Grounding "Locations in the Sky":

An Analysis of Domestic Work and Post-Apartheid Urban Living in the Apartment Blocks of Northern Johannesburg

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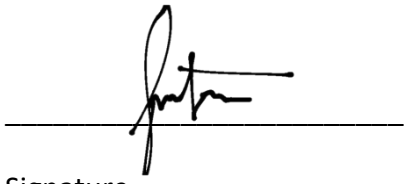
Declaration

I, Annabel Lee Fenton, declare that dissertation is entirely my own original work unless otherwise stated. A Harvard referencing style has been used. This work is submitted for the complete fulfilment of a Master of Arts by Research degree at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. This research has not been submitted before for any other degree at any other university.



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Abstract

Excluded from most South African urban imaginaries – atop the roofs of upper-middle class apartments in Killarney, Illovo, and Rosebank in Johannesburg – lie "Locations in the sky": residential quarters for domestic workers, built as segregated accommodations during Apartheid. While the domestic quarters are still in use today and shape the urban realities of the people interacting in these spaces, they are not reflected in current conceptualisations of cities of the South, or post-Apartheid cityness. This study draws on a Lefebvrian understanding of space and a Foucauldian understanding of power to investigate how *de jure* and *de facto* rules influence and (re)produce current experiences, perceptions, and urban realities of domestic quarters in the apartment blocks of northern Johannesburg, and complicate definitions of home in this context. Through 41 semi-structured interviews and a Doctrinal Legal Research analysis of 13 body corporate rules, it is found that systems of segregation and power materialise through both structural elements such as urban design, architecture, living conditions, and rules, as well as through social power and relationships embedded in race, gender and class hegemonies which results in nuanced contradictions and contested realities of the city. These systems of power also intersect to produce a precarity for domestic workers, exacerbated by a situation of living at work, the decline of full-time domestic work, and the impact of COVID-19. Domestic quarter residents are faced with oppression and precarity, but this is also complicated by rich lives that play out in the domestic quarters. Finally, the findings indicate that attempts to mobilise change in this context often do not meaningfully involve the very residents who are most affected. While this study is inevitably imperfect, with multiple limitations and positionalities affecting the analysis, it aims to serve as a catalyst for further grounding of "Locations in the Sky".

Acknowledgements

This study is dedicated to my research respondents. Their willingness to engage with me and share the sometimes horrific, sometimes fascinating, and sometimes hilarious tales of the "locations in the sky" continuously inspired me to attempt to do justice to their voices and experiences which few people know about or give sufficient consideration. While this work inevitably falls short of capturing the richness and complexity of these lives, all I hope is that it serves as an informative and useful catalyst that makes visible an issue that is little-known across Johannesburg, South Africa, and potentially beyond.

I would also like to express my deepest gratitude to Prof. Jennifer Fitchett, who has been a consistent mentor for the past eleven years and continues to push me towards excellence. This piece of work would not have happened without her suggestion of such a fascinating topic, or her encouragement for me to pursue this degree. The expertise and critical thought of Dr Richard Ballard has also been an extremely valuable resource in pushing my analysis further, and making sure that this work is relevant to the current landscape of South African urbanism.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family who have provided immense support through the process of balancing this dissertation with many other commitments. My mother, Glynis Fenton, has given her passion to my research, too, and has been a sounding board for ideas, as well as a source of strength. I would also like to thank my friends across geographies for listening to rambles about my work, for asking probing questions, and for understanding what sacrifices were needed for me to complete this degree.

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List of Acronyms and Terms

Annual General Meeting (AGM): Meetings held for the body corporate of an apartment building in which matters relating to maintenance and the running of the building are discussed

Body Corporate: The broad group of people who own apartments in a building

Cities of the South: Broadly refers to urban spaces within developing world, illustrating a type of city which differs in form and function to traditionally studied Northern cities such as London or Paris

Cisnormativity: The widespread societal norm of there being two genders, and that biological sex is equated to gender identity

Cityness: The state of being a city, and the specificities which make a city what it is

De Facto: How things are in reality, regardless of the law

De Jure: How things are in terms of the law

Domestic Quarters: accommodations for domestic workers to live in on their employers' property

Domestic Worker: An individual employed by a family to conduct domestic activities such as cooking and cleaning in the household, may also be referred to colloquially as a 'maid' or a 'helper' by South Africans

Global North: Originating from the Brandt line, the Global North refers to countries, cities, and people originating from higher income places; the term is critiqued for equating geography to wealth but is useful for explaining historical patterns of accumulation

Global South: Originating from the Brandt line, the Global South refers to countries, cities, and people originating from lower income places and often former colonies; the term is critiqued for equating geography to wealth but is useful for explaining historical patterns of accumulation

Invisibilisation: Used by Herzog (2018), the term refers to the process of silencing and marginalising people, and making them 'unseen'

"Locations in the Sky": Coined by Hendrik Verwoerd, drawing on the term "locations" which was used to refer to black-only townships, "locations in the sky" is another term for the domestic quarters in apartment buildings

Mashonisas: Also known as loan sharks, mashonisas are individuals who lend money to low-income people for high interest rates, often in an exploitative manner

Model-C School: A South African term for government or public schools which were whites only schools under Apartheid and tend to be better resourced than historically non-white schools

Neoliberalism: A mode of capitalism in which market forces are adopted as the hegemonic logic of the economy, requiring minimal state intervention

Northern Suburbs: An area in Johannesburg north of the Central Business District which was first established by Randlords in the 1800s, and is characterised as a previously white-only and upper-middle class area

Positionality: How an individual's personal values, views and location in time and space influence how one understands the world

Poststructuralism: A theoretical framework which challenges notions of 'truth' and examines how subjectivities, biases and power shape reality

Precariat: People whose employment and income are insecure

Production of Space: Lefebvre's (1974) notion that physical space is created through social encounters and relations

Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP): A socio-economic policy framework implemented by the government of Nelson Mandela in 1994 which sought to address the inequality in social services brought about by Apartheid

Reflexivity: The process through which researchers acknowledge reflect on and acknowledge their own position in research

Spatial Triad: Lefebvre (1974)'s model of space which sees space as conceived, perceived and lived

Subaltern: Originating from Gramsci, is now taken to mean that which lies outside power hegemonies – those with less agency; "the other"

Trustee (or body corporate trustee): An elected representative of the body corporate who has certain decision-making and executive power over the building

Virtue Signalling: An action or practice of publicly expressing views that are intended to be morally good to gain social capital

White Flight: The migration of white people from the inner-city areas; in a South African context, often used to refer to a distinct period in the 1980s during which Sandton and Randburg were developed

1. Introduction

"In an extension of the word used to describe black townships at ground level, the overcrowded rooftops in the 'white' city became known as 'locations in the sky'. The overcrowded rooftops, where [black people] were living so close to [white people], was a highly visible instance where the ideal of a 'whites only' city was being tarnished and which, for the central [Apartheid] government, had to be made subject to apartheid restrictions." – Mather, 1987: 121

Atop the upper-middle class apartments of Killarney, Illovo, and Rosebank in Johannesburg, South Africa – behind the veneer of leafy trees, picturesque parks, and art-deco façades – lies a little-known piece of Apartheid which, in many ways, remains intact. What Mather (1987: 121) refers to as "locations in the sky", are residential quarters for domestic workers, built onto the roofs of apartments in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg during colonial and Apartheid times. These spaces served as a mechanism through which live-in labour could be preserved in apartment settings, while maintaining the segregation of white people from black people (Mather, 1987).

The Apartheid ideal of a 'whites only' city continues to frame the structural and social urban form of South African cities, including Johannesburg (Harrison et al., 2007). Apartheid spatial planning and architecture resulted in structural segregation, which is largely still in place across South African cities in the form of townships, transport systems, and labour relations (Murray, 2008;

Todes, 2012). One such example of this structural segregation is the phenomenon of domestic work, and the realities of urban living that it produces (Ginsburg, 2011).

Approximately one million South Africans are currently employed as domestic workers, and the sector is one of the largest sources of employment for black women in South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2020). In spite of this, the labour relations and living conditions of domestic workers in South Africa have not transformed significantly since the end of Apartheid in 1994, and are still characterised by power asymmetry and exploitation (Du Preez et al., 2010). Living conditions have been a critical issue for domestic workers, who either commute to or occupy a dwelling within their workplace (Ginsburg, 2000). The latter occurs in domestic quarters either as back garden rooms on free-standing properties, or in dormitory-style rooms in apartment blocks, often located on the roof of the building, or separated from the main block as an annex to garages (Ginsburg, 1999). These domestic quarters were constructed during colonial and Apartheid rule, and were a loophole of the Group Areas Act of 1950 through which black people could live in white only areas, in order for their labour to be proximate and accessible to the white families they worked for (Ally, 2011). However, in 1955, this was legislatively amended to allow only five African employees per apartment block, in an act that Hendrik Verwoerd nicknamed the "Locations in the Sky" bill (Ginsburg, 1999; Mather, 1987: 121). This bill resulted in evictions of some domestic workers from white apartment buildings, but a notable collection of people continued to live in the quarters (Mather, 1987). There is a concentration of such apartment blocks within the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, namely Illovo, Rosebank, and Killarney, and

to this day domestic workers live in quarters on the roofs of buildings, often unseen or unknown to apartment residents (Ginsburg, 2011).

By design, living conditions within these dwellings are less than ideal, as they are characterised by small living spaces, poor ventilation, little natural light, and, in many cases, communal kitchens and bathrooms (dos Santos, 2020; Mather, 1987). Furthermore, in most buildings, there are also rules in place which govern the freedoms of domestic workers, such as whether they are allowed to enter and exit the property, have visitors, use common areas for relaxation, and even in some cases where they are permitted to laugh or have conversations (dos Santos, 2020). While these rules may appear to be 'standard' body corporate rules, in actuality the rules separate domestic workers from their employers in terms of residency status, and bring into question discrimination, the rights of the domestic workers, as well as what it means for them to occupy a home in their place of employment.

In a 2017 judgement of Singh and Another v Mount Edgecombe Country Club Estate Management Association Two (RF) and Others, these kinds of 'domestic rules' were declared unreasonable and unlawful, and there has been a recent shift towards evaluating the living conditions of domestic workers in these apartment blocks. Some body corporates have changed regulations such that domestic workers are no longer allowed to live in the apartment blocks at all, in an attempt to respond to the poor living conditions (dos Santos, 2020). However, it is hypothesised that these changes are taking place without substantial inclusion of the perspectives of the domestic workers themselves, and thus may not be representative of the

experiences or preferences of the employees, who may prefer living in such conditions which are closer to work and, in some cases, rent-free, to the expenses and dangers of commuting.

1.1. Rationale

There is a solid body of literature on domestic work in South Africa (Ally, 2008; 2011; Cock, 1980; 2011; 2019; du Preez et al., 2010; Durrheim et al., 2014; Ginsburg, 1999; 2011; King, 2012; Vanyoro, 2021). Much of this focuses thematically on labour relations, exploitation, and the interpersonal race-gender-class dynamics between employees and employers (Fish, 2006; Gaitskell et al., 1983; Ginsburg, 2011; King 2012), and geographically on domestic quarters in freestanding houses, or the experiences of domestic workers who commute to work (Gaitskell et al., 1983; Ginsburg, 2000). There is little reference to live-in domestic workers in the context of apartment buildings: the phenomenon “locations in the sky” (Mather, 1987).

It is important to expose what happens within these often-unseen spaces, especially as recent efforts have been made to mobilise change in domestic quarters and the spaces are dynamic. It appears that these efforts do not yet take the viewpoint of the domestic workers into account comprehensively (dos Santos, 2020). The *de jure* rules and regulations which currently restrict the urban rights of the domestic workers is a critical point of inquiry, as they are a legacy of Apartheid that may prove more malleable than the physical structures which they govern (Berrisford, 2011). These formal rules and structures, along with power dynamics and social

relations, produce urban realities for apartment and domestic quarter residents, of which there is little documentation. Hence, the *de facto* state of affairs is also explored in this study.

While providing a more detailed evidence base for these current civil and legal actions, this study also aims to fill both a thematic and theoretical gap, and explore an under-researched geographic site of inquiry. In terms of the thematic and theoretical gap, this study references the current paradigm of Southern urbanism, and builds on the rapidly expanding field of post-Apartheid urban theory in a South African context. Going beyond structuralist analyses of infrastructure and service delivery (Beall et al., 2002; Star, 1999; Todes, 2012; Von Schnitzler, 2013), and not exclusively grounding analysis in poststructuralist and micropolitical analysis (Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008; Simone, 2004), this study aims to analyse the intimate scale of the home, while taking into account how macro forces such as patriarchy, capitalism, white supremacy influence this scale by using domestic work as a point of entry, to abstract the findings where possible and contribute to a theorisation of African cities (Pieterse, 2011).

1.2. Research Question and Objectives

Given the inherent invisibility of domestic quarters in apartment buildings, and how little has been written about them, this study aims to investigate the question: **How do both *de jure* and *de facto* rules influence and (re)produce current experiences, perceptions, and urban realities of domestic quarters in the apartment blocks of northern Johannesburg, and complicate definitions of home in this context?**

This question will be investigated by achieving four key objectives:

1. To assess and compare what rules and regulations are in place relating to domestic workers and employees across various body corporates in the apartment blocks in northern Johannesburg, and whether these have changed;
2. To investigate and document the lived experiences of domestic workers within these apartments and detail their perspectives in relation to their living arrangements;
3. To gauge the perceptions of employers and body corporate members within these apartment blocks in relation to the living conditions of these employees and the rules which govern these conditions; and
4. To detail how the above perceptions and dynamics influence the decision-making processes relating to "domestic rules" and how this in turn results in a conception of home for domestic workers in an urban context.

1.3. Structure of Chapters

This dissertation comprises nine chapters, which cover the following:

Chapter 2: Theorising "Locations in the Sky": Urbanity, home, and labour is the literature review and provides a theoretical framework, as well as an overview of the relevant literature on live-in domestic workers in an urban and South African context.

Chapter 3: "Locations in the Sky": A Study Site looks at what and where the northern suburbs of Johannesburg are, why Killarney, Illovo, and Rosebank as suburbs were selected, and what the site of the apartment buildings and domestic quarters in question constitutes of.

Chapter 4: Methodology describes the research methods utilised in this study by framing the overall qualitative approach, and then describing the data collection, sampling, and analysis of the semi-structured interviews and Doctrinal Legal Research.

Chapter 5: Positioning and Texturing the Research Voices this section provides an overview of the sample, a discussion about researcher positionality, and also the presentation of various respondent positionalities in the form of archetypes in order to position the findings and provide a texture to the voices heard throughout the study.

Chapter 6: Systems of Segregation and Power unpacks how an Apartheid legacy and current realities generates systems of segregation and power. First *de jure* structural elements of urban form, architecture and rules are analysed, followed by the *de facto* power relations of unspoken rules and rule bending. A contradictory white conscience emerges, which is contrasted with the realities of the domestic quarter residents.

Chapter 7: Precarity: Domestic Work in the Current Context explores the various precarities which domestic workers face – specifically domestic workers living in domestic quarters, and specifically in the current context of COVID-19, and the decline of full-time domestic work.

Chapter 8: Mobilising Change: For whom, by whom? outlines the mechanisms of change identified throughout the interviews with respondents and explores what changes happen with regard to domestic quarters, when these changes happen, and who is involved in the process, give the power dynamics at play.

Chapter 9: Conclusion draws together the findings and analysis to revisit the research question and the research objectives set out. It outlines how the objectives have been fulfilled, while also acknowledging that the answers presented are imperfect in a number of ways. As well as this, areas for future research are flagged.

2. Theorising “Locations in the Sky”: Urbanity, home, and labour

2.1. Introduction

What is both exciting and complex about urban geography and its cognate disciplines is the variation in ontological, epistemological, and methodological approaches to understanding the city, as well as the range of thematic focuses (Lees, 2003; Pieterse, 2010). This study positions itself in the urban space of South Africa, looking specifically at dynamics of home and domestic work, and thus requires the development of a framework through which to ‘see’ space, while also contextualising the work in the existing body of relevant literature (Lefebvre, 1974; Pieterse, 2011; Schindler, 2017). As such, a Lefebvrian theoretical lens is developed through the section on *Theorising (Post-)Apartheid Urban Space* (2.2.) to explicitly lay out what modes of analysis will be used, and where this sits in the growing literature on cities of the South. Following this, *The Geographies of Home* (2.3.) section looks specifically at the home as an intimate and contested scale of intervention, largely drawing on the work of Blunt (2005), Blunt and Dowling (2006) and Blunt and Varley (2004) to understand its varied permutations and conceptions. Finally, the section on *Domestic Work* (2.4.) then provides a broad overview of the literature on domestic work as a form of labour, at a global scale and then specifically in a South African context (Ally, 2011; Ginsburg, 2000).

2.2. Theorising (post-)Apartheid Urban Space

2.2.1. Theorising Space

2.2.1.1. The Production of Space

To adequately capture the social and symbolic (re)productions of urban space which occur in addition to, or in spite of, its materiality, the *Production of Space* serves as a useful starting point (Lefebvre, 1974). The work of French philosopher Henri Lefebvre has become a staple in urban theory, not only because of the role that the right to the city has played in conceptualising and mobilising social justice in urban realms (Harvey, 2012; Marcuse, 2009), but also because Lefebvre's (1974) spatial triad serves as a useful theoretical framework to ground analyses of urban dynamics that are in part spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space (Lefebvre, 1974: 33).

Before unpacking and deploying these elements, it is important to first contextualise this framework developed by Lefebvre (1974), its historical use, critiques, and relevance to urban studies today. There are numerous works depicting the life and influences of Lefebvre (e.g. Elden, 2004; Merrifield; 2006), which in summary posit that the French philosopher was primarily a Marxist scholar who developed an analysis of everyday life, and centred space as the context of political change, especially with the development of the 'right to the city'.

The Production of Space, originally published in 1974, is regarded as Lefebvre's magnum opus and has had a notable influence on the development of poststructuralist and postmodern urban

theory (Elden, 2004). While it has been one of the most influential texts in re-centring social space in geographical analysis, it is also a source of scholarly misinterpretation, confusion, and debate (Leary, 2013). This is in part due to the stylistic approach, which intentionally breaks traditional presentation norms, is seemingly contradictory at times, and as Unwin (2000: 14) critically espouses, "makes complex the taken-for-granted". In his critique of the work, Unwin (2000) highlights that Lefebvre (1974) was intentionally verbose, contradictory, and unclear at times, and therefore unable to reach individuals beyond the academic realm, and incite real change. While these points are valid, especially given a current impetus to decolonise the academic project and make theory more accessible to the masses (Daya, 2020), the spatial triad still provides a useful theoretical framework to analyse urban space, if the interpretation thereof is outlined explicitly (Leary, 2013).

Drawing on the work of Leary (2013), scholarly engagement with Lefebvre (1974) can be categorised into three primary waves. First wave theorists engaged with the untranslated works to develop theoretical understandings of city-space (Leary, 2013). Notably, Soja's (1980) development of the socio-spatial dialectic recognises the mutually re-enforcing relationship between people and space which has two elements: how people simultaneously passively experiencing the city, while also actively creating the city (Gottdiener, 1985; Harvey, 1989). Second-wave theorists use the framework as a basis for empirical research (Allen & Pryke, 1994; Fyfe, 1996; McCann, 1999), and third-wave theorists focus primarily of biographical depictions of Lefebvre (Elden, 2004; Merrifield, 2006).

In addition to these waves explained by Leary (2013), it is also possible to add a fourth wave into the progression, as the emerging literature on cities of the South has seen a re-centring of a Lefebvrian approach to understanding urban space, analysing the everyday and developing an understanding of how social space is (re)produced (Banks et al., 2020; De Boeck & Plissart, 2014; Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008; Roy, 2011). This progression, and the development of these selected works is illustrated in Figure 1.

This study positions itself within the scope of fourth wave theorists, utilising Lefebvre's spatial triad as a loose theoretical guide for deciphering cities of the South, while acknowledging the somewhat inscrutable and inaccessible nature of *The Production of Space.* To overcome potential misunderstandings which may arise from the deployment of Lefebvre (1974), the interpretation of spatial triad, consisting of three constantly overlapping and interweaving elements, which will be used in analysis is outlined below:

- Representations of Space (Conceived Space): The conceptual space which is coded and imagined by policy-makers, planners, and social actors with political power
- Representational Space (Lived Space): How space is produced, personalised and symbolised by its inhabitants through every day spatial practice, and its symbolism and individual meaning
- Spatial Practice (Perceived Space): The process of physical, mental and social transformation of space; material transformations of space that occur

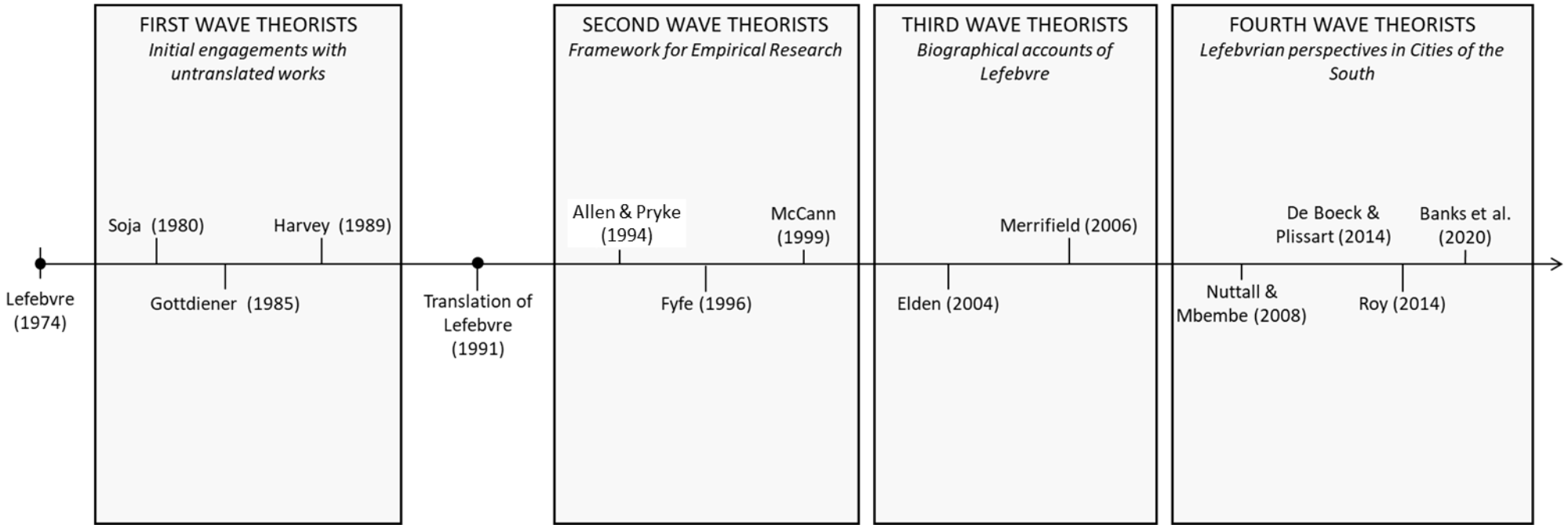

Figure 1: Timeline illustrating the four waves of Lefebvrian Analysis

2.2.1.2. Space and Power

Like so many other geographers discussing the social dynamics of space, drawing on Foucault is useful to theorise how power affects and is affected by spatial practice (Crampton & Elden, 2007; Frank, 2009; Philo, 1992). While the majority of Foucault's works (1975; 1980) focused on power in relation to knowledge creation and epistemology, drawing on Gramsci's (1971) definition of hegemony, Foucault also provided a useful poststructuralist lens through to unpack power, regulation of the body and movement, and resistance in the context of space (Ekers & Loftus; 2008; Thomas, 2009).

Foucault's relevance to and engagement with geography as a discipline is notable, as is explored at length by Crampton and Elden (2007) in *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography.* Their work opens with key questions that Foucault poses to geographers, taken from a 1976 interview with the French journal *Hérodote.* Most relevant to this study is the question of "What do geographers understand by power?" (cited in Crampton & Elden, 2007: 3).

Interpreting his multiple works, it can be understood that Foucault proposes his own answers: that power comes not only from official rules and governance, but is embedded in social hierarchies related to dominant hegemonies of the time; power operates to impose identities on its subjects and that resistance, which may itself be considered a form of power, "works to oppose this first power and thereby dissolve or deconstruct power's identity formations" (Widder, 2004: 411). While this interpretation seemingly centres identity, as Widder (2004) emphasises, this is not a true reflection of Foucault's ideological roots. It can be interpreted, then,

that Foucault understands power as “positive and productive” in nature, with different manifestations and operations across micro and macro scales (Widder, 2004: 411).

There are some key critiques of Foucault, which must be taken into account to effectively deploy his theoretical framework. First, Habermas (1987) and Widder (2004), discuss a critique of Foucault’s construction of power as being omnipresent, as it does not give subjects room to resist, and essentially reduces the subjects to docile bodies. Second, poststructuralists critique Foucault’s conceptualisation of resistance as a place outside of power, whereas many since have written since that operating within power realms can be defined as a form of resistance (Selby, 2007; Widder, 2004). Third, Thrift (2008: 55) argues that Foucault did not go far enough to include space in his analysis of power, but rather viewed it as a medium through which power is exerted and practiced. It is thus useful to blend Foucault’s understanding of power with Lefebvre’s production of space, to understand how power affects and is affected by representations of space, but also is embedded in representational space, and is moderated, exerted, and resisted in spatial practice. By combining these approaches as a loose guide, and taking into account more current developments which call for such analysis to be accessible and inclusive, a theoretical framework for understanding space may be developed. The domestic quarters examined in this study are a physical space, and can be understood through the spatial triad. As will be evident throughout the study and specifically in Chapter 6, the intersection of space and power is noteworthy and relevant to how urban realities unfold. Thus, cities of the South as a space of enquiry can now be explored.

2.2.2. The Emergence of Cities of the South as a Mode of Spatial Discourse

It is a rich time to be writing on cities of the South. A thriving literature has emerged, accelerated in the early 2000s by the works such as Robinson (2002b; 2016), Dawson and Edwards (2004), Shatkin (2007), De Boeck and Plissart (2014), Nuttall and Mbembe (2008), Roy (2011), Parnell and Robinson (2012), Pieterse (2011), Pieterse and Simone (2013), as well as the establishment of research think-tanks and consortiums with a Southern focus, including the establishment of the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research in 2001, the African Centre for Cities at the University of Cape Town in 2006-2007, the Gauteng City-Region Observatory in 2008, and the African Cities Research Consortium at the University of Manchester in 2020 (African Centre for Cities, n.d.; African Cities Research Consortium, n.d.).

This increased focus on cities in developing countries was spurred on by, or at least took place parallel to, a growing population boom in cities of the South. As Shatkin (2007) noted almost fifteen years ago, the rapid pace of urbanisation and scale of urban regions in developing countries necessitated a change in how cities are imagined. Today, eleven out of the fifteen largest urban regions in the world by population are in developing countries (Demographia, 2021).[1] Beyond Cairo, sub-Saharan African cities, too, are going to become megalopolises in years to come, as the continent is projected to have the largest urban growth rate in the world and is predicted to be home to an additional 950 million people by 2050 (OECD, 2020). Over the past 20 years, it has become apparent that urban populations in cities of the South will soon

[1] These urban areas are Jakarta, Indonesia; New Delhi, India; Manila, Philippines; Sao Paulo, Brazil; Mumbai; India; Shanghai, China; Mexico City, Mexico; Guangzhou-Foshan, China; Cairo, Egypt; Beijing, China; Kolkata, India

outnumber developed cities, and there has thus been an increased visibility of the developing cities in urban policy, including the New Urban Agenda's attempted focus on poverty and informal settlements (Parnell, 2016; United Nations, 2017).

This study, however, does not locate itself in the literature of global policy discourse around cities of the South (Caprotti et al., 2017; Parnell, 2016; Satterthwaite, 2016). While these works are important for understanding structural dynamics and urban futures on a macro-level, they also tend to focus on urban aspirations and cities as conceived space (Lefebvre, 1974). Policy and plans for cities need to be based on deep understandings of their realities, including historic and existing processes, power formations and conceptualisations – enacted and developed from the city as lived and perceived space (Lefebvre, 1974). While there is a growing literature that aims to institutionalise knowledges of how cities of the South, and African cities, function – which will be discussed below – there are still many gaps to fill (Pieterse, 2011). Thus, this study focuses on a city-scale, neighbourhood-scale, apartment building-scale, and an individual-scale, and is focused on collating, documenting, and theorising urban realities in a (post-)apartheid, African city of the South through an analysis of domestic work.

Through developments in cities of the South over the past twenty years, two key epistemological shifts in urban theory have occurred. First, cities in developing countries – referred to as cities of the South – are being integrated into 'mainstream' urban studies (Parnell & Oldfield, 2014). While urban theory has been developing alongside the development of cities themselves since the 1800s, the discipline has historically focused on developed and industrialised cities in the

Western world, such as analysing industrialisation in the United Kingdom, the transformation of Paris, or Jane Jacobs' (1961) work on "great American cities" (Gandy, 1999; Halfacree, 2003; Papayanis, 2004; Saalman, 1971). In these early years, cities of the South were viewed as subaltern outliers to the traditional narrative of what a city is, and as 'behind' in their journey towards becoming the singular vision of an 'acceptable' city was in the colonial minds of Northern scholarship (Drakakais-Smith, 2000; Pieterse, 2011; Roy, 2011). While this was the hegemonic scholarly narrative, it is not to say that cities of the South were not documented and analysed historically. There have been many accounts of Southern cities in artistic and oral forms, ranging from folklore about ancient Incan cities in South America, to documented artefact in China's first cities, and oral histories about the rise of Benin City (Childress, 1986; Connah, 2004; Schinz, 1996). However, these narratives are often regarded as 'divergent to' or 'not acceptable' scholarly realms of analysis (Pieterse, 2014). As the works of Adesokan (2011), De Boeck (1996), Diouf (2003), Nuttall and Mbembe (2008) and Simone and Pieterse (2017) illustrate, this is changing as urban theory is undergoing a process of decolonisation, and alternative forms of knowledge production are being recognised as valid and relevant (Chiumbu, 2017; Wood, 2020). Cities of the South, and the historic and present writings relating to them, are being taken more seriously by the historic 'centres' of academic knowledge production in the Global North as urban spaces worth theorising, with distinct and notable differences to urban processes and patterns documented about cities of the North (Parnell & Robinson, 2014; Shatkin, 2007; Watson, 2014b). Importantly, too, there are increasing sites of academic knowledge production based in Africa and the developing world which focus on cities.

The second epistemological shift that has advanced urban theory is that narratives and academic inquiry into cities in developing countries are no longer primarily centred around structuralist development aid and interventions, or the neo-imperial interventions of the Western world in these spaces (Harrison, 2006; Pieterse, 2010). Since the formal end of imperialism in many colonised countries in the 1960s, through to the early 2000s, the production of knowledge about developing countries, and cities within them, was centred around foreign aid and developmentalism (Pieterse, 2010). These accounts focused on how 'developed' countries in Europe and the United States could 'save' poorer, resource-deprived countries – either through bilateral aid agreements, or through multilateral bodies such as the United Nations and the advent of the Millennium Development Goals from 2000-2015 (Cooper & Packard, 1997; Easterly, 2007; Escobar, 1988; Moyo, 2009). As Pieterse (2010: 1) explores, the state of urban knowledge has been problematic because writings on African (and Southern) cities have assumed a rational policy fix for the layered challenges within them, and because policy fixes are based on "paper thin" understandings of realistic urban dynamics and cityness, or from a Lefebvrian lens, representational space and spatial practice. In Pieterse's (2010: 1) words:

> "The time is long overdue to launch a corrective effort to rebalance the division of intellectual work between examining the nature of African urban life, i.e., African urbanism, and undertaking policy-oriented research that seeks to address the imperatives of developmentalism. More to the point, it seems that we have now passed the point where we can simply do decontextualized or disembedded policy analysis and prescription."

There has since been progress towards documenting and representing the 'cityness' of cities of the South, and African cities in particular (De Boeck & Plissart, 2014; Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008;

Simone, 2004). This study focuses on the cityness of domestic quarters, and values the lived realities of the respondents as a basis for urban theory. With this in mind, the broader landscape of Southern urbanism in which they fall, will be discussed next.

2.2.3. The Landscape of Southern Urbanism

As implicit in the discussion on the shifts towards a more robust theory for cities of the South, there are common threads which tie these cities together – most notably, their colonial history, high levels of inequality, and complex and uneven infrastructures (Parnell & Oldfield, 2014). Within the context of late capitalism, distinct trends and complexities evident in cities of the South have contributed to the debate on how to analyse and understand these spaces in academic discourse (Lawhon & Truelove, 2020; Pieterse, 2011; Schindler, 2017). As advanced by Roy (2011), cities of the South may be 'subaltern', but this does not necessarily mean inferior. Rather, when viewed with a postcolonial frame of reference, cities of the South are often characterised by "spaces of difference", which do not always follow neoliberal patterns of urban formation (Spivak, 2005: 476).

Referring to Scott's assertion (2004) that the relevance of postcolonial theory has declined due to the emergence of a current problem-space characterised by a multitude of other forces, Schindler (2017) posits that a paradigm of Southern urbanism is needed which takes into account the specificity of cities of the South, accounts for the ethnographical analysis thereof, while still abstracting patterns into critical urban theory to develop theorisation of cities of the South. Pieterse (2011) issues a cognate call, but for African cities specifically. In Schindler's (2017)

outline of a paradigm of Southern urbanism, he defines three tendencies of Southern cities which provide an indicative view of the key points of analysis or concern to date: (i) a persistent disconnect between capital and labour; (ii) discontinuous, dynamic, and contested metabolic configurations, and (iii) the co-constitution of political economy and materiality.

The analytical background laid out to understand labour dynamics in cities of the South refers to Marx's (1990) analysis of the origin of exchanging labour for capital when peasants were removed from their land in industrialising countries in the West. These colonial powers, such as the United Kingdom, implemented similar measures in their colonies, which were continued by postcolonial governments after independence (Schindler, 2017). However, in subsequent years, this dynamic has been complicated by the simultaneous accumulation and disconnection of capital and labour, driven by the state's focus on claiming land and capital, rather than stimulating production (Harvey, 1990). As a result, urban governance is focused on transforming space and disciplining urban residents, as opposed to providing productive opportunities for urban residents to reconnect their labour to capital opportunities (Schindler, 2015). Thus, labour is largely absorbed in the informal economy, often for low wages, while capital sits with the state and historically wealthy individuals (Schindler, 2017: 54). This pattern is a key explanatory factor of the dynamics of domestic work which will be discussed later.

