of this common physical space in the city in a bid to create a platform for place-marketing and image production as well as for spatially engineering tourist experiences of 'culture'. Spaces created for these purposes need also to live up to the expectations created by the images created by the city's marketing machineries.

One may extend this discussion to suggest that a large number of residents of Johannesburg qualify as tourists in the context of the above discussion. In Johannesburg the flight of predominantly white middle and upper class residents from the inner city of Johannesburg since the 1970's and the later aversion to the inner city by racially diverse middle and upper income groups, fuelled by the deluge of dystopic media images of the inner city and perceptions of crime and grime, resulted in local city inhabitants being estranged from parts of the inner city they deemed as no-go zones. Over

the past two decades, the inner city and its immediate surrounds became foreign territory to many of Johannesburg's middle and upper income suburbanites. As evidenced in Chapter 3, recent culture-led urban regeneration in the city (specifically the Cultural Arc and the Newtown Cultural Precinct) has openly targeted these groups of city residents to 'sell' city 'culture' to, explicitly creating means of direct access and egress to these cultural projects from the generally wealthier northern suburbs of the city – access routes that safely, swiftly and cleanly deliver this market to 'cultural' attractions and expensive restaurants/cafés while avoiding contact with the real everyday realm of the inner city. In this way a large number of local city residents qualify as tourists, and can fit well into the aforementioned discussion of the engineered tourist experience, (Meethan, 2001) in spaces constructed to display images of culture in their home city.

A further aside on the impact of this kind of cultural commodification is Meethan's observation (Meethan, 2001) that from the tourists' experience, the selected representations of culture and its related spaces in the city are often assimilated as a form of knowing about or holding knowledge of a city or place. This study is thus questioning the knowledge or rationality that the city (by virtue of its power) is creating and supporting of the meaning of culture in the city i.e. Does having a spatially engineered experience of official cultural districts or designated cultural facilities in Johannesburg equip the tourist (local or foreign) to '*know*' the 'culture of Johannesburg'? The same idea on a microcosmic scale would ask that in experiencing the space of a museum where 'cultural' representations and exotica of a cultural Other (e.g. the Ndebele people) is exhibited, does the tourist gain the licence to personally 'know' the culture of that grouping? These questions allude to the commutative links between cultural representation and power, and power and rationality which have been discussed in this study. These links form the backdrop to our revised understandings of the process of cultural commodification. Crick (1989) supports that "*the links between power and knowledge, the generation of images of the 'other', and the creation of 'natives' and 'authenticity' are significant in understanding the commodification of all tourism spaces*".

Shaw and Williams (2004) suggest that the process of commodification of culture and its related spaces in the city begins with the city's marketing systems (including the media and advertising industries) that create images to represent destination spaces and local 'culture'. These images are often divorced from the reality of everyday urbanism in destination cities but rely on the creation of fantasy and myth. These images are found in the languages of tourism brochures and marketing material some of which has been briefly examined in Chapter 3.
The images have a significant influence on the shaping of urban space (Crick, 1989 in Shaw and Williams, 2004). The images are often quite unconnected to the multiple hybrid identities of local city inhabitants and users and to their everyday practices of life in the city. Yet the images define specific sites and spaces within the city as places of tourist cultural consumption that extract them from the everyday life space of the city.

This has a serious knock-on effect for the production of official cultural spaces in the city. Once these images of fantasy cultural spaces and sights are marketed as the identity of the city, the local culture industries and related markets then create pressure for changes to be made in the destination city in order to deliver the promises made to tourists/consumers through the fantasy images of place and to sustain demand for the destination (Shaw and Williams, 2004). This is a major catalyst to culture-led urban regeneration strategies and the often artificial production of official 'cultural' spaces in the city.

Shaw and Williams (2004) regard the search for the authentic visitor experience in the city as an important element in the process of cultural commodification. The irony seems to reside in the fact that while visitors seek out the 'authentic visitor experience' of the city, city development agencies and tourism (and related) industries actively seek to sanitise official cultural tourism spaces in the city to rid them of all trace of the ordinary authentic everyday life of the city. These spaces such as cultural districts are designed and policed to exclude the grittiness of the everyday ordinary life spaces of the city's users. They are often reserved solely for

officially sanctioned public events that support the spaces' official identity and all threat of the spontaneity and vibrancy of everyday life is quickly removed or transformed under stringent conditions into an official staged activity. The production of official sights of culture and heritage in the city are thus also seen as an integral part of the process of cultural commodification.

In reality, visitors to official spaces of culture - be they residents of the city or foreign tourists – interrelate with processes of cultural commodification in various different ways depending on societal and temporal context. Shaw and Williams (2004) attempt to provide clarity on a general model of the process of cultural commodification, relating to visitors and destinations sites. This study draws on the representation of this process and adds to it relationships to culture-led urban regeneration strategies

and impacts on city spaces, shown in Figure 4 below:

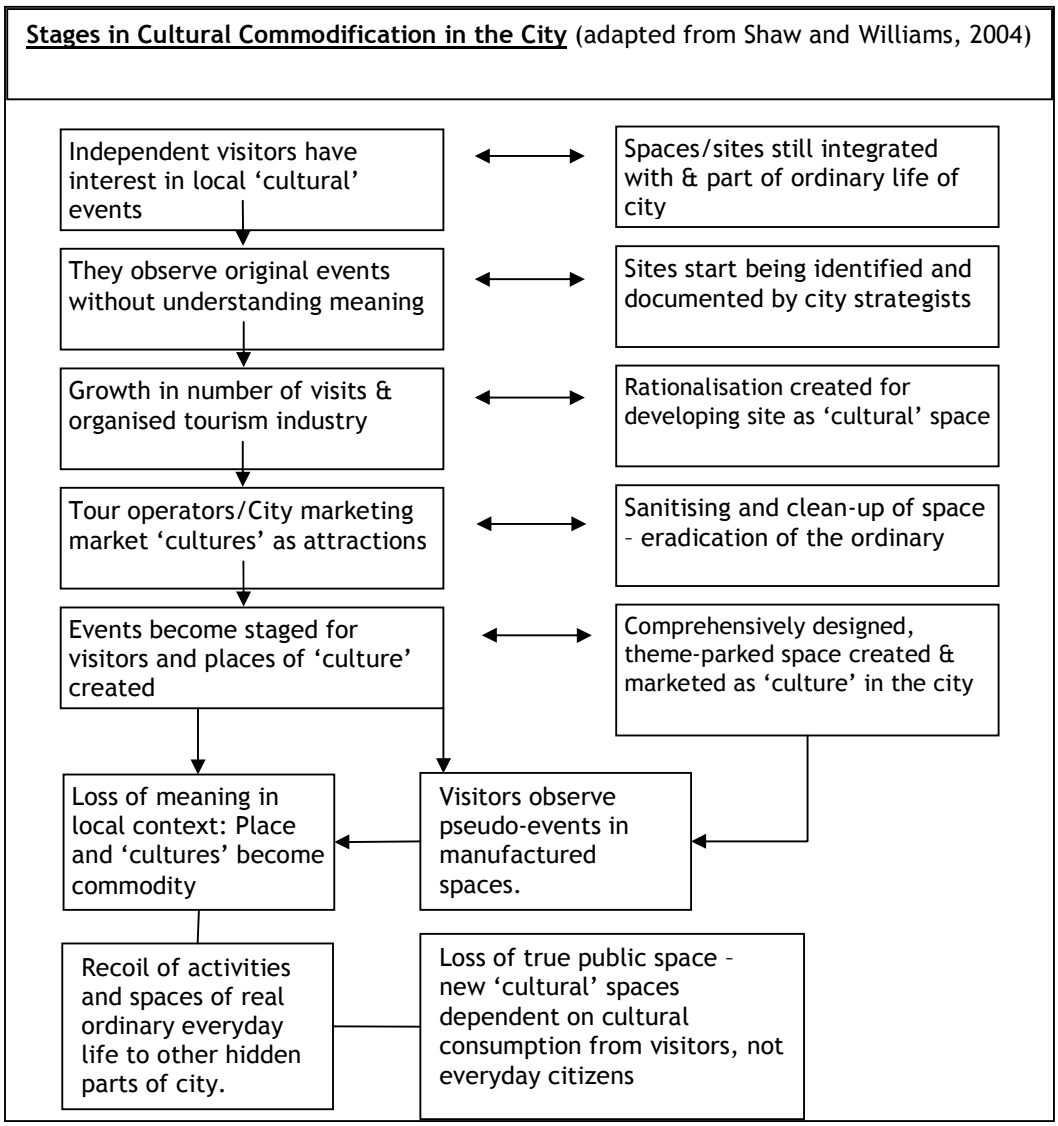


Figure 5: Stages in Cultural Commodification in the City (adapted from Shaw and Williams, 2004)

It is evident from the above process that cities react to perceived visitor's demands for an authentic city experience of 'culture' by manufacturing select spaces of the city through culture-led urban regeneration that in fact extract rituals and practices of everyday life and the broad diversity of people who enact these and replace them with culturally themed spaces based on the city's official selected interpretation of culture.

MacCannell's (1989) presents similar ideas of "staged authenticity" in destinations and divides 'cultural' events and practices into "front" and

"back" spaces. In "front" spaces interaction (visual and social) takes place between locals and tourists, sometimes only as superficially as interaction with local labour employed in the tourism and related services industries. The "back" spaces are the domain that remains mostly hidden from tourists. This is the everyday realm of the city that this study will explore in the following theme. Before proceeding however, it is important to note MacCannell's (1989) assertion that this "front-back" dichotomy is better viewed as a continuum with several stages that mark the visitors search for an authentic experience. Interpreted, these ideas reflect the disjuncture between the official discourse of 'culture' in the city at the "front" end and the spaces and unofficial practices and rituals of everyday urbanism at the "back" of the city, which has informed this study.

6.2. Concluding Comments:

This chapter has presented a theoretical analysis of the interpretation of culture in the city. This chapter and Chapter 3, which presents extracts and analysis of the official interpretation of culture in Johannesburg aim to highlight the challenges presented by current official interpretations of culture in the City.

CHAPTER FIVE: A SUGGESTED TURN TO THE EVERYDAY

"All the life and soul of a place – that is precisely the city of everyday life" (Friedmann, 1999, pg6)

The production of signifiers and symbolic meaning in the city originate not only in networks of power and influence and in the official spaces that this study has thus far explored, but more importantly, in the ordinary spaces of everyday life in the city.

The discourse of everyday life in the city stimulated by Henri Lefebvre (1974) and Michel de Certeau (1984) and recently well documented by Margaret Crawford (1999) sees the everyday as a realm where an exciting and volatile mix of social spatial and aesthetic meanings can be found. It is a realm of contestation of meanings by ordinary city users where practices - traditional, ritualistic or ordinary and routine - are created, adopted, hybridised and transformed.

Of essence here is the privileging of ordinary everyday human experiences of the city – real lived experiences of everyday spaces of the city that happens on its streets, parks, pavements, and hidden alleys, its local shebeens, pubs, nightclubs and lost spaces – that escape (albeit narrowly) being planned or regularised by official planning initiatives.

1.1. Seeing Everyday Urban Space:

The spaces of urban everyday life are the interstitial spaces that secrete the evidence of ordinary people living their lives, socialising, expressing themselves, making do and getting by in the city. Scholar of the everyday life of cities, Margaret Crawford, in her introduction to the book Everyday

Urbanism (1999) provides a stimulating definition of spaces in the urban everyday life of cities:

"*The space of everyday urbanism is a rich and complex amalgam of wide boulevards and trash-strewn alleys, luxurious stores and street vendors, manicured lawns and dilapidated public parks; it is a product of the intricate social, political, economic, and aesthetic forces at work in the contemporary urban environment. Everyday space can be spirited spontaneous, vital, and inclusive; all too often it is neglected by its inhabitants, ignored by city planners, and disregarded by critics.*"
(Crawford, 1999)

In this study spaces of everyday life have been identified as spaces where meaning is invested in the most unlikely everyday spaces of the city – spaces that are only superficially understood in terms of their physical or functional attributes not by the symbolic coded meanings they reflect to everyday users. In Johannesburg some examples of spaces of everyday urbanism may be: Johannesburg's shebeens, corner pubs in Braamfontein, the local public phone container in Alexandra, the cornershop where snuff and slap chips and bread is bought by the same customers daily, the streetcorners where groups of men are playing farfi, the walls that scream will colourful graffiti, the chaotic night market at the Fordsburg Square where handbags sell next to fake branded t-shirts and Pakistani chicken is roasted on a hot grill next to the Hookah stall, the skilful artistry of the hair weavers on the pavements of Hillbrow who are meticulously braiding hair while pedestrians rush by, the creative display of fruit by the fruit vendor who's huddled on a busy pavement, the gathering of like-minded regular party-goers enjoying friends and socialising and trance-music on a rooftop in Randburg every Sunday afternoon – savouring the last few moments of the weekend, watching the sunset over the city – partying the last bit of weekend away and even the makeshift billboards on walls in Hillbrow where the posters for the local strip club event are roughly glued next to posters for a immigrant church group all overlooked by large looming advertisements for the LoveLife campaign.

In this study, spaces of everyday urbanism are seen in juxtaposition to the (often underused) spaces of official cultural representation in the city by the urban practitioners and agencies. They are viewed as the source of a host of encoded meanings, signifiers in the urban landscape that are dynamic, current and transient and are representative of the ever fluid shifting nature of production of meanings in the spaces of the city. Somewhat like a text these spaces almost simultaneously beg and evade any type of official decoding or cultural 'ethnographic' analysis.

While the physical containers of these spaces may be plainly apparent to anyone who moves through the city, the practice of everyday life in these spaces, the meanings invested in concrete pavement space or a local makeshift street-side eatery for example, often remain invisible.

In official public analyses of city spaces by state-appointed urban designers, planners, or other urban practitioners these spaces of meaning in the everyday life in the city that do not fit neatly into the technical rationalities of their professional fields of knowledge are subjected to classification using modernist dichotomies of good/bad, sanitary/unsanitary, safe/dangerous and even formal/informal. This kind of classification helps ease the discomfort that organic, spontaneous, shifting, encoded practices or space of everyday life present to urban practitioners.

1.2. An Aversion to the Everyday Life of the City

The professional aversion to spaces of everyday life has its roots in the modernist construction of a particular rationality of urban practice and the raison d'être for urban planning in cities. Reliance on abstract principles and normative and substantive constructions of what good cities should look and feel like feeds the urban planning project. As a result the urban everyday is seen as too trivial to analyse (Crawford, 1999). Also to acknowledge that everyday people are in control of investing meanings in

spaces and constructing a life in and of the city involves the relinquishing of power by the professional. Acknowledging the diverse rationalities at play in the spaces of everyday life is a threat to the planners claim to professional expertise and to a highly specialised body of knowledge.

The impulse then is to omit, by sanitising and regulating or even just ignoring, the raw everyday spaces of life from the 'official story' of the city. In Johannesburg the vision of a world-class African city enshrined in the City of Johannesburg's official Vision 2030 documents neglects to mention the current everyday life of the city in any meaningful way.

John Friedmann (1999) shares his ideas on the possible reasons why the city of everyday life is not included as part of the 'official story' of the city and why it is not seen as a legitimate factor in city decision making.
His reasons suggest firstly that the official account of the city is often constructed by men who hold positions of power, those he calls the "power brokers" of the city both in the public and private sectors of urban practice. He suggests that often these urban players have a restricted, elite view of the city and their decision-making is often guided by material interests. Further Friedmann (1999) argues that attention to the small everyday life spaces of the city is often viewed as a trivial diversion from the grander profit driven or politically supported flagship monumental projects in the city. The use of elaborate statistics and city-wide strategies act to further and legitimise this political and/or economic agenda by seducing the public into supporting iconic projects.

What Friedmann's analysis serves to emphasise is the link between power and the claim to professional knowledge of the city. It resonates strongly with Flyvberg's ideas (analysed previously) on knowledge and rationality serving power.

Also he asserts that the focus on large iconic projects by the city risk destroying or breaking the complex web of meanings invested by people in the everyday life of the city and thus alienates people and places thereby

altering people's rights to the city. As mentioned previously, the vibrancy of that web of practices and meanings is then simply transmuted or forced to squeeze into other less visible urban spaces.

Nevertheless, Friedmann (1999) offers hope to proponents of urban everyday life by stating that:

"*The city of everyday life survives. It survives because life continues and recreates its 'city' even in the most difficult and harsh conditions*" (Friedmann, 1999)

This faith in the resilience of the practices of everyday life in the city is supported by the writings of key philosophers who have dedicated their work to understanding the practices of everyday life.

1.3. Philosophies of Everyday Life:

Crawford (1999) acknowledges that everyday space can be so difficult to comprehend that it would seem to evade conceptual analysis. Yet she clearly shows how the works of philosophers of everyday life have can contribute to our understandings of this complex realm of cities.

The writings of Henri Lefebvre (1974) and Michel de Certeau (1984) both proposed the everyday as a space of creativity, resistance and liberation. Their focus was on a greater connection between abstract theorising and actual social everyday practices and between rational thought and lived experience (Crawford, 1999)

An exhaustive analysis of each of these theorists work is beyond the scope of this study. Instead, a brief account of various ideas most relevant to the study, from each of the philosophies, is attempted.

Lefebvre (1974) asserted that the often ignored and trivialised everyday realm actually provides an understanding of real social experience and true popular political resistance and expression.