Second, Schindler (2017: 54) refers to how the metabolic configurations of cities of the South are "discontinuous, dynamic and contested". Urban infrastructures and metabolic flows are endlessly being reconfigured, contested, and blocked due to two key drivers. Firstly, the patterns

of state accumulation discussed in the first tendency mean that urban transformation is not always in the best interests of the residents of the city (Schindler, 2017). Secondly, there is a tension between how cities were planned under colonial rule – for separation and control – and how these cities are being navigated in postcolonial times (Schindler, 2017). Most access to infrastructure is informal, to compensate for either the incoherent historic planning, or the more current failings of the state (AlSayyad, 2004; Banks et al., 2020; Murray, 2008; Spivak, 2005). A lack of reliable and accessible data on these infrastructural realities means that spatial practice in cities of the South is still largely undocumented or understood (Schindler, 2017).

The third tendency which Schindler (2017) offers is that political economy and materiality are always co-constituted in Southern cities, so neither can be reduced to structure or context. This hypothesis may explain why so many scholars of Southern urbanism mobilise both Foucauldian and Lefebvrian lenses, in what has here been termed the fourth wave of engagement with Lefebvre's work (1974). This co-constituting relationship between political economy and materiality alludes to a broader tension that exists within urban theory: the contrast of material analyses of urban form, which has been significant to traditional urban planners, with a social constructivist approach which underscores the role that power geometry and social relations play in creating and understanding city-space, grounded in the work of Harvey (1990), Lefebvre (1974), Massey (1991), and others (Leary, 2013; Schindler, 2017).

The methods of planning – or lack thereof – in cities of the South mean that the lines between conceived, perceived and lived space are constantly being blurred (Lefebvre, 1974; Roy, 2011). As a result, forms of control and power are created outside the bounds of state power, and sometimes outside the bounds of the law, in order for citizens to claim and enclose space, aesthetics, power and wealth (Cock, 2019). Examples of this include the proliferation of private security, community watch groups, hybrid gentrification, and the private regulation of domestic work (Cock, 2019; Dawson, 2006; Landman, 2011; Lemanski, 2014). While some of these extra-legal dynamics involve citizens (re)claiming their right to the city and service delivery, power formations and exclusion are also enforced in various modes, often resulting in material changes to how urban flows manifest (Harvey, 2012; Lemanski, 2004; Wafer, 2012). Much of the landscape of Southern urbanism, or assumptions regarding how cities of the South function, have either explicit or implicit root in one or more of these tendencies outlined by Schindler (2017).

A geographic discussion of literature on cities of the South would not be complete without mentioning the variation and relevance of the scale of analysis. As Parnell and Oldfield (2014) explore, engagements with cities of the South in the twenty-first century are varied in scope and scale, with multiple theoretical entry points. Under a paradigm of Southern urbanism, where there has been an epistemological shift towards taking all of these perspectives more seriously, all scalar nodes need to be considered and acknowledge. These may range from micropolitical studies, which Pieterse (2012: 315) refers to “intimate ethnography”, and macro and meta-abstraction, which is also a critical element of generating a theory of cities of the South, and African cities. Schindler (2017) outlines how cities of the South have historically been in relation

to global capitalist forces and international development interventions, or ethnographic accounts of individual experiences, in line with the above discussion about the historic context of developmentalist discourse in Southern cities. More recent attempts made by scholars such as Pieterse (2010, 2011, 2012), Roy (2011), Simone (2004) and others to tie these scales of intervention together are critical for enriching a paradigm of southern urbanism.

As Schindler (2017: 56) postulates, the "next major breakthrough in Southern urban research will be made by the reconciliation of micro-level qualitative case studies with quantitative citywide analysis", tying these scales of intervention together to create a complete lens through which cities of the South can be viewed is imperative. That is not to say, however, that this lens will be consistent. Given the contradictions and contestations present in cities of the South, this way of viewing cities of the South will vary depending on geographies, temporalities, and scale (Shatkin, 2007). For example, this study is cognisant of and aims to contribute to a theorisation of cities of the South, but is focused primarily on the individual, apartment, complex and neighbourhood scale in one particular city. However, from a conceptual perspective, all of these scales are influenced by broader macro trends such as global systems of capitalism, patriarchy, and white supremacy, as *Geographies of Home* (2.3.) will explore (Blunt, 2005).

Given the diversity of thematic and scalar approaches to understanding and theorising spaces in cities of the South, a matrix of the literature on Southern urbanism can be developed. Figure 2, inspired by the "Conceptual Landscape of Urban Theories" developed by Pieterse (2012: 40), illustrates the range of literature across these dimensions, and provides a map for the literature in which this study positions itself. On the x-axis (Figure 2), there is a spectrum which ranges from structuralist approaches that view cities of the South as conceived space, including those focused on developmentalism and policy, but also those which adopt an urban metabolism approach to embedding urban dynamics. Contrastingly, poststructuralist conceptions of cities of the South, such as those adopted by the fourth wave of Lefebvrian theorists, focus on how space is socially produced. The y-axis (Figure 2), then, depicts the spectrum of scalar variation discussed above. The most granular analysis, using micropolitical and intimate ethnography, lies at one end of the spectrum. On the other end, the macro- and meta-analysis are present. While the literature presented on these axes is by no means exhaustive, it is useful for illustrating the theoretical underpinnings of urban theory relevant to this study.

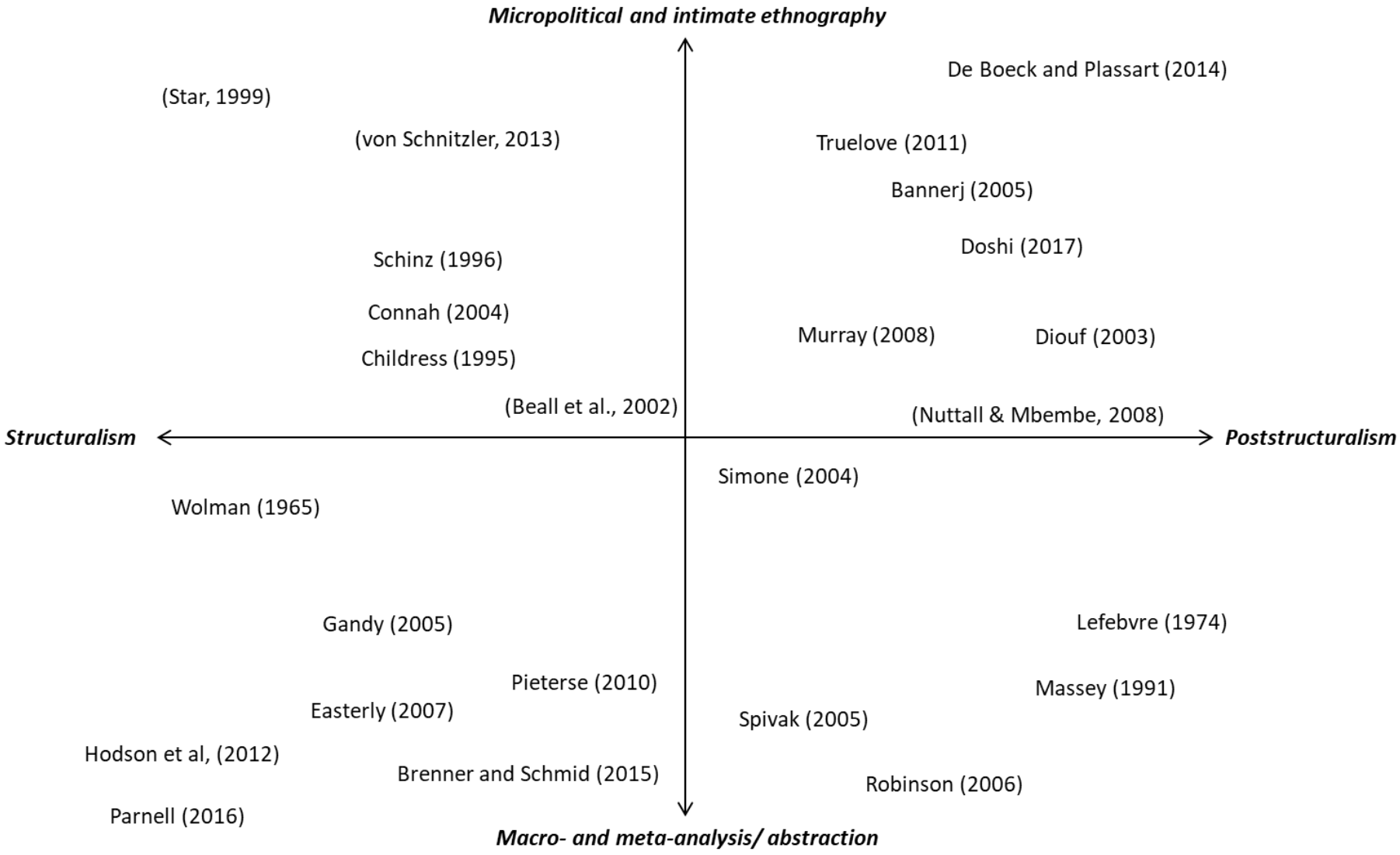

Figure 2: Matrix of Relevant Urban Literature (after Pieterse, 2012: 40)

2.2.4. Urban Space in Africa

While there are common characteristics across cities of the South at a global level, it is also critical to note that the production of space is geographically specific in many instances. As critiques of Brenner and Schmid's (2015) concept of planetary urbanisation have illustrated, acknowledging difference is critical to constructively theorising cities of the South (Myers, 2018; Robinson, 2002a; Schindler, 2017). Adopting a singular theoretical framework to analyse all cities of the South inevitably leads to the erasure of spaces of difference mentioned by Sipvak (2005). While urban comparison is useful and necessary when conducted with the appropriate level of nuance, acknowledging and deepening understandings of geographically specific urban dynamics is an important element of developing a paradigm of Southern urbanism (Myers, 2018; Robinson, 2002a).

The critical works of African urbanists have made notable strides to develop an urban theory of cities on the continent (De Boeck & Plissart, 2014; Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008; Pieterse, 2011; Pieterse & Simone, 2013; Simone, 2004). As Nuttall and Mbembe outline in their 2008 work on *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis,* four key analyses of urban Africa included understanding the unknown and unstable growth trajectories of African cities (Guyer, 2004); the constantly shifting social formations and micropolitics of alignment (Simone, 2004); the constant fluctuation of construction and regeneration (De Boeck, 1996); and the ways in which African cities represent a "crystallised and extreme" idea of modernity (Koolhaas, 1995: 29). The simultaneously varied yet consistent nature of extractive colonisation, the neopatrimonial state power formations, and the rapid growth of urban populations across the continent all contribute to a congruent urban

form that can be abstracted to develop an African urban theory (Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008; Pieterse, 2011; Watson, 2014a).

As with cities of the South, most writings about African cities have historically either focused on developmental fixes and theorising approaches to alleviating poverty, or on embodied and micropolitical accounts (De Boeck & Plissart, 2014; Diouf, 2003; Simone, 2004; Pieterse, 2011). This has also been shifting in an African context over the past twenty years (Pieterse, 2010). Many of the epistemological shifts which have been occurring in the realm of Southern urbanism have been accelerated by African scholars, and have centred around developing a vocabulary for urban dynamics in cities across the continent (Beall et al., 2015; Parnell, 1997; Pieterse, 2011; Pieterse & Simone, 2013). What this means analytically is acknowledging three elements. First, there is a specific mode of African colonialism and (post-) colonialism characterised by extractive practices and significant settler populations (Myers, 2003). Second, these histories have influenced on urban planning and design – or lack thereof – including the ubiquity of informal settlements and transport (Todes, 2012). Finally, it is worth noting that African cities are still in early stages of their urban transition, although South African cities are further along than others, urban dynamics are still unfolding (Myers, 2003; Pieterse, 2011). With this in mind, a more textured understanding of how urban space is conceived, perceived, and lived on the African continent can be developed.

2.2.5. (Post-)Apartheid Urban Theory

South African cities do follow the trends and dynamics of cities of the South, and cities in Africa, but are also continuously (re)made by Apartheid and post-apartheid forces specific to the country. As articulated by Nuttall and Mbembe (2008), academic works thus far have failed to provide a satisfactory theorisation along racial and economic lines to explain the results of the historical development of cities in South Africa, and has also failed to account for the cityness of urban South Africa, in the context of a worldwide discourse on metropolitanism (Moreillon, 2019). While there is not yet a coherent body of literature characterising and abstracting a South African or post-apartheid urban theory, embedded in analyses and discussions of urban dynamics in South African settings are spatially specific nuances (Davies, 1981; Lemanski, 2014; Mabin, 2014; Murray, 2008; Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008; Todes, 2012; Sutherland et al., 2018). This, in turn, results in a production of space which is uniquely South African in a number of ways.

The conceived space in South African settings is characterised by Apartheid spatial planning – a very specific, legally driven and intentional mode of segregation in the city, with laws such as the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 and its various amendments excluding people of colour from 'white' urban space – be it residentially for living, or even from public space, transit and other rights to the city (Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008; Murray, 2008; Parnell, 2002). While planning and representations of space following 1994 have made attempts to undo and (re)make these modes of segregation – for example, the development of affordable housing through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), inclusive housing policies, and the creation of public transport such as the MyCiti bus in Cape Town and the Rea Vaya in Johannesburg – these

attempts are still confined and limited by structures which are incredibly difficult to undo: one cannot easily move suburbs or residential patterns (Coetzer, 2016; Murray, 2008; Todes, 2012). Furthermore, modes of planning in a (post-)apartheid era are not entirely redistributive and restitutionary. Neoliberal forces, as well as attempts to retain and enclose power and wealth have meant that even new developments remain segregationist in nature, such as the proliferation of gated communities, mobilisation of private security, and even public-private developments such as the prohibitively expensive Gautrain (Duca, 2015; Landman, 2011; Thomas, 2013).

These elements, in turn, affects the lived or representational space in South African cities. Depending on an individual's social power derived from their race, gender and/or class, their symbolic understanding of the city is either as a space of safety or danger; comfort or anxiety; inclusion or exclusion; and homeliness or foreignness (Doshi, 2017; Lefebvre, 1974). This, however, is not exclusively derived from how the material space has been conceived through planning and development. Rather, the symbolic ways in which citizens engage with urban space is also interwoven with their social relations and ties to the city; their personal experiences in urban space – both public and private – as well as an infinite number of other perceptual factors (Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008; Simone, 2004). It is precisely because of this multiplicity of representational places in (post-)apartheid cities that South African cities cannot be analysed or understood through a singular lens (Pieterse, 2010).

A need for a multi-faceted lens of analysis can also be used to understand spatial practice, or perceived space. Urban space in South Africa is continuously being transformed and remade, not only through everyday interactions and routines which tend to (re)constitute urban space in general, but also because of the specific ways in which urban citizens have attempted to claim their rights to the city, and been denied these rights (Huchzemeyer, 2014). As the literature on service delivery protests in South African cities illustrates, urban residents are constantly attempting the remake (post-)apartheid urban space, and exhibiting practices to redirect representations of space and how South African cities are planned and (re)made (Von Holdt et al., 2011).

Considering how South African cities are conceived, lived, and perceived, a more robust understanding of a (post-)apartheid urban theory can be developed. While these dynamics are mentioned in the vast array of writings on South African cities, this study purports a more thoroughly constituted theorisation of (post-)apartheid space, while acknowledging the ways in which these elements are congruous with broader African and Southern urban dynamics. While this is true across public and private space, this study focuses on the private space of the apartment block, and where people live – their home.

2.3. Geographies of Home

The home has long been a site and scale of analysis in the social sciences, especially when understanding dynamics of psychology, gender relations and place-making (Chapman & Hockey, 1999; Cieraad, 1999; George; 1996; Young, 1997). With respect to the latter, an extensive literature exists relating to migration and belonging across global contexts, including the experiences and perceptions of incoming refugees in Europe and beyond (Arvanitis & Yelland, 2021; Krzyżanowsk & Wodak, 2008; Wood & Martin, 2020). In a South African context, these migration narratives centre around the movement of citizens from other African countries into South African cities – and the associated xenophobia (Kok et al., 2006; Von Fintel & Moses, 2017). There are also patterns of migrant labour, including rural-urban migration established and embedded during colonial times for purposes of the mining and industrial economy, and continues to exist in (post-)apartheid South Africa (Bank et al., 2020; Kok et al., 2003; Njwambe et al., 2019).

Blunt and Varley (2004) posit that the spatiality of the home in works such as these is often only implicit, or is assumed. These analyses of home tend to materialise space as constant and unchanging, and separate to the social dynamics which take place within it (Blunt, 2005). As Brickell (2012) details, writings about the home have evolved from its initial representation as a 'safe' space of belonging that contrasted to a more foreign world in the 1980s and 1990s (Guiliani & Feldman, 1993; Moore, 2000); to deconstructions of this optimistic framing, and feminist perspectives on the home as a site of domestic control, oppression, and violence (Badgett & Folbre, 1999; Olwig, 1998; Young, 1997). Over the past 20 years, the acknowledgement of this

polarity, supported and enhanced by the work of Blunt and Varley (2004), Blunt (2005), Blunt and Dowling (2006), and others, has resulted in the emerging ambiguity around the home space as the very parts of the home which provide protection and safety, if misconstrued, result in acute exclusion, isolation, and danger (Schroder, 2006).

Alison Blunt (2005: 510) alludes to the emergence in the 2000s of research into the home which began to recognise how it is not only a private space devoid of macro-level forces and influences, but is shaped and reproduced by ideologies, cultures of imperial power, evictions, and resettlements, as well as everyday practices:

> "The home itself is intensely political, both in its internal intimacies and through its interfaces with the wider world."

As Brickell (2012) emphasises, a critical geography of home involves recognising the ambiguity of home, while also balancing the multiscalar dynamics which influence how an individual may experience the home as a lived space (Longhurst, 2002). To better unpack the works to date on the geographies of the home through a Lefebvrian lens, literature on the home as conceived, lived, and perceived space will be analysed.

2.3.1. Representations of the Home (The Conceived Space)

As has been outlined by the Lefebvrian framework, the conceived space involves the physical properties of space, and how space is conceptualised and designed by architects and planners.

The home is a necessary and timeless space which exists across animal species and across human history – from hunter-gatherer rest spots marked by a fire, manor houses in the Middle Ages, to the proliferation of apartments and high-rises seen with increased urbanisation (Bryson, 2011; Rybczynski, 1987; Watkins, 1990). While the home is a universal structure which spans temporalities and geographies, its permutations are culturally and geographically specific – climate, population density and social formations such as race, class and gender all play a role in determining how the home is conceived, and there is a vast collection of writings on the architecture of the home which could be referenced here (Bryson, 2011; Nylander, 2002). Rather, what is worth noting in the context of the geographies of the home specifically, is that the home is materially a private space, meaning that in theory, individuals have more control over the design, layout, and materiality of the space than the state, in contrast to public space (Friedman, 2005; Thompson, 2011). While this is so, the state exercises control over homes in various ways, including building by-laws and zoning rights, and pertinent in the context of South Africa, through forced removals and depriving people of their home (Field, 2001; Kgari-Masondo, 2008).

Beyond these controls, however, the home is largely a private space where the individual has more scope to (re)make their home where resources and power allow (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). This is exercised through deciding where to live; ownership over one's home; design, construction, and renovation to home spaces; as well as decoration and aesthetic changes to a space (Soronen, 2014). Individual choices about such design elements are, of course, influenced by public ideals and norms of how a home should be. Furthermore, levels of autonomy that individuals have to control the home is deeply varied and dependent on social power. In

neoliberal cities, it is the historic capitalists and property owners who can exercise this control, while workers and proletariat classes may not be able to if they do not own their properties (Anderson, 2014). In a South African setting, the physicality of home is differentiated across racial lines, as a history of dispossessing African, Coloured and Indian people of their homes, alongside the accumulation of property by white people, has resulted in dichotomies of home structures, ranging from shacks in informal settlements to multi-million Rand mansions (Mabin, 2014; Murray, 2008; Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008). Under the new political formations of South Africa, the latter is also prevalent amongst political elite – evident in media discourse about Jacob Zuma's Nkandla homestead, or the controversy relating to the Gupta mansion (Whelan, 2018).

Another distinction relating to the control over the materiality of the home which will be important to this study is between landlords and tenants. Writings on this power dynamic from across the world speak to the ways in which landlords have power over the homes of tenants, whether through regulations that prohibit aesthetic alterations such as painting or hanging pictures, or controlling and limiting energy use and visitation permissions (Dillahunt et al., 2010; Haffner et al., 2008; Phillips, 2012; Tidwell et al., 2019). In apartment blocks, this control is also exerted by body corporates, who are given power to govern physical alterations to space, all use of common property areas, and other spatial practices, including movement, visitation and noise (Duca, 2015; Fisher & McPhail, 2014; Van Der Merwe & Habdas, 2006). What will also be explored in the below section on *Domestic Work (2.4)* is the particularly South African phenomenon of employers governing control over the space of their live-in domestic workers (Ginsburg, 2000).

It is thus evident that while the home is conceptually a private space for individuals to find safety or solace from the public, the actual materiality of how residents interact with their homes is influenced by their control and power of the space (Foucault, 2007). Furthermore, as Blunt (2005) discusses, the constitution of the home as a space is also largely influenced by external forces and trends.

2.3.2. The Home as Representational Space (The Lived Space)

These representations of space not only have an impact on the spatial practice of how people engage with their home, but also on how home is imagined and symbolised. Bachelard's (1958) work, *The Poetics of Space,* embodies this imagination, by blurring together dreams, imagination and poetry with the home. In Bachelard's (1958: 5) words:

> "In the most interminable of dialectics, the sheltered being gives perceptible limits to his shelter. He experiences the house in its reality and in its virtuality, by means of thought and dreams. It is no longer in its positive aspects that the house is really "lived," nor is it only in the passing hour that we recognize its benefits. An entire past comes to dwell in a new house."

What can be extracted from this is that the home is not only a place of experiential reality, but also exists within our imaginations, and is carried through spatialities and temporalities (Cieraad, 1999). The universality of the home as a construct means that there are widely accepted symbolisms associated with the home, which is the focus of Bachelard (1958): that of comfort, familiarity, shelter and safety – aligned to the 'optimistic' writings of the humanistic geographers that Brickell (2012) references, as well as the analyses presented by Chapman and Hockey (1999)

in *Ideal Homes?.* While the home is broadly referenced to symbolise safety and comfort, through a lens of critical geographies of the home, this meaning may be complicated by the ambiguity that comes from individual experiences and memories in one's home (Brickell, 2012).

Our shared symbolic understanding of home does not only rely upon individual experiences in home spaces. The role of the media is critical in generating a knowledge of what the home has come to represent (Foucault, 1980; McElroy, 2008). As McElroy (2008) discusses, displays of the home on television, whether it be through fictional films and programming, or reality television shows which centre around house-hunting imposing a moral order of what a 'proper' or 'good' home looks like and means – the same can be said of representations of the home in written and social media. As with other idealisms purported by the media, the dominance of an Anglo-Saxon symbolism of the home is apparent across the world, especially in postcolonial states such as South Africa (Duncan & Lambert, 2004). Many imaginaries of the home conceptualise it as a space with walls, floors, and a roof; a space with a separate kitchen, living room and bedroom – a setting for a nuclear family (Bachelard, 1958; Doyle, 1992). This imagination of a home, however, comes into contrast with pre-colonial and traditional imaginations of the home, such as a collection of rondavels shared by an extended family, with one room as a mixed-use space (Steyn, 2006). While the interactions and contestation of these symbolic homes manifests in representations of space through how new homes are designed and constructed, they also result in a specific and complex imagination of home in South Africa.

In a South African context, the imagination of home also tends to traverse provincial lines and rural-urban divides. As Njwambe et al. (2019) explore, many individuals who move to the city for work do not consider it their home, but rather still maintain their family home (referred to *ekhanyeni* in the context of Xhosa-speaking people) in rural parts of the country, to be their place of belonging. Posel and Marx (2013) refer to this as dual household membership, where individuals do not have a singular notion of home. While Njwambe et al.'s (2019) research indicates that migrant workers plan to return to their family homes eventually, their symbolic understanding of home may not be here or there, but an interwoven and complicated combination of the two. Thus, the representational space of the home may be characterised by common hegemonic ideals and influenced by individual experiences and memories of place. Furthermore, in a South African context, imaginaries of home may also traverse the rural and urban, the here and there, and the then and now (Fish, 2005).

2.3.3. Spatial Practice of the Home (The Perceived Space)

The spatial practice of the home involves the converging of multiple imaginaries (lived space) and varied degrees of physical control (conceived space) with actual realities, interactions, shifts and transformations (perceived space) (Lefebvre, 1974). As has been touched upon, the spatiality of the home is largely influenced by how existing physical, imagined, and social dynamics interface – all of which are governed by respective power formations, including those determined on a macro scale, as well as those produced in intimate settings (Blunt, 2005).

Regardless of who resides in a home, there are bound to be contestations of space, because, as Blunt (2005) describes, the home is intensely political. Here, it is useful to draw on Foucault's (1975) lens of power – how it exists within extra-legal social hierarchies, and how it is both positive and productive. What this means for the home is that social hierarchies and resistance to them determine who has the power to (re)make the home, how it is contested, and how it is changed (Hearn & McKie, 2010). These contestations can include young vs old, landlord vs tenant, husband vs wife, past vs present (Collins, 1998; St. Vil et al., 2018). A critical element of these contestations is that they are by nature private, and are not always visible and easy to document (Brickell, 2012). As Price (2002: 40) articulates with reference to domestic violence:

> "The ideological scripting of home as intimate and safe makes violence against women difficult to see."

While it is the role of both research on and activism about these topics to make visible these contestations, the nature of privacy is such that individuals only share what they choose to (Blunt, 2005). There will always be layers of unknowns in relation to research on the home, and also in how spatial practice in the home is documented and analysed (Price, 2002).

One recent and noteworthy shift which has made more visible dynamics of the home has been the advent of and response to the COVID-19 pandemic. While research on the social implications of COVID-19 to date have focused on the physiological and psychological implications of confinement (Ammar et al., 2020; Narici et al., 2021), the impact of working from home on labour productivity (Couch et al., 2021; Dubey & Tripathi, 2020), and online education (Bacher-Hicks et

al., 2021; Dhawan, 2020), there is a growing body of work that looks into how being locked down at home has influenced family dynamics, domestic violence, and rental arrangements (Beland et al., 2020; Benfer et al., 2021; Leslie & Wilson, 2020). Anecdotal perspectives indicate that the blurring of work and home, and the emphasis of the home as the bounds of spatial practice means that our understandings of the home are increasingly important for unpacking social dynamics as well as the production of space (Baviskar & Ray, 2020).

Through this analysis of the literature and perspectives on the home as a conceived, lived, and perceived space, it is evident that geographies of the home are complex and multi-faceted. While there is a hegemonic vision of an 'ideal' home, this is contested in a South African context by longer standing norms, contestations of the home-space, and labour relations which govern where the home is, and who lives there. In relation to the latter, and given this study's focus on domestic work, literature on the latter will be scrutinised in more detail in the next section.

2.4. Domestic Work

Domestic work is a labour formation which plays a significant role in determining the intimate geographies of the home, while also being a widespread form labour with its own economic dynamics (Dinat & Perberdy, 2007; Wiesmann et al., 2008). In this section, an overview of the key literature on the phenomenon of domestic work, and how it pertains to urban space and home in a South African context, will be analysed. To set the context for this analysis, a brief overview of about the literature on domestic work on a global scale will be referenced.

2.4.1. A Global Praxis of Domestic Work

Domestic work, or domestic service, broadly refers to labour that within occurs the home, including cleaning, maintenance, cooking, laundry, ironing or caring for children (Anderson, 2000). This form of labour is either unpaid, and conducted by residents in their own households – and as an array of literature indicates, predominantly by women due to patriarchal divisions of labour (Sayer, 2005) – or it is paid (Anderson, 2000; Lewis et al., 2008). The labour formations of paid domestic work depend on unique circumstances, but can range from weekly or monthly services to daily or full-time work; and from cleaning services facilitated through a company to individuals being employed by households (Rees & Fielder, 1992).

The prevailing form of domestic work, and how it is characterised in the literature, more frequently refers to individual household-domestic worker relations (Anderson, 2000; Cock, 1980; Sayer, 2005). A number of modern scholars, including Anderson (2000), Mantouvalou (2012), Nilliasca (2011) and Teixeira (2021), explore the explicit and implicit linkages between domestic work and slavery, specifically in contexts where the employers are predominantly colonial settler populations, and domestic workers are native or migrant workers – including in the United States, Brazil, and South Africa. Anderson's (2000) *Doing the Dirty Work? The Global Politics of Domestic Labour* provides an extensive view of domestic work's ubiquitous characteristics and power formations, specifically outlining the gender division of labour, complicated economic concerns about how to value domestic work, and how the nature of domestic work and its historically embedded norms allow for exploitation to occur. The fact that

the majority of domestic workers across the world are women speaks to patriarchal norms and the social division of labour, which assume that women adopt the role of child-carer, cleaner and cook while men have income-generating jobs outside the home (Breen & Cooke, 2005). What is so distinct about domestic work, and what differentiates it as a form of labour, is the intimate nature of care that is provided, and the fact that most of these labour negotiations occur in the private sphere of the home, and are thus invisible to regular forms of labour regulation (Cock, 2011; Ozyegin & Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2002; Star & Strauss, 1999). As Qayum and Ray (2003: 520) describe:

> "[Domestic work] confuses and complicates the conceptual divide between family and work, custom and contract, affection and duty, the home and the world."

This dynamic of domestic work concerns a broader literature on the geographies of care, which relates to the ethical, political, and spatial considerations of caring for others (McEwan & Goodman, 2010; McKie et al., 2002; Popke, 2006). As Cox (2013: 491) notes, geographers have furthered an overall understanding of the "meanings and experiences of care, both paid and unpaid, for the self and for human and non-human others and for those both physically close and distant" – this has centred care for the sick and elderly, familial obligations as well as the phenomenon of domestic work (Busch, 2013; McDowell, 2014; Pratt, 2012; Strauss, 2015). What Schwiter and Steiner (2020) refer to as the "commodification of care" – turning a benevolent or ethical obligation of care into an exchange of labour for wages – has been written about primarily in the contexts of Northern cities, such as Canada, the United Kingdom and Europe, and thus has more of a focus on elderly or health care, rather than the geographies of care embedded in

domestic work. Thus, to provide more relevant and specific modes of analysis, literature specifically relating to domestic work in a South African context will be discussed.

2.4.2. Conceptualisations of Domestic Work in South Africa

2.4.2.1. Apartheid Legacies; Current Realities

What distinguishes the labour relations of domestic work in South Africa is the fact that the sector is characterised by mainly colonial settler populations as the employers, and native people as workers (King, 2012). This labour formation has deeply entrenched racist ideologies, as Ally (2011) discusses, under Apartheid darker skinned women were viewed a 'polluted bodies', or 'dirty', while middle-class white women performing similar tasks were respected as housewives. As Ginsburg (1999) details, even during the height of Apartheid in the 1960s and 1970s, interactions between white people and African people were commonplace. The prevalence of African people as labourers within white homes has been widespread since the earliest days of European colonisation. Describing the intensity and importance of this site of racial power, Ginsburg (1999: 56) states:

> "Nowhere was contact between Africans and Whites so forced and intimate, and attempts to negotiate the terms of such contact more provocative of the soul of Apartheid, as within middle-class white homes."

Labour formations of domestic work during Apartheid also included Indian indentured servants working for white masters in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Natal (Badassay, 2006). In these settings, Badassay (2006) explores how interactions between Indian domestic

workers and their employers were paradoxically exploitative and loving, as will be elaborated on below. Beyond the prevailing influences of separation that were enforced during Apartheid – including residential locations, restrictions on movement, and separate amenities – there were also a number of specific conventions present in households which aimed to keep employers at a social distance from their employees (Ginsburg, 1999). Ginsburg (1999) terms these house rules which were rarely explicitly written down, but were known either through explicit instruction or implicit norms. These included: domestic workers needing to wear a uniform and address their employers as “madam” or “sir”; having to use the service entrance built into suburban homes, which was often in the kitchen; needing to move through space quietly; not sitting down inside; and refraining from interacting with household objects such as using the telephone or admiring a painting. As Ally (2011) and Cock (2011) discuss, these rules and norms were based on attempts to invisibilise domestic workers, a dynamic intrinsic to racism and prevalent across the legislation of Apartheid. As Ginsburg (1999) examines, the extent of this invisibility was dynamic within a household, and depended on the need for a domestic worker – for example, their visibility may be increased in the kitchen or child’s bedroom, a space of service. Beyond invisibilising domestic workers and enforcing racist stereotypes, these house rules acted as self-fulfilling indicators of ‘cultural difference’ which white South Africans used to justify Apartheid (Ginsburg, 1999).

In 1993, as the legislative elements of Apartheid were being phased out, there were some attempts to acknowledge the labour of domestic workers through an amendment to the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) which extended certain rights to full-time domestic workers, but did not cover part-time workers, or provide for a minimum wage (du Preez et al.,

2010). When Apartheid ended in 1994, some of the more explicit forms of discrimination, such as the use of separate entrances, fell away (King, 2012). However, the reality of domestic work is still reminiscent of Apartheid-era policy, specifically in terms of the paradoxical power relations, and living and/ or commuting conditions, as discussed below.

2.4.2.2. Paradoxical Power Relations: Exploitation and Care

As Ally (2011), Bradfield (2012), du Preez et al. (2010), King (2012) and others explore, a fundamental tension of South Africa's unique permutation of domestic work is between the severe forms of control, exploitation, and discrimination and the close social relationships and familial connections that form between domestic workers and their employers. On one hand, domestic workers are some of the most extensively exploited, earning low wages, working long hours, and being subject to acute control by their employers (King, 2012). There is a growing scholarship on these exploitative dynamics, and attempts to resist these conditions, including coalition building and social organising (Ally, 2008; Fish, 2006).

On the other hand, as Anderson (2000: 122) discusses, many employers regard their domestic workers as "part of the family" to hide the implicit power relationship between employer and employee, even though forms of control are exercised when needed. As Mbembe (2001: 27) discusses, while one might only see the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised as characterised by absolute violence and domination, there is also another dynamic at play:

> "The coloniser's relationship to the colonised was premised on sympathy, even "love". Still animal, the colonised could be made familiar as human through 'a process of grooming'. The coloniser might inculcate habits in the colonised, treat him/her violently, if need be, speak to him/her as a child, reprimand or congratulate him/her."

As Light (2008) posits, this veneer of benevolence and emotional connection comes about not only as a way to regulate and control domestic workers, but also due to the intimate nature of domestic work. The intimacy of care – be it cleaning laundry, looking after children, or being entrusted with household objects – is not easily entrusted in a stranger (Light, 2008). Thus, another reason that bonds form between domestic workers and their employers is because they are "privy to [their] secrets and chambers" (Light, 2008: 4). The power asymmetries of employer-employee relationships also mean that while employers may perceive their relationships to be positive and familial, domestic workers themselves have little choice but to reciprocate, given that their livelihoods depend upon it (Ginsburg, 2000). Due to its intimacy, domestic work may be thought of as what Foucault terms a "dense transfer point" of power, in which the paradoxical coexistence of tension and tenderness is both "necessarily ontological and analytically productive" (Ally, 2011: 4). Thus, to analyse and fully comprehend the nuances of domestic work and how the representational space of domestic work is constituted, these contradictory modes of relationality needs to be embedded.