Lefebvre's spatial triad also assists in understanding the spaces of everyday life in the city.
His landmark book, The Production of Space (Lefebvre, 1974) has had a major influence on modernist and postmodernist interpretation of urban space. Lefebvre attempts to bridge the gap between mental space – the space of intellectual theory – mental construct and Real Space i.e. the lived realm. His response to this disjuncture was to contextualise mental space in the physical and social. Lefebvre developed a theory of space that integrated physical space, formal hypothesis (mental space) and the practical sensory everyday realm of social space (Lefebvre, 1974).
Lefebvre conceives of urban space as social space, which is a social product. He directs focus to the Production of space not the objects in space that it produces, asserting that both product and process are inseparable. The value of Lefebvre's writing on space (Lefebvre, 1974) is arguably found in his sound categorisation of lived, experienced, real space.

He identifies space as consisting of three dialectical, interrelated components (Lefebvre, 1974):
Spatial practice is the first. It refers to the way space is organised and used. "*The spatial practice for a society secretes that society's space: it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. … The spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space.*" (Lefebvre, 1974)
Spatial practice as a "moment" of urban space links the space of daily routine to the urban routes and networks that link spheres of activity together for the city dweller. Even though cohesive it need not be logically ordered.

The second moment is *Representations of Space*, the conceptualised space of the educated professional (planners, architects, scientists and technocrats) who associates perceived real experienced space directly with

devised intellectual space. This type of space according to Lefebvre is dominant in any society resulting in conceptions of space as a system of intellectually devised signs (Lefebvre, 1974).

Representational spaces are a third type of urban space. This is perhaps the most relevant and significant to the discourse on everyday life in the city. These spaces are "directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users' ". This is space that is actively or passively experienced changed and appropriated by the imagination. This type of space is superimposed on physical space imbuing its objects with symbolic meaning. – It makes use of non-verbal symbols and signs (Lefebvre, 1974).

Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1974) calls for an interconnection between these three "moments of space". To avoid the space of capitalism and bourgeoisie usurping social space, a new space must emerge.

This new space posited is called "*Differential Space*". Lefebvre sees it as a necessary step because:
"*Inasmuch as abstract space tends toward homogeneity, towards the elimination of existing differences or peculiarities, a new space cannot be born (produced) unless it accentuates differences*." (Lefebvre, 1974)

Lefebvre notes further that generic abstract urban spaces, those that emerge from a formal design process officially sanctioned by the City, usually act to nullify all types of differences i.e. ethnicity, gender, age, physical ability or historic marginalisation (Lefebvre, 1974).

Crawford (1999) asserts that the places in the city where there is a rich convergence and interaction of differences make for some of the most powerful sites of everyday urbanism.

Lefebvre's approach (Lefebvre, 1974) brings together objective and subjective understandings of space by relating them both to the process of

producing space. To be valid an understanding of space (according to Lefebvre) must be rooted in the political economy of its production. In order to balance this political economy with aspects of social life Lefebvre turns to everyday life, a subjective realm previously negated by a traditional focus on objective theorising and understanding.

Lefebvre's ideas on the production of space allow us to re-conceptualise static and traditional definitions of urban space. Social space and Representational space take on new exciting meaning in the context of everyday life in contemporary hybrid cities.

Another philosopher who helps to shed light on everyday life is Michel de Certeau (1984). De Certeau's writings on everyday life are extensive. The idea most useful to this study is de Certeau's conceptual distinction between two types of practices that occur in the everyday realm of cities (de Certeau, 1984).
These he called "Strategies" and "Tactics".

Strategies:

These refer to the decision and actions of the power brokers in the city that create an institutional or spatial space that is autonomous and that can serve as a means to manage threats and targets (de Certeau, 1984).

Strategies establish formal officially sanctioned spaces that are designed to defy the passage of time. In this way of practising, political, economic and scientific rationalities are constructed to serve a strategic purpose and to support decision-making.

Applied to this study, the idea suggests that strategies in the city produce official urban spaces that are designed with autonomous control in mind. The official discourse on culture presented in this study is evidence of the existence of strategies in this sense.

Tactics:

De Certeau presents “tactics” as actions not rigidly rooted in a specific space, without borders, less visible and hardly ever recognised as significant wholes. These are practices often acted by the “weak” and the Other in the city as a form of resistance (consciously or unconsciously) that are ways of subverting power relations in the city (de Certeau, 1984).

De Certeau’s tactics are not rooted in place and are often spontaneous, and thus rely on “*seized opportunities, on cleverly chosen moments, and on the rapidity of movements that can change the organisation of a space.”* (Crawford, 1999, pg 12)

These tactics by ordinary people in everyday spaces of the city are a source of urban creativity and need to be examined and recognised as a part of the cultural meanings and codes invested in the city of everyday life.

The importance of this to the city is echoed by Crawford (1999, pg 12) in the following statement:
“*By challenging the ‘proper’ places of the city, this range of transitory, temporary, and ephemeral urban activities constitutes counterpractices to officially sanctioned urbanisms*.”

James Holston’s ideas (Holston,, 1998) of sites of insurgence in cities correlates to these ideas on tactics enacted in the city. Holston (ibid) refers to sites of insurgence in the city as introducing “new identities and practices that disturb established histories” in the city. These are indeed the practice of everyday life in cities such as Johannesburg that are remaking and continually shifting real notions of identity and cultural meaning in the city.

As mentioned previously the works of these philosophers on everyday life present many opportunities for revising our understandings of everyday life in the city and the text of meanings embedded in everyday space by users of the city.

This brief account of these theories should act as an invitation or catalyst for further studies in this exciting area.

The use of these ideas in this study serves to emphasise, in concert with Friedmann (1999), that official culture-led urban regeneration is often the cause of the disruption of meanings in the spaces of everyday life in the city. More importantly the study hereby asserts that the spaces of everyday life in the city form a rich text from which authentic real understandings of cultural meanings can be sought. This would be a more inclusive and socially and temporally relevant way of deciphering and depicting the multiple identities of the city for representation in official urban regeneration initiatives.

1.4. A turn toward revising conceptions of 'Culture'; Dialogisation

The theoretical arguments in this study point to a need for a process of "Dialogisation" of 'Culture' in the city. "Dialogisation" is purported by critical literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin, as a process that occurs when a word or discourse becomes "*relativised, deprivileged, and aware of competing definitions for the same things*" (Crawford, 1999, pg 10). The study has attempted to show that Culture is one such discourse that requires "dialogisation" in the contemporary context of the city.

The explorations of this study may seem to suggest that urban practice and theorising, in furthering this project of critical reflection and dialogisation may be stimulated to:

1. *Investigate whether a revised relevant meaning for 'Culture' can exist and if so, what form it might take.*

The search for a revised meaning of culture may well be inconclusive. 'Culture', generally and in the city, can at once be everything it is imagined to be and/or really nothing at all.

A tension we find ourselves grappling with is the one between belief in the existence of cultural wholes and antithetically, belief in complete cultural hybridity. As Chapter 2 suggests a middle ground needs to be explained between the enforcement of rigid cultural borders and the complete dissolution of cultural borders as the latter offers no real explanation for continued shared practices among groups of people. Any revised idea of 'Culture' if one exists must acknowledge, as this study has shown, that cultural totalities are only social and theoretical constructs that have never existed in pure form in reality and that the so-called boundaries between cultural entities have always been perforated.

In light of this, this study might at this stage pose the question of whether current conceptions of culture are not actually a signifier that actually refers more to the existence of shared histories, shared lifestyles, and shared patterns of consumption between people in the city rather than to the existence of a 'culture'. Are we able to make a critical distinction between shared histories and lifestyles that are rooted in specific social and temporal contexts and what we conceptualise as 'culture'? The possibility may exist that all 'culture' may be reduced to shared history or similar ways of living in a particular context.

Whatever the outcome of the new investigations into culture suggested here, we must proceed with caution and be reminded that in the past we have witnessed how interpretations of culture have been translated into segregationist, exclusionary, oppressive political ideologies and similar landscapes of power in the city.

2. *Explore and engage with "competing rationalities" (Watson, 2002) that might exist for Culture in the City*

The conception, representation and definition of culture in the city, irrespective of who it is being done by, are all rooted in a certain rationality. That is to say that those choosing to conceptualise culture,

represent it and/or define it base their actions on some understanding or logic that is presumably justifiable to them.

This study has shown how the construction of an official rationality about culture in the city has been an exercise of power. It has also suggested that the practice of everyday life in the city is excluded from that particular rationality.

A useful point of departure for further understanding what culture may mean in the city might be to deeply engage with Vanessa Watson's ideas of conflicting or competing rationalities (Watson, 2002).

While this may seem like the introduction of new theoretical material into the conclusion of the study, this application of the idea of conflicting or competing rationalities is deliberately introduced here as a suggestion and explanation for a way forward in urban practice and theorising.

Harrison (2002) provides clarity on this concept by suggesting that cities are the sites of "intersecting and often competing rationalities". Four types of competing rationalities are suggested:

First is the scientific instrumental rationality of traditional urban practice and city bureaucracies (Harrison, 2002; Watson, 2002). This type of rationality yields the official interpretation of culture in the city and acts to create the official spaces that support it.

The second is the rationality of the market that is based on profit maximisation for shareholders. Harrison (2002) acknowledges that this rationality is particularly powerful in determining the future of the city. This rationality is the force behind the commodification of culture and its forms of representation in the city.

The third rationality that may be related to the invitation extended by this study is that of urban politics. This type of rationality exists to justify the exercise of power in the city's political arena (Harrison, 2002; Watson,

2002). This study has shown the how the relationship between the official interpretation of culture in and for the city is inextricably linked to the exercise of power.

The fourth and perhaps most relevant type of rationality is the multiple rationalities of the everyday practices of people in cities (Harrison, 2002; Watson, 2002). These rationalities are the force that is constantly transforming, challenging and re-creating meanings and practices in the everyday life of the city. They force us to place into question the above four types of rationality in relation to the interpretation of 'culture' in the city.

The excitement in identifying these competing rationalities is found in interpreting where and how they intersect and investigating how these intersections shed light into the current realities about the production of 'culture', meanings and practices in the spaces of the city.

Before we can explore these intersections of competing rationalities urban practitioners will need to learn to be comfortable with acknowledging the existence of multiples rationalities.

3. *Re- assess the rationale and form of culture-led urban regeneration*

This invitation relates to the previous one in that it may prompt a review of the rationality constructed to rationalise culture-led urban regeneration in the city.

It is necessary to acknowledge here that culture-led urban regeneration can prompt the restoration of culturally significant sites or revive consciousness about historical events and heritage. All too often, however, these benefits cost the city and its users in terms of authenticity, inclusion and access.

This is also an opportunity for urban practice to explore whether culture-led urban regeneration can act to support, rather than destroy or sterilise, the hybrid, tactical, subaltern unofficial practices in the everyday life of the city.

The rationale and form of culture-led urban regeneration begs redress because this kind of development in the city has served thus far to (almost literally) concretise a dominant discourse and rationality about culture in the city.

4. *Delve into the realm of the everyday life of the city to attempt to decode, if this is at all possible, the meanings and identities being produced and hybridised in the everyday spaces of the city.*

The liminal spaces, in-between the remnant ruins of perceived cultural totalities and, the scale and rate of "cultural" changes in the everyday realm of cities, are the sites of break and rupture, of entrances and departures, barter and trade, borrowing and exchange of ways of being, knowing, seeing, acting and living. These everyday spaces may well be the rich repository from which urban practitioners gain a revised knowledge of the reality about how difference plays out in the urban everyday and how the identities of the city and its users are constructed and hybridised *every day* in its everyday spaces.