2.4.2.3. Commuting to and Living at Work

While the dynamics of domestic work have focused on the social space, there are also material considerations which contribute to the spatial practice of domestic work. As Dinat and Perberdy

(2007) explore, domestic work has historically been and is still a significant area of employment for internal and cross-border migrant workers who are women. This means is that many women come to the city to find work, and are far removed from their family homes, often away from their families. As Njwambe et al.'s (2019) framework would suppose, these migrant women find themselves in foreign places that are not homely or comfortable. Furthermore, when confronted with the chaotic, seemingly dangerous, and disorderly reality of the city, domestic workers are also required to adapt to survive the challenges of urban life (Murray, 2008). While migrant domestic workers live in many South African cities, their influx into Johannesburg is especially notable both in terms of material demographic numbers, but also because of the symbolic weight that the city carries as the 'city of gold' and place of opportunities for migrant workers (Dinat & Peberdy, 2007; Murray, 2008; Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008).

Once a woman finds herself in the city, with the prospect of a job in a household as a domestic worker, there are two realities for dwelling. Either the domestic worker lives in the domestic quarters of the property, or she finds accommodation elsewhere, most likely in an informal settlement or lower-cost suburb, which may be far away from her place of work (Benit & Morange, 2006). As Ginsburg (2000) discusses, it is important to note that which option is enacted is based on circumstance and is often not the choice of the domestic worker herself. Rather, it is dependent on the available accommodation, control, and decision of the landlord, and if she has a family with her.

The option of domestic quarters is often a separate room situated on the property of employment. In historically white middle- and upper-class suburbs, such as those found in Northern Johannesburg, many of the homes were built on freestanding properties on wide suburban roads, designed for a nuclear family, with their own garages and gardens – architecturally reminiscent of white suburbia in 1960s America (Ginsburg, 2000). In the back garden of the house would often be a cluster of service buildings, including a room or two for domestic workers to live. As many scholars have documented, the conditions in these rooms are sub-par, often being only one room, with poor sanitation facilities, and sometimes no electricity (Crankshaw, 2005; Ginsburg, 2000; Tonkin, 2010). As Ginsburg (2000) documents, in the minority of suburbs that contained apartment buildings, on the top of each apartment building, or in a few cases in the basement, there was a dormitory for workers, which will be the focus of this study and will be discussed in the *Study Site* chapter. Ginsburg (2000: 88) refers to these as "skylight locations", reminiscent of Verwoerd's description of "locations in the sky" (Mather, 1987: 121).

In terms of what has been theorised about domestic quarters, as Davies (1981) alludes to, these spaces were anomalous in that they allowed African citizens and other workers of colour to reside in an otherwise white suburb during Apartheid. This means that the space always been a site of acute segregation, and have complicated the erasure of people of colour from the White imaginary of home (Cock, 1980). Scholarship on the spaces of live-in domestic workers have thus far focused on the aforementioned power dynamics and controls which enable and/or restrict domestic workers from developing their own spatial practice (Ally, 2011; Cock, 1980), as well as

the material concerns of the living conditions (du Preez et al., 2010; Ginsburg, 2000). While the work of Dinat and Peberdy (2007) provides a somewhat spatially-embedded analysis of domestic work through the lens of migrant work, what is needed is a more robust analysis of the production of space in domestic quarters, which brings together the power formations detailed by Ally (2011) and Cock (1980), with the architectural histories and realities developed by Ginsburg (2000), and the exterior geographies of the (post-)apartheid city and migrant labour (Murray, 2008; Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008).

2.5. A Way Forward for (Post-)Apartheid Urbanity, Geographies of Home and Domestic Work

What is apparent across the literature that has been explored in this chapter is that the production of space is complex and dynamic (Lefebvre, 1974). A singular lens or discipline is insufficient to detail spatial practice, especially in the elusive and disorderly city (Murray, 2008; Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008). Southern urbanism and African urbanism, then, is an attempt to understand how cities in the South and Africa are conceived, lived, and perceived. Within these spaces, power formations and contestations are ubiquitous, and are often foregrounded with and reinforced by histories of colonisation, neoliberalism, white supremacy, and patriarchy (Foucault, 1975). To provide adequate recognition of these multiple dynamics and perspectives, a Lefebvrian lens of analysis has been adopted (Lefebvre, 1974).

The home is a necessary and 'normal' element of the city, but its intimacy is often removed from accounts of the city due to its private nature (Blunt, 2005). By engaging with geographies of the home, this distinction has been blurred to fully comprehend all scales of the city, and to take cognisance of how conceptions of home shape our interactions with, and experiences of the city. It is evident that representations of the home are determined by both universal norms and culturally specific – but often colonially influenced – designs and plans, often adjacent the state's realm of control (Friedman, 2005; Ginsburg, 2000; Thompson, 2011). The home as representational space is both characterised by common ideals and influenced by individual experiences, and may involve the the rural and urban; the here and there, and the then and now in a South African context. How this is then (re)made into an urban reality of spatial practice mirrors what has more broadly been written about cities – that they are influenced by social hierarchies and resistance.

Domestic work is a form of labour located within the home (Cock, 1980; Ginsburg, 2011). As such, its literature speaks to both the labour dynamics of wages and working conditions, as well as the paradoxes and power asymmetries that result from the intimacy of converging of work and home (Ally, 2011; Fish, 2005; Ginsburg, 2000). In a South African context, this is largely governed by conceived, lived, and perceived manifestations of Apartheid and racial segregation, be it in how power is exerted over domestic workers, or what their living spaces and/ or commutes are like. Interestingly, these social dynamics are not only ones of exploitation and control, but are complicated by bonds that are sometimes familial in nature.

Bringing together these perspectives, it is evident that there is a rich body of literature in which this study can position itself. Given the need for a robust documentation of Africa's cityness, limited analysis of the geographies of home in South Africa, and limited recognition of how domestic work at home is a modality of (post-)apartheid cityness, these perspectives will be brought together to document the experiences of domestic work in the apartment blocks of Northern Johannesburg (Pieterse, 2011). This study provides one lens through which to see the city: by examining the perspectives and experiences of domestic quarters in the apartment blocks of northern Johannesburg, a unique understanding of the city is gauged.

3. “Locations in the Sky”: A Study Site

Contextualising the study site within a particular geographical time-space is imperative for understanding how the findings relate to productions of space and power (Lefebvre, 1974; Massey, 1991). While the locatedness of a study site can be understood across scales – from the global, national, provincial, to the city-region, neighbourhood, house or apartment, room and even individual – as this is a study focusing on urban dynamics and social relations within apartment buildings, the neighbourhood and apartment scales will be the focal scale of contextualisation (Jonas, 1994; Massey, 1991; MacKinnon, 2011). As cities are dynamic spaces which experience rapid change, temporality is included in this contextualisation because geographic elements of this study site are specific to when the study was conducted (May & Thrift, 2001; Simonsen, 2017). It is particularly evident in post-Apartheid cities that the past has generated present urban forms and spatialities, and imaginaries of the future influence respondents’ interactions with the present space (Robinson, 2021). As such, the apartment blocks of Northern Johannesburg – both in terms of time and space – will be explained to ground the study. First, the suburbs in the context of the city will be discussed, followed by the apartment buildings themselves.

3.1. The Northern Suburbs of Johannesburg

Johannesburg is the largest city in South Africa in terms of population, and now forms part of the Gauteng City-Region, an expansive metropolis characterised by urban sprawl originating from the Gold Rush of the late 1800s (Mabin, 2014). While Johannesburg originally began with the

Central Business District (CBD), as Mabin (2014) discusses, development of the northern suburbs of Johannesburg started in the late 1800s in Parktown and Westcliff as Randlords accumulated wealth and sought to occupy more space and construct suburbs. A later 'white flight' of capital from the CBD Sandton and Rosebank in the 1930s – 1960s means that the Johannesburg of the present is a multi-nodal city (Todes, 2012). In line with the common modalities of post-Apartheid cities explored in section 2.2.5, the Group Areas Act (1950) defined these centrally located northern suburbs as white-only areas, while townships and areas for other races were located on the outskirts of the city, such as Soweto and Alexandra (Beall et al., 2002; Murray, 2008; Todes, 2012). While middle-class areas are becoming increasingly integrated racially, there is still economic segregation across suburbs of Johannesburg due to a lack of affordable housing, and most white people continue to live in what were once white-only suburbs, or adjacent new areas (Ballard et al., 2021). This history, from the expansion into the northern suburbs, structural segregation under Apartheid through the Group Areas Act (1950) to the current infrastructural failings and rise of privatisation of services such as water, electricity, and transport, has resulted in Johannesburg becoming a complex and critical site of academic discourse (Beall et al., 2002; Bénit-Gbaffou, 2006; Mabin, 2014; Murray, 2008).

Originally termed the northern suburbs because of their relative position to the Johannesburg CBD, the area is generally known as the "old money" area of Johannesburg, with a high concentration of wealth and historic builds from the aforementioned expansion of the 1800s (McKenchie, 2007: 14). The term refers to a number of suburbs enclosed by the M1 highway to the east, the University of the Witwatersrand and Braamfontein to the South, Randburg to the

West and Sandton to the North, as illustrated in Figure 3. While there is no official demarcation of which suburbs are included in this area, it is a term which Johannesburg residents generally use to refer to: Birdhaven, Craighall Park, Emmarentia, Forest Town, Greenside, Hyde Park, Illovo Melrose Arch, the 'Parks' (Parktown, Parkwood, Parktown North, Parkhurst, Parkview), Rosebank, Saxonwold, and Westcliff (Mabin, 2014). The suburbs are generally characterised by large plots of free-standing houses which have walled perimeters, set on streets lined by Jacaranda and Oak trees (Mabin, 2014).

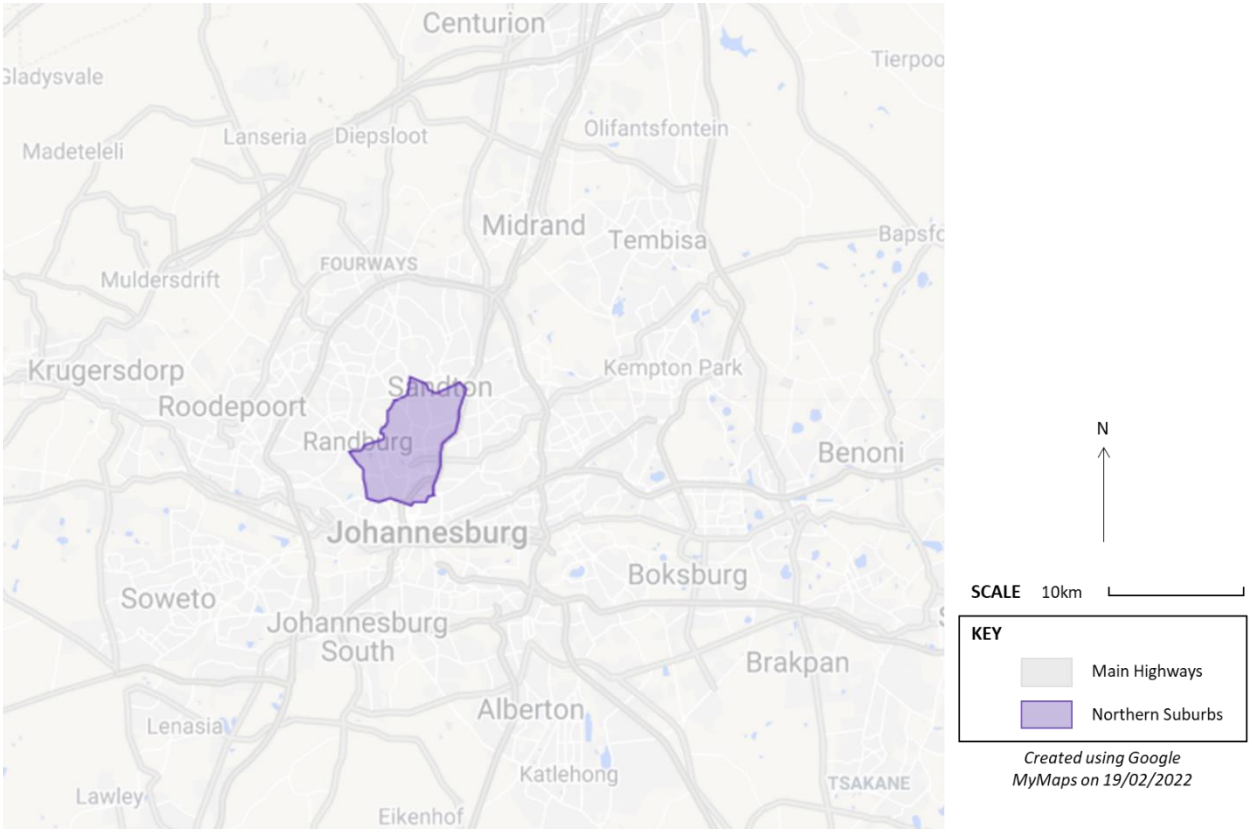

Figure 3: Map Illustrating the location of the Northern Suburbs of Johannesburg and surrounding areas and townships

Apartment buildings are generally not as common as free-standing houses in the northern suburbs, except for the suburbs of Killarney, Illovo, and Rosebank. During the 1930s to the 1960s, apartment buildings were built in these suburbs due to their proximity to transport nodes (Mabin, 2014; Todes, 2012). As has been explored in Section 2.4.2, live-in domestic workers reside on free-standing properties across South Africa. However, this occurrence in apartment blocks is less common, and is concentrated in urban nodes developed during colonial rule and Apartheid (Ginsburg, 1999). Many apartment buildings in Killarney, Illovo and Rosebank constructed during Apartheid have quarters for live-in domestic workers built into them, hence these suburbs constitute the study area. While this practice existed in other suburbs such as Hillbrow, such areas have followed alternative trajectories whereby the spaces have been changed and labour relations dissolved in their current form (Morris, 1999). Figure 4 illustrates the location of these three suburbs in the context of northern Johannesburg, as well as the locations of the apartment buildings in the areas, distinguishing between apartment buildings which have domestic quarters, and apartment buildings included in the study.

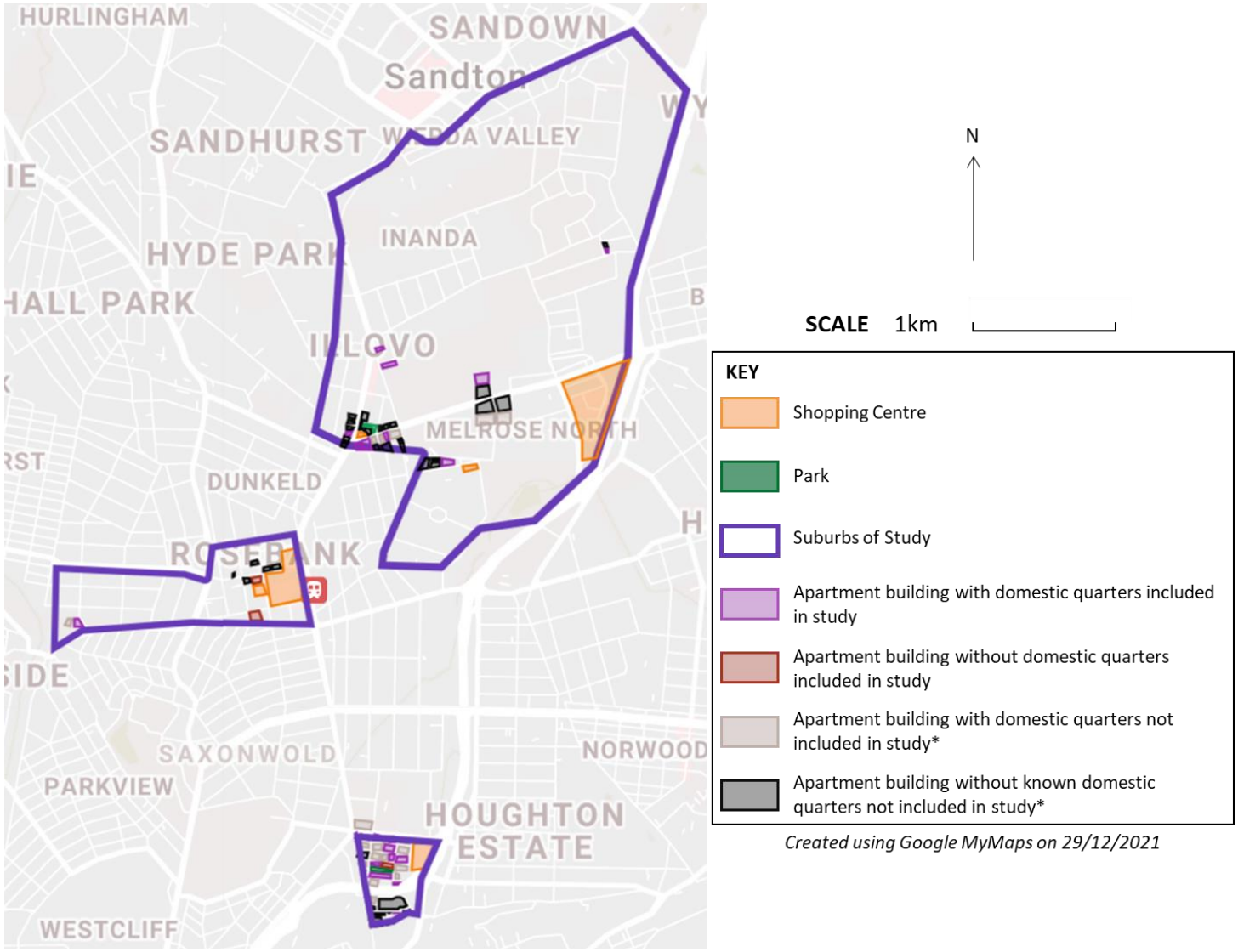

Figure 4: Map Illustrating the Suburbs of the Research and Apartment Blocks of Interest in Johannesburg, South Africa

*Whether or not these apartment buildings have domestic quarters was assumed based on anecdotal evidence from respondents as well as whether domestic quarters were visible from street view (i.e., roof structures with small windows on the top of the building)

In terms of demographics, the area that encloses these three suburbs[2] has a population of 73,618 people. In terms of population density, this area contains 2,292.9 people per square kilometre, compared to a national density of 42.1 people per square kilometre, although it is still a much lower population density than in townships or the inner city (Murray, 2008). In terms of racial demographics, the area has a white population of 43%, compared to a national figure of 9%. Regarding income and age, the average annual income of the area is R144,000, which is approximately five times more than the national average of R29,400. The median age is 35, compared to the national average of 25. Thus, from a demographic perspective, this area can be thought of as a relatively high density, largely white, wealthy, and older population compared to the rest of South Africa, which will in turn influence the social dynamics at play in the urban space (Statistics South Africa, 2011). In order to better understand the spatio-temporalities of each suburb, a brief overview of their history and character is given below.

3.1.1. Killarney

Within the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, Killarney is known for its historic buildings which contain spacious apartments and often have Art Deco façades, as Figure 5 of Daventry Court illustrates.

[2] Ward 73, Ward 91 and Ward 117 of the City of Johannesburg

Figure 5: Daventry Court: Typical Killarney Apartment Building[3]

Killarney was developed in the 1930s by Isidore Williem Schlesinger, an American-born businessman living in South Africa who was known for pioneering the South African entertainment industry at the time (Gorelik, 2013). Determined to bring American architecture and ways of living to Johannesburg, Schlesinger built the first apartment buildings in Killarney – Whitehall Court and Daventry Court – with inspiration from New York style lofts, influenced heavily by the Art Deco era. Schlesinger also established African Film Studios on the site where Killarney Mall is now found (Gorelik, 2013).

[3] Source: https://www.property24.com/for-sale/killarney/johannesburg/gauteng/4388/110736023 [Accessed 27 February 2022]

While the Film Studios have since been converted into Killarney Mall, the present character of the suburb still resonates with the history of artistic, upper-middle class residents (Duncan & Proust, 2016). Apartments in Killarney are still mainly owned by white people, many of whom are academics, creatives or retirees, and there are trends of owners and their families keeping apartments for long periods of time (Gorelik, 2013).

This, as well as the fact that many of the buildings are blue plaque heritage sites[4], has prevented commercialisation of the area (Duncan & Proust, 2016). Figure 6 shows the geography of the area, including the apartment buildings, distinguishing between apartment buildings which have domestic quarters, and apartment buildings included in the study.

[4] Blue plaques are an initiative of the Johannesburg Heritage Foundation in collaboration with the City of Johannesburg municipality through which historic buildings are granted preservation status

Figure 6: Map of Killarney Study Site

*Whether or not these apartment buildings have domestic quarters was assumed based on anecdotal evidence from respondents as well as whether domestic quarters were visible from street view (i.e., roof structures with small windows on the top of the building)

3.1.2. Illovo

While some apartments in Illovo were built in the same timeframe as Killarney, the suburb is also characterised by buildings from the 1950s, and has a slightly more metropolitan feel, which might be explained by its proximity to Sandton and the high number of office buildings which also line the streets. Figure 7 illustrates a typical Illovo building, Murryfield.

Figure 7: Murryfield: Typical Illovo Apartment Building[5]

While the history of Illovo is less documented than that of Killarney, its establishment follows a similar timeframe. Named after the Illovo Dairy established by the Spark family on Borrowdale

[5] Source: https://www.property24.com/for-sale/illovo/sandton/gauteng/5833/110695401 [Accessed 27 February 2022]

farm (in present-day River Club, Sandton), the suburb of Illovo, like Killarney, comprises a high concentration of apartment buildings (Gordon-Bennett, 2016). The buildings in Illovo have a combination of similar Art Deco architecture to Killarney buildings, as well as more mid-century (1950s -1960s) architecture. Given its close proximity to Sandton, the suburb is now home to a large number of working professionals and young families, although there is also a population of older retirees (Gordon-Bennett, 2016; Statistics South Africa, 2011). However, this varies from building to building.

Figure 8 illustrates the layout of Illovo, detailing the locations of the apartment buildings, distinguishing between apartment buildings, apartment buildings which have domestic quarters, and apartment buildings included in the study.

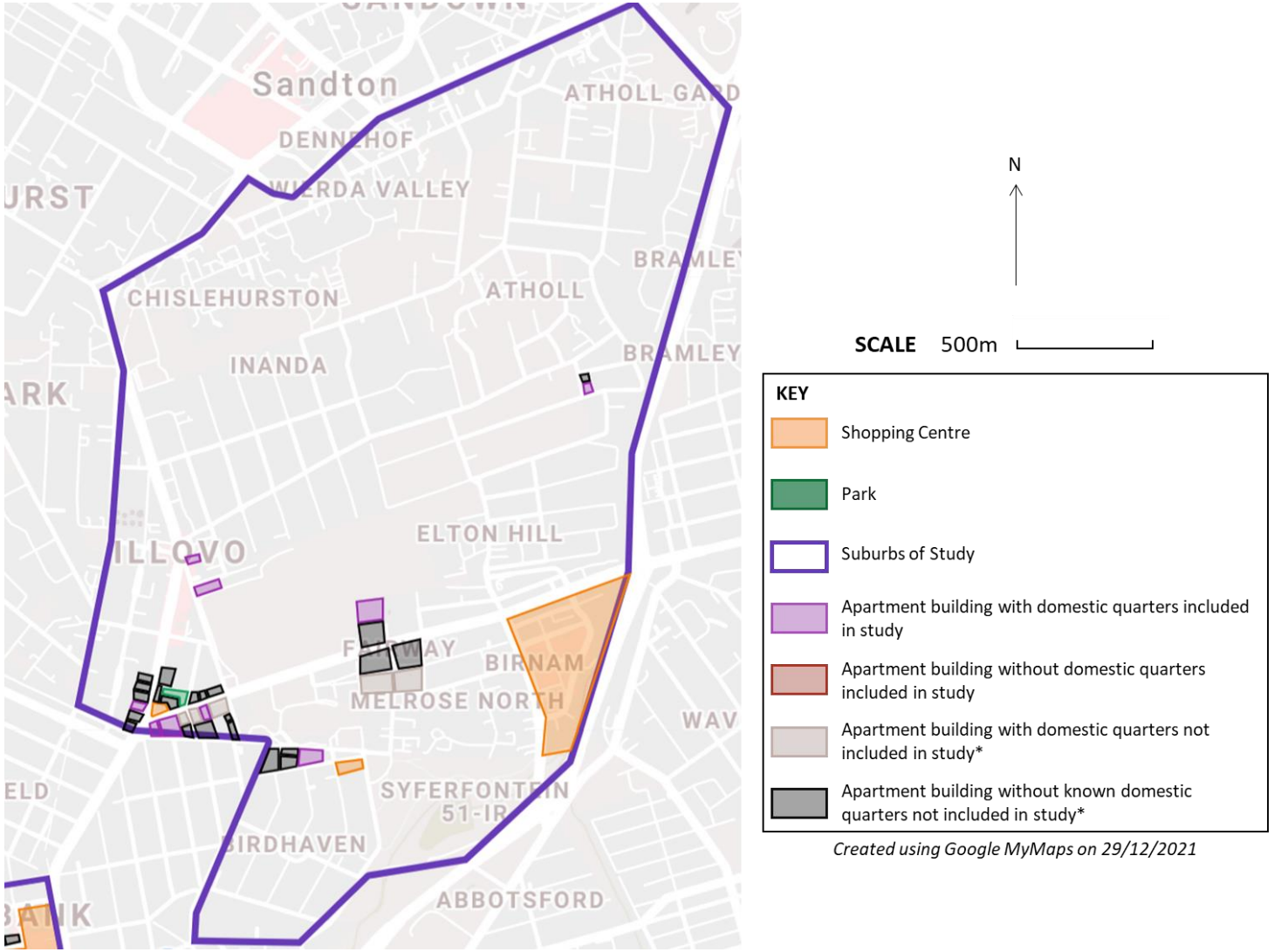

Figure 8: Map of Illovo Study Site

*Whether or not these apartment buildings have domestic quarters was assumed based on anecdotal evidence from respondents as well as whether domestic quarters were visible from street view (i.e., roof structures with small windows on the top of the building)

3.1.3. Rosebank

Rosebank is the third study area situated in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, and at the time of writing is characterised with more modern high-rise apartment buildings, although there are a few remaining lower-rise apartment buildings from the suburb's initial establishment (Barnard, 2015). These two typical Rosebank apartment buildings are illustrated in Figure 9, wherein the Tyrwhitt is a recently completed building, and Broadlands is a more historic building.

Figure 9: The Tyrwhitt (left) and Broadlands (right): Typical Apartment Buildings in Rosebank[6]

While Rosebank was originally part of a farm called Rosemill Orchards, houses dotted the suburb from the early 1900s. The development of Rosebank accelerated in the 1940s, with a trolley-bus transport system being instated in 1945, making the suburb suitable for retail and high-density development (Barnard, 2015). Following the same Art Deco, high-density development trajectory of Killarney and Illovo, Rosebank was more of a commercial node with fewer residential buildings

[6] Sources: https://www.thetyrwhittrosebank.co.za/ [Accessed 27 February 2022]; https://www.theheritageportal.co.za/files/broadlands-rosebank-heritage-portal-2014-2jpg [Accessed 27 February 2022]

that were reportedly not well maintained, resulting in the establishment of a Rosebank Management District in 1988 and an improvement project which was legislated in 2000 (Barnard, 2015).

While the mall and offices in the area have always made Rosebank a desirable location for commercial activities, the development of the Gautrain catalysed re-development efforts, and many older buildings have been refurbished and converted into office spaces, or high-rise apartment buildings such as the Tyrwhitt, the Vantage, and the Bolton (Thomas, 2013). While Rosebank is included as a suburb in the study because it is a high-density area in the Northern suburbs, the recent re-developments and more commercial focus of the area means that there are fewer apartment buildings with domestic quarters than in Killarney and Illovo (Barnard, 2015). For the purposes of this study, neighbouring suburb Parkwood was included in Rosebank, as there are apartment buildings which meet the study criteria in this area.

A geographic overview Rosebank is given in Figure 10, as well as a distinction between which apartment buildings have domestic quarters, and which are included in the study.

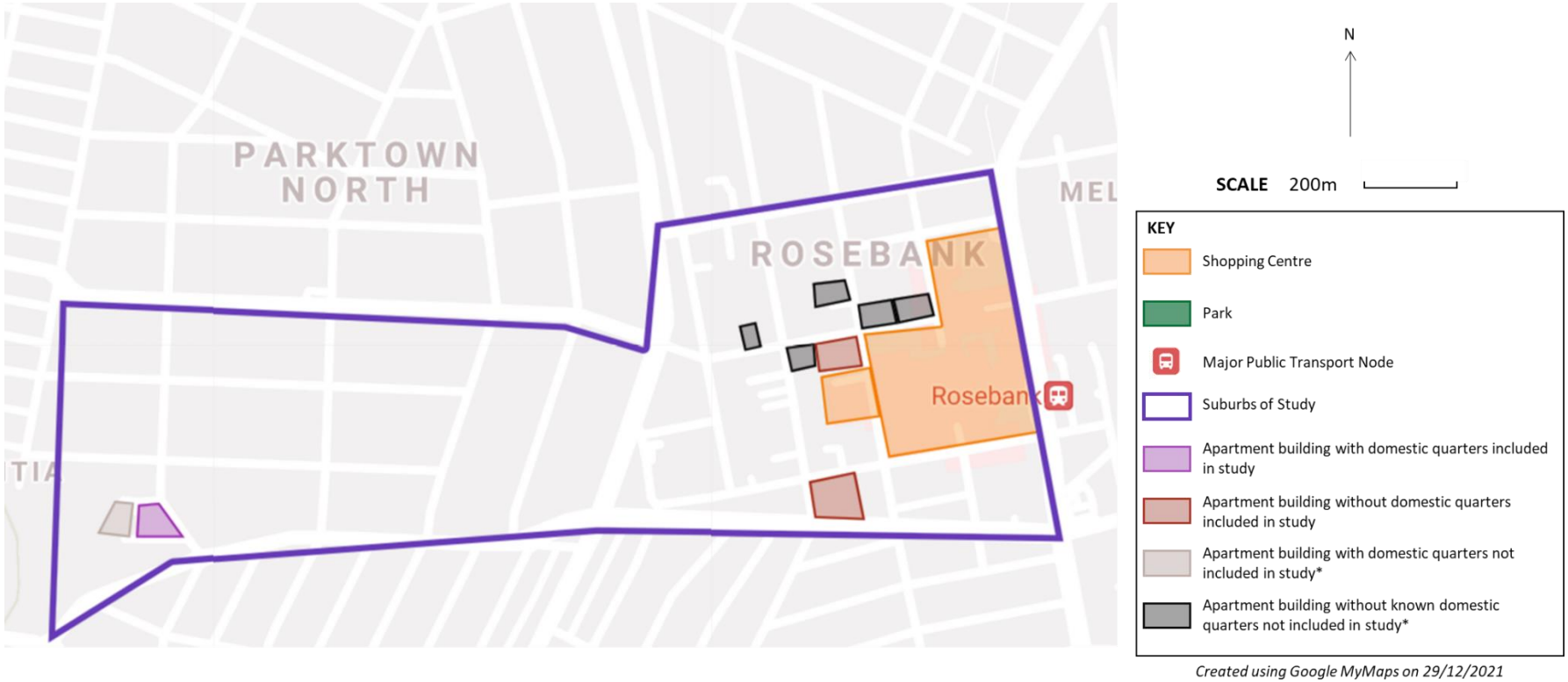

Figure 10: Map of Rosebank Study Site

*Whether or not these apartment buildings have domestic quarters was assumed based on anecdotal evidence from respondents as well as whether domestic quarters were visible from street view (i.e., roof structures with small windows on the top of the building)

3.2. Apartment Buildings and Domestic Quarters

With the suburban spatial and temporal context of the study site in mind, it is also important to note that this study investigates the specific phenomenon of "locations in the sky" – domestic quarters located in apartment buildings, and thus this scale is detailed further. Due to the architectural histories, the apartment buildings in this study have characteristic features of the New York loft-style Art Deco of the 1930s: ground floor lobbies where there is a doorman or security guard, large apartment rooms with high ceilings, and décor in line with the times (Ginsburg, 1999).

Given the dependence of the elite on African labour for domestic work which was discussed in section 2.4.2, it is not surprising that these apartment buildings were conceived with provisions for live-in domestic workers. These provisions often constitute one room for the domestic worker with communal facilities, built on top of the other apartments and in many cases hidden from plain sight – alluding to the invisibility of domestic workers (Mather, 1987). This phenomenon of domestic quarters in apartment buildings is not unique to South Africa. There are similar structures in South American cities such as Sao Paulo, which Holston (2008) explores. In Paris, many apartment buildings have *Chambres de Bonne,* which translates to "maid's rooms" (O'Sullivan, 2020). As in South Africa, the *chambres* are small studio rooms built into the roofs of apartment buildings, often between 6 to 12 square metres in size (O'Sullivan, 2020). However, unlike South Africa, in Paris the rooms have been regulated since 1904, when the city banned any rooms smaller than eight square metres from being rented. However, since 2016, the city has

adopted a policy to encourage owners to combine the rooms to make them bigger, and convert them into small public apartments, with the intention of increasing the option for affordable housing in Paris (O'Sullivan, 2020). By contrast, in South Africa there has been no legislation or guidance about the domestic quarters, and many are still in use and are occupied by domestic workers (Ginsburg, 1999). Given their unique set-up and the lack of research that has been conducted on the living conditions of domestic workers in these apartment blocks, this is the study site for this research.

This chapter has provided an overview of the study site across the spatio-temporalities of post-Apartheid Killarney, Illovo, and Rosebank. As has been discussed, the histories of suburban development interweave with modern urban dynamics to form distinct patterns of neighbourhood (re)generation and reality. This contextualisation across both the neighbourhood and the apartment building scale is relevant for the approach taken to understand the urban realities of domestic quarters in this context.

4. Methodology

As the research question is concerned with individual subjectivities – experiences, perceptions, and urban realities – this study uses a qualitative approach (Morgan & Drury, 2003). Qualitative approaches are broadly used across the social sciences, including human geography, to interpret and understand daily life and social functions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Martin, 2010). Embedded within the approach of this study is a poststructuralist theoretical lens (outlined in section 2.2) which focuses on subjective realities, especially with regard to urban experiences and the production of space (Durkheim, cited in Jones, 2004; Lefebvre, 1974). The main method used is semi-structured interviews, which is then supplemented with a Doctrinal Legal Research approach to analyse body corporate rules. The approach of each method, the data collection and sampling, data analysis, and ethical considerations is discussed in this chapter, while chapter 5 then provides a more detailed overview of the data – including an overview of the interview sample (Figure 11), body corporate rules analysed, and how this was spread across different buildings and suburbs (Table 3).