One way of identifying and interpreting these everyday spaces as a repository is for urban practitioners and theorists to begin to experiment with other 'ways of knowing' about the city. One suggested way of knowing the everyday city is the use of Visual Ethnography as a research method for exploring everyday urbanisms. This forms part of the study's invitation to urban practitioners to revise the way in which they see and theorise culture in the city.

a. Visual Ethnography as Research Method

Sarah Pink (2004) in her book "Doing Visual Ethnography" introduces the text by stating that visual forms of representation such as photography, video and electronic media are increasingly being used in the field of ethnography, "*as cultural texts", as representations of ethnographic knowledge, and as sites of cultural production, social interaction and individual experience that themselves form fieldwork locales*.

It is evident from Sarah Pink's research (Pink, 2004) that an extensive body of knowledge has been developed around the practice of visual ethnography. For the purposes of this study visual ethnography is suggested to provide brief glimpses into the realm of the urban everyday in Johannesburg in order to give evidence of the production of meanings in the built environment that evade official conceptualisations of culture in the city.

b. Practicing visual ethnography:

In providing direction for a visual research method in the field with which to practice visual ethnography Pink draws on Josephides (1997 in Pink, 2004) who is of the opinion that strategies used to do fieldwork are actually shaped by the field and the subjects of the research and the global and local perceptions of the subject. (Josephides, 1997 in Pink, 2004) Thus Pink and Josephides contend that there can be no prescriptive outline for how to practice visual ethnography and that, theories on how to practice visual research should be developed specific to the project at hand, in the field.

They extend this idea to the use of visual images and related technologies in fieldwork saying that the ways in which these images are used can be developed creatively for specific individual projects.
Visual ethnography, specifically using photographic image, uses the camera in the same way as a tape recorder is used to record dialogue or audio material, to record visual information that allows further inspection and study in detail.

It is designed to study "*the visual products of culture*" (Pink, 2004) Visual ethnography is preferred here as a research method because the alternative of describing (using words) cultural signifiers in the urban everyday the researcher is at risk of distorting the meaning of the signifier by attempting to convert visual information into a rationally constructed description that is limited by powers of description and choice of words.

Although a significant limitation of this method is the reality that the very process of capturing an image and identifying it as worthy of study in relation to a particular argument is in itself entirely subjective and at risk of distorting the contextually specific meaning of the real scene behind the image.

Another limitation is the inability to verify an understanding of the meaning and thus provide an entirely conclusive analysis of the image as the image is and must always be open to interpretation.

The suggestion here to use this method comes with the acknowledgment that the images selected in any urban study of the everyday are a reflection of the researcher's particular interpretation and identification of cultural signifiers in the everyday life of the city.

To illustrate examples of images that may prove helpful in providing alternative views of the everyday life of the city this study provides only a brief series of photographs that may depict the urban everyday life of Johannesburg with a single caption to identify the picture.
The images are contained in Appendix A.

The images represent a variety of scenes and symbols from the everyday life spaces of the city of Johannesburg. They show how ordinary people use spaces for both extraordinary and ordinary rituals in the city. These photos point to the existence of a multitude of various signifiers and meanings in urban space that evade and happen in between the formalised spaces of culture defined by the city.

In addition to photographic representations of the city the study acknowledges telecommunications media as a source of representations of the city's everyday cultural life. A particularly useful example of such is an advertisement broadcast on television for the mobile telecommunications service provider Cell C depicting a series of urban scenes that are captured on camera by a pedestrian who selects everyday landmarks that capture the everyday life of the city. Due to research constraints and copyright legislation telecommunications media will not be presented.

i. Critiques of Visual Ethnography

It is important to note however, that visual ethnography is not suggested as the definitive method of 'knowing' the everyday life of the city but rather as one possible avenue to explore in a quest to change the way we 'see' or 'know' the city.

Critiques of visual ethnography often consider how the composition of the photograph is shaped and selected by the researcher behind the camera lens who is in a position to filter and choose what is depicted in the image to be analysed. Also, the extent to which images can be evaluated by varying intangible criteria is problematic as the researcher analysing the image only sees its elements in the context of his or her lifeworld or range of life experiences. The value of symbolic meaning of objects and signs depicted in the image may be interpreted out of context and in a number of ways. The researcher who composes the picture as a reflection of reality is in a position of power and this can suggest an objectifying of the people and places depicted in the image. These critiques must be factored into any examination of everyday urban life when conducting this particular type of research

Moving beyond research method, this fourth stimulus is also an invitation to urban practitioners and theorists to investigate the radical or passive, political, insurgent, potential of the "tactics" of everyday life in the city of

ordinary people as ways of challenging the official rationalities of city politics and bureaucracies (and perhaps even of the market).

These four invitations aim to extend the argument that official interpretations of 'Culture' in the city are increasingly problematic and that a turn toward recognising the everyday life of the city as a dynamic repository of identities, symbols and meanings that inform what the city is and how the city is unique and evolving, is necessary if we are to create sustainable resilient images and identities for the city.

CHAPTER SIX: A DEPARTURE FROM 'CULTURE' AS WE KNOW IT

The findings of this study show throughout the document the complex politics associated with the interpretation of culture in the city. The aim of the study is to illustrate that 'culture', as it is interpreted to inform culture-led urban development, is exclusionary and is limited to serving the economic and place-marketing goals of cities.

1.1. Culture for whom?

The study argues also that official interpretations are excluding of the rich and complex ever-changing production of meanings and symbols in the spaces of everyday life in the city - that this official 'story' of what culture is in the city and where culture is in the city actually serves to 'fix' or arrest a particular 'official' version of culture in the city, often at considerable capital expense, in an effort to package culture as a tourist experience in the city rather than allowing the evolving meanings and symbols being produced in the spaces of everyday life to inform our ideas of what the identity of the city might be.

The value of the study lies in the fact that it critically exposes the seemingly simple truth about 'culture' that informs urban planning and regeneration and shows that the concept is more complex and political than cities may perceive it to be, thus highlighting it for further theoretical engagement. The study has challenged the almost automatic assumption made by city regeneration agencies that culture is necessarily 'good' for the city and for economic-led regeneration.

One of the theoretical debates that the study opened up is that the concept of culture has been used over decades as a tool with which to control groups of people considered as Other. Culture was used to perpetuate

hegemony and to control the structuring of both society, cities and particular ideologies.
Recent returns to militant cultural identities show how culture can be turned into a combative source of identity and how cultural boundaries, however arbitrarily assigned become violently defended when contested.

The study also showed how the 'Culture' has been interpreted in the official sense by local government in the City of Johannesburg and how cultural regeneration projects in the city are devised to support official institutions of culture such as galleries and museums, while the spaces of everyday life are often planned away and sterilised in an attempt to 'regenerate' and areas in the city.

The theoretical discussion in Chapter Four draws together critical arguments about the complexity of using the official sense of culture in the city. It exposes arguments on the construction of culture as an exercise of power and shows how a particular rationality is constructed as a meaning of culture and that this defining of culture is actually an exercise of power that often draws rigid lines between self and other and is used as a basis of exclusion and discrimination in cities.

This is related to the argument that identities are multiple and evolving rather than rigidly defined by culture. The study rejects essentialist conceptions of identity and shows that cultural identity is a social construct not a biologically determined truth. As such cultural identity in the city especially for tourism can not be based on the idea of creating a spectacle of the exotic, biologically different Other eg. Lesedi Cultural Village

Culture, power and space need to be seen by planning practitioners as been inextricably linked through complex relationships and the theoretical debates drawn together in this study attempt to expose how each of these concepts are influenced by the other. The interpretation of culture in the

official sense often creates a particular power relation that in turn informs the production and privileging of certain types of spaces.

The study deals with a key trend in cities globally toward the packaging and sale of culture as an experience in the city. The commodification of culture has its own limitations and exclusionary effects as is revealed in Chapter Four. The drive toward commodification creates a spectacle out of those regarded as the Other in the city and often creates artificial theme-parked landscapes that depict a highly commercialised and select version of culture in space.

One conclusion to these debates is that there has been little in the way of research or city planning interventions to suggest that cultural investment in cities has widespread benefits and opportunities for participation across a full spectrum of social groupings in the city.

Another conclusion one may derive form the study is that it is uncertain whether the use of culture as a basis for regeneration brings about real change in the lives of everyday city inhabitants or whether city inhabitants are in a position to effect real change on the city through culture-led regeneration initiatives. The extent to which these initiatives can successfully allow for this, depends on how inclusive the intervention is of the everyday life and inhabitants of the city.

The debates in this study exposing the limitations of the current official conceptions of culture lead to a suggested turn toward examining the everyday life of the city as the possible source of theorising about identities of the city.

The everyday is suggested as a way of mediating the official interpretation of culture in the city so that the real and dynamic meanings produced by the inhabitants of the city are recognised as being integral to the multiple identities of the city.

The study concludes that there has to this point been an uncritical adoption of the concept of culture as a basis of regeneration, that the aims of this regeneration and what the culture-led regeneration strategies set out to achieve, even when economically driven have not been critically examined.
In addition, the evaluation or measurement of whether the intended aims are being met and whether such initiatives bring real benefits to the city of everyday life and its inhabitants remains inadequate.

1.2. Measuring performance:

The official interpretation of culture can only be mediated in tandem with a change in the institutional frameworks that exist within local government for as long as the performance of cities and of local government culture and planning departments are assessed or measured in terms of visitor attendance and quantity of spatially visible formal institutions or districts of culture, cities and planners will continue to exclude the less visible but more relevant production of identities, meanings and symbols by those who are marginalised in the city.

Thus far cultural investment in the city as been measured only in terms of statistical data and the Rand value of economic benefits, but this data reveals nothing about the long-term sustainability and the spread of benefits (social and other) of these culture-led regeneration initiatives.

It is therefore proposed here that city governments assess the performance of cities and of urban regeneration strategies by assessing who exactly the beneficiaries are of formal culture-led urban regeneration strategies. For instance, have the local graffiti artists benefited from the formation of a cultural district in the city or have their messages and their spaces of production of meaning in the city been 'cleaned up' and replaced with a large plasma screen TV and fashionable coffee shops?

It is proposed further that city planners and regeneration agencies stop the production of new formal culture-led urban regeneration strategies in our

cities long enough to assess who has benefited from past projects and how much of economic development has been stimulated for the marginalised invisible inhabitants of the city who produce symbols and meanings in the interstitial liminal spaces of everyday life in the city. As yet, we have no way of knowing whether the hairdresser who weaves beautiful hairstyles on the streetcorner or the designer and seamstress who produces traditional west African clothing inspired by western fashion, have in any way benefited from, or contributed to the creation of the Newtown Cultural District two blocks away from their sites of production.

1.3. The Role of Civil Society and the Identity of the City:

This study has shown that in the bid for global recognition and a brand for the city, city authorities have feverishly attempted culture-led urban regeneration to both regenerate ailing areas and concretise a desired new identity of the city based on showcasing 'cultural' difference.

This study proposes that the identity of the city and the identity of the cities inhabitants are both simultaneously and on a daily basis being hybridised, contested, and mediated by a range of influences that enter the realm of everyday life in the city. Civil society – those occupying city streets and suburbs everyday, are the agents of production and mediation of identity in the city. The everyday life of the city with the mix of symbols it throws together is where identity of the city is shaped.

The planner or cultural officer situated within the institutional frameworks of city government and related contexts needs to revise her mode of operation and thinking about regeneration and 'culture' in the city to begin seeing the hybrid contested nature of identity in the city and begin to critically evaluate the adoption of culture as a basis upon which to facilitate urban regeneration.