4.1. Approach

4.1.1. Semi-Structured Interviews

The primary method used in this study was semi-structured interviews. As Hitchings and Latham (2020) posit, interviews are a dominant research method used within human geography. There has been a definitive, recent shift in human geography whereby interview approaches now emphasise the role of the researcher in conducting research – both in how their positionality

impacts engagement and findings, but also in how they might frame the research (Crang, 2003). It is noted here, as will be discussed in section 5.2, that I as the researcher both explicitly and inadvertently influence the findings of the interviews based on the types of questions asked, the context of the interviews, and the positionalities at play (Rose, 1997).

Semi-structured interviews were selected to allow for a more in-depth interaction with respondents, and to give them more room to express their opinions (Birmingham & Wilkinson, 2003). While specific questions are asked to gather the information needed to answer the objectives, there is also room for participants to disclose other information that may not have been considered in the conceptualisation of this study. The questions were developed based on the research objectives, and started off by asking respondents about their demographics (age, race, gender, occupation), which buildings they are in and what their experience the domestic quarters in the building is (Appendix B).

It must be noted that two quite distinct approaches were taken based on the respondent groups, both in terms of the framing of questions, and in terms of the data collection, which will be discussed below. The first approach was targeted at apartment residents and trustees, where questions were framed around whether they employ a domestic worker, where their domestic worker lives, what they know of the domestic quarters, and what the rules say with respect to domestic quarters. These findings were used to primarily inform the first, third and fourth objectives laid out in section 1.2. The second approach was targeted at the domestic quarter residents, who were asked about where they live, what their experiences and perceptions of the

domestic quarters are, whether there are rules in place, and how they feel about these rules. These findings were used to inform the second and fourth objectives. These targeted questions and differentiated approaches are used to ensure that the nuances and unique positionalities of the respondents are adequately accounted for and captured (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

4.1.2. Doctrinal Legal Research

In order to assess and compare the rules and regulations relating to domestic workers set out by the body corporate and fulfil the first objective, a Doctrinal Legal Research methodology is used. As defined by Chynoweth (2008: 29), Doctrinal Legal Research is concerned with the legal "doctirines" through an analysis of rules, looking into their ambiguities, relationships with other rules and a broader legal context. When applied to this study, this involves analysing what laws are in place across the body corporates in question, how these laws were developed and are applied (Hutchinson & Duncan, 2012). It is important to note that this methodology is primarily used to understand the *de jure* regulations in place, rather than the *de facto* implementation and mobilisation of these rules, which is rather understood through the semi-structured interviews. The purpose of using the Doctrinal Legal Research methodology is to identify any rules which specifically refer to what domestic workers or employees are able to do. This analysis enables the first objective to be fulfilled.

4.2. Data Collection and Sampling

In line with the two distinct approaches to semi-structured interviews outlined above, there were distinct ways in which these groups were sampled and interviewed. The inclusion of these two groups allows for a more balanced view of circumstances to be ascertained, and to provide a holistic perspective of the perceptions which influence the decision-making processes relating to domestic quarters and their rules. These two groups were the apartment residents and trustees, and then secondly the domestic workers and domestic quarter residents. In both cases, the target criterion for respondents was whether they live in buildings in the study area which have domestic quarters.

4.2.1. Apartment Residents and Trustees

In terms of the apartment residents and trustees, these respondents were sampled primarily using social media. This involved posting on my personal Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram pages to see if anyone in those networks lived in apartments in Killarney, Illovo and Rosebank. I then also posted on the neighbourhood Facebook groups, 'I LOVE ILLOVO' and 'I Love Killarney', which broadened the sampling beyond people within my immediate and secondary networks in an attempt to reduce sampling bias (Naderifar et al., 2017). This sampling methodology is made explicit to avoid what Hitchings and Latham (2021: 392) describe as the tendency of human geographers to be "secretive" about their sampling approaches. Once an initial group of respondents was identified and interviewed, snowball sampling was then used whereby respondents were asked to connect me with others in apartment buildings. There are critiques

of this sampling method, including that it compromises the relationship with the original respondent as they fall into the role of 'research assistant', and that it biases the sample towards people with similar socio-economic classes and worldviews (Biernacki, & Waldorf, 1981). However, due to convenience factors this method was still used, and it is hoped that as Clough and Nutbrown (2012) propose, the validity of the methods and sampling used is established through an explicit explanation of the method.

The semi-structured interviews with apartment residents and trustees were originally planned to be in person, but due to the third wave of the COVID-19 pandemic, a lockdown was enforced in South Africa which restricted face-to-face meetings. Thus, interviews with this group were conducted via Zoom between June and September 2021. As Oliffe et al. (2021) explore, there are benefits and concessions of conducting qualitative interviews via Zoom: while the physical space of the interview is altered and non-verbal cues are more difficult (if not impossible) to detect, the benefit is that there are reduced costs and barriers to setting up and scheduling interviews. Anecdotally, it seemed that because respondents in this study were in lockdown at home with little else to do, they were more willing to participate in interviews. However, it must also be noted that using video conferencing as the medium of interview also limited the sample group to individuals who have access to and are comfortable operating the technology (Oliffe et al., 2021). The Zoom interviews were recorded on Zoom and saved to a password protected cloud location, as agreed to by the respondents.

4.2.2. Domestic Workers and Domestic Quarter Residents

The COVID-19 lockdown posed the biggest challenge for interviewing the domestic worker and domestic quarter resident group, which is instrumental to constructing the reality of what domestic quarters are. Despite delays to original timelines, this was possible in September 2021, when in-person interviews took place. The sampling of this group was of greatest concern, because of my positionality as a young white woman who does not live in these apartment buildings, I did not have easy 'access' to domestic workers or domestic quarter residents, and was aware of that me approaching this group as a white woman might come across as intimidating, or would make respondents less likely to share truthfully with me – this is explored in more depth in section 5.2 (Rose, 1997).

There were two main ways that this group was sampled. First, I spent four days sitting in public parks where I might come across domestic workers and domestic quarter residents (Killarney Park in Killarney, and James & Ethel Gray Park in Birdhaven, situated between Illovo and Rosebank) – this approach was almost ethnographic at the outset, as it involved me sitting and observing people in the park (Crang, 2003). I then approached people randomly asking if they were apartment or domestic quarter residents, and asking if they would be willing to be interviewed. This proved more successful that I had originally envisioned.

Secondly, I utilised snowball sampling from the apartment resident and trustee group. However, I was cognisant of the power dynamics at play and that there may be limitations on how much the domestic workers would be willing to share (Rose, 1997). I attempted where possible to avoid

being put in touch with a domestic worker from their employer directly. Although, where there was a trusted relationship, and the domestic worker was willing to participate, exceptions were made. In three cases, one apartment resident allowed me into their building and introduced me to a domestic worker or domestic quarter resident, who then took me upstairs and showed me around the quarters, introducing me to other residents. This proved to be effective especially when the apartment resident did not come up to the domestic quarters with me, and when it was a domestic worker introducing me to the others, as opposed to an apartment resident, trustee or building manager. While snowball sampling of this nature is inherently biased, it was used as the method of participant identification due to the closed nature of these apartment blocks, and the relative importance of trust in terms of sharing honest perceptions and preferences (Naderifar et al., 2017). These interviews were recorded either with an audio device or through notes taken during the interview.

4.2.3. Conduct Rules

As part of the Doctrinal Legal Research approach, body corporate rules were collected for the buildings to identify if there are specific regulations in place for the workers and domestic quarters residents, whether these rules were different to those applied to renters in the apartments, what the rules prescribed, and whether there were any patterns across them. Rules were collected by asking apartment residents and trustees to share the documents with me following an interview. It was also discovered that one of the respondents had started establishing an Old Buildings Activism group, which had, among other activities, compiled a collection of body corporate rules on a Google Drive to which I was given access. A subject matter

expert interviewed also shared a collection rules which she had collected through the public realm.

4.3. Data Analysis

I then manually wrote up full transcripts of all interviews. As Davidson (2009) argues, transcription is often overlooked in qualitative research: the process of transcription is regarded as a step in data analysis, because through it, the researcher begins to notice emergent patterns and themes. This was true in the case of this study. As I transcribed more interviews, the themes emerged which then enabled me to build on the types of questions I was asking. In this way, I attempted to have an agile, almost grounded or participatory, approach to the interview process where I adapted my questions and style of interview as I discovered more about the context, positionalities, and issues taking place in domestic quarters (Burns et al., 2021; Strauss & Corbin, 1997).

Thematic analysis was conducted on the interview transcripts to identify topics, ideas, and patterns that were commonly mentioned by respondents (Boyatzis, 1998; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Strauss, 1987). This was done by repetitively reading through the transcripts and coding quotes into relevant themes – key points of similarity, difference and contradiction were also identified through this approach. In order to triangulate the data, the transcripts were then collated and coded per building to identify whether there was a particular character per building (Strauss, 1987).

With respect to the Doctrinal Legal Research, once all of the conduct rules had been collected, they were thoroughly examined, and summarised in a spreadsheet where I noted whether each set of rules specifically referenced domestic workers, and if so what aspects of life the rules regulate, and how restrictive the rules are. Quotes from the rules which illustrate this explicitly were also captured. These findings from analysing the rules were then pattern-matched to ascertain any similarities or differences across geographies, years established or other contributory factors which might have been gauged from the interviews (Hak & Dul, 2009).

4.4. Ethical Considerations

As this study involved human participants, ethics clearance was required. Before interviews were conducted, ethics clearance was obtained through the University of the Witwatersrand Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) (Appendix C). As per the ethics principles of the committee and good practice, all respondents were informed that their participation was voluntary and that they were able to opt out of the research at any time (Sales & Folkman, 2000). Respondents provided their written consent to participate in the study, and were not given any monetary or other form of compensation for their participation.

Confidentiality and anonymity were of particular importance in this study, given the sensitivity of the subject matter, and the power dynamics at play across the various respondent groups. While the respondents were not anonymous to me, their anonymity has been preserved in

reporting the findings. As Grinyer (2002) discusses, anonymity is critical in ensuring that research participants are protected and do not have anything to lose from participating in research. Beyond the standard confidentiality measures of data storage, anonymity has also been carefully navigated in the presentation of the research findings. While providing more detail about each respondent, or linking them to a building, would have enriched the findings, this was avoided as it would result in a breach of anonymity, especially given the way that snowball sampling was used. Thus, respondents are numbered, and only a description of their category – or where necessary for explanatory purposes, their race and gender – is given.

4.5. Conclusion

When adopting a qualitative approach, there are inevitable biases and imperfections in the process of research design, data collection, analysis, and interpretation. However, by being explicit about what methodologies were used, and what the benefits and shortcomings of these are, it is hoped that rigour can still be found in the collation and description of the findings. The methods used were chosen due to their relevance to the context of the study, and their ability to achieve the research objectives set out. In order to better understand how the sample and its relevant positionalities influence the presentation of findings, the positioning and texture of research voices will be discussed in the next chapter.

5. Positioning and Texturing the Research Voices

As a qualitative study, this dissertation weaves together multiple ways of seeing the city and domestic quarters based on the unique, often disparate, and sometimes contradictory viewpoints of the participating respondents. How these ways of seeing are collected, documented, and reported is also influenced by my positionality and how I see the city as a researcher (Valverde, 2011). Rather than presenting a positivist or objective view which delineates a singular state of being or reality about the domestic quarters, this study aims to present the perceptions and subjectivities of respondents which represent a range of lenses through which the city is seen, experienced, and understood (Lefebvre, 1974). The outcome of such an approach is limited by who is included in the sample, which buildings these individuals have had experiences in, and is also grounded in positionality. As Sanchez (2010: 2257) states, positionality is:

> "The notion that personal values, views and location in time and space influence how one understands the world."

There are three key considerations which are needed to position and texture the voices of this research, and frame the findings so that the multiplicity and complexity of the urban realities in domestic quarters can be adequately reflected. Firstly, the positioning of the findings is limited to who was included in the sample, and which buildings they have encountered in their urban experiences. It must be noted that the sample is not statistically representative of all buildings across Killarney, Illovo, and Rosebank, nor was it intended it be. As discussed in section 4.2, whose

voices are included is subject to sampling bias, and the perceptions and viewpoints presented is limited to those of the sample. Thus, an overview of the data is given to describe who is included in the sample. Secondly, as Hitchings and Latham (2020) note, the interviewer in qualitative research is not invisible. As the individual conducting interviews and interpreting results, the presentation of the findings and conclusions made in this dissertation is influenced by my positionality as a researcher, which will be discussed to contextualise the findings and discussion within a reflexive approach (Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1991; Rose, 1997).

The final consideration needed to position and texture the findings is the positionalities of the respondents. Given the variety of worldviews, personalities, and biases held by individuals, the way that respondents conceptualise the urban varies based on their upbringing and lived experiences. This is especially true in a post-Apartheid context, where high levels of inequality and histories of exclusion and separation mean that urban worlds may vary greatly depending on an individual's socio-economic position. For example, an individual may know Johannesburg as Alexandra, or they may know the city as Sandton (Samuelson, 2007). In this example, the disparity comes less from geographical distance, but rather from a difference in wealth, privilege and, ultimately, positionality. In order to texture the voices of respondents, an archetypal analysis is presented to provide a better understanding of the personalities and characters 'doing the talking' in the study.

5.1. Overview of the Data

To contextualise the findings of this study, it is important to first understand the sample of respondents, buildings, and rules that were collected and analysed using the methods discussed in chapter 4. It is important to be explicit about demographic and geographic elements of a sample to provide a more located and specific understanding of the results, and to understand from where the city is being conceived, perceived, and lived (Gibbs et al., 2007; Lefebvre, 1974). This section aims to achieve this locatedness and define the sense of place of the respondents (Massey, 1991). First, the overview of the interview sample is provided, including the respondent categories and demographics. This is followed by an examination of the buildings included in the sample, how respondents were spread across these buildings, which suburbs were prevalent, as well as which conduct rules were analysed.

5.1.1. Overview of the Interview Sample

A total of 41 semi-structured interviews were conducted across 26 buildings in Killarney, Illovo, and Rosebank. There were three broad categories of respondents: apartment residents; workers and domestic quarter residents; and lastly, a category for a subject matter expert who conducts research on domestic workers in South Africa and related labour issues. There are further subcategories within the three categories (Figure 11). The largest subcategory which constitutes 34.1% (14) of respondents comprises people currently renting apartments in the suburbs of interest, referred to as apartment renters. This subcategory includes the maintenance manager of an Illovo building who rents one of the apartments in the building. This was followed in size by

the subcategory of domestic staff living in domestic quarters, which make up 26.8% (11) of the sample. Body corporate trustees are also a notable subcategory, constituting 17.1% (7) of the overall sample.

There are three cases where a respondent has perspectives from more than one building. In the trustee group, one respondent is a trustee for three different buildings in Killarney, and resides as an owner-resident in one of these buildings. Another respondent in this group was previously a trustee for one Killarney building, and is now an owner of a unit in another apartment building in the suburb at the time of the study. A third respondent in the trustee subcategory is a founder of a non-profit organisation which advocates for the rights of domestic workers. Within the apartment renter group, one respondent had previously lived in an Illovo building and then moved to a Rosebank building. These respondents with exposure to multiple buildings provided comparative perspectives across different buildings.

Figure 11: Categories and number of Respondents

In terms of the demographics of the sample, 63.4% (26) of the respondents identify as a woman, while the remaining 26.6% (15) identify as a man, and no respondents self-identify as non-binary or any other gender identity. In terms of race, the sample can be defined according to race classifications used in South African national censuses (such as Statistics South Africa, 2011). These classifications are a legacy of Apartheid, which defined people according to the racial categories of the 1950 Population Registration Act (Seekings, 2008). While there is scholarly debate about the relevance and acceptability of continuing to use these categories – as they are social constructs based on problematic definitions used to subjugate and oppress people – their proliferation across sectors means that the categorisation provide a useful reference point for understanding post-Apartheid race relations, and gives visibility to racial discrepancies (Erasmus, 2012; Erwin, 2012; Hendricks et al., 2019; Posel, 2001). As defined by the *Diversity Journal* (2013), the race classifications used when discussing the sample can be understood as:

- Black: People of African origin
- White: People of European origin; Caucasian
- Indian: People of Indian origin
- Coloured: Widely used term for mixed race people in South Africa with multicultural ancestry, including Cape Malay and Khoisan people

While there are more radical understandings of 'black' people as defined by the Black Consciousness movement which encompasses African, Indian, and Coloured people, the aforementioned categories will be used in this study line with common practice in South Africa,

and to be clear about vernacular distinctions between different 'black' groups (Desai, 2015). Using these definitions, the majority of the sample group – 43.9% (18) – is classified as black, followed by 36.6% (15) classified as white, 12.2% (5) classified as Indian, and then 7.3% (3) classified as Coloured. Given the differences between the categories of respondents, it is also important to take into account the demographics per sample category.

The demographic breakdown of the apartment residents is illustrated in Table 1. This is a breakdown of the 26 respondents in this category (which encompasses the subcategories of body corporate trustees, apartment owners and apartment renters). As illustrated in the table, most apartment residents sampled – 38.5% (10) – are white women, while the smallest sample groups are Coloured and black women, each accounting for 3.8% (1) of this category. Given that the suburbs being examined are majority white in terms of race (illustrated in section 3.1), this race makeup of the sample is unsurprising.

Table 1: Demographic Breakdown of Apartment Residents Respondent Category

Apartment Residents	White	Indian	Coloured	Black	Total
Man	19.2%	7.7%	7.7%	7.7%	42.3%
Woman	38.5%	11.5%	3.8%	3.8%	57.7%
Total	57.7%	19.2%	11.5%	11.5%	100.0%

The demographic breakdown of the workers and domestic quarter residents is illustrated in Table 2. It is noted that all of the respondents in this sample are classified as black in terms of race, with 71.4% (10) identifying as women, and 28.6% (4) identifying as men. Given that the domestic

work sector in South Africa is dominated by black women due to the Apartheid legacies which racialised and gendered domestic work, this sample was also in line with expectations (Ginsburg, 1999).

Table 2: Demographic Breakdown of Workers and Domestic Quarter Residents Respondent Category

Workers and Domestic Quarter Residents	White	Indian	Coloured	Black	Total
Man	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	28.6%	28.6%
Woman	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	71.4%	71.4%
Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%

It is worth noting that the subject matter expert, who is excluded from the above breakdowns, is a black woman.

5.1.2. Overview of the Buildings and Conduct Rules

The aforementioned sample provides perspectives for 26 buildings across Killarney, Illovo, and Rosebank, and in some cases, respondents have perspectives to share about more than one building. While the geographic situation of the buildings is illustrated in Chapter 3, understanding how the buildings are represented by the sample is also useful for situating the findings from a conceptual lens.

As part of the Doctrinal Legal Research, body corporate rules for 13 of the buildings have been collected and analysed. At the time of the study, three buildings in Killarney are in the process of changing their rules in relation to workers and domestic quarter residents. In these cases, both the old rules and the amended rules have been analysed. In one case in Rosebank, similar amendments were made in 2019, but only the amended rules were provided.

Table 3 provides an overview of the buildings included in the sample, indicating how many respondents there are from the two main sample categories, and if the conduct rules for that particular building are analysed as part of the Doctrinal Legal Research analysis. Building names are excluded to ensure that anonymity is preserved. It is evident that while respondents from the apartment resident category are spread across buildings, the respondents in the workers and domestic quarter residents category are more concentrated to key buildings. This is due to the different sampling and interview approaches discussed in Chapter 4, whereby apartment residents were interviewed via Zoom, while workers and domestic quarter residents were interviewed in person. This meant that while snowballing for apartment residents often occurred through connecting with people from across buildings, while snowballing of workers and domestic quarter residents in apartment buildings meant interviewing more people from one building.

Table 3: Breakdown of the Number of Respondents per Building and Conduct Rules Analysed

Building	No. of apartment residents*	No. of workers and domestic quarter residents**	Conduct Rules Analysed
Illovo building 1	2	6	Y
Illovo building 2	2	0	N
Illovo building 3	2	0	N
Illovo building 4	1	0	Y
Illovo building 5	1	0	Y
Illovo building 6	1	0	Y
Illovo building 7	1	0	N
Illovo building 8	1	0	N
Illovo building 9	1	0	N
Killarney building 1	1	3	N
Killarney building 2	3	0	Y
Killarney building 3	2	1	Y
Killarney building 4	0	2	N
Killarney building 5	2	0	N
Killarney building 6	1	0	Y
Killarney building 7	1	0	Y
Killarney building 8	0	1	Y
Killarney building 9	1	0	Y
Killarney building 10	1	0	N
Killarney building 11	1	0	N
Killarney building 12	1	0	N
Killarney building 13	1	0	N
Killarney building 14	0	0	Y
Rosebank building 1	1	0	Y
Rosebank building 2	1	0	Y
Rosebank building 3	1	0	N

*Where one of the respondents was a trustee across three buildings, they were counted in the sub-totals for each building; Where one of the respondents moved from an Illovo building to a Rosebank building, they were counted in the sub-totals for each building

**One worker interviewed works in a park, and was not included in the subtotals

Y = rules obtained and analysed; N = rules not obtained

Regarding the representation of each suburb, over half – 51.2% (21) – of the sample are from Killarney, 13 of which are apartment residents and eight of which are workers and domestic

quarter residents. 41.1% (17)[7] of the sample – are from Illovo buildings, while 4.9% (2) of the sample are from Rosebank buildings. As mentioned in Chapter 3, domestic quarters are less common in Rosebank buildings, and so this suburb was understandably less prevalent amongst the sample.

This study is not intended to be representative of all apartment buildings in Killarney, Illovo, and Rosebank. The overview of the sample is not presented to indicate how the following findings might be extrapolated – this is not possible. Rather, the overview of the sample grounds the analysis in a contextual specificity to certain buildings, and can be used to understand the positions from which respondents are sharing their views. The way of seeing the city and the domestic quarters expressed in this study is reflective only of the views of the respondents included in the sample, and is documented as such.

5.2. Researcher Positionality: An Imperfect Attempt at Reflexivity

As the aforementioned definition of positionality by Sanchez (2010: 2257) states, how one understands the world is influenced by personal views, experiences, and spatio-temporal locatedness. Qin (2016) identifies that these factors can be understood as social identities which include age, sexuality, ethnicity, social class, linguistics, geographical and intellectual location, culture, and race. All of these social identities intersect uniquely for each individual and thereby locate an individual within a specific power position that then also influences how that individual

[7] For purposes of comparing representation from Illovo and Killarney, the respondent who moved from Illovo to Rosebank is included in the Illovo buildings total here

sees the world – and experiences the city (Carstensen-Egwuom, 2014). This is as true for the research respondents as it is for me as the researcher. The lens through which the findings are presented and discussed is inadvertently shaped by my own biases, ontologies, and truths. These ways of seeing are produced by my social position, which emerges from the intersections which Qin (2016) discusses. Further to this, the way in which the respondents of the study interact with me and what they share is also framed by our relative social positions (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2012). As such, it is important to reflect on my positionality as a researcher, and how it impacts both how respondents engage with me and how I frame the findings. However, as many critical geographers acknowledge, this is not as straightforward as defining my privileges and demographics, and then moving onto a discussion of my findings – which Crang (2003) critiques as being a performative or tokenistic way of dealing with the power dynamics. Even within the very expression of positionality and how I frame this section – what is referred to as reflexivity – there are power dynamics and biases at play (Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1991; Rose, 1997).

5.2.1. Understanding Positionality in Research

As Rose (1997) argues, reflexivity – researchers acknowledging their own positionality – is advocated for to situate knowledges, and to avoid false neutrality and universality in research. This emphasis on reflexivity, and framing knowledge as produced by a partial and imperfect researcher, is a key component of critical geographies, especially feminist geographies, and has been for some time (Gilbert, 1994; Haraway, 1991; Harding, 1991; Kobayashi, 1994; Radcliffe, 1994; Simandan, 2019). Reflexivity is an important aspect of decolonising geography as a discipline, which requires an acknowledgement that "knowledge production and everyday

relations are informed by European colonial modalities of power and propped up by imperial geopolitics and economic arrangements" (Collard et al., 2015: 323). However, the decolonial project in itself acknowledges the complexities of navigating research with reflexivity in mind. While some write on the process of 'becoming' a decolonial scholar (Manning, 2018), I acknowledge that decolonisation is by no means a linear trajectory, nor a box to be ticked by including a subsection on positionality in this study (Radcliffe, 2017). Even the literature on decolonial geography itself is dominated by predominantly white, European voices and/or scholars based in the Global North (Daigle & Ramirez, 2019; Jazeel, 2017; Noxolo, 2017; Radcliffe, 2017; Radcliffe & Radhuber, 2020).

From the perspective of Rose (1997: 312), attempts to bring transparency and reflexivity, which may include an acknowledgement of the coloniality of voices, fall short because bringing reflexivity to the fore itself defines and reinforces a landscape of power, and is also influenced by the distance that a researcher has from the researched:

> "Reflecting on their respective positions, a researcher situates both herself and her research subjects in the same landscape of power, which is the context of the research project in question. However, the researched must be placed in a different position from the researcher since they are separate and different from her. *Differences* between researcher and researched are imagined as *distances* in this landscape of power."

Rose (1997) also discusses that the mapping of a landscape of differences and distances between the researcher and the researched creates dichotomies which take the focus away from the textures of the difference and distances between the researcher and the researched which may

be more nuanced and dynamic. A researcher defining their own positionality is problematic as inherent to that very definition is a bias of existing power landscapes, influences by colonial ontologies and ways of thinking about research (Jazeel, 2017; Radcliffe, 2017).

Further to this, reflexivity is also problematic because in modern social sciences, it is often used as a performative mechanism through which more privileged or white researchers – such as myself – can absolve ourselves of the guilt that comes with partaking in research within an oppressive and unjust landscape of power, knowledge, and the production of reality (D'Arcangelis, 2018). Interestingly, these are the very same patterns of white guilt that respondents express in section 6.3. Tuck and Yang (2014: 811) refer to this as "inquiry as invasion", pointing to how academic motivations are used to justify inherently problematic power dynamics and play into their reinforcement. By merely being a researcher, one assumes a position of power which is overlaid onto the power relations that emerge from social identities (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2012).

5.2.2. My Positionality

Taking this all into account, an imperfect attempt at defining my positionality as a researcher is still made, while acknowledging that this apparent transparency is interlaced with unseen biases and assumptions, and may inadvertently reinforce power asymmetries (Rose, 1997). I conduct this research as a white South African who identifies as a woman, and I am in my mid-twenties. This means that I have grown up in a post-Apartheid South Africa, but my parents and British ancestors have benefitted from the Apartheid system, and within the existing racial hierarchies I

continue to experience privilege as a white person (Matthews, 2012). As a person identifying, and being identified by others, as a cisgendered woman, I am oppressed by patriarchy. This means that my outlook has been framed by a white feminist lens (D'Arcangelis, 2018). As well as this, I have largely grown up in a middle-class background, attending a 'Model C' (previously all-white, government) school on financial aid and then going on to study at university on a full scholarship which meant that I had no worries about student debt.

While these details provide a general overview of what has shaped my worldview, which in turn influences the study, it is also important to reflect on my relationship with domestic work, as this provides insight into how I frame the research, approach, and interact with domestic workers. Until I was twelve years old, my family employed a live-in domestic worker. The dynamics at play in this labour relation were similar to those described in the literature by Anderson (2000), Ally (2008), Fish (2006), and others: there was a tension between us treating her as "part of the family", and the power asymmetries and associations of domestic labour relations based on historic, racially based discriminatory practices. While my parents did attempt to treat the domestic worker fairly, patterns of systemic discrimination were present, including the absence of a written contract of employment, and the confluence of home and work.

After my family moved into a smaller apartment when I was thirteen years old, we no longer employed a live-in domestic worker, but the same woman work for us once a week, while she was residing in another domestic quarter residence in a home in Rosebank. It was during this time that I began to develop a level of discomfort with the power dynamic of domestic work –

stemming from an increased conscientisation of Apartheid legacies, both from becoming more mature and also through studying South African history at school. Similar to the 'moral' imperatives of well-intentioned participants in this study (Section 6.3.1.), I experienced a type of cognitive dissonance between perpetuating the systemic inequalities which this labour relation, and the knowledge of its discriminatory nature. Since living independently of my family, I have not employed a domestic worker, as I have lived in smaller spaces which I am able to clean myself. My mother is still in contact with the domestic worker that we employed while I was growing up, and the domestic worker often retells stories to me and my mother of how her primary employers – who also provide the accommodation in Rosebank – mistreat her. This perspective informs my understanding of domestic work in a post-Apartheid context, and how the contradictions of exploitation and care characterised by Ally (2011), Bradfield (2012), du Preez et al. (2010), King (2012) and Light (2008) play out in specific contexts.

Growing up in Johannesburg, I know the city well and have watched it transform over time. I have always been fascinated with its complexity, contradictions, and vibrancy, but of course, this has been limited to my privileged perspective growing up in the northern suburbs. I have never lived in an apartment building with a domestic quarters, nor have I ever lived in Killarney, Illovo or Rosebank specifically. I used to ride in through the streets of Killarney in a car as a child on the way to school, and wonder about what lay on the other side of the apartment walls of Daventry Court or Whitehall. My education since has been based in Western and colonial understandings of space, geography, and power as is common with mainstream academic institutions (Snaza & Singh, 2021).

My worldview is also frame by a recognition of social inequality which I witnessed growing up in South Africa. This is informed and influenced by my mother, who was involved in anti-apartheid efforts throughout the 1980s and 1990s. She always urged me to question my own privilege and fight for justice, although from her positionality, this was a lot more straightforward and less nuanced than it is understood today, based on the ways in which explicit forms of racial oppression – such as Apartheid – have now predominantly been overtaken by more embedded and unseen forms of oppression in social practices (Matthews, 2012). These perspectives mean that I self-identify as having a passion for social justice, although this is not necessarily navigated in a straightforward or unproblematic manner. As with everyone navigating privilege, an acknowledgement of this is inherently performative, but is done imperfectly nonetheless to contextualise and account for how this background shapes my understanding of the city, and how respondents interact with me (Pelias, 2005).

While my hope is to embed decolonial approaches and critical praxis throughout this work, there is an inescapable irony that the very fact that I, as a privileged white woman, am writing about the experiences and realities of black people from lower-income backgrounds, and this is a form of preserving colonial power relations and asymmetries (*and true too, through Rose (1997)'s lens, that this acknowledgement itself (re)generates assumptions about the hierarchy of these social positions*). However, I have taken the view that doing this research, and documenting and making visible the experiences of domestic quarter residents, is more important than whether or not I am the 'best' person to do this subject matter justice – or if there is even a 'best' positioned

person to do this research (Simadan, 2019). Rather, by being clear about who I am as a researcher – acknowledging that this description will be flawed and subject to performativity – my hope is to highlight how who I am may influence my framing of the research, engagement with respondents, and analysis of results.

Even with this acknowledgement and a consciousness of positionality in how I present the findings, it is true that there are still many biases that I miss, conclusions that I may jump to, or findings that I may misconstrue (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2012). My privilege means that there are elements and realities of being a black person in South Africa that I am unable to understand or articulate. Furthermore, my positionality as a white woman means that at times, I may inadvertently emphasise gender over race as form of oppression, because that is my primary lived experience (Dill, 1983). As well as this, my construction of gender may be subconsciously limited to a cisgendered lens, and while I actively try to challenge these engrained biases, they still impact how I go about my research, unintentionally assuming cisnormativity (Levy, 2013). Beyond affecting how I perceive and write about the world, my positionality also impacts how others interact with me. Thus, the research respondents may censor what they share with me – especially the workers and domestic quarter residents who may think I am an equivalent of their employer, or who think I would share what they tell me with their employer (despite all ethics processes and anonymity being expressed explicitly).

The purpose of acknowledging my positionality is not absolve myself as a researcher of such flaws by admitting to these complications, but rather to make sure the reader is conscious of the lens

through which the findings are being reported, and how who I am may have impacted what respondents share with me. By doing this, I hope to remind the reader that these power relations and biases are at play, and may not even be fully accounted for here (Crang, 2003). It is also my hope that this section reminds the reader of their own positionality, and how their interpretation of what is presented may be influenced by their social position, personal values, views and location in time and space (Sanchez, 2010).

5.2.3. Key Implications of Positionality for this Study

While there are many implications of positionality, I have identified three which are key to outlining how my positionality impacts the findings and analysis of this study. The first is in terms of framing. Who I am as a person and my academic background influence my epistemological paradigm (Allen, 2005; Takacs, 2002). As such, the way I have framed the research question and objectives is based on my preconceived assumptions about what the findings might show. For example, including definitions of home in the research question itself illustrates that I think that home is a relevant and worthwhile question for domestic quarter residents. As well as the framing of the question and research rationale, my positionality also influences how I developed my methodology. Coming from a human geography background, I have an affinity for qualitative research due to its ability to bring more textured and nuanced understandings into place. While my methodological approaches are based on common practices for the discipline, my selection of approach still biased to the type of research I see as valuable (Hitchings & Latham, 2020).

The second way that my positionality impacts this study is through data collection. My social position influences the platforms in which I was able to identify respondents. While I did not know most of the respondents, word-of-mouth snowballing and my access to Facebook groups such as 'I LOVE ILLOVO' meant that my sampling was biased towards engaging with apartment residents, many of whom also self-identified as 'caring about social justice'. This sampling bias impacts which types of apartment residents were interviewed (Naderifar et al., 2017). As well as this, my positionality meant that finding domestic quarter residents to interview was not as straightforward as finding apartment residents, because I was less familiar with the social arrangements of this respondent group, and was less aware of the dominant forms of networking or connecting. In order to counteract this bias, I endeavoured to interpret the interview findings through the lens of individual positionality, rather than taking the perspectives as objective truths. In some cases, I approached domestic workers in the park where they may have had certain perceptions of me. I was a young white woman holding a notepad, which may resemble an employer, or someone who has a racist demeanour and might be known for exploiting people of colour for intellectual purposes (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2012).

In other cases, I was introduced to domestic quarter residents through apartment residents, which may have impacted their trust in me as an independent researcher, and what they shared with me. Another factor was that I only interviewed domestic quarter residents in English, and so what the respondents shared may have been limited either by their proficiency in English, but also their willingness to speak freely in a first language without having to translate it (Holmes, 2016). Furthermore, while interviewing people, the fact that I was a white woman in a position

of relative power may have influenced what people shared with me: perhaps some of the white apartment residents were more willing to share their racist views because I was white, or perhaps black respondents were more willing to complain about Indian people because I was not Indian. What is also worth noting is because I am a woman, I may have come across as less intimidating to the research respondents, and this may have meant they were more comfortable sharing with me – especially the other women (D'Arcangelis, 2018).

The third implication that my positionality has for this study is how it influences the way in which I analyse findings. As has been discussed, from an epistemological perspective, my framing and understanding of reality is influenced by a Western, colonial education, infused with Marxist and critical geographic perspectives. Growing up in South Africa, the state of race, gender, and class relations influences how I interpret the views of others, and make connections between different anecdotes through my coding and thematic analysis (Allen, 2005; Takacs, 2002). While I have attempted to present all points of analysis with quotes from respondents to be explicit about how conclusions were drawn, this is still an imperfect attempt.

The challenge and opportunity of qualitative research is that it does not seek to answer an empirical question, and hence does not attempt to present objective truths (Norris, 1997). While this section is a minor exploration of the nuances and contradictions of reflexivity, I hope it has made visible what my positionality is, how I grapple with and understand that in the context of this study, and how I have kept this in mind while framing the research question, collecting data, and analysing the findings.

5.3. Archetypes of the Apartment Blocks of Johannesburg's Northern Suburbs

Just as my positionality influences how I conduct and present research, throughout the study it was also evident that the positionalities of the respondents influence their perceptions of domestic quarters, behaviours, and accompanying realities. As I transcribed and analysed the interviews thematically – which is presented in chapters 6 to 8 – I noticed trends in types of the people I interviewed, based on the opinions, behaviours, and attitudes which they shared with me. To provide a texture to the findings and viewpoints presented in later chapters and to enrich the demographic overview presented in section 5.1, an archetypal analysis is thus presented (Berry et al., 2008; Meadow, 1992; Prinsloo, 2019).

While archetypal analysis in statistics looks at making connection between data points (Cutler & Brieman, 1994), in the social sciences it can be used to group respondents and stakeholders according to similar characteristics, as has been done by Meadow (1992), Berry et al. (2008), Prinsloo (2019), and others. The development of the archetypes in this study is based solely on the viewpoints shared with me in the interviews, and weaves together my perception of the social positionality of the respondents, how they self-identify, and how other people expressed perceptions of them. The archetypes are not necessarily social identities, as respondents have not explicitly self-identified using these terms, and the archetypes also draw on emergent behaviours and attitudes rather than only looking at race, class, and gender identities (Powell,

2011). The traits I explore in this archetypal analysis include the level of power that individuals have, their motivations, awareness, and ways of being – all aspects that speak to the spatial practice found in apartment buildings (Lefebvre, 1974).

Given the importance of social power and social relations in this study, understanding the people behind these relations is imperative for forming a complete picture of the dynamics at play in domestic quarters discussed later. It is important to note that the description of these archetypes is subjective and anecdotal, and is largely influenced by my own biases and positionality explored above, as well as the positionalities of the respondents who describe the traits of these archetypes. The archetypes are identified and discussed for the purposes of enriching an understanding of the social dynamics at play, and should not be read as a definitive depiction or classification of people (Berry et al., 2008).

I am aware that these archetypes could be read as stereotypes, as the distinction between the two terms is slight. I have understood the difference to be that stereotypes are broad generalisations of people as a whole, based on social hegemonies and prejudices, whereas archetypes refer to specific patterns which emerge in particular scenarios (PEDIAA, 2016; Pietroni, 1991). I have taken a constructivist approach to developing the archetypes, and have thus attempted to define the categories based on traits and patterns which emerged through the findings which may relate to power hegemonies, rather than imposing generalised societal descriptions on the respondents. This, of course, is not completely possible because my positionality means that I hold inherent biases which I am not be able to see myself (Rose, 1997).

It must be noted that these archetypes are anecdotal and based on my own interpretation of the limited data collected for this study, and are not intended to provide moralistic commentary on the interviewees. Another key distinction from stereotypes is that these archetypes are not meant to be all-encompassing representations of people – as people are multifaceted and changeable, a key point emphasised by the poststructuralists from whom I draw my theoretical framing (Foucault, 1975; Lefebvre, 1974). Rather, the archetypes reflect acute elements of an individual based on the patterns identified. In reality, an individual may at times fulfil one archetype and at other times another – this speaks to the context-specific and contradictory nature of people (Durkheim, cited in Jones, 2004). The archetypes will be discussed in relation to the respondent subcategories of the body corporate trustees, apartment residents as well as the workers and domestic quarter residents, summarised in the below table.

Table 4: Constructed Archetypes in Apartment Buildings

APARTMENT RESIDENTS		WORKERS AND DOMESTIC QUARTER RESIDENTS
BODY CORPORATE TRUSTEES	APARTMENT RESIDENTS	
The Progressive		The Old Zulu Employee
The Legacy Trustee	The Generational Family	The Foreign National
The Efficient Capitalist	The Disengaged Young Working Professional	The Disgruntled but Silent
	The Misclassified Resident	The Content and Well-Treated
	The Racist Building Manager	The Exceptional Cases

5.3.1. Body Corporate Trustees

I found throughout the study that body corporate trustees occupy a position of power, not only because of their *de jure* entitlements to control, regulate and enforce a notion of perceived space, but also because of how their social position, and how power and privilege are be leveraged. However, this played out differently depending on the archetype of the trustee, and the nature of the building. In this group, I identified three archetypes: the Legacy Trustee, the Progressive and the Efficient Capitalist.

5.3.1.1. The Legacy Trustee

I perceive the Legacy Trustee archetype to be a person who has resided in the building for a very long time – often over fifteen years, and has an extensive knowledge about the area and the history of the building. The respondents indicate that they might be retired, and therefore have a lot of time to perform some of the building management duties, share histories about the building – individuals in this archetype tend to know the buildings of the area quite well. In one of the buildings in the study, the trustees had in fact not replaced the building manager when he retired, and instead a Legacy Trustee, a retired corporate banker, was taking on these responsibilities. One of the respondents who falls into this category describes themselves as "ancient" and has lived in the same building in Killarney for over 25 years. This respondent shared lengthy recounting of how Killarney has morphed over time, what the political dynamics and intricacies of life in these apartments is like and also had many frank opinions about the domestic quarters and the residents.

It might be assumed or stereotyped that the Legacy Trustee – who is generally old and white – is not in support of changes to domestic quarters which may improve living conditions or reduce the restrictiveness of the rules (expanded on in section 6.1) because of the stereotypes and perceived identity associated with wealthy, older white people in South Africa (Durrheim et al., 2014). However, one of the respondents who I would classify as a Legacy Trustee did in fact support the changes, and often played a leading role. This particular respondent also knew a great deal about the lives of the domestic quarter residents, and self-identified as having good relationships with them, especially as some of the domestic quarter residents have also been in the building for a long time. Within the Legacy Trustee archetype, I found that there are trustees who have close relationships with domestic workers and therefore bend the rules – this will be discussed in section 6.2.2.

5.*3.1.2. The Progressive*

I define the Progressive as an archetype on the board of trustees who might self-identify as being 'dedicated to social justice' and is often the most vocal advocate of improvements to the domestic quarters. In many ways, how I define my own positionality in section 5.2.2 is similar to this type of self-identification, and as described there, this label may be mobilised in a performative manner (Pelias, 2005). In many cases with respondents, I found that this archetype was either an academic or a new owner who joined the board of trustees to "shake things up". In terms of social position, I found that this archetype is usually an individual in their thirties or forties, often unmarried, and either a white or Indian person.

From the responses shared in the study, I deduced that this archetype often builds strong relationships with domestic quarter residents, and is at times a bridge between domestic quarter residents and apartment residents which mobilises change. However, as will be discussed in section 6.3.1, sometimes these efforts may be driven by what I term a contradictory white conscience, and do not always take into account the perspectives of domestic quarter residents, or involve the domestic quarter residents in the entire process of change. This is a critical contradiction, as I found that the Progressive may self-identify as being interested in social justice as an academic, lawyer or activist, but this does not necessarily mean that they are well versed in effective and inclusive methods of implementing change. I inferred that the Progressive archetype expresses their outrage at the racism of other white people to distance themselves from this narrative, and in so doing often does not acknowledge their own internalised racism (Frankenburg, 1993). As literature on community engagement illustrates, sometimes these patterns of behaviour can create more harm by instigating change on behalf of others without proper consultation (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2008).

The Progressive may also be an apartment resident who is not on the board of trustees.

5.*3.1.3. The Efficient Capitalist*

The Efficient Capitalist is an archetype which I have identified as a trustee who is most interested in making sure the building is running smoothly, and prioritises efficiency over justice. In the current context of late capitalism, this often means focusing on financial recovery and the profitability of the building. In terms of social position, amongst the respondents I found that the

Efficient Capitalist was often a late-career corporate individual who is motivated to maintain the value of their property, and hence becomes involved in the board of trustees.

I found that this Efficient Capitalist also, in most cases in this study, was the individual in support of demolishing the domestic quarters, and converting the space into penthouses or apartments to be rented or sold for a profit, as Falkof (2016) explores in the case of free-standing houses. From this I inferred that individuals in this archetype did not necessarily have the rights of the domestic quarter residents as a key priority.

5.3.2. Apartment Residents

I also identified archetypes of apartment owners or tenants who are not on the boards of trustees. The Progressive mentioned above may also fall into this group, as well as archetypes which I term: the Generational Family, the Disengaged Young Working Professional, the Misclassified Resident, and the Racist Building Manager.

5.3.2.1. The Generational Family

There are cases in the study where a respondent either lives with their family, rents an apartment from their family, or where a family owns multiple apartments in one building and all live in the same building. I found that this archetype is an interesting illustration of the role that generational wealth plays in property ownership in South Africa. As the study areas are expensive to live in, it makes sense that younger respondents may be able to reside in these areas due to family ties.

While there may be a mix of other archetypes in one Generational Family grouping, in some scenarios – especially where the family owns multiple units – I noticed that the Generational Family exercises social power over the apartment building space, either through resisting changes, or creating disruptions. An incident of a family knowingly exposing their domestic worker to COVID-19 discussed in section 7.3 is an example of this. Given that a family owning multiple units may have disproportionately high voting rights at AGMs, they have more power to block rule changes.

5.3.2.2. *The Disengaged Young Working Professional*

Found primarily in Illovo, I define the Disengaged Young Working Professional generally as a renter, although sometimes a unit owner, who is not fully aware of the dynamics of the domestic quarters. I found that people who fall into this archetype tend to be living alone for the first time, and are usually busy with work or socialising. Based on the anecdotes shared in this study, it appeared to me that this archetype does not take a particular interest in the domestic quarters.

Over and above this, I found that this archetype either does their own cleaning, or has a live-out domestic worker who comes in once a week. Because people in this archetype do not see their apartment as a long-term home, I found that they tend to be less involved in the building, and do not take too much interest in change. This was evident throughout interviews where respondents are not aware of domestic quarters, or when they are aware, do not seem too concerned with what the conditions or rules of the domestic quarters are. I found that this is

particularly true when domestic quarters are on the roof and not seen – as individuals in this archetype might not be home often, they may never encounter the live-in domestic workers.

5.3.2.3. *The Misclassified Resident*

I define the Misclassified Resident as an archetype in the building who is often mistaken for being a domestic worker or staff member, but is in fact an apartment resident – because they are the same race as the residents of the domestic quarters. The findings illustrated that the perceived identity of this archetype – that they are a domestic worker – conflicts with their actual social position of being an apartment resident, which in turn complicates how people within this archetype self-identify. In this way, the Misclassified Resident might be conceptualised as a 'space invader' because they occupy a predominantly white, male space as a black woman (Puwar, 2004). I identified that residents in this archetype face daily racist microaggressions which makes people in this archetype group feel like they do not 'belong' in the apartment as part of the apartment resident grouping, even though they are entitled to be there.

In terms of social relations, anecdotes from this study indicate that people within this archetype might be more inclined to have good relations with the domestic quarter residents, and can relate to their struggles. It was mentioned by respondents that they may also take their children up to play with the children of the domestic workers.

5.3.2.4. The Racist Building Manager

While this archetype is technically a worker in the building, in general, the Racist Building Manager is granted one of the apartments to live in. As described by respondents, my interpretation is that this archetype is often an old, white man who has a racist mentality. There was one instance where a building manager described by respondents was a black man, but other than that, all building managers described in this study were white, and in most cases respondents alluded to these particular white men exhibiting racist behaviour. Also called the caretaker in some cases, I found that this archetype is responsible for overseeing the maintenance and repairs of the building, and managing the body corporate staff, which thereby gives him a position of power in terms of social relations. Some of the domestic quarter residents interviewed expressed a perceived identity of this archetype as "harsh" when it comes to rule enforcement, and appear to be intimidated by him.

5.3.3. Workers and Domestic Quarter Residents

I found a range of archetypes on the top floor itself, which I have defined as the Old Zulu Employee, the Foreign National, the Disgruntled but Silent, the Content and Well-treated, and the Exceptional Cases.

5.3.3.1. The Old Zulu Employee

In this study, I found that the Old Zulu employee is an elderly person who has worked for one building for the majority of their life, and reportedly has a deep connection to the place, whether or not they live in the domestic quarters. One of the respondents identified that this archetype

is most often Zulu, and posited that this partially explained by the historic labour relations during Apartheid.

Very often, I deduced that people in this archetype are past retirement age, but do not want to stop working – it is unclear if this is because they need the money, of if "the building is their life" as one trustee respondent would like to believe. The Old Zulu Employee is neither explicitly part of the disgruntled or content group as they do not express overtly how they feel about working in the building.

5.3.3.2. The Foreign National

I have defined the Foreign National as an employee living in the domestic quarters who has come to work from another southern African country. Throughout this study, all of the foreign nationals encountered were from Zimbabwe. Based on what was reported by respondents, individuals within this archetype have come to South Africa to work, and send most of their income back to their family. Commonly perceived by others interviewed and stereotyped as 'hard-working', the primary concern of people in this archetype is the economic benefit of their work. People who fall into this archetype overlap and intersect with some of the other archetypes explained.

In general, I found that people falling into this archetype were relatively younger than the Old Zulu Employee archetype, and in some buildings had formed a community with other people from their country.

5.3.3.3. The Disgruntled but Silent

I define the Disgruntled but Silent domestic quarter resident as an archetype of people who are unhappy with their living conditions, or how they are treated, but do not actively protest or mobilise to change these conditions. As will be explored in chapter 7, the primary reason for this may be because they do not want to risk losing their accommodation or employment.

I found that this archetype was often perceived by other respondents as having a sense of "resignation", which might be due to the fact that they have been subject to the dynamics of domestic quarters for a long time, and have grown "complacent", as one respondent describes. As will be explored in chapter 7, given the precarity of domestic work in apartment buildings, remaining silent on such issues may be a mechanism of survival, as domestic workers were found to rather prioritise living costs and travel time over the risk of improving conditions.

5.3.3.4. The Content and Well-Treated

I define this archetype as a domestic worker or employee of the building who is genuinely happy with their employment and living conditions. In the study, this was mostly because individuals in this archetype group have an empathetic employer who has cultivated a good relationship with them. As will be discussed in chapter 8, people in this archetype who feel content in their position are more likely to speak up, and therefore, in this study, are often the ones to raise concerns about the conditions in the domestic quarters.

5.3.3.5. *The Exceptional Cases*

The Exceptional Cases are an archetype who I define as living in the domestic quarters without working for the building. As the name suggests, people in this group prove to be an exception to the norm, because in most cases, only building employees are permitted to live in the domestic quarters. As the findings from this study indicate that social relationality is a powerful determinant of what happens in domestic quarters (section 6.2.2), often the Exceptional Cases consist of people with a relationship with the trustees or apartment owners, and have therefore been allowed to stay.

While in one case, an individual falling into archetype – a white homeless person who the chair "took pity on" – was welcomed by the board of trustees, in other cases, individuals in this archetype have been offered accommodation by the owner, and the trustees are attempting to evict the Exceptional Case. An example is a person who works in Killarney Mall, but rents out a room in a Killarney building domestic quarters for convenience purposes.

5.3.4. Conclusion

The aim of the archetypal analysis above has been to provide a more textured view of the kinds of people who interact to form social relations which in turn determine the happenings of the domestic quarters (Meadow, 1992). The archetypes are inherently subjective, based on a small sample and are laced with my own biases. They are intended as lose characterisations of specific traits and behaviours mentioned in the interviews, and do not take into account the nuances and variabilities in individual characteristics, preferences, and actions (Berry et al., 2008). Instead, the

archetypes provide a view of the kinds of people who might live in the apartment buildings in question, and what common biases and positionalities the respondents may have. This provides a contextual base onto which the following thematic analysis will be transposed, along with the researcher positionality, and the demographic overview of the sample, and the particularity of the buildings that has been discussed.

6. Systems of Segregation and Power

A key point of analysis which emerges from the findings is that within the domestic quarters, there are systems of segregation and power at play which determine living conditions, the rules in place, as well as the lived experiences of domestic workers overall. It is clear from the findings that there are both *de jure* structural systems of power at play, as well as *de facto* dynamics which relate to social power and social relations (Foucault, 1980). While the *de jure* structures may work to enforce the *de facto* power arrangements, there are also a series of unspoken rules and relationships which generate an additional layer of dynamics that can be understood using a poststructural lens.

This chapter explores the permutations of these systems of segregation of power, and identifies contradictions that emerge. First, in section 6.1, the more explicitly structural – or *de jure* – elements of segregation and power will be discussed – all of these are legacies from, and characteristic of, the structural segregation imposed by Apartheid (Ginsburg, 2000). Following this, section 6.2 will adopt a poststructural, Lefebvrian and Foucauldian lens of power, analysing the social relations which emerge in the findings, and how social power and relations play out in domestic quarters and apartment buildings (Foucault, 1975; Lefebvre, 1974). These elements will then be brought together to explore the tension between the contradictory white conscience and the lived realities of domestic quarter residents in section 6.3.

6.1. *De Jure* Structural Apartheid

The most apparent and irrefutable theme which emerged from the interviews – reaffirming the work of Ginsburg (1999), Ally (2011) and many others on segregation and domestic work – was that of structural Apartheid, in terms of the city design, architecture of buildings, and the *de jure* power structures in place through the body corporate rules. The conceived space of the old apartment buildings was designed in accordance with the segregationist policies of white minority rule, and echoes the Apartheid mentalities of separation, regulation, and invisibilisation of black workers (Ally, 2011; Lefebvre, 1974). This section will explore the forms of structural Apartheid identified through the findings, looking at the larger urban scale, then moving to the architecture of the buildings and the rules instated. Finally, these structural elements will be brought together to unpack how they result in the invisibilisation of domestic quarter residents, and how the domestic quarters may be reminiscent of total institutions.

6.1.1. Urban Apartheid

As has been explored in chapters 2 and 3, a vast array of literature examines how Johannesburg is characterised by Apartheid spatial planning. This is evident through the collections of townships such as Soweto, Alexandra, and Tembisa which are often far away from workplaces (Figure 3) – especially for domestic workers who are employed in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg (Ally, 2011; Murray, 2008). Driven in part by the legacy of Apartheid spatial planning, this form of segregation – which is notably along racial lines as well as class lines – is also driven by a lack of affordable housing in previously white areas, exacerbated by the

neoliberalisation of the city (Ballard et al., 2021; Harvey, 2007). The main reason that the live-in domestic workers interviewed give for their choice to stay in the domestic quarters is to save money on rent and transport. As Interviewee 41, a domestic quarter resident in a Killarney building, who works in Killarney Mall and not actually for the building, describes:

> "[Living in the domestic quarters] is cheaper. It's R500 a month, whereas before I was spending R1 700 on taxis every month."

Consistently, travel distances and the increasing cost of transport was raised as a key reason why living in domestic quarters may be beneficial. As both the findings and related literature illustrate, full-time, live-in domestic workers have become less common as labour relations become more precarious, which will be explored in chapter 7. This has resulted in an increase of domestic workers needing to travel to their place of work (Jinnah, 2020). Among the apartment residents in interviewed, it was most common thar a domestic worker would work for an employer once a week – often travelling far distances to get to work.

For live-out domestic workers involved in the study either through being directly interviewed, or through information provided by apartment resident employers, the place of residence was noted, and travel distances mapped. Of 22 live-out domestic workers whose residential location was disclosed, one only had a travel distance of 0,2 km as she lived in the domestic quarters of one Killarney building and worked in another Killarney building. Besides this person, the travel distances can be categorized into three main groups:

- Less than 5km (e.g., from suburbs of Hillbrow, Berea and Orange Grove to Killarney or Illovo)
- 5km to 15km (e.g., from Alexandra or Yeoville to Illovo)
- Greater than 15km (e.g., from Kyalami, Diepsloot, Tembisa, Orange Farm to Illovo or Killarney)

Table 5 illustrates in detail the travel distances per person included in this group, as well as the frequency of their travel. While weekly travel to work is the most common amongst the sample, this does not account for the fact that domestic workers may also be working part-time in other locations, which respondent indicates is generally the case. Hence, it is possible that domestic workers with weekly frequency are travelling similar distances to different employers every day.

Table 5: Travel journeys of live-out domestic workers

Home	Work	Distance (km)	Frequency
Killarney Building	Killarney Building 10	0.2	Weekly
Lower Houghton	Killarney Building 6	1.4	Weekly
Berea	Killarney Building 1	2.1	Daily
Hillbrow	Killarney Building 6	2.5	Weekly
Hillbrow	Killarney Building 2	2.8	Daily
Hillbrow	Killarney Park	2.9	Daily
Hillbrow	Killarney Building 1	2.9	Daily
Parkwood	Illovo Building 9	3.4	Weekly
Orange Grove	Illovo Building 4	4.8	Weekly
Alex	Illovo Building 1	5.4	Daily
Alex	Illovo Building 3	6.0	Weekly
Yeoville	Illovo Building 2	6.3	Weekly
Yeoville	Illovo Building 7	7.0	Weekly
Fairland	Killarney Building 9	11.5	Daily
Kyalami	Killarney Building 12	19.0	Weekly
Diepsloot	Illovo Building 1	21.5	Daily
Tembisa	Rosebank Building 1	23.3	Daily
Tembisa	Killarney Building 1	29.4	Weekly
Daveyton	Killarney Building 3	37.5	Weekly
Orange Farm	Killarney Building 3	37.9	Daily
Vereeniging	Illovo Building 8	53.6	Weekly
Rustenburg	Killarney Building 11	99.1	Weekly

Amongst this small sample group of 21 domestic workers, the average travel distance was 18.1km, although there was a large range. Given the limited public transport infrastructure in Johannesburg, all of these domestic workers rely on minibus taxis to traverse these distances, often needing to change taxis, and as indicated in the quote above, costing large amounts of money. Among the domestic workers interviewed, finances are a primary concern, comprising both the cost of living and low wages. Rather than expressing concern about the living conditions

in domestic quarters, respondents were more concerned with being able to afford to send their children to school, send money back to their families, and have enough food to eat. The legacy of Apartheid spatial planning means that transport costs are high, and this has been made worse by increasing costs since the outbreak of COVID-19, as respondents indicate. This illustrates the role that urban Apartheid and its legacy plays in shaping the lives of domestic workers, and residents of domestic quarters.

A related concern that emerged in relation the spatial inequities of Johannesburg was affordable housing. One of the chief reasons respondents gave for opting to live in domestic quarters was the affordability. As Interviewee 27, a security guard in Killarney, describes:

> "[Living in the domestic quarters] is cheaper than staying in Yeoville or Hillbrow, where apartments are as expensive as R3 000 a month. A room in Killarney for R500 or R700 is much better, even though they are so small."

The lack of affordable housing in areas closer to Johannesburg's urban centres has been a key concern in post-Apartheid urban literature (Ballard et al., 2021; Butcher, 2020; Dickinson, 2011) and urban advocacy efforts (Namponya & Nkhonjera, 2020). While middle-class and elite former white suburbs – including Killarney, Illovo, and Rosebank – have become more racially mixed, as Ballard et al. (2021) explore, low-cost housing options are still largely restricted to the outskirts of Johannesburg, either through the continued development and densification of townships, or through government housing programmes in peripheral locations. Cosmo City – located in Roodepoort to the northwest of Johannesburg – is an example of this: developed as a public-

private partnership completed in 2013, the suburb was designed to address the housing backlog and promote socio-economic integration through mixed-income housing. However, the history of the development dates back to the Apartheid era, when the same location was originally proposed as a black township (Haferburg, 2013). This legacy illustrates that Apartheid-style edge city development is still pursued by the post-Apartheid government (Beauregard, 1995; Crankshaw, 2008).

This mode of urban development has meant that the relative position of more expensive properties has not changed over time (Ballard et al., 2021). While there have been some attempts to introduce inclusionary housing policies into Johannesburg since 2007 by incentivising private developers to include low-income options in new developments, this framework is rarely used due to uneven implementation and a lack of political will (Klug et al., 2013). Domestic quarters present a loophole from the challenge of affordable housing, as the residents are able to reap the benefits of living in a geographically central location close to work, while being able to save money on accommodation. One of the benefits mentioned for those who had their children living with them in the domestic quarters was being within the feeder area of good government schools. Interviewee nine, a Killarney trustee, describes his perception of this benefit:

> "[The domestic quarter residents] have access to public schools which are a lot better than those in Alexandra and Soweto. There are pros in how much they save, and cons in the living conditions. There is more access to public facilities, schools, shops."

Through this respondent's perspective, the decision is between being well located and saving on rent and transport, but having to live in poor conditions - the reality of which will be explored in section 6.1.2. This perspective was not confirmed by any of the domestic quarter residents interviewed, as none of the respondents had their children living with them. Rather than access to amenities, the geographic benefit of living in the domestic quarters that respondents mentioned was to be close to work. As Interviewee 32, a domestic quarter resident in Illovo says:

> "I like living here. I save lots of money and there is no noise. It is right next to my job."

It must be noted that an anomaly emerged in relation to the narratives on the unaffordability of the study site areas. Multiple respondents in the apartment residents category mentioned three buildings in Killarney which had all been bought by the same individual. Relayed as something akin to Killarney folklore, this individual bought the buildings and began renting out the domestic quarter rooms to anyone, not only domestic quarter residents, and also rented out rooms within apartments at much lower prices. The respondents stated that this individual did not maintain the buildings. Interviewee 21, an apartment owner in Killarney, describes the benefit of this model – that it creates an opportunity for affordable housing in the area:

> "A lot of people who live [in these three buildings] work as security guards, some drive Ubers and taxis in the area. I have spoken to them - they say it's quite nice and affordable. [The individual] rents out apartments and rooms within apartments."

While the buildings present an opportunity for affordable housing, the lack of maintenance has meant that the buildings have deteriorated. As well as this, respondents indicated that there have been increases in crime in the area as a result. Interviewee 25, a trustee in another Killarney building, states:

> "There are two blocks of domestic quarters that are being run like a slum. There are no limits in place in terms of number of people. I don't know if you know the politics. There's an infamous [person] who owns a lot of flats there. He runs them like slums and makes money off them. He always blocks improvements.
>
> In 2018, we had a lot of illegal drinking parties happening [outside one of his buildings]. There were a few issues turning into violence. One of the older ladies from [the building] was harassed. I got involved and we got a camera in. There was some drug stuff, prostitution. Not a great crowd."

While this perspective illustrates that having lower cost housing in an affluent area such as Killarney may cause disruptions, the strong use of words by this, notably white respondent – such as "slums" – is worth analysing. As Hoogendoorn and Giddy (2017) unpack in their work on slum tourism, the use of the term is often used to describe the nature of a space, rather than a distinct region – this is what Diekmann and Hannam (2012) refer to as "slum spaces" in an Indian context.

The use of the word by the respondent may be perceived to be indicative of a either a well-founded concern about urban decay, or a racist disposition to resist the entry of other races and classes into white enclaves, which is characterised in South African post-Apartheid urban literature (Crankshaw, 2008; Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008; Van Der Westhuizen, 2017). This disposition may be contextualised in broader theorisations of segregation in the city, as well as

the historic urban transformations of Johannesburg. As Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi (2002), Newbold (2021), Saldanha (2007) and others explore, segregation in the city can be conceptualised as a dialectic process whereby structural forms – such as property price or in the case of South Africa, Apartheid – lead to certain social groups being distanced from others, which may result in prejudice and misunderstandings. Those prejudices then reinforce segregation by influencing people to live with those similar to them. This may explain why an upper-middle class person would think that having working-class people living alongside them may result in decay, parties, or noise. Furthermore, the deterioration of Hillbrow in Johannesburg, which resulted in many people, including white people, leaving the area as gangs took over and crime rates increased, may also provide a visceral example in the memories of many white South Africans of how different races and classes moving into an area is correlated with urban decay (Crankshaw & White, 1995; Christopher, 2001; Morris, 1999; Parry & van Eeden, 2015).

In this way, well-established residents in predominantly white and upper-middle class areas perpetuate Apartheid spatial tendencies by resisting the encroachment of affordable housing in such areas, although whether or not this resistance is effective is contingent upon the political will and market dynamics at play (Benit, 2002). Such attempts at the preservation of enclaves may be active, such as lobbying against the conversion of buildings into affordable housing options, or implied through spatial practices of monitoring and control, such as putting up cameras (Ballard, 2005). This form of control over urban spaces by the elite is seen throughout South African cities, for example, the removal of homeless people and informal traders from streets (Miraftab, 2007). This speaks to the invisibilisation of black bodies in urban space, as such

bodies are removed from the public domain and the urban imaginary (Fanon, 1963; Mowatt et al., 2013; Salamanca & Silver, 2022). The neoliberalisation of the city also means that such encroachment is unlikely, as valuable land is sold to the highest bidder, and the state works to sustain this system by developing affordable housing on cheaper land on the outskirts of the city, and by having limited regulations of the housing market (Harvey, 2007; Murray, 2008).

These legacies of Apartheid spatial planning illustrate how structures of segregation and power impact the lived realities of domestic workers, especially as they come into contact with present neoliberal realities. While such systems of power and segregation shape decisions about whether to live in domestic quarters, structural legacies also influence the spatial realities of domestic workers in terms of architecture and rules, which will be analysed next.

6.1.2. Apartheid Architecture

As has been explored in chapter 3, the majority of the apartment buildings in this study were built during the era of colonial rule and Apartheid – between the late 1930s and the 1960s, a time characterised by the racist mentalities of the people in power which then materialised in a myriad of legislative, geographic and social forms of discrimination for non-white individuals (Christopher, 1990). As such, there are many structural elements of the building design which illustrate ideologies of separation and subjugation. While some of these segregationist designs were legislated, such as separate roofs, some were markers of the political dynamics and norms of the era (Coetzer, 2016). Architectural elements mentioned by respondents which were not specific to domestic quarters were: separate entrances for domestic staff both to buildings and

to apartments themselves; service bells in apartment rooms which had previously rung up to the kitchen or the domestic quarters – all of which seem to be out of use; and separate lifts for the apartment residents and the domestic staff.

While the mention of separate entrances and lifts is common across most buildings, fewer respondents explicitly mention the service bells. It was found that some buildings have only one lift, while a few in Killarney also had a service lift. In some cases, segregation was implicit as the lifts did not reach the domestic quarters on the top floor. In other cases, segregation was explicit as a rule that domestic workers are not permitted to use the apartment residents' lift. As Interviewee 15, an apartment resident in Killarney, describes in reference to her domestic worker who looks after her child:

> "The old building manager told my domestic worker that she's not allowed to use the resident's lift, she is only allowed to use the service lift. But I'm thinking, 'If she has my daughter with her, why should my daughter be forced into the service lift?' Even so, domestic workers should be allowed to use the residents' lift."

While the phrasing of this respondent's argument focuses on the treatment of her daughter as a resident of the building, it also hints at how domestic workers are treated differently to residents of the apartments, even if they, too, live in the building on the top floor. This theme of unequal treatment is very apparent when it comes to the rules, which will be discussed in section 6.1.3. In buildings where there is no lift that reaches the domestic quarters on the top floor – most

cases – the only way to access the domestic quarters is a staircase and, most commonly, the staircase is a fire-escape style narrow staircase with gaps in between it (Figure 5).

Figure 12: Images of staircases to the domestic quarters

Beyond these architectural features of the building as a whole, the design of the domestic quarters themselves is illustrative of an Apartheid mentality – this is something that respondents across all categories identified and commented on. As structures often built onto the roof of buildings or put in the basements alongside the building parking – as one respondent describes it – the domestic quarters are seen as an "afterthought." Under the Group Areas Act, which was introduced in 1950 and amended throughout Apartheid, separate development was legislated, which meant that black people were excluded from being independent residents in white only

suburbs, were prohibited from owning land and, where black people did live in white suburbs because of labour needs – such as being a live-in domestic worker – separate roofs were needed (Landis, 1961).

There are a number of other features which illustrate that the architects of these buildings did not intend for the domestic quarters to be particularly liveable or dignified. Firstly, the size of the rooms was mentioned by all respondent subcategories as problematic. Notably, the apartment residents were most shocked by this. As Interviewee 19, a trustee in a Killarney building, says:

> "For anyone to live in a room of that size is ridiculous."

By contrast, while a number of the domestic quarter residents interviewed did say that the rooms are small, for most of them, the space was the same size – if not bigger – than what their alternative accommodation would be. There were a number of men living in the domestic quarters of a Killarney building who explained how they had previously been renting shared rooms in Hillbrow and Berea. They indicate that it is comparatively better to be living in the domestic quarters. Interviewee 39 states:

> "In Hillbrow I was staying in a room that was shared. There was only a curtain separating me from the other people. This room [in the domestic quarters] is much safer. I have my own walls and I'm secure because I can close and lock the door. This room is also bigger than my room in Hillbrow was."

Another notable example of this contradiction are the sentiments of Interviewee 29, a domestic worker in Illovo, who has worked for the building for 30 years. She has not been able to secure a room in the domestic quarters, but would like to. Rather, she resides in a shack in Alexandra township – which she describes as follows:

> "It is dirty and there is lots of water running. [Alexandra] hasn't changed at all since the end of Apartheid. I just want a better house."

As well as this, other domestic workers in this same Illovo building describe how their alternative accommodations in Diepsloot, Germiston or Berea are the same size as the rooms in the domestic quarters.

There is a tension between the perceptions of the more privileged apartment residents, and the domestic workers who either live in the quarters, or elsewhere. This is reflective of the line drawn during Apartheid which separates two realities of urban living in South Africa, and will be explored in a discussion on the contradictory white conscience below (6.3).

Another feature of Apartheid architecture present in the domestic quarters are communal kitchens and bathrooms. In many cases, the domestic quarters have communal showers. As Interviewee one, an apartment resident, describes:

> "If you think of things like the basic human dignity of being able to take a private shower – that this wasn't an option until 2013 – that's wild."

In the quote, the respondent is referring to the period before the domestic quarter bathrooms were upgraded in 2013. The images in Figure 13 illustrate what the bathrooms in some of the domestic quarters look like. In the first image, the toilet seat does not have a lid, and is ageing. The second image depicts a communal shower where there are two shower heads with no curtain or divide in between them.

Figure 13: Images of domestic quarters' bathrooms (toilet and communal showers)

In terms of layout, there are a number of spatial signals which define the domestic quarters as a place of work – not only of living – and reaffirm the residents of their position within the building. As Ginsburg (2000) explores, domestic quarters are designed to make domestic workers feel invisible in their place of work. As many respondents describe, the domestic quarters are most

often located right next to the washing lines of the building, tying the physicality of the space to domestic work, and serving as a visual reminder to the residents what their role is. In one of the buildings in Illovo, a respondent also mentioned the domestic quarters are in the basement of the building, located next to the rubbish bins. Again, there are meanings underlying this decision, whether it be architectural or made by the trustees – through a Lefebvrian lens, the representations of space may be that the domestic quarter residents are seen in proximity to garbage – the implication being that they are not seen as valuable (Lefebvre, 1974).

When it comes to the rooms themselves, another factor mentioned widely by respondents was the size and position of the windows in the domestic quarter rooms. This is a signifier both from inside and outside the rooms. There was a pattern of the windows being small, and often at the top of the rooms so that the resident inside would not be able to see outside. While none of the domestic quarter residents explicitly mention the windows, Interviewee 15, a Killarney trustee describes:

> "Typical Apartheid architecture: even though [the rooms] could have the best views, they have those little windows where you get light in, but you can't see out."

This characteristic specifically – the small, high windows which mean that people cannot look in or out – follows the same architectural design as prison windows, and may be a significant contributing factor towards why respondents, both domestic workers living in the quarters and apartment residents, compare the space to a prison. This notion will be expanded on further in a later discussion of domestic quarters as total institutions in section 6.1.5.

Over and above the architectural elements that have been discussed, what was consistent across buildings was the historic – and in some cases, current – lack of attention to maintenance of the domestic quarters. The respondents shared many stories about dilapidation in the spaces, these included broken mirrors in the bathroom, peeling paint, rain leaking into rooms, hazardous exposed pipes and toilets which have been out of order for years. Interviewee 15, a Killarney apartment renter describes:

> "There is a sign [in the domestic quarters bathroom] that says, 'This bathroom will be renovated soon', and it's dated 2018. And [the bathroom] has clearly not been renovated. I don't know if it's a building financial issue, or if it's just that our last caretaker was so racist that he didn't feel the need to give dignity to our sixth floor residents. Or if it was a question of apathy, and there was no one spearheading the process."

The respondent alludes to a number of layers and social power dynamics at play when it comes to the maintenance of domestic quarters, which will be discussed in Section 6.2.

The above findings illustrate that from the design of the apartment buildings as a whole, to the layout, structural features, and upkeep – the domestic quarters have a characteristic Apartheid architecture. This is illustrated by the fact that the quarters have far less liveable conditions than the apartments themselves in terms of design and maintenance. As Ginsburg (2000) describes, the rooms in domestic quarters in apartments are a similar size to domestic quarters in free-standing houses, and the same architectural features are common: small rooms, small windows and rudimentary ablution facilities. This production of space may have an underlying meaning that the domestic quarter residents are not deserving of similar space and design, and that

instead of being residents of the apartments, they are there to work, and need to remain invisible (Foucault, 1975; Lefebvre, 1974). This invisibilisation will be discussed in section 6.1.4.

6.1.3. Rules: Power Structures

Another key legacy of Apartheid which manifests as structural power in the apartment buildings in question is the body corporate rules. As per the Sectional Title Schemes Management Act No. 8 of 2011, the body corporate is entitled to create management rules and conduct rules for the building which are logged with the Community Schemes Ombud Service (CSOS). Interestingly, clause 10(3) of the Act states that "The management or conduct rules contemplated in subsection (2) must be reasonable and apply equally to all owners of units," but does not mention renters, or domestic quarter residents.

As a Doctrinal Legal Research analysis uncovered, it is very common for the body corporate rules of the blocks of flats in Killarney, Rosebank and Illovo sampled to have specific clauses for workers and domestic quarter residents. While the restrictiveness of these rules varies, there are commonalities in terms of the kind of limitations put in place. These can be defined as restrictions on resident's rights, visitors and access control, behaviour, room inspections, and evictions.

It was prevalent among the body corporate rules analysed for there to be regulations about who can live in the domestic quarters, how many people can stay in one room, and who is allowed to stay in one room. In almost all cases, a requirement is that the person residing in a domestic quarter room needs to work for either the body corporate or an owner in the building. Often it

is defined that this should be for more than three days a week, or for the majority of the domestic worker's time. As a clause in the rules of a Killarney building (updated 2018) states:

> "9.2. The following persons are permitted to live on the 6th floor:
> 9.2.1. Body Corporate Staff
> 9.2.2. Domestic workers that work in the building at least 3 days a week or Domestic workers of an Owner of a Unit, even if the Owner does not reside in the building
> 9.2.3. The spouse or family member of a resident of the 6th floor may live in the room provided the rental amount is paid in accordance with these rules
> 9.3. The rooms may not be rented out to any other person under any circumstances"

While this is the case in *de jure* rules analysed, the findings from interviews illustrate that there were instances of people living in the domestic quarters of buildings without working there, even when such rules were in place. Examples of this include Interviewee 26, a woman working in Killarney Mall, and a domestic worker in Killarney who works for other buildings, but not the one she is staying in. While this means that *de facto* not all the rules are followed, both of these women expressed concern about being evicted. As the domestic worker, Interviewee 26, describes:

> "They tried to kick me out because I don't work for the building, but the madam I rent from said if they give me trouble, they must talk to her. So, the caretaker came and asked me – so I told him that. I don't even know if he asked her."

There were also inconsistencies between buildings about how many people were allowed to stay in one room, and who those people were allowed to be. The National Building Regulations (SANS Code 10400 of 1990) outline a standard occupancy limit of two people per bedroom. However,

some South African lawyers interpret this to guide the design of the building, and not to necessarily restrict overcrowding in sectional titles, which is at the discretion of the body corporate (Paddocks, 2016). This ambiguity means that restrictions of occupancy limits and overcrowding may not be standard across buildings – whether it be for apartments or the domestic quarters.

In some sets of rules analysed, as above, domestic quarter residents are entitled to live with one other spouse or family member. However, in other buildings, only one person is allowed per room. In some cases, residents are only allowed a spouse but no children, or they are allowed to have their spouse and a small children stay with them. In the rules analysed, the same level of control is not applied to apartment residents. The differences in the rules laid out speak to the lack of standardisation of the rules, and how body corporate trustees have power to make decisions about the lives of domestic workers.

Overcrowding and perceptions about the issue are informed by race relations in a South African context. As Nkosi et al. (2019) explore in their study of overcrowding in two low-income suburbs in Johannesburg, statistics show that it is mostly black people who live in overcrowded conditions in South African cities. There is a distinct fear by many white people of too many black bodies congregating, which Durrheim and Dixon (2001) explore in relation to beaches. With this in mind, the explicit restrictions around overcrowding in relation to domestic quarters, where apartments have not also been explicitly mentioned, could be interpreted as an extension of this white fear.

As with the rules about who is allowed to live in the quarters, there was mention of rules about spouses and children in domestic quarters being more flexible *de facto*. There were numerous examples of the rules being bent for domestic workers based on their individual circumstances, as well as their relationship with the body corporate trustees. Interviewee 21, an Illovo trustee, describes the circumstances of one of the residents:

> "The building didn't allow two adults to cohabit a room. One individual in the building who was a staff of the body corporate was allowed to bring her daughter - a 6 year old girl - to live with her. This was quite contentious at the time. There were concerns around safety, and that it wasn't done before - it was quite a debate. But the fact that this women's husband had died and she needed to care for the daughter made the trustees allow the daughter to stay."

The fact that domestic workers are afforded certain benefits for obeying rules and being in a good standing with the body corporate is a mechanism through which resistance is subdued, and existing power relations are maintained. This will be explored in section 6.2.2.

Beyond these rules which regulate who can live in the domestic quarters, there are also specifications about who is allowed to visit, how long these visitors can stay, what procedures the visitors must follow when they do visit. In most cases, the domestic quarter resident is required pay a nominal fee for an overnight visitor. The rationale given by trustee respondents for this is that the rooms are charged a flat rate for water and electricity, and this fee is supposed to account for any excess usage. For example, an Illovo building lays out the following in relation to overnight guests:

"13.3. Guests [of employees] who stay over for the night must first obtain permission from the caretaker. Such permission must be requested in writing by the employee's employer on the appropriate form obtained from the caretaker
For a stay longer than two nights, a daily levy of R30 per person, for the use of the Body Corporate facilities, will be charged against the room owner's levy statement.
Guests cannot stay for longer than 7 days."

It is important to note that all of these rules are specifically about visitors of domestic quarter residents, and differ from the rules for apartment residents – whether it be owners or renters. For example, in the same set of rules as stated above, there is a longer section on "Tenants & Guests" to apartment residents which speaks to subletting and a fine for misbehaviour, however there are no stipulations in terms of length of stay of guests, and there are no fees applied.

There are inconsistencies between building rules in terms of who is allowed to visit domestic quarter residents, for how long, and what this nominal fee is. In some cases, no overnight visitors are permitted whatsoever, in other cases, they might be permitted but paid for, and there may be maximum limits on how long these visitors can stay. In one set of rules, the fee is stated as R30 per night, or in other rules is at the discretion of the body corporate. Limits on the maximum duration of stay, where stipulated, range from seven to ten days. A particularly stringent set of Illovo rules, in relation to visitors of domestic quarter residents – or 'servants' as the rules refer to the residents as – states:

"11.2 While an employee, who is employed and/or resides on the premises of [the building] enjoys certain rights and privileges, it is incumbent upon him/her to exercise and enjoy his/her rights and privileges so as not to constitutes nuisance or annoyance to any other person lawfully on the premises…
11.3 Employees lawfully employed and/or residing upon the premises may from time to time receive visitors, but the uncontrolled run up of unauthorized and/or undesired persons to [the building] and the trespass upon the premises by such persons cannot be permitted, and is strictly prohibited.
11.4 Employees may receive visitors only during the following hours:-
SUNDAYS TO SATURDAYS: 14:00 to 22:00
11.5 An employee may not have more than two visitors on the premises at the same time.
11.6 An employee's visitors must at all relevant times be personally entertained and attended to by the employee concerned while such visitor is on the premises
11.7 No employee or visitor of an employee may be on the premises of [the building] while under the influence of intoxicating liquor or any narcotic drug."

The final clause of the above rules points to regulations around behaviour, another emergent type of restriction imposed on domestic quarter residents. In many cases, there were explicit rules about domestic quarter residents not being allowed to consume alcohol, or be intoxicated. While in some buildings, there are blanket noise clauses applied to all residents and employees, in 10 of the rules examined there are specific noise restrictions for domestic quarter residents, over and above what is stipulated for the apartment residents. For example, in a Killarney building, there is the following clause which is directed to all apartment residents:

"7. Silence
A. Silence must be maintained between 22h00 and 07h00.
B. Motor hooters may not be used on the common property.
C. Radios, musical instruments, music systems and TV sets must be used in such manner as not to be heard in adjoining sections or on the common property."

However, as well as these blanket noise regulations, there is also a specific clause about noise in the section for “Domestic Employees”:

> “Residents must ensure that their domestic employees do not cause undue noise on the common property or elsewhere.”

In a 2012 study, social psychologists Talbot and Durrheim identify that stereotypical adjectives which white and Indian people use to describe black people are ‘loud’ and ‘criminal’. The mention of noise in specific relation to domestic quarter residents – who in most cases are black people – fits within the racist imaginary. Furthermore, targeted attempts to silence the domestic quarter residents feeds into their invisibilisation, which will be explored in more detail in the next section.

Another element of the behaviour of domestic workers which is regulated relates to ‘loitering’. A term most commonly used in relation to public space, loitering can be defined as remaining in a particular public place for a prolonged amount of time, without an apparent purpose (Ahmed, 2000; Leipold, 2001; Wafer, 2017). As Leipold (2001) discusses, such laws are often used in vague ways to target certain individuals who are viewed as ‘undesirable’ or ‘nuisances’ in the public imaginary – which is often framed by racist stereotypes such as those which Talbot and Durrheim (2012) investigated in a South African context. An existing literature covers this with regard to homelessness (Fields, 2010; Jackson, 2015; May & Cloke, 2013). There are clauses across seven building rules in this study which prohibit domestic workers from use of common areas of the building, or prohibit them from being in these areas which include the building lobby, garden,

parking lot or other non-exclusive use spaces. As the rules of one Killarney building, which has not changed its rules in any way, outline in the "Staff" section:

> "An owner shall ensure that their staff and friends/visitors do not use the foyer (other than in transit), garden areas and do not loiter on common property areas, for any reason whatsoever. These areas and facilities are for the exclusive use of the owners, who pay for the maintenance of these areas."

In an Illovo building, there is a clause which similarly states:

> "15.4 Loitering – residents shall ensure that their employees, their employee's children and their employee's visitors do not loiter on the Common property and that they do not cause undue noise within their section or on the Common property or elsewhere on the premises."

When interpreting these rules, it is useful to read into the underlying assumptions at play, especially as such rules are directly targeted towards residents of domestic quarters. As has been discussed, the distinction of rules for domestic quarter residents as opposed to other tenants or apartment residents assumes a level of difference – that domestic quarter residents are not regarded as equal to apartment residents. Secondly, there is a paternalistic assumption that domestic workers need rules because they might be unable to be respectful towards other residents without them, and that the behaviour of the domestic quarter residents is the responsibility of their employer. Finally, there is an implication that domestic quarter residents and their visitors occupying the common use areas of the buildings in some way constitutes a nuisance, or that they might have no apparent purpose for using this space, even though it might

be a recreational area where apartment residents spend time with no particular purpose. This is an explicit illustration of systems of segregation and subjugation at play (Foucault, 1975).

The last two types of rules which were found throughout the Doctrinal Legal Research analysis were about room inspections and evictions. In terms of room inspections, there were numerous clauses which granted trustees authority to inspect the rooms of domestic quarter residents without any prior notice. For example, in an Illovo building, the rule around room inspections reads as:

> "12. The trustees are authorized to inspect the Domestic Quarters and the individual maids' rooms from time to time as they feel necessary. The inspection of the maids' rooms must always be carried out by no less than two persons together, at least one of whom must be a trustee."

The phrasing of this clause leaves the necessity of room inspections up to the body corporate trustees, again providing them with power to regulate and monitor domestic quarter residents, whereas there are not explicit inspection clauses about other apartment residents. While landlords are entitled to inspect their properties, trustees are not usually given this power.

In some of the building rules, the eviction powers are given to the body corporate. As Interviewee 23, a subject matter interviewed, explains, when it comes to matters such as eviction, there is a conflict of rights, as the rights of domestic workers as tenants is complexly tied to their employment. This is explored more in Chapter 6 which looks at the precarity of domestic work. As the subject matter expert lays out:

> "In Killarney, [domestic workers] rent those spaces which complicates things because on top of an employer-employee relationship, there's a tenant-landlord relationship. You do get unlawful eviction - maybe it is a violation of labour law (dismissal without notice) - that contravenes labour laws that say you need to give a month's notice. In terms of accommodation, you need to give them a month's notice or depending on what's longer, depending on your job contact, they have the right to stay in the property until the contract ends. [This legislation is] broken all the time."

While this might be what the law states, many body corporate rules outline their own terms for eviction, which provide shorter notice periods and also give the body corporate to evict residents as they 'see fit'. For example, in an Illovo building, there is a clause that states:

> "Any owner or occupant whose domestic staff fail to abide by the Conduct Rules shall be required to remove such domestic staff from the property if so instructed by the Trustees."

In essence, what a clause like this means is that the housing rights of the domestic quarter resident are invalidated if they do not follow the rules. This provides an incentive for domestic quarter residents to maintain the *status quo*, regardless of how restrictive the rules may be, as to not risk being evicted. Furthermore, evictions at the discretion of the body corporate are not unheard of. As Interviewee 13, a Killarney respondent, describes, in her building there was an incident of mass evictions in 2013:

> "When I moved in there was a guy living here who had a whole business plan to make the building lucrative. In December of 2013 there were mass evictions of all of the residents living on the seventh floor. The board of trustees at the time tried to pass it as a human rights issue (it's unsanitary and unsafe), but also didn't really propose any solution for where those people would go live. At the time, everyone on the seventh floor was forced to leave. Then there was a big fight: we have three doormen who rotate on a shift basis, and a night security guard. The doormen have been here forever and have lived on the seventh floor so that became the real stickler issue. One of them has a wife and two children, and the guy who was leading the charge particularly wanted him and his family out - said the rooms weren't fit for a family of four. But [he] wasn't proposing a solution for where they should live. So, what happens now is the rooms on the seventh floor are occupied by the doormen, and I think one or two of the domestic workers in the building. But far less populated than it used to be."

This illustrates the precarity of domestic quarter residents, and how clauses which give the body corporates discretion to evict residents can result in *de facto* outcomes. As Woolman and Bishop (2007) explore in relation to both domestic workers and farm workers, illegal evictions is one of the key threats facing live-in workers, and it is cited as one of the more difficult rights violations to prevent. Their analysis looks at how workers who live at their workplace are often subject to servitude, which also means the workers might not have the social power to challenge unfair treatment. Devereux (2011) also unpacks the eviction of farm workers, and how employers regularly illegally evict their workers. In the case of farm workers, it is detailed that mobilisation and the emergence of trade unions worked to address this (Devereux, 2011). However, as explored in in chapter 7, the findings of this study show that domestic workers are less inclined to take such collective action, and may not have the will or resources to challenge illegal evictions.

With these rules now all laid out, there is sufficient context to understand another key finding of the interviews – that by many domestic quarter residents and apartment residents alike, the rules are viewed as restrictive and unequal. Interviewee 37, a Killarney domestic quarter resident, describes:

> "[The rules are] so bad. We are not allowed any visitors, so people can't come stay with us. But the white and Indian people who live in the apartments can have visitors whenever they want. It's Apartheid. It is very unequal and not fair."

Interviewee 26, another domestic quarter resident, echoes this sentiment:

> "[Living in the domestic quarters] is like a prison. They don't let us have visitors to stay over, and they are very strict with the rules."

Apartment residents and a selection of trustees, too, identified this as inequality. Interviewee 12, an Illovo trustee alludes to the likeness to Apartheid separation:

> "In terms of the conduct rules for the building - this is one of the things I'm trying to get changed - there is a requirement that you can only have one person in each room, no children, and only a partner with express permission from the trustees. These are high Apartheid rules - the children can only come for visits; staff have to get permission. It is draconian stuff."

Even though domestic quarter residents live in the rooms, and have some tenancy arrangement with their employers or the body corporate – although not always documented or thought of

such – the residents of the quarters are treated differently to apartment owners and tenants. It is often assumed that accommodation is considered part of the labour contract, although in many instances this is not formalised. Many of the rules are similar to what Ginsburg (1999) describes as 'house rules' that existed between domestic workers and their employers during Apartheid. While the identification of this discrepancy has resulted in efforts to change the rules – notably in three Killarney buildings and one Illovo building, there are still circumstances where the rules are seen as justified or necessary. Furthermore, in some cases buildings are making their rules more restrictive. An anecdote from Interviewee nine, a trustee of another Killarney building illustrates this:

> "We have had to put in certain rules for the domestics and people living on top as we have had some issues in the past where people were randomly bringing their friends to stay over. We put in some rules there that you can't just bring in a new girl every night. We had one of the staff whose girlfriend was living there and he was then bringing a new girl every three days, and then she stabbed him because she was jealous - they have a kid together. There have been a lot of issues. It is not black and white, so I've had a tough time figuring it out. I've had to put some rules down because of alcoholism, gender-based violence. I am working with the CCMA to get rid of some of the staff. One of the guys had an alcohol problem and tried to molest a girl on the top floor so we have dismissed him. If you don't put rules and mechanisms in place - for visitors' hours and that kind of thing - this can just go berserk."

This perspective illustrates that the nature of close living in domestic quarters requires some level of regulation as issues may arise from people living in close proximity. However, it is not clear exactly why these boundaries or regulations differ to those imposed on residents of the apartments, and why the body corporate may have an increased responsibility – and thereby a greater mandate to get involved – for the safety of domestic quarter residents specifically.

Overall, there are common threads that have been identified across the body corporate rules – in many cases, there are specific rules for domestic quarter residents, and in these cases, they are faced with more restrictions than apartment residents. The ways in which the board of trustees is able to institute these rules, and use their discretion to enforce them, speaks to the structural power that they hold (Foucault, 1975; Scott, 1990). What was also evident is that in some cases, these structural forms of power do not necessarily translate to *de facto* implementation, based on a complex combination of relationships and the mind-sets of the individuals on the board of trustees. While these invisible forms of power will be analysed in more detail, what this section has illustrated are the *de jure* forms of structure power embodied by body corporate rules, and how these mirror Apartheid-era typologies of structural power.

6.1.4. Invisibility

Throughout all the (post-)Apartheid structures in place in the city, the architecture of apartment buildings, and the rules which domestic quarter residents are required to follow, there is a sense that the systems of power are designed to hide domestic workers and almost make them disappear.

"Invisible work" as coined by Daniels (1987: 403) was initially used to describe women's unpaid labour – particularly household work. However, the term has been used by scholars in reference to domestic workers – especially in the racist, patriarchal Apartheid context of South Africa (Ally, 2011; Cock, 2011; Ginsburg, 1999; Jinnah, 2020). As Cock (2011) describes, this is because

domestic work is trivialised, and done in the private sphere. Whether it be on the urban peripheries, or through the architecture of the apartment buildings, there are many representations of space which erase black people from urban space and urban residencies. The rules, as has been analysed, also imply that domestic workers are not to be seen (loitering) or heard (making undue noise). Invisibilisation can be thought of as the process through which people are made invisible – it is an active process, and is the result of structures and actions (Herzog, 2018). Invisibilisation in this instance may, in part, be instigated to appease the white discomfort with a continued labour relation which is similar to historic slave relations (Ally, 2011).

Insights from respondents also illustrate that these structural forms of invisibilisation – through urban planning, architecture, and rules –prove to be effective in invisibilising domestic quarter residents. While trustees and domestic quarter residents themselves were mostly aware of the circumstances of the domestic quarters, a large number of apartment renters and even some owners were oblivious to the issue, calling it the "invisible top floor". Others had not given the set-up much thought before. Interviewee 10, an apartment renter in Illovo reflected:

> "Actually, I've never thought about this before. It speaks to the rhetoric we are operating in in South Africa. I was continuing my life [as a white South African] and didn't think about it. There is a huge gap there and it is wrong."

The consistent lack of attention or thought paid to the living conditions of domestic workers which results in the invisibility of the problem may be driven by pure ignorance, which is achieved by the structures being effective, but also may be the result of the privileged respondents pushing

or repressing the issue out of their conscience so that it is not something they have to deal with or process, because it is too difficult (Pearson, 2007). This is a common coping mechanism for living with high levels of inequality, and may also be seen in the example of people ignoring the homeless (Gerrard & Farrugia, 2015). While the invisibility of domestic quarter residents may be institutionalised by *de jure* structures, the continuation of the invisibilisation process may also be the result of privileged people adopting an "out of sight, out of mind" approach to the problem (Chakraborti et al., 2004: 34).

Structural elements remove domestic workers – and black people more broadly – from the shared imaginary of the city, either through restrictions in public spaces and making noise, or positioning their residences on the outskirts of the city, or in hidden spaces of apartment buildings – such as the roof or the basement. Adopting the Lefebvrian lens, the physical erasure of domestic quarter residents from the seen apartment spaces takes power from them, as the socio-spatial dialectic would indicate: limited physical presence is mutually reinforcing with limited power (Lefebvre, 1974; Soja, 1980). As such, the invisibilisation of domestic quarter residents is not only a restriction on physical space, but also is an assertion of social power.

6.1.5. Domestic Quarters as Total Institutions

A number of the respondents equated the domestic quarters to prisons. As Interviewee 26, a domestic quarter resident in Killarney puts it:

> "It is like a prison, I don't want to live there. They are very strict with the rules. The conditions are bad. They don't treat us well."

As has been explored above, there are physical architectural features which may be likened to a prison – small rooms, high windows, steel doors, shared bathrooms, and communal showers. However, as Foucault explores in *Discipline and Punish* (1975), it is not only the physicality of these spaces which enforces social power over the subjects, but also the power relations at play. This is where the rules also play an critical role repressing domestic quarter residents. Similar to Foucault's (1975) concept of a disciplinary institution, a total institution, as conceptualised by Erving Goffman (1961: xiii), is "a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life." As Crush (1994) explores in the context of South African mining compounds which also constitute individuals living at their workplace, there are a number of spatial images which underlie the power relations of the space, and this is enforced through systems of control and surveillance. While such similarities exist in domestic quarters, extremities may differ as domestic quarters in apartment buildings are within cities, and do not suffer from the remoteness to which Crush (1994) refers.

Domestic quarters are by no means equivalent to prisons, however it is the respondents throughout this study which draw the comparison based on the freedoms which are taken away from respondents. Unlike prisons, domestic quarter residents are not entirely cut off from wider society – they have mobile phones, televisions, and are allowed out of the quarters (with exceptional cases during the first COVID-19 lockdown, where some buildings restricted the movements of domestic quarter residents). Some of the engagements of domestic quarter residents are indeed limited by the body corporate, such as the visitation restrictions mentioned in section 6.1.3. It is important to note that while Goffman (1961), whose work was primarily based on asylums, viewed total institutions as homogenous, the application of the conceptual framework is useful for understanding other similar institutional configurations which have a number of distinctions (Davies, 1989). This may limit the ways in which the concept of total institutions is applied to domestic quarters, as the quarters are seen as a residence which is connected to work, as opposed to a place where people reside out of force (although, in some instances, respondents indicated that they did not believe domestic quarter residents had a choice if their employer dictated that they stay there). Despite these distinctions from the stringent total institutions conceptualised by Goffman (1961), the comparison illustrates how the conditions and restrictions found in domestic quarters infringe on the freedoms of their residents, in ways much more severe than other residents in apartment buildings.

Furthermore, the comparison also distinguishes the domestic quarters from any place that may be thought of as home. As the earlier analysis of geographies of the home – including the works of Blunt (2005) – illustrated, defining one's home is an exercise in place-making. Being 'at home'

means being comfortable, free, and able to be oneself (Blunt & Varley, 2004). Domestic quarter residents do still make the rooms into a place of their own, even if they do not consider it to be home – this is done through putting up art and having toys in place, illustrating a level of belonging and place-making (Figure 14).

While some of the domestic quarter residents did attempt to make their rooms comfortable and inviting, none of them referred to the room as their home. It is a common phenomenon for working-class residents to have multiple geographic attachments to cities, based on their precarity (Chapter 7). As literature on migrant labour in a South African context illustrates, it is common for residents to have multiple homes, including a homestead in another province, and a more temporary residence in the city – often in townships, or in shared apartments and rooms in suburbs such as Hillbrow and Berea (Bank et al., 2020; Cox et al., 2004; Ngwane, 2003). What is perhaps different in the case of domestic quarters, however, is the proximity that domestic workers have to their employer, and in this sense the levels of control and surveillance are higher.

Figure 14: The room of a domestic quarter resident in Killarney

6.2. *De Facto* Power Relations

While the section 6.1 examines the structural subjugation at play in domestic quarters, a poststructural lens is useful to understand the forms of social control and the political subjectivities at play. The findings presented thus far have already indicated that while there are

de jure forms of power in place such as urban Apartheid, architecture and rules, an additional element of social power is also at play. Social or *de facto* power may be produced by structural power, but is also abetted by race/class/gender hegemonies (Gramsci, 1971). The additional layer of social power not only means that there are unseen ways in which domestic quarter residents are subjugated, but also that the enforcement and flexibility of rules is dependent on existing social relations.

6.2.1. The Unspoken Rules: Social Power

While apartment residents and trustees in the apartment buildings studied were not all white, white people did constitute a majority of people in positions of authority, as did Indian people. Based on the racial hierarchies in place during Apartheid, and the racial contract in South Africa, while white people are at the top of the racial hierarchy, there is also a tension between black people and Indian people, a legacy of Apartheid policies which afforded Indian people better treatment (Durrheim & Dixon, 2010). While the discourse around white privilege, white fragility and the white conscience focuses on white people, similar elements of racial supremacy may manifest where hierarchies between other races exist, such as in the South African context. Interview responses mentioned Indian people as well as white people in the narrative around social power, which is relevant given an apparent increase in the number of Indian people owning property in Killarney and Illovo, as Interviewee 19, a long-standing Killarney resident who sits on three boards of trustees mentions:

> "What is happening a lot in Killarney is the Asian folks, particularly the Muslims, are moving into Killarney. There are two reasons I'm aware of for that. The one is a fabulous mosque on the M1, I believe it's one of the greatest mosques in South Africa. The second point is the traditional areas are running down rapidly: Fordsburg and Mayfair - those areas are being run down and a large number of the Indian people living [in Killarney] now come from Mayfair."

The racial tension between Indian trustees or apartment owners and domestic quarter residents – and other black people in the apartment buildings – can be illustrated through the following quote from Interviewee 36, a black woman living in a Killarney apartment:

> "The majority of the building is Indian people, and I honestly don't think that they treat their staff well. The domestic workers are always complaining about this to me. As a black woman, I feel uncomfortable living with so many Indian people. They are worse than white people in terms of racism. One guy tried hitting on me, and he first assumed that I was a cleaner."

While this perspective is embedded with the respondent's own biases and beliefs, it alludes to theoretical views of how racial hierarchies unfold based on race-based separation enforced by Apartheid which places Indian people above black people in terms of race-based social position (Seekings & Nattrass, 2005). Racism towards black people – and domestic quarter residents specifically – was most explicit in two scenarios. Firstly, in terms of the use of common property in apartment buildings, such as the gardens and pools, and secondly in terms of the response to COVID-19.

As has been discussed in relation to the rules, there was already a limitation on domestic quarter residents' use of common spaces through the loitering clauses. While this provides one layer of structural power, engaging with respondents illustrated that social power was also at play when it came to common spaces. In a number of buildings, even when loitering clauses were not present, there was a tendency for domestic quarter residents not to use the garden, even where apartment residents did so regularly. Interestingly, in a Killarney building, Interviewee 15, an apartment renter, describes that there is a previously homeless white woman living in a domestic quarter room (at the discretion of the chairman of the body corporate), and she would frequently use the garden while the black domestic quarter residents did not:

> "Our head of the body corporate has taken pity on a white woman who became homeless and he's let her stay on the sixth floor in his unit. We call her the crazy cat lady. She uses the garden recreationally, but she's white. So, if a domestic worker were to go and lie in the sun and read a book there would be a problem, but because she is still white she can go and use the garden."

This illustrates that race changes the way in which people relate to those living in the domestic accommodation – there are certain things black domestic quarter residents cannot do, but white domestic quarter residents can do. It might be understood that in this case, the white woman's race allows her to transcend her class position. This negotiation of social identities also plays out in white informal settlements where the poverty of white people is seen as exceptional by other white people, whereas the poverty of black people is seen as normal (Kruger, 2016).

In a Rosebank building, there was a more overtly racist scenario where one of the black building staff members was using the swimming pool on Christmas day, and was told to stop. As Interviewee 22, an apartment owner in the building, describes:

> "One of the staff members on Christmas had his kids and his wife at the pool area and it caused a stink amongst some residents. It becomes one of those emblematic things of "Are staff allowed to use the pool?" *De jure* everyone is entitled to common area, but *de facto* you wouldn't say that is the case. There was outrage among some people - it became a tussle. I shudder to think [about how it was handled]. I think badly. I think he was told he shouldn't be there, and only after it was determined that he can be there - but your party is kind of ruined by the time that's happened. I think he has moved subsequently."

This incident illustrates that even where there are not *de jure* rules in place about domestic quarter residents and staff in common areas, a social power is at play whereby apartment residents and trustees – who are mostly white – are able to exclude black people from spaces, for no particular reason other than they might compromise the enclaves of affluent Rosebank/Illovo/Killarney buildings (Van Der Westhuizen, 2017). It can be inferred that if this person was a white resident, they would have been permitted to swim. Furthermore, the disapproval that the respondent expresses about the way this was handled distances them from the more racist trustees and apartment residents, meaning that they might, in this instance, identify as a Progressive archetype.

Another noteworthy way in which racist social power was used to oppress domestic quarter residents was in relation to the response to COVID-19 in apartment buildings. When the pandemic hit South Africa in March 2020, there was a stringent lockdown imposed, and the

government issued guidance to wear face coverings and maintain regular handwashing/ santisation (Damons, 2020). During this time, respondents indicate that domestic quarter residents were the targets of COVID-19 'education' and more severe restrictions. In one Killarney building, Interviewee 21 describes how handwashing posters were put up only on the doors of the domestic quarter rooms:

> "The trustees had placed posters only on the doors on the residents of the sixth floor to wash their hands with strange guidelines - like two people shouldn't use the toilets at once, which is impossible based on the physics of how people could get in - and a couple of things like that. The question was brought up of why these posters weren't put on every single person's door. There were feelings of discomfort when people were called out on racist behaviour, but it was a big sticking point moving forward that the posters had to be taken down."

In other buildings, it was common practice for the movements of domestic quarter residents to be monitored, and they would get into trouble for being at the shops for too long. Interviewee 38, a domestic quarter resident in a Killarney building, describes:

> "During COVID, we were not allowed any visitors. Even up until level 3 [of the lockdown]. People were also not allowed to go out. We could only go to Killarney Mall. They would monitor our movements – when we leave and when we come back. If we were gone for too long, we would get in trouble. We needed to report everything of where we go to security. Everyone also needed to be back inside by 6pm."

These levels of restrictions exceeded the government guidelines, and were not applied to apartment residents – again indicating a level of inequality, fuelled by the assumption that the domestic quarter residents would be the ones to "bring COVID into the buildings", as one

apartment renter put it. This racialisation of disease is not unique to COVID-19, as there is a long history of stigmatising black people who carry diseases – especially HIV and tuberculosis – as scholars explore (Chari, 2010; Moll, 2021; Skinner & Mfecane, 2004). As Swanson (1977) explores in his definition of Sanitation Syndrome with respect to the Bubonic Plague, infectious diseases have been used as a societal metaphor that entrenches segregationist systems and urban Apartheid. In a present context, McFarlane (2021) discusses how, with respect to urban population density, COVID-19 has been subject to the same preconceptions about black people and overcrowding. While the architecture and rules of domestic quarters may be outdated, the actions of the trustees to restrict the rights of domestic workers shows active forms of oppression through social power which is relevant to current race and power dynamics.

There was a key incident in an Illovo building at the start of the lockdown which was driven by these racist power dynamics. It first emerged in the research from Interviewee 11, who previously rented in Illovo but now rents in Rosebank, mentioning a video that had gone viral on Twitter (Cilliers, 2020):

> "I don't know if you saw that video during the lockdown of one of the apartments in Illovo. [The trustees] taught the domestic workers how to wash their hands while singing *Shosholoza*. It was shocking! I'll share that."

As the respondent mentions, the video shows a white woman lining up the black domestic quarter residents on the lawns of an Illovo building, and proceeding to 'teach' the workers to wash their hands while encouraging them to sing Shosholoza. The below image is a freeze frame taken from the video.

Figure 15: Freeze frame of a Viral Twitter Video on the Handwashing Incident in Illovo (Cilliers, 2020)

Coincidentally, a later respondent, Interviewee 12, happened to be a resident in this particular building at the time and witnessed the incident, which occurred on the night before South Africa's hard lockdown began. As they describe:

> "We looked outside [our window] and there was this big group of all black workers arranged in a circle. I thought it was weird, [so I] went down to the garden to have a look. It turned out the trustees at the time thought it was an appropriate time to have a COVID handwashing workshop for the residents of the fifth floor exclusively, while other residents were invited to watch from their balconies. They had the black workers arranged with markers on the garden pointing out where they should stand. These are people in their 50s/60s and are live-in workers and cleaners. The idea that there needs to be a separate workshop on handwashing - for the people responsible for cleaning and caring everyday - was quite shocking."

The shock expressed by the respondent is also a mechanism to self-identify as different to the trustees hosting the workshop, and to define themselves as someone who is anti-racist, perhaps also aligned to the Progressive archetype.

As an article in *The Citizen* states, the woman directing the handwashing started off by calling the black female staff "girls" before correcting herself and saying, "gentlemen and ladies" (Cilliers, 2020). This accidental infantilisation illustrates the potentially patronising views that the white trustees hold, and how this manifests in racist social power (Mangcu, 2003). The fact that the trustees had the power to assemble all of the domestic quarters residents on the lawn, in this manner, speaks to the power imbalance at play.

Following this incident, a collection of younger residents in the building challenged the actions of the trustees, and through this process became aware of the conditions of the fifth floor, the restrictions that workers were facing, and the racist dynamics unfolding in the building. While this was initially met with resistance by the trustees, it has resulted in some rule changes – which will be discussed in chapter 8. What is so key about this incident is that as overtly racist as it was, it made visible the presence, oppression and struggles of domestic quarter residents, which then made the apartment residents invested in improving conditions.

These incidents that involve the oppression of domestic quarter residents – often, as detailed by respondents, are from white or Indian trustees towards black domestic quarter residents – illustrate how race is a determinant of social power in the apartment buildings in question. As scholars of critical whiteness purport, whiteness is "social norm and has become chained to an index of unspoken privileges" (Nayak, 2007: 729). As such, through a Foucauldian lens of power, white supremacy is one of the social hierarchies in which power is embedded (Crampton & Elden, 2007). The oppression, erasure, and patronisation of domestic quarter residents, be it with respect to the use of common spaces or in how COVID-19 regulations are enforced is aligned to this theorisation, and illustrates the *de facto*, unspoken rules in place for domestic quarter residents.

6.2.2. Bending the Rules: Social Relations

While the analysis of the apartment building rules provided an overview of the *de facto* power formations, the enforcement of these rules varies based on the context, the people in positions

of power, as well as their beliefs. While one determinant of this enforcement is social power in its racist and classist forms as unspoken rules, another element identified throughout the research was that of social relations. There were a number of instances where respondents mentioned rules being bent based on the relationship of the person in power (either the trustees or the building manager) with the domestic quarter resident. This was seen in an earlier example of a domestic worker being allowed to have her child come stay because her husband had died, even though this is against the rules. In another Illovo building, the caretaker interviewed mentions that it is known that one of the domestic quarter residents has a drinking problem, even though in this particular building the consumption of alcohol is prohibited. When asked about why the caretaker (Interviewee 31) had not taken any action to enforce the rules, he responded with:

> "Yes, [no drinking is allowed], except for [this domestic quarter resident]. He's my boy. There's nothing we can do. He needs to go to rehab. But he doesn't make a noise luckily. He has got a disease, but he's been here for over 25 or 30 years."

The use of the diminutive "my boy" is in a similar vein to the use of "girls" by the white trustee in the viral video – and feeds into a paternalistic conceptualisation of labour in the home, something often seen in relation to domestic work (Ally, 2011). This echoes Mbembe's (2001) notion of affection from colonisers to the colonised, but how this is based on very skewed power relations. The response also indicates that the extent to which rules are enforced for domestic quarter residents may be related to their standing in the building – those who have lived in the quarters for longer, who may be well-liked by the powers that be – are able to 'get away' with

contravening certain rules. It also indicates that the respondents who do not strictly enforce the rules may on some level know that this would be unfair or unjust. Interviewee 25, an owner in a Killarney building reaffirms this relationality, stating:

> "My domestic worker has been here for so long so you can bend the rules, but that's if you don't self-advocate. You don't have any bargaining power."

What these social relations mean, then, is that certain allowances are given to domestic quarter residents based on how long they have lived in the domestic quarters. Given the fact that body corporate trustees grant themselves the power to evict residents who do not comply with rules, this means that long-standing residents tend to be ones who obey the rules and do not cause disruptions to the *status quo*. This may play a role in why there is not more mobilisation for change on the part of the domestic quarter residents –explored in more detail in section 8.

Overall, this analysis of both social power and social relations indicates that while rules provide a *de jure* form of structural power, how these structures are enforced and negotiated is more complex. The *de facto* oppression and restriction in the apartment buildings and domestic quarters are dependent on social power – which stems from and is reinforced by race, class, and gender hegemonies – are unspoken rules, and manifest as racial targeting and exclusion. The swimming pool incident and COVID-19 responses are examples of this. Furthermore, social relationality also affects how rules are enforced. Where domestic quarter residents obey rules, and develop a good standing with the people in power, they might be afforded certain

allowances, and the rules may be bent. This has a role to play in whether or not the domestic quarter residents advocate for change.

6.3. The Contradictory White Conscience vs Lived Realities

6.3.1. A 'Moral' Imperative

One of the most consistent findings among the (predominantly white) apartment resident cohort which includes renters and owners was the consensus that the conditions in the domestic quarters are bad. Many of the respondents referred to the architecture in terms of the small size of the rooms and the lack of maintenance and health and safety in quarters. As Interviewee three, a renter in Illovo, says:

> "If you had to take the residential units in the building as a comparison, I think the first word that comes to mind [to describe the domestic quarters] is substandard – definitely smaller. There's not as much as of an emphasis on maintenance on that part of the building as there is with the rest of the units. The building has recently gone through some water infrastructure upgrades, and as far as I understand, those units were the last that were catered for – the units on top. So yes – small, and very rudimental – not exactly catered for in the sense of... I'm trying to find the right words… Optimal living conditions."

As a result of the small space and lack of maintenance, at least nine apartment residents interviewed concluded that they would not like to have their domestic worker living in the quarters. There were two main reasons given for this. Firstly, the apartment residents mentioned that having their domestic worker "too close" would make them feel uncomfortable, and blur

boundaries between them and their domestic workers. As Interviewee 16, an Illovo owner, mentions:

> "The reason I didn't want someone living in the building and working for me [is because] it's just too close. I would just feel too guilty if I have to see someone all of the time. The lines then become very blurred. A few of my friends with kids have nannies who live-in and they are just never on a break. I don't like that."

This response illustrates that the apartment owner does not consider the working conditions of domestic workers, such as the nannies of her friends to be acceptable. However, her primary rationale has to do with her own guilt. Again, this speaks to the conceptualisation of domestic work as distinct to other forms of labour relations: the treatment of the domestic workers in question are made to be at the discretion of the employers, as opposed to enforced by minimum legal working conditions (Ginsburg, 1999). This white guilt about employing a domestic worker is a common thread in the labour dynamics of post-Apartheid South Africa, as multiple studies which interview white employers identify guilt in how employers discuss domestic work (Bosch & McLeod, 2015; Du Plessis, 2011; Phyfer et al., 2020; Shefer, 2019).

The second reason that apartment residents give for not wanting to have a live-in domestic worker is that the living conditions in the domestic quarters are so rudimentary, it would make the apartment residents feel guilty to know that someone they employ is living like that. As Interviewee two, an Indian renter in Illovo, states:

> "I don't feel comfortable with someone living there, even if she comes in six days a week because I don't think anything there would be private other than when they go to bed."

Echoing similar sentiments, Interviewee 10, a white renter in Illovo, says,

> "I can't see that anyone [would enjoy living there]. I don't why what the situation is, whether it was cheap enough, but I can't see it being an awesome environment to live in."

Respondents also framed this aversion to having a domestic worker living in the quarters as an indication of their moral conscience. Interviewee 19, a long-standing resident and trustee in Killarney, says:

> "It's a disgrace that $8m^2$ and $9m^2$ are allowed. There's an elderly lady who comes to me once a week [who lives in the quarters] and I don't know how she copes. For me, [to have] anyone living in a room that size is ridiculous. That's one of the reasons I don't encourage residents living in those rooms. I feel it's wrong – maybe I'm too moral."

These statements illustrate that the apartment residents believe it to be a moral question as to whether or not someone lives in the domestic quarters, and tend to conclude that because the space is too small, it is not 'right' to have someone living there. By expressing their 'shock' or 'concern' for domestic quarter residents, the respondents are distancing themselves from the other white and/or privileged people who may think otherwise or treat their domestic workers differently. Through creating a distance, the respondents are performing their goodness. As both

Dalmage (2000) and Bailey (2011) explore, the respondents are constructing their white identity around a concept of moral goodness. This is referred to as virtue signalling in contemporary discourse (Stollznow, 2020). Although the sincerity of concern may be genuine or disingenuous – it is difficult to tell – the attempts to create space between themselves and the 'racist' counterparts who mistreat their domestic workers may also be read as an inadvertent denial of their own racism (Frankenburg, 1993). The ways in which respondents create distance between themselves and the discriminatory elements of the domestic quarters also functions as a mechanism through which they can mediate and manage their responsibility for the conditions. Despite these attempts and good intentions, it is important to note that the domestic quarter residents had a different perspective which contradicts this seemingly simple moral question.

Firstly, of the domestic quarter residents and non-resident domestic workers interviewed, while some did complain about the size of the room, this was not their chief concern. Every domestic worker interviewed rather emphasised their financial precarity, and how important saving money is – this seemed more important to them than the size of their room. As Interviewee 28, a domestic worker living in an Illovo building, says:

> "Yes, I do [enjoy living in the domestic quarters]. It's the transport that is much cheaper. I need the money. My children are going to school, and I need to buy clothes for them. I buy mealie meal, food, water, all of it. And things are so expensive."

This particular respondent did not even mention the size of the room throughout the interview. What this illustrates is that people in more privileged positions (i.e., the apartment residents)

make certain assumptions about what is important to the domestic quarter residents, and do not have a robust understanding of what their priorities might be. Furthermore, the apartment residents portray this as moral justification for not having domestic workers live in their allocated rooms in the domestic quarters. In more extreme cases, this argument has been used by trustees to deny residence to domestic workers who want to live in this space, and has been used to justify future plans to demolish these units, and convert the spaces into more expensive penthouses for sale. While apartment residents may have well-meaning intentions in their framing of this issue, many of them have not directly consulted domestic workers about what would be best for them, and are missing a piece of the puzzle – the financial pressure that domestic workers are faced with – which complicates the 'moral' argument presented.

Another contradiction of the perspectives of apartment residents was that in many cases, the alternative accommodations to the domestic quarters are often on the same level or worse in terms of living conditions. When constructing their arguments, the apartment residents who see the domestic quarters as unfit did not mention what alternative options might exist for the domestic quarter residents. Responses from domestic workers and domestic quarter residents which have been discussed illustrate that in many cases, domestic quarters are preferable to the alternatives. Examples of this include the Killarney groundstaff men who used to live in shared rooms in Berea and Hillbrow who now have their own rooms, as well as the Illovo domestic worker who lives in Alexandra and would prefer to live in the domestic quarters.

These perspectives illustrate that considering the alternatives, the domestic quarters are, in fact, a desirable place to live. This contradicts the perspectives of the apartment residents who would not want domestic workers to live in the quarters, and speaks to a level of ignorance about what alternative housing options there are for domestic workers. This relates to the invisibility of domestic workers, and the townships where they might reside (Cock, 2011). As discussed, the legacy of Apartheid spatial planning means that there are limited affordable housing options available and, more often than not, domestic workers need to travel far distances and pay high transport costs as a result. As townships are outside the white imaginary of the city, a level of ignorance is maintained in terms of what might be 'best' for domestic workers (Murray, 2008; Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008; Parnell, 2002). This ignorance furthermore has material consequences for domestic quarter residents, as there are increasing trends towards removing them from the rooms, either because of the aforementioned 'white conscience' or because of capitalist incentives to profit from the spaces, as mentioned by a Killarney trustee, and in line with the views of the Efficient Capitalist archetype. This illustrates that when it comes to perceptions around whether the domestic quarters are habitable, and what should be done with them, the white conscience is contradicted by the lived realities of domestic quarter residents.

6.3.2. Rich Lives in "Locations in the Sky"

The conceptualisation of the living conditions by the aforementioned apartment residents also – for the most part – lacked an understanding of dynamic and multi-faceted lives that domestic quarter residents have. As Khunou (2017) shows, there are ways that domestic workers resist the oppression they face by their everyday actions, through what Scott (1990) refers to as 'creative'

forms of everyday resistance, which is extensively in literatures on power and resistance (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2016; Wade, 1997). While Khunou's (2017) work looks into how domestic workers use gossip as a form of resistance, it is true that through everyday life, domestic quarter residents claim space in their own ways (Lefebvre, 1991).

Through the interviews, many stories containing the intricacies about the happenings of everyday life in the domestic quarters emerged which add a dimension to understanding the space, and how its complexities may or may not be reflected in the imaginaries of those with the power to make decisions about the space (i.e., body corporate trustees and building managers). As Interviewee 15, a Killarney apartment renter, says:

> "It really is a whole community with very rich lives living above us. I think a lot of people who are in the middle- and upper-class think we have such rich lives - I mean full - going to see friends, having experiences. But the sixth floor residents have rich lives in different ways."

Indeed, there were many anecdotes shared throughout the research which illustrated this, ranging from domestic quarter residents falling in love and getting engaged; to interesting characters such as the previously homeless white woman that was allowed to stay in the body corporate chair's room, who became known as the cat lady as she housed many cats and did pet-sitting in the apartment building; loan sharks (referred to as *mashonisas*) taking advantage of people; lover's feuds which resulted in stabbings; cases of alcoholism; and also tensions based on national identities. Interviewee 41, a domestic quarter resident who works in Killarney Mall, describes how she met her fiancé:

> "I found him here, [in the domestic quarters]. His mom used to work in the building, and he stayed with her. When the owner left, they let [his mom] stay in the room and now she works in Parkhurst and Bramley. She doesn't pay rent. And my fiancé works at a university."

National and ethnic identities can become the basis of social differentiation in these contexts. Divides between South African domestic quarter residents and Zimbabwean domestic quarter residents were mentioned by a variety of respondents, and echoes to broader urban trends of contentions of space driven by nationalist and at times xenophobic perspectives which have been written about by scholars (Grant & Thompson, 2015; Hankela, 2020; Petzold, 2017).

Interviewee 19, a Killarney resident and trustee who falls into the Legacy Trustee archetype, identified that in the three Killarney buildings he is involved in, there seems to be a trend of Zulu men assuming the groundsman role, and remaining in the position for some time. He also expresses how, from his perspective, there is an increasing number of Zimbabweans working in Killarney. He says:

> "Two [of our security guards] are Zimbabwean and two are South African. That's something you'll pick up in Killarney: the Zimbabweans are becoming more and more important. More are taking up work. The maids who come in the morning are all Zimbabwean. I often ask my maid - a Zulu lady - where are all the Zulu ladies? What's happened to them? She tells me the Zimbabweans work hard and that's why they get the jobs. They come looking for the jobs and get them. I often get Zimbabweans coming to my gate looking for work, but I don't get the Xhosa or Zulu ladies. I think a lot of Zimbabweans are driven by their problems in Zimbabwe and will take a job."

While there are a lot of elements to be unpacked in this quote, it illustrates a number of potential dynamics about national identity in Killarney. Firstly, the respondent mentions that there has been an increase in the employment of Zimbabwean people, and that more of the people seeking work in the area are Zimbabwean. The reason that this respondent – and his domestic worker – provide is a reiteration of a common stereotype that Zimbabwean people 'work harder' (Rutherford, 2008). Interviewee 20, another apartment renter in Killarney who is a black person, shares his perspective from his networks of friends who have young children and employ domestic workers to look after their children:

> "The consensus is Jo'burg nannies are very difficult, and people want someone from Lesotho or Zimbabwe - or maybe they just want to exploit them, who knows."

This provocation raises a question around what it means to 'work hard', and how this may be conflated with a lack of resistance to labour exploitation. Domestic workers from other African countries are more vulnerable in some ways – their right to work might be in question, they might see their family less and at a higher cost. Because domestic workers from Zimbabwe might not be legal residents, they also quite literally do not have the same rights and protection under South African law. This relates to the discussion on labour precarity and vulnerability in section 7. Interviewee 38, a Zimbabwean domestic worker in Killarney highlights her thoughts on this vulnerability:

> "A few ladies don't like living here, because they complain that they work too much. Especially the South African ones. They always complain. For us coming from [Zimbabwe], it is very different. We need to work hard. Everything is expensive to us. We don't just take a R200 taxi home. We have to send money back, and it is expensive to go back home."

Despite the elements of tension between the South African and Zimbabwean domestic quarter residents underlying this response, this respondent stated that everyone got on well in the quarters and that there was not any animosity between South Africans and the residents from other African countries.

While the levels of tension, integration, and diversity of nationalities in domestic quarters may vary depending on the building and the social relations at play, the insights from respondents illustrate that national identity is a key point of difference. Interestingly, in terms of conceptions of the home, there are still more similarities than differences – as all the domestic quarter residents interviewed had another home, and while some were in and around Gauteng, even the South African respondents had far-away homes. For example, Limpopo and Mpumalanga were mentioned. Thus, while levels of precarity may be distinct, there are still common geographies of home which frame the spatial practice of domestic quarter residents (Blunt, 2005; Lefebvre, 1974).

Accounting for these national dynamics, as well as the other textures which constitute the everyday practices of domestic quarter residents, it is evident that even by simply living out their

'rich' lives, the residents are making a claim to space, and developing a sense of belonging, even if they do not perceive the space to be their home (Massey, 1991). These nuances are often unknown by the apartment residents below, and in that way are a form of everyday resistance, because domestic quarter residents are making claims to space and defining their own urban realities beyond and sometimes in opposition to the control of their employer or the body corporate trustees (Scott, 1990). This also means that the white conscience of apartment residents which has created certain realities are not always aligned to the lived realities of domestic quarter residents. Thus, the attempted 'moral' imperative may not be as moral as it intends. When taking into account the perspectives on alternative accommodation, this is even more clear. The findings indicates that those in power are making decisions which will have material consequences for domestic workers, illustrating a multitude of contradictions.

6.4. Systems of Segregation and Power: A Conclusion

Overall, it is evident that there are many systems of segregation and power being operationalised in domestic quarters, and these systems range from the material – such as architectural design and urban planning – to the unseen or socially produced, such as the racist dynamics of social power at play. What the findings have illustrated is that no matter how perceptible the systems are, these dynamics have tangible consequences for domestic quarter residents.

Furthermore, the preconceptions which form alongside and reinforce these systems of segregation and power – namely, the contradictory white conscience – create tensions between

what is lived and what is perceived. This in turn affects how decisions are made about domestic quarters. Furthermore, the ways that the Progressive archetypes – those that show their concern for domestic workers – distance themselves from other white residents and perform their morality is illustrative of the contradictions of the white identity, too (Bailey, 2015; Dalmage, 2000; Frankenburg, 1993). These dynamics are critical for understanding the lived experiences in domestic quarters, influenced by both *de jure* and *de facto* structures and relations.

7. Precarity: Domestic Work in the Current Context

As the literature review explored, by their very nature, domestic workers are particularly vulnerable as a labour force because their work takes place in the private sphere, which is often unregulated and not thought of as a formal labour relationship (Ginsburg, 1999; King, 2012). The findings from the study align with this, and also identify other elements that contribute to the precarity and vulnerability of domestic workers, including the phenomenon of living within the bounds of one's workplace, the decline of full-time domestic work, and the impact of COVID-19.

It is worth noting, to properly contextualise this discussion, what is meant by precarity. While there are numerous scholarly debates about what precarity means, if there is a precarity-security dichotomy, and what criteria are considered sufficient to define labour as precarious, Vosko (2011: 194) defines precarity as "work for remuneration characterised by uncertainty, low income, and limited social benefits and statutory entitlements" (as cited in Daly & Armstrong, 2016). Standing's (2011) work defines a "precariat" class of workers, established as a result of increasing neoliberalisation, who have fewer formal types of employment, and often do piece-meal work across employers. As Jinnah (2020) explores in-depth, in cities of the South, and in a South African context, domestic work is precarious, and there are ways in which domestic workers negotiate this in everyday life – as has been discussed above. The findings of this study indicate that workers living in domestic quarters are faced with precarity because their employment and accommodation are inextricably linked, income is increasingly uncertain and from many sources, and has been compromised as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic.

7.1. Living at Work

One of the pertinent complexities which respondents raise in relation to domestic quarters is the challenges of a domestic worker's accommodation being tied to their employment. As a recent study by the Solidarity Center and the Izwi Domestic Workers Alliance (2021: 1) illustrates, live-in domestic workers face the "entanglement of workplace rights and personal freedoms". Interviewee 24, an Illovo apartment owner who used to be a trustee, also identifies this:

> "[There is a] conflict between private property rights and other people's human rights. That's a really issue: where do the property rights come in, versus the human rights of the worker?"

What is challenging about the domestic quarter rooms is that they are the property of the owner, and as the rules stipulate, the owner takes responsibility for the behaviour of the person living in their room to a greater extent that what is traditionally seen with tenant/landlord relationships. While rented apartments always have a lease agreement and are protected by the Rental Housing Tribunal, these same protections are not afforded to residents of domestic quarter units. There are two scenarios mentioned by respondents where this was an issue: contractual arrangements regarding both labour and accommodation, and labour exploitation.

7.1.1. Contractual Arrangements of Labour and Accommodation

An analysis of the rules illustrated that the eviction terms applied to domestic workers are not always in line with the Rental Housing Act or the Consumer Protection Act. This may be because

domestic quarter residents are not thought of as tenants in the same way that apartment renters in building are: it was found that they do not have lease agreements, often their employer pays a levy which is calculated to included the costs of the domestic quarter room, and they can be evicted from the room if dismissed from their job. However, as Interviewee 18, an Illovo respondent indicates, having a live-in domestic worker should be perceived as a benefit to the employer:

> "It's weird to me – having [your domestic worker] live-in but docking their pay for living in your space. It's a benefit to you. If you have a private chef in your house, you would pay them more [for living in], not less. When it comes to jobs like domestic workers and gardeners, though, they dock the pay. It's bizarre that people are comfortable doing that."

This comment shows how power relations affect the way that domestic workers' labour is valued, and how that in turn impacts perceptions of domestic workers being granted housing. Many of the trustees interviewed portray sentiments that giving domestic workers accommodation is a 'favour' that they should be 'grateful for', rhetoric well-aligned to the paternalistic and relational perspectives of domestic work, as distinct from more formal types of labour (Ally, 2011). As Interviewee 21, an owner in Killarney, says:

> "There's a perception in the building that [the domestic quarters] is a highly sought-after place to live - those upstairs rooms, and that domestic workers are lucky to have a place there."

However, if the perspective of the Illovo respondent is taken into account, in effect the rent for the domestic quarter rooms forms part of the contractual arrangement of labour – even though this is not explicitly documented. An overall lack of contracts is an issue also tied to labour exploitation, that organisations such as the Izwi Domestic Workers Alliance are tackling. What this means, in terms of unlawful evictions, is that the domestic worker's right to live in a domestic room is contingent on their employment. As Interviewee 23, the subject matter expert interviewed, states:

> "And then another huge issue is unlawful evictions. Live-in domestic workers have a very specific vulnerability in that their work is tied to where they live. In general, a lot of employers don't know the law. The domestic workers are less likely to stand up for themselves because they have a lot more to lose, it's not just a job. It's a job and accommodation, and where kids are involved, it's also a child's school. It means that standing up for your rights or being perceived as claiming your rights comes with huge risks. Once a relationship deteriorates, there's a lot of unlawful evictions. Another issue is that a lot of people rent out those rooms to their domestic workers. The law says that you should only deduct about 10% of a salary if you provide them with accommodation, it is seen as a benefit, not a tenant-landlord relationship."

This illustrates how for domestic workers, the fact that their work is tied to where they live means that they have more to lose, and therefore are incentivised not to cause disruption, such as asking for change. This ambiguity about whether domestic workers are tenants, employees or both means that unlawful evictions happen often, as the respondent indicates.

7.1.2. Labour Exploitation

Over and above the ambiguities that lead to unlawful evictions, the interviews indicated that living in close proximity to an employer exacerbates labour exploitation in many cases. Whether live-in or live-out, it was evident that domestic workers are often exploited by their employers. For example, Interviewee 26, a Killarney domestic worker, talks about how her employer was not paying her Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF), even though this is legally mandated:

> "I had an issue once with a boss who I was working for, for seven years, that had said they had sorted everything, and they had been paying my UIF. But then when I needed to claim it, I went to the department, and they said it had only been six months! I then had to ask my boss about that, and they said they made a mistake on the form. I don't even know if that ever got fixed."

Wages was also another point of concern for respondents. Across the domestic work sector in South Africa, there is a challenge of unregulated and low wages (Solidarity Center & Izwi Domestic Workers Alliance, 2021). This was the chief concern of the domestic workers interviewed. As Interviewee 34, a live-out domestic worker in an Illovo building, says:

> "And with COVID-19, the cost of taxis just keeps going up, but they don't pay us more."

As Interviewee 19, a Killarney trustee, indicates, the trustees of this particular building regularly remind the apartment residents about paying their domestic workers fairly, which illustrates that this is a point of concern:

> "We often remind our people that costs of living are increasing and they need to pay a living wage. It is, to me, one of those sacred items. You don't underpay, and you pay on payday."

Another key concern is long working hours, which is worsened by living in domestic quarters. As domestic workers are in such close proximity to their employers after hours, it is easier for employers to call on domestic worker. As Interviewee one, a Killarney resident, iterates:

> "They have ridiculously long working hours because they live in the building. I think that is a big issue that happens. Even today where [the working hours are already] early hours of the morning to late evening – domestic workers still working. This is not okay."

There are other examples in a South African context of live-in work where exploitation occurs, including farm workers and mine workers who have their accommodation provided for. Both of these labour groups are often characterised for their precarity, and are some of the most exploited (Hall et al., 2013; Pelders & Nelson, 2019). As Pelders and Nelson (2019) explore in relation to mine workers, there are key problems for live-in workers of access to water and other basic human rights. Workers in these conditions also tend to work long hours, which is often unregulated.

One of the solutions proposed by the Izwi Domestic Workers Alliance for labour exploitation in the domestic work sector as a whole is the institution of contracts for domestic workers. Interviewee 24, an Illovo owner, reflects on the views of her domestic worker, which speak to this:

> "This came from [my domestic worker]. She always said [that] contracts and pay slips [are important]. I thought that wasn't the biggest issue, the biggest abuse. But it sunk in that it's not about what you gain specifically, but what the contract says about the relationship - that it's a formal, professional relationship that is written down. And then, secondly, what it does for the worker. When domestic workers have contracts, even when they have big-hearted employers, the thing about a contract is "I have papers and my work is legitimate" - especially when you are a migrant, every type of official paper matters. I remember we had these awful neighbours and their domestic worker was getting three weeks' holiday and then one year they said, "No you get two weeks". That's what domestic workers get all the time. If nothing is in writing, employers can just change whatever they want. It's all about a cultural shift that if you have signed a contract, you know you are an employer now. And you probably have to follow labour law and there is an awareness. UIF requires registration too - it sets a tone that now the government has the name of the employer and there is a consciousness that they will be held accountable."

This quote illustrates the importance of defining the relationship between an employer and employee, and how doing so in a formal manner such as a contract could reduce precarity. This is especially important in the case of live-in domestic workers, where there is a complexity of their work being tied to their accommodation, and living at work also means that it is easier for their labour to be exploited.

7.2. The Decline in Full-time Domestic Work

Another notable labour trend emerging from the study is a recent shift away from full-time domestic work. The Apartheid-era labour relations of a white family having a full-time live-in domestic worker seem less prominent (Ginsburg, 1999). Of the 26 apartment residents interviewed, only one had a full-time domestic worker, and that was because she has a young child who the domestic worker looks after while she works. As Interviewee 19, a long-standing trustee in Killarney, puts it:

> "What has happened over the years is the full-time maid has disappeared."

There are benefits to this, as Khonou (2017) discusses, such as domestic workers having more autonomy and better separation between work and home which has the potential to reduce exploitation. However, this arrangement also means that domestic workers have to find multiple employers, and therefore have a multitude of income streams. As scholarly works on the precarity of the gig economy – which is similar in that sense – indicate, this model makes it more difficult to regulate wages and exploitation, as employers are only providing for a portion of an employee's income (MacDonald & Giazitzoglu, 2019). In the case of domestic workers where wages are already low, it could also lead to domestic workers overworking for a large number of employers to meet their needs (Jinnah, 2020).

This labour arrangement of domestic workers being employed by multiple individuals emerged in the study, as a number of apartment residents mentioned that when they moved into the

building, existing domestic workers working in the building knocked on their door and offered their services. Interestingly, in most cases, the apartment resident would decline and instead would source a domestic worker from their network of friends and family. As Interviewee six, a renter in Killarney, describes:

> "[My domestic worker] comes once a week. [I found her as] her sister works for my parents. She actually lives quite far, in Kyalami. I don't think she works [for anyone else] in the same complex [as me], I don't know about the same area. I know she works for friends of my parents because everyone gets recommendations from everyone else. But most of them are townhouses in Kyalami. Also, we do have cleaners for the building. I don't know where they stay. I don't think they stay here. There are two ladies here who clean. They did ask if I wanted them to come clean for me."

This perspective is interesting because it illustrates how with this new part-time model of domestic work, employers do not take responsibility for ensuring that their domestic workers have enough work – this particular respondent does not know who else the domestic worker works for. It also speaks to the relational nature through which employment opportunities emerge. To apartment residents, sourcing a domestic worker appears to be less about the logistical and geographic questions, and more about finding someone who is known and trusted. As Du Toit (2021) explores in relation to outsourcing domestic work, trust is a key element of domestic labour relations, because of the nature of the work and its inherent intimacy. While this way of sourcing labour may be beneficial for employers as they find reliable workers, it also perpetuates geographic inequalities and high transport costs which have been explored.

These findings illustrates that there is a decline in full-time work, and amongst the respondents, it is more common for a domestic worker to be employed for one day a week by multiple employers. This follows a gig economy model, which has the benefit of giving domestic workers agency, but also increases their economic precarity, as there is a need to source employment opportunities from different people, and there is limited oversight or responsibility by employers to ensure this happens.

7.3. The Impact of COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic has altered labour relations universally, and this was no different in the case of domestic workers. As the first lockdown was implemented in South Africa in March 2020, labour relations of domestic work shifted which increased the precarity of domestic workers. There are a number of reasons for this which emerged from the findings of this study. The first is because of the risk that COVID-19 poses. As the government called for the reduction of in-person work, there was a wave of employers asking their live-out domestic workers not to come in to work, and in many cases, domestic workers were not paid as a result (Damons, 2020). As Interviewee 24, an Illovo respondent, says:

> "If you have elderly parents, you are worried about your domestic worker coming in and out on a taxi. It's a challenging issue."

This illustrates the economic precarity of domestic workers, as their work is contingent on being present in person. As has been explored in section 6.2.1 on social power, while this is a legitimate

safety concern, racist mentalities and stereotypes about cleanliness often exacerbated how employers responded to the issue. This trend has been seen prior to COVID-19 in Durban, where there were concerns about domestic workers bringing diseases into neighbourhoods from informal settlements (Ballard, 2004). In some instances in this study, additional restrictions were applied to domestic workers that were not applied to other apartment residents, such as restrictions on movement, and health clearance requirements to come into work. Interviewee 13, a Killarney renter, describes:

> "The Board of Trustees said she had to go get a medical certificate before she came back to work, which I hadn't heard in any national guidelines. I was [angry] because it felt like a targeted instruction. She went to [the hospital] to say she didn't have COVID-19. I offered to pay for it and she said it's fine, it wasn't expensive. The whole thing is infuriating. I don't know what the thinking behind that was. I think it was this terror because we had come out of hard lockdown and people who weren't in the building were a threat."

Another way that COVID-19 impacted the precarity of domestic workers was through the economic crisis which accompanied the pandemic (Burke, 2021). As many businesses slowed down and people lost income and jobs, there was a draw back in spending (Burke, 2021). Domestic workers are perceived by some as a 'luxury' and so in times of economic crisis, they are the first to be let go, or to have their hours reduced (Damons, 2020). This was evident in apartment buildings. As Interviewee 19 in Killarney observes:

> "The maids who come in the morning, before COVID-19, we had 17 or 18. [The building] is down to eight. All of them were unfortunately laid off."

In addition to being faced with economic precarity due to COVID-19 and being oppressed by social power, live-in domestic workers were also more at-risk of catching COVID-19 themselves. As domestic work is high-contact by nature, it can be considered as a high-exposure form of employment, which may be exacerbated by live-in domestic workers sharing communal facilities such as bathrooms and a kitchen. This means that there is an exposure risk and domestic workers are more at risk than apartment residents. This is especially the case if health guidelines are not followed correctly. Interviewee one, a Killarney owner, describes an incident which was brought about by a family wilfully ignoring COVID-19 guidance:

> "There was a family in the building that tested positive [for COVID-19] but didn't self-isolate. They are owners of a flat – multiple flats – and they insisted their domestic worker come in while they were positive. It became this big issue. The Department of Health was called, and they sent an ambulance. [The family] refused to let [their domestic worker] get into the ambulance. The whole building had to get tested, and a lot of people tested positive because of this one family who refused to self-isolate. Their domestic worker was [living on the eighth floor]. They insisted that she couldn't live [in the flat] with them, so she had to go back to the [domestic quarters], which also puts everyone else there at risk. This is why it was insisted that she was sent to one of the isolation facilities, but [the family] wouldn't' let her go. It was wild. That family are so evil. That's the only way to describe them.

This scenario shows how vulnerable this particular domestic worker was to COVID-19, and how she was made to choose between the risk of catching COVID-19 and getting paid, and chose to still keep going to work. It can also be inferred that this 'choice' was not freely made, and was a form of exploitation instituted by the social power dynamics at play. According to the respondent, after this incident, the family in question was not faced with any consequences, and

the domestic worker went back to working for them. This family would fall into the Generational Family archetype.

There is growing literature on how COVID-19 has made work more precarious across sectors (Comunian & England, 2020; Fitzsimons et al., 2021). Given the labour dynamics and particularity of the sector, this is also true for domestic workers. Recent literature based in Brazil has explored what the effects of COVID-19 have been on domestic work, illustrating that the politics of care have become even more strenuous and risky due to increased exposure risks, and more complex terrains to navigate (Teixeira, 2021). As observed in this study, this is also true in South Africa, as balancing risks of COVID-19 exposure were weighed against a loss of income.

7.4. Conclusion

It is evident that there are many precarities which domestic workers face in the current context. Inherently, domestic work is a precarious form of employment with blurring boundaries of personal and professional, work and home, and sometimes even 'friend' and employer (Ally, 2011; Jinnah, 2020). This study illustrates concrete examples of how that precarity is present, and in some cases worsened, for live-in domestic workers in the current context – especially in the domestic quarters of apartment buildings where there are shared facilities, strict rules and close contacts throughout the building. This analysis of living at work, the decline of full-time domestic work and the impact of COVID-19 has illustrated the lived experiences of domestic workers and domestic quarter residents specifically.

8. Mobilising Change: For whom, by whom?

The chapters thus far have explored the current realities in domestic quarters, in terms of the systems of segregation and power as well as the precarious state of domestic workers as a labour force. While there are common threads which emerged in terms of the way things are – poor living conditions and restrictive rules, for example – it is also evident that the domestic quarters are not static spaces, but are rather constantly produced and (re)produced through spatial practice (Lefebvre, 1974). It is evident that changes – what respondents conceptualise as improvements – are happening in the spaces.

While processes of both structural and spatial change are dynamic and multi-faceted, there were certain trends that emerged through the study which may indicate what these processes of change materialise as, what is required for change to occur, and who is involved in the process. To denote these threads as they relate to a discourse on mobilising change, resistance and social justice, questions of what, when, and who is involved will be answered (Foucault, 1975; Widder, 2004; Selby, 2007).

8.1. What changes are happening?

As has been explored, of key concern to a majority of respondents was the living conditions of the domestic quarters. Thus, improvements to the conditions in the domestic quarters is the first type of change happening. Over and above more structural elements such as the size of the rooms and the architecture, concerns were raised in terms of the maintenance of the domestic

quarter rooms. These include peeling paint, toilets being out of order, and poor waterproofing. From the respondents, it was clear that in some instances, these issues were priorities for upgrading, as well as waterproofing the domestic quarters – a critical issue as the rooms tend to be exposed to the elements. Interviewee nine, a Killarney trustee, describes these changes:

> "We have made the communal living space more livable, painted it nice colours and have done some waterproofing. We just spent R300 000 revamping the entire floor, making sure the kitchen is nice."

The second type of change that was happening across a number of buildings was changes to the rules. Of the 26 buildings included in the study, five had either recently changed their rules, or were in the process of changing their rules. In four of these cases, the intention of the changes was to make them less discriminatory towards domestic quarter residents by removing the clauses which had specific rules for the domestic quarters. For example, Interviewee 22, a former trustee in a Rosebank building which had its rules changed, shares:

> "The [issue with the rules] was quite a lot of [discriminatory language] I hope had originated in the 1980s - clauses like staff may not loiter and staff children can't be seen or heard. So [our aim was] to get a fair, slimmed down document that wasn't unconstitutional. [We were trying to change the rules because] they were outrageous. We are trying to live in a better place. Our building prides itself in a community. That kind of community has got to extend to the staff. Some of these people are outrageous. I remember in my first trustees meeting a guy talking about 'the servants' and that kind of stuff. I can't be a trustee and have that going on. It's just wrong. [The change in rules] had to happen."

The rule changes proposed focus on removing specific mention of domestic workers, and rather making all rules about visitation and behaviour apply to all residents. While members of the trustees can propose these changes, they then need to be approved by the body corporate as a whole at an Annual General Meeting (AGM).

In one case in Killarney, however, there were efforts underway to make the rules more restrictive. The rationale given for this was that there had been a number of incidents of fights and domestic violence in the domestic quarters. Interestingly, these changes are the exact opposite of what the other four buildings have been in the process of doing. As an earlier quote from Interviewee nine illustrates, threats of violence and alcoholism have rationalised new rules being created to "control" residents of the domestic quarters.

Thus, the two types of changes happening in domestic quarters are the upgrading of the conditions, and changes to the rules – in most cases, to make the rules less restrictive and specific to domestic workers, with one exception.

8.2. When do changes happen?

In terms of changes to the living conditions, the respondents indicated that consistent maintenance was not historically a priority – this was consensus across all buildings. Most of the upgrades to domestic quarters – including waterproofing, repainting or repairs to the shower facilities – happened in the past ten years or less. What was in common with all of the scenarios

where upgrades did happen, is that the effort was kickstarted when a new person joined the trustees or there was a building manager interested and lobbying for the process. There were no cases where domestic quarter residents had mobilised, taken collective action, or petitioned for improvements.

Interviewee one, a Killarney resident, describes how these changes started happening in her building when her mother joined the board of trustees and began lobbying for it to happen:

> "Upgrades to the domestic quarters began around 2013-2014. This is when we were still quite new, and my mom joined the trustees. Some of the domestic workers and building staff would come to talk to my mom about the conditions, and then [she went] up to see what the conditions were like. She went to see and thought 'This is terrible.' I think there's a lot of people who live in the building who have activist histories and backgrounds, so especially them – how can they allow this to happen."

This illustrates that in order for upgrades to occur, an apartment resident – such as the respondent's mother – needed to take an interest and go to investigate the conditions herself. This interested person might fall into the Progressive archetype. As discussed in the section 6.1.4 on invisibility, if apartment residents did not have a particular interest or reason to go to the roof or basement, they would probably not see what the conditions are like. The second key element mentioned in the quote is that the domestic quarter residents informed this interested person in the changes. This did not always happen organically in the buildings, and the findings show that this process relies on the interested person establishing a relationship with the domestic quarter

residents. Interviewee 13, another Killarney resident who had similarly learnt of the improvement needs through building relationships, explains how she built this connection:

> "I have always made an effort to greet and be respectful and treat people with care and respect. I value their labour and care. I don't see my labour as more valuable than theirs. I think I do always try and ask and have a genuine chat with people I come across on a regular basis. I think that's probably how [one of the domestic quarter residents] came to feel comfortable chatting to me. I always ask about their kids and school. I helped [another domestic quarter resident] with registering his child for school online. It is probably still quite surface level. I'm not doing as much as I could be doing. But I think it's small things that signify that you [care]."

This understanding of the importance of relationship links to earlier analysis (6.2.2) on the role of social relations in producing space, and how the precarity of domestic workers mean that there is an impetus not to sacrifice their social standing by being seen to be 'complaining' about the conditions – which also explains the lack of collective action taken by domestic workers. A subject matter expert and Illovo owner both reiterate this, explaining that in advocacy organisations, the domestic workers who end up taking charge are the ones who are most secure in their jobs. Interviewee 24, the Illovo owner, states:

> "The strongest leaders [amongst advocacy efforts of domestic workers] are the ones who have really great employers and are happy in their jobs and are making a good salary. Because [they] are not having to wonder where my food is coming from, [they] can think beyond daily bread. I see that in our building staff. We have six men who are gardeners and cleaners - with a lot of them, you can see there is a resignation to how things are."

In a building in Killarney, the upgrades were catalysed by a new building manager being hired, who was younger than the previous one. According to a trustee in this building, he did a full audit of the building, and identified that the domestic quarters needed maintenance, and brought this up with the body corporate.

All of these factors which determine when maintenance and upgrades to domestic quarters happen also apply to the rule changes. However, with the rules, there was an additional element mentioned. According to a respondent, the incident of the viral video in Illovo sparked the interest of younger residents and more "progressively minded" older residents who began investigating the rules. Some of these apartment residents connected with each other, and supported rule changes in other buildings by sharing knowledge about legislation. In Killarney, this was aided by the fact that one individual who was in support of making the rules less restrictive was a trustee of three buildings, and was in the process of instituting the same type of rule changes across all three buildings.

A caveat mentioned by certain trustee members with regard to the maintenance and upgrades of the domestic quarters was that this was only possible where there was sufficient funding for maintenance. In some of the older buildings, this was a concern for maintenance across the entire building – not only the domestic quarters. As Interviewee nine, a Killarney trustee, describes:

> "When people know about the changes they act - but it is about ensuring you have the budget and the finances for it. If you are doing one unit, you have to do multiple units. It is not a small cost, and you need to budget for it. Our finances were not good before I joined [as a trustee]. As a finance professional, I joined because [the building's financial position] had gone down to red and I am slowly trying to crawl back now - saving money and making sure we are sustainable. Our finances were not good when I joined in January. We are already going back to black. We have increased levies."

This analysis illustrates that there are three main considerations which may determine whether changes are made to domestic quarters – whether or not an interested person is in a position of power, whether that person is able to build a good enough relationship with domestic quarter residents to find out about the maintenance needs, and lastly, if the building can afford the repairs.

8.3. Who is involved?

It is evident that change primarily is led by an interested person who is in a position of power – either on the board of trustees, or as a building manager. In some cases, changes were also advocated for by vocal apartment renters or owners, who fit into the Progressive archetype. However, the effectiveness of this was dependent on the bureaucratic consultation processes which, during COVID-19, were not always followed. Interviewee 15, a Killarney renter, explains how she had a plan to lobby for change at the building's AGM, but the meeting was postponed for two years in a row:

> "[Other apartment residents interested in mobilising change and I] chatted a lot about how to change the body-corporate's minds. I think with COVID-19 going mad, I didn't have the energy and capacity to fight. And I have fought a lot. We were waiting for the AGM. We had spoken to the body corporate members, and they said we need to wait for an AGM, but there hasn't been an AGM for the whole two years I've been living here. All the younger residents - there were about four of us - who chatted about this – were going to say it's problematic at the AGM. Unfortunately, the wheels of justice move slowly if you go through bureaucratic means but that was what we had to do. We just wanted to descend en-masse onto the AGM and say it is unacceptable living conditions. That was the plan."

Given that the conditions in domestic quarters and the rules governing them affected the domestic quarter residents most directly, there was also a consideration raised by the respondents about whether or not the domestic quarter residents themselves were involved in mobilising change. This varied greatly across different buildings. As indicated in the Killarney example above, in some cases, it was the domestic quarter residents themselves who initiated the change by raising the issue with trustees or the building manager. This does not necessarily mean that they are involved in decision making about what solutions are proposed. In other cases, the changes were made without any consultation of the domestic quarter residents. When Interviewee 22, a former trustee of a Rosebank building that had changed its rules, was asked about the inclusion of domestic quarter residents, he responded:

> "I'm not sure, I don't think [the domestic quarter residents were consulted about the rule changes]. There were times we got feedback but… I hadn't thought about that. There was no proper consultation. There was discussion about the conditions but separate from the rules."

This is an interesting unintended manifestation of the contradictory white conscience which was discussed earlier (section 6.3): an example of how a board of trustees can have good intentions about mobilising change, but a lack of consultation with the people who are most affected by these changes contradicts the good intentions. This contradiction of participation is often seen in social change movements which involve a set of power relations, for example, community participation in urban planning decisions (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2008; Williams, 2008).

In some cases, trustees made more structural systems of participation in their buildings by creating a position for an ombudsman or representative of the domestic quarters, who is charged with the responsibility of sharing the grievances of the domestic quarter residents with the trustees. Similar to informal set-ups, the findings have illustrated that the effectiveness of these measures might be dependent on the relationships between the representative and trustees, and even amongst the domestic quarter residents themselves. As Interviewee nine, a Killarney trustee, indicates, there was political disputes among domestic quarter residents about who would take on this position, with there often being divides between nationalities and ages:

> "We had to change the representatives because they weren't happy working with the staff. We have changed representatives twice already. There are lots of political dynamics - for example young vs old, the language is a problem too - if they want a Tswana or Sotho or Zulu person…. So, we have not yet gotten representatives to sign off [on the rule changes]."

Thus, these structural forms of participation may culminate as tokenistic attempts at inclusivity if domestic quarter residents do not feel comfortable with the selected representatives. This is

especially complex in scenarios where domestic quarter residents do not feel comfortable speaking up, either because they do not have the social relations to feel comfortable doing so, or because their precarity means that the opportunity cost of voicing their concerns is too high – such domestic workers might be characterised as the Disgruntled but Silent archetype. This illustrates the complexities of how power and social relations impact advocacy efforts in the domestic quarters of apartment buildings.

8.4. Conclusion

Overall, it is evident that the extent of change and the ways in which change is mobilised across buildings varies greatly. While in some cases, domestic quarter residents feel comfortable airing their concerns, in most cases, change has been led by apartment residents or people in positions in power, and has been catalysed by their interest. Examples across buildings illustrate that this often results in limited participation of domestic quarter residents, or participation that is more tokenistic. There are a number of complex dynamics when it comes to balancing the power relations at play, the precarity of domestic quarter residents, and what changes are actually in their best interests. The way in which these dynamics of mobilising change are enacted and experienced depend on the spatial practice and conceptions of space – whether or not the urban imaginaries of people with the ability to create change see change as necessary (Lefebvre, 1974).

9. Conclusion

In 1955, Verwoerd passed an amendment to the Native Urban Areas Act intended to close a loophole in urban zoning practice referred to as “locations in the sky” – domestic quarters in for black domestic workers in the otherwise white apartment buildings in the Apartheid era (Mather, 1987). While the bill resulted in notable evictions from the domestic quarters in the 1950s and 1960s, a substantial population remained living in these spaces, and continue to do so in the post-Apartheid era (Mather, 1987). While this phenomenon of living at work is not unique to domestic work – nor is the domestic quarter set up exclusively South African – it does produce very specific urban realities for the people who live in the quarters, and who live in the apartments underneath them.

As this study has illustrated, there are systems of power and segregation – both *de jure* and *de facto* – which result in the invisibilisation of domestic quarter residents, and strip these residents of their freedoms and dignity, especially give the precarious position in which the domestic quarter residents find themselves. It is also evident that mobilising change is a complicated and tricky endeavour, and often the well-intentioned archetypes such as the Progressive end up taking problematic action.

9.1. Synthesis: Imperfect Answers and More Questions

While a research question was posed in Chapter 1, it must be acknowledged that an exhaustive answer is not possible to achieve in the scope of this study, or potentially at all – given the

multiple realities, truths that exist and constantly evolve (Durkheim, cited in Jones, 2004). Given the in-depth discussion on the positioning and framing of research voices (Chapter 5), and the poststructural theoretical framework inspired by Foucault (1975) and Lefebvre (1974), this study rather intended to make visible the little-known power struggles, rich lives, and realities of life in "locations in the sky" in the suburbs of Killarney, Illovo and Rosebank, Johannesburg. Situated in a changing and ever-expanding urban literature on cities of the South, and post-apartheid cities specifically, the findings from this study resonate with work done on the complexities of race, gender, power, and resistance of domestic work in South Africa (Ally, 2011; Cock, 1980; 2011; 2019; Fish, 2005; 2006; Ginsburg, 1999; 2000; 2011; Jinnah, 2020; Solidarity Center & Izwi Domestic Workers Alliance, 2021). Using a spatial lens similar to that of Ginsburg (1999; 2000), this study has shown how space in both its materiality and social meaning is a fundamental basis upon which and through which these power relations play out.

These dynamics are important to document, not only as interesting anecdotes within themselves, but also because they provide truths and perspectives that assist with (re)theorising the African city and the post-Apartheid city (Pieterse, 2011). As has been discussed in both Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, there are many imperfections which bias the rigour and interpretation of the research findings, be it the limitations of the sampling and interview methods used, my positionality as a researcher, or the archetypes of the respondents. Furthermore, there is still so much unknown about domestic quarters in apartment buildings, in Johannesburg and beyond.

9.2. Fulfilment of Objectives

This study set out to explore how both *de jure* and *de facto* rules influence and (re)produce current experiences, perceptions, and urban realities of domestic quarters in the apartment blocks of northern Johannesburg, and complicate definitions of home in this context. There were four key objectives to support the answering of this question, which have been fulfilled:

9.2.1. Objective One: Rules and Regulations

The first objective of the study was: "To assess and compare what rules and regulations are in place relating to domestic workers and employees across various body corporates in the apartment blocks in northern Johannesburg, and whether these have changed." The Doctrinal Legal Research was a key method for fulfilling this objective, as the body corporate rules for 13 buildings were collected and analysed. It was found that most buildings have specific clauses which relate to domestic quarter residents, often restricting if they can have visitors, use the communal spaces, drink alcohol, or make noise, detailed in section 6.1.3.

Through the semi-structured interviews, it was also gauged that in some buildings, there have been efforts to change rules. In all cases except for one, these changes were focused on eliminating discrimination of domestic quarter residents. As Chapter 8 discusses, the ways in which these changes come about, though, are not always inclusive of the domestic workers themselves or in their best interests – this is in part due to the contradictory white conscience of archetypes such as the Progressive.

9.2.2. Objective Two: Lived Experiences and Perceptions of Domestic Workers

The second objective set out at the start of this study was: "To investigate and document the lived experiences of domestic workers within these apartments and detail their perspectives in relation to their living arrangements." Utilising a Lefebvrian understanding of how space is produced, this was investigated through semi-structured interviews with 14 domestic workers and domestic quarter residents. While the views and positionalities of this sample are not representative of the broader category of domestic quarter residents, among the respondents in this study it was generally found that the overwhelming benefit of living in domestic quarters was economic – it saves the residents money. However, the individual urban realities and perceptions were dependent on the *de jure* and *de facto* power dynamics unfolding, as discussed in Chapter 6. In some cases, domestic quarter residents felt restricted in what they were allowed to do, some had experienced overt racism, while others were content with their employer and their life on the top floor. It was also found that the perceptions and lived experiences of domestic workers is influenced by the precarity of the labour relations in terms of contractual complexities, the rise of part-time work, and the impact of COVID-19 (Chapter 7).

9.2.3. Objective Three: Perceptions of Body Corporates and Employers

In order to contrast the perspectives of different stakeholders, the third objective set out was: "To gauge the perceptions of employers and body corporate members within these apartment blocks in relation to the living conditions of these employees and the rules which govern these conditions". Through 26 semi-structured interviews with apartment residents, including

apartment owners, renters and trustees, the perceptions of this group were gauged. While Section 5.3 unpacks the textures of archetypes of these people are which in turn influences their worldview and perception, it was also found that this group have vast perspectives depending on their archetype – while some had more racist approaches to controlling domestic quarter residents, others themselves identified with the residents because of shared demographics, and others were advocating for change without consulting the domestic quarter residents (Chapter 8).

9.2.4. Objective Four: Decision-Making Processes and Conceptions of Home

Finally, the final objective was to bring these perspectives together to: "detail how the above perceptions and dynamics influence the decision-making processes relating to 'domestic rules' and how this in turn results in a conception of home for domestic workers in an urban context." Social power and social relations have been a key theme of this discussion, as it was evident that the unseen and the unspoken often produced very material spatialities in domestic quarters, such as deteriorating living conditions, exclusion from spaces and changes in rules, including how many people can live in a domestic quarter room. These decision-making processes are governed by such power (as well as *de jure* power), but are also dynamic and changing – while there are hegemonic power asymmetries at play, these unfold in different ways and to different extents based on the unique dynamics of each building and individual. It was also found that home was not a primary consideration or concern for domestic quarter residents, who did not view their space as this – rather, as section 6.3.2 explores, belonging was more of a concern.

9.3. Avenues for Future Research

This study covers broad thematic range within a particular micro-scale geography, and therefore provides only a snapshot of how these themes emerge and what urban realities they produce. As discussed in both chapter 4 and 5, there are limitations of the findings presented, based on the methodologies and positionalities at play. This study is intended as an informative catalyst which makes visible an issue that is little-known across Johannesburg, South Africa, and potentially beyond. More work is needed to enrich and deepen the understanding of the spaces and themes which have been discussed, and thus avenues for further research have been identified in terms of the "locations in the sky", the apartment building dynamics, mobilising change, domestic work, and the urban form.

9.3.1. "Locations in the Sky"

There is very sparse existing literature on domestic quarters in apartment buildings in South Africa, and throughout the study, these spaces did not seem fully known or understood by the respondents (Ginsburg, 1999; Mather, 1987; Solidarity Center & Izwi Domestic Workers Alliance, 2021). While this study provided insight into the perspectives of some residents in a few buildings, there are still many other urban realities to document and explore. In Killarney alone, there are at least 10 other buildings with domestic quarters which were not represented in the sample. This study has also been geographically specific to the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, but as mentioned, there are similar structures in other parts of the city, the country, and the world. It would be useful to understand how the "locations in the sky" in

Hillbrow have followed different trajectories and what the causes of these divergent pathways are. An investigation is also needed into whether these structures exist in other South African cities, and if so, what the distinctions are from the dynamics found in this study.

Over and above broadening the understanding of what urban realities in domestic quarters are, there is also more textured analysis needed to unpack the complexities of lives in the domestic quarters. While section 6.3.2 began to explore some elements of these lives, this study does not fully represent the depth of what is unfolding in these spaces. Some of the themes identified in this study which could be further explored include the gender differences of residents in the domestic quarters and how these affect power relations, as well as instances of violence, alcoholism, and exploitation – building on the work of Bond (2013), James (2018) and others. The role of national identities, and the dynamics between South African domestic quarter residents and foreign nationals, also emerged as a notable area for further investigation to feed into broader literatures on migrant labour (Grant & Thompson, 2015; Hankela, 2020; Petzold, 2017; Rutherford, 2008) – it would thus be useful to understand the different urban realities in this regard.

9.3.2. Apartment Building Dynamics

It was evident throughout the study that the realities of the domestic quarters influence and are influenced by the dynamics of the apartment building as a whole. This is both on a *de jure* level in terms of the body corporate rules, but also on a *de facto* level in terms of what the social relations are within a building, and how this results in various forms of power. Interviewee 36

discussed racism between apartment residents in buildings, and Interviewee three alluded to the residents of the building having close relations – these are both intriguing elements of urban life in apartments which can be further understood. Another dynamic of the building to be investigated is body corporates and trustees. There is a legal literature on body corporates in South Africa (e.g., Motlhabane, 2014; Van Der Merwe, 2021), although the social dynamics of who joins a body corporate, what their motivations are, and how they exert power is not always included in this literature, and could be written about from a social sciences perspective. Another notable phenomenon for further research is the 'folklore' Killarney tale of one individual buying buildings and renting them at affordable rates, which respondents mention resulted in apparent decay. There was also mention by respondents of the communal spaces in apartment buildings – how they are used and who uses them – which could be an interesting entry point for understanding the social dynamics of apartment buildings.

9.3.3. Mobilising Change

Chapter 8 references who is mobilising for change and how, often times, the domestic quarter residents are not involved in this process, as with the Disgruntled but Silent archetype. While the analysis and discussion presented here has touched on some of the reasons behind this – chiefly the precarity of their position – it would be worth exploring further the reasons behind this. An in-depth sociological study of what makes certain domestic quarter residents more likely to advocate for change would be immensely useful in this regard. I was unable to glean this depth given the power asymmetry of me being a young white woman interviewing older black domestic quarter residents, which may have made them hesitant to share the full story (Rose, 1997).

It would also be useful to investigate the role of trade unions and advocacy organisations in mobilising change in domestic quarters. In this regard, there is literature on the role of unions for domestic workers, and how various stakeholders are advocating for the labour rights (Ally, 2008; Fish, 2017). However, some of the domestic workers interviewed indicated that they were sceptical of such efforts – there are many complexities which could be unpacked in this regard. While the work of the Solidarity Center and Izwi Domestic Workers Alliance (2021) has begun to unpack these dynamics with specific reference to domestic quarters, there are still many gaps – especially with regard to understanding how inclusive these organisations and unions are of domestic workers, and how useful domestic workers find them to be.

9.3.4. Domestic Work

Exploring the phenomenon of domestic work has been a critical basis for this study, but there is still more to be understood with respect to the unfolding labour dynamics in the current post-Apartheid city. As chapter 7 discusses, domestic work in South Africa is becoming increasingly precarious, and the way in which power hegemonies play out is therefore shifting (Jinnah, 2020). While the rich body of literature on domestic work examines how race, gender, and class play out in a post-Apartheid context (Ally, 2011; Bradfield, 2012; Cock, 2011; du Preez et al., 2010; Fish, 2017; King, 2012), the ever-changing urban dynamics of cities of the South mean that there are new conceptualisations of domestic work which need understanding. For example, the emergent black middle- and upper-class means that class dynamics are salient in relation to domestic workers, as scholars have started to explore (Madonsela, 2017; Maqubela, 2016).

Comparative analysis could also be a useful tool to understand domestic work in South Africa, as the views shared by respondents indicate that differences exist depending on geographic and social specificity. It would be useful to compare and contrast more extensively the experiences of live-in and live-out domestic workers, looking into the daily journeys, encounters and experiences of domestic workers who have to travel far distances on taxis to work. As well as this, a comparative study between live-in domestic quarters in apartment buildings and free-standing households would also provide an illustrative view of how space, geography and architecture might result in contrasting forms of spatial practice (Lefebvre, 1974).

9.3.5. Urban Form

As spaces situated within an urban context, domestic quarters and the experiences thereof intersect with the broader urban forms of post-Apartheid cities. It was evident in the findings that the challenges of domestic quarters are interwoven with challenges of affordable housing in Johannesburg, which some have written on, but is still not yet fully addressed in its depth, nuance, and consequences with relation to the northern suburbs of Johannesburg (Ballard et al., 2021; Butcher, 2020; Dickinson, 2011; Klug et al., 2013; Namponya & Nkhonjera, 2020). Furthermore, other sites of urban interaction mentioned by employees include malls, taxi ranks and parks – all of which have been written about to some extent, although not always in direct relation to the urban realities of domestic workers (Heer, 2017; Khunou, 2017; Van Eeden, 2006). Thus, overlaying the experiences of domestic quarter residents with the unfolding dynamics of these public spaces would enrich our understanding of the South African city.

9.4. Conclusion

While there are more questions to be explored regarding “locations in the sky”, this study has provided a snapshot of how *de jure* and *de facto* rules influence and (re)produce current experiences, perceptions, and urban realities of domestic quarters in the apartment blocks of northern Johannesburg, and complicate definitions of home in this context. Drawing on a range theoretical, methodological, and topical scholarship, this has been investigated by engaging with workers and domestic quarter residents, apartment residents, and a subject matter expert. It is evident through this study that Apartheid structures, both seen and unseen, still have very material and emotional effects on urban lives in Johannesburg, and that domestic quarter residents experience various forms of segregation across a vast and ever-changing landscape of power. With the advent of COVID-19, rising living and transport costs, and a general trend towards part-time domestic work, circumstances for domestic workers are becoming more precarious. While this may be of concern to people with power in apartment buildings, it was also found that in many cases, the attempts of trustees or apartment residents might be well-meaning, but do not centre or include the perspectives of the domestic quarter residents themselves. This, in turn, reinforces existing power relations and spatial practices. All of these nuances illustrate what urban life is like in Johannesburg for a specific group of people at a specific point of time – and provide useful insights for understanding urban living and domestic work in South African cities. Ultimately, these findings have illustrated how important it is to ground “locations in the sky” in our understandings of the city, by making visible the views, experiences, and realities of domestic quarter residents.

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11. Appendix

11.1. Appendix A: List of Interview Respondents

Respondent	Building	Respondent Subcategory	Date Interviewed
Interviewee 1	Killarney building	Apartment Owner	Wed 23 June 2021
Interviewee 2	Illovo building	Apartment Renter	Friday 25 June 2021
Interviewee 3	Illovo building	Apartment Renter	Friday 25 June 2021
Interviewee 4	Rosebank building	Apartment Renter	Sat 26 June 2021
Interviewee 5	Illovo building	Apartment Renter	Sat 26 June 2021
Interviewee 6	Killarney building	Apartment Renter	Sat 26 June 2021
Interviewee 7	Killarney building	Apartment Owner	Sat 26 June 2021
Interviewee 8	Killarney building	Apartment Trustee	Thurs 8 July 2021
Interviewee 9	Killarney building	Apartment Trustee	Thurs 8 July 2021
Interviewee 10	Illovo building	Apartment Renter	Friday 9 July 2021
Interviewee 11	Illovo building/ Rosebank building	Apartment Renter	Friday 9 July 2021
Interviewee 12	Illovo building	Apartment Trustee	Friday 9 July 2021
Interviewee 13	Killarney building	Apartment Renter	Sun 11 July 2021
Interviewee 14	Illovo building	Apartment Renter	Sat 7 Aug 2021
Interviewee 15	Killarney building	Apartment Renter	Sat 7 Aug 2021
Interviewee 16	Illovo building	Apartment Owner	Sat 7 Aug 2021
Interviewee 17	Illovo building	Apartment Owner	Thu 12 Aug 2021
Interviewee 18	Illovo building	Apartment Renter	Wed 18 Aug 2021
Interviewee 19	Killarney building	Apartment Trustee	Thurs 19 Aug 2021
Interviewee 20	Killarney building	Apartment Renter	Sun 22 Aug 2021

Interviewee 21	Killarney building	Apartment Trustee	Mon 23 Aug 2021
Interviewee 22	Parkwood building	Apartment Trustee	Mon 23 Aug 2021
Interviewee 23	Killarney building	Subject Matter Expert	Mon 23 Aug 2021
Interviewee 24	Illovo building	Apartment Trustee	Thurs 9 Sept 2021
Interviewee 25	Killarney building	Apartment Owner	Fri 10 Sept 2021
Interviewee 26	Killarney building	Domestic Staff Living in Quarters	Fri 10 Sept 2021
Interviewee 27	Killarney building	Non-Resident Domestic Staff	Fri 10 Sept 2021
Interviewee 28	Illovo building	Domestic Staff Living in Quarters	Mon 13 Sept 2021
Interviewee 29	Illovo building	Non-Resident Domestic Staff	Mon 13 Sept 2021
Interviewee 30	Illovo building	Domestic Staff Living in Quarters	Mon 13 Sept 2021
Interviewee 31	Illovo building	Apartment Renter	Mon 13 Sept 2021
Interviewee 32	Illovo building	Domestic Staff Living in Quarters	Mon 13 Sept 2021
Interviewee 33	Illovo building	Domestic Staff Living in Quarters	Mon 13 Sept 2021
Interviewee 34	Illovo building	Non-Resident Domestic Staff	Mon 13 Sept 2021
Interviewee 35	Killarney building	Domestic Staff Living in Quarters	Tues 14 Sept 2021
Interviewee 36	Killarney building	Apartment Renter	Tues 14 Sept 2021
Interviewee 37	Killarney building	Domestic Staff Living in Quarters	Tues 14 Sept 2021
Interviewee 38	Killarney building	Domestic Staff Living in Quarters	Wed 15 Sept 2021
Interviewee 39	Killarney building	Domestic Staff Living in Quarters	Wed 15 Sept 2021

Interviewee 40	Killarney building	Domestic Staff Living in Quarters	Wed 15 Sept 2021
Interviewee 41	Killarney building	Other Domestic Quarter Residents	Fri 17 Sept 2021

11.2. Appendix B: Interview Schedule

Interviewee Category: Apartment Trustees

Question(s)
1. Can you tell me a bit about yourself (age, gender, occupation)? 2. How long have you lived in this complex, and for which years? 3. How long have you been a member of the Body Corporate of this complex/ for which period of time? 4. Since you have lived here, what has your knowledge been of the accommodation for domestic workers and employees? 5. Are you aware of any rules that are specific to domestic workers/ employees, that do not apply to residents? 1. What do you think of these rules? 2. Are these rules the same as those applied to apartment owners? 3. If not, do you think this difference is valid? Why/ why not? 4. Do you know where these rules originated, and how long they have been in place? 5. Have there been any efforts to change the rules governing the domestic workers? 6. Do you know if this is the first time there have been these efforts? If not, why were the previous attempts unsuccessful? 7. Did these efforts involve consultation with the domestic workers? Why/ Why not? 8. Do you think there were any shortfalls in this process? If so, how are they being rectified? 9. What are the current priorities and plans of the Body Corporate regarding this? 6. Have there been any efforts to change the rules governing the domestic workers? 1. Do you know if this is the first time there have been these efforts? If not, why were the previous attempts unsuccessful? 2. Did these efforts involve consultation with the domestic workers? Why/ Why not? 3. Do you think there were any shortfalls in this process? If so, how are they being rectified? 4. What are the current priorities and plans of the Body Corporate regarding this? 7. Have you ever seen the rooms where the domestic workers live? Why/why not? 1. If you have, what do you think of the living arrangements? 2. In you have not, what have you heard about the living arrangements? 8. Has anything been done to try and improve these conditions? 1. If so, were the domestic workers consulted in this process? Why/ why not?

2. Do you think there were any shortfalls in this process? If so, how are they being rectified?
3. Do you know if this is the first time there have been these efforts? If not, why were the previous attempts unsuccessful?
4. What are the current priorities and plans of the Body Corporate regarding this?

9. Is there anything else you would like to add about:
    1. The living conditions of the domestic workers in this complex?
    2. The rules governing the behaviour of domestic workers in this complex?
    3. The attempts to change either of the above, and the process/ rationale thereof (if applicable)?

Interviewee Category: Apartment Renters

Question(s)

1. Can you tell me a bit about yourself (age, gender, occupation)?
2. Which complex do you live in, how long have you lived there, and for which years?
3. Do you/ your household employ a domestic worker?
4. Do they live in this apartment complex? Why/ why not?
5. Have you ever seen the rooms where the domestic workers live? Why/why not?
    1. If you have, what do you think of the living arrangements?
    2. In you have not, what have you heard about the living arrangements?
6. Has anything been done to try and improve these conditions?
    1. If so, were the domestic workers consulted in this process? Why/ why not?
    2. Do you know if this is the first time there have been these efforts? If not, why were the previous attempts unsuccessful?
    3. Do you think there were any shortfalls in this process? If so, how are they being rectified?
7. Are there any rules governing the behaviour of domestic workers/ staff in the building?
    1. What do you think of these rules?
    2. Are these rules the same as those applied to apartment owners/ residents?
    3. If not, do you think this difference is valid? Why/ why not?
    4. Do you know where these rules originated, and how long they have been in place?
    5. Have there been any efforts to change the rules governing the domestic workers?
    6. Do you know if this is the first time there have been these efforts? If not, why were the previous attempts unsuccessful?
    7. Did these efforts involve consultation with the domestic workers? Why/ Why not?
    8. Do you think there were any shortfalls in this process? If so, how are they being rectified?
8. Do you think your domestic worker/ the domestic workers in this complex enjoy living here? Why/ why not?
9. Where do you think your domestic worker considers to be home?
10. Is there anything else you would like to add about:

1. The living conditions of the domestic workers in this complex?
2. The