An alternative way of measuring performance outcomes will need to be developed in support of this new direction in regeneration and planning. Planning authorities will need to step into unchartered territory and begin to explore the more qualitative forms of assessing urban planning in the city, allowing for a degree of sensitivity toward the complex politics of everyday life to enable urban regeneration and development that is context sensitive, sustainable and that better resonates with and reflects the multiple changing lifeworlds of everyday less visible inhabitants of the city rather than creates globally sanctioned spectacle for consumption.

The debates explored in this study and the limitations that exist on the official concept of culture in the city point us toward a critical conclusion.

1.4. A Departure from the Concept of Culture

In addition to the theoretical debates exposed in the preceding chapters the principal conclusion of this study is that:

There is the possibility that there can be no such concept as 'Culture' of and for the city; that the concept of culture is rendered invalid, at least in the context of the city.

The proposal here is that Culture as a concept that has been defined over successive decades is actually merely a signifier that in reality refers more to the existence of multiple overlapping shared histories, shared lifestyles, and shared patterns of consumption between people in the city rather than to the existence of a true essential 'culture'.

The study therefore finds that we are not able to make a critical distinction between shared histories and lifestyles that are rooted in specific social and temporal contexts, and what is officially conceptualised as 'culture'.

What is referred to as Culture is actually a set of meanings and symbols produced and constantly reproduced in the official as well as the interstitial and unofficial spaces of the city. These symbols and meanings, once concretised and made official lose their transformative dynamic representative qualities and become an instrument used to depict a particular version or identity of the city.

“Culture” has been deceptively attributed as an identity label and has been used as an instrument to rationalise segregation and commodification of difference. Culture as a concept that defines difference is found in this study to no longer be valid.

This proposed departure from the concept of culture in and of the city allows planners and urban practitioners to embark on a new tangent of ending commodification of culture in the city and of dealing with the persistent disjuncture between high culture and its select consumers, and the everyday life of the city and the full range of diverse city inhabitants.

The planner in the city would need to question whether and in what way everyday lives in the city are producing a new Johannesburg way of being in the city– for example, how is the rudimentary home-grown spatial design and configurations of colour sound and shape of the everyday informing the city aesthetic in different parts of the city?

This deprivileging of the concept of Culture in the city allows for a new field of theory and literature to enter planning discourses; one that challenges grand narratives around culture by examining what is being ‘constructed’ in the everyday in-between life of the city.

This does not suggest that official formal institutions of culture and cultural industries do not ever form the basis of urban regeneration – these institutions have an important place in the city but they must be seen as only a select component of the identity of the city and as such not be

privileged as the dominant base from which all urban regeneration and place-marketing is planned.

If this exciting new direction is to be explored, urban practitioners in local government and elsewhere will need to be able to identify the intangible ways of identifying and giving weight to the production of meanings and symbols in the spaces of the city.

a) Where to from here?

The task now proposed here is for planners to accept a dialogisaton of the concept of culture, deprivileging it to allow for the imagining of a new way of informing urban regeneration such that formal visible spatial interventions are informed by the less visible, less tangible everyday lifeworlds of the city and that the basis of urban regeneration is less exclusionary and more informed by the everyday life of the city as the repository rather than the passive recipient of urban regeneration and planning interventions.

"*I also see public culture as socially constructed on the micro-level. It is produced by the many social encounters that make up daily life in the streets, shops, and parks – the spaces in which we experience public life in cities. The right to be in these spaces, to use them in certain ways, to invest them with a sense of ourselves and our communities – to claim them as ours and to be claimed in turn by them – make up a constantly changing public culture. People with economic and political power have the greatest opportunity to shape public culture by controlling the building of the city's public spaces in stone and concrete. Yet public space is inherently democratic. The question of who can occupy public space, and so define an image of the city, is open-ended.*" (Zukin, 1995, pg 11)

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APPENDIX A: Scenes of Everyday Life

The following images are examples of the type of material that may be sourced for the purposes of doing Visual Ethnography as an alternative 'way of knowing' the nuances and layered hybridity of the everyday life of the city.

All photos presented are sourced from the same source. A reference is cited below:



"City officials inspect the property of a "slum landlord" in the inner city
Picture: Sheree Russouw "

(CoJ, date unknown)



"Great clothing bargains at an inner city market "

(CoJ, date unknown)



"Fruit seller with his wares on a street in Yeoville "

(CoJ, date unknown)



"The annual Gay Pride parade, which began in the eighties as a protest against repression, has become more like a local Mardi Gras
Picture: Mandisi Majavu "

(CoJ, date unknown)



"A traffic incident on a Hillbrow street brings curious neighbours flocking to windows
Picture: Thomas Thale "



"Children play in a park that was once reserved for whites only"

(CoJ, date unknown)



"Numbers board game keeps township children entertained while they learn"

(CoJ, date unknown)



"Independent African churches hold services in open spaces alongside streams each Sunday
Picture: Thomas Thale "

(CoJ, date unknown)



"Party time in a city park after an open-air kwaito concert
Picture: Bongani Majola "

(CoJ, date unknown)



"Protesters march, chant and dance along a city street ... political protest is legal, as long as arrangements are made with traffic police
Picture: Thomas Thale "

(CoJ, date unknown)



"Street barbers offer the quickest and cheapest haircuts in town
Picture: Thomas Thale"

(CoJ, date unknown)



"A clown entertains children on a city street"

(CoJ, date unknown)



"A carnival street parade through a township in western Johannesburg "

(CoJ, date unknown)



"Customers sit on plastic chairs under a makeshift roof in an informal "street restaurant"
Picture: Thomas Thale"

(CoJ, date unknown)



"A group of unemployed women play cards inside the Drill Hall "

(CoJ, date unknown)

CoJ (City of Johannesburg), (Date Unknown), CITY IN PHOTOS, Internet. http://www.joburg.org.za/gallery/everyday/index.html, August 2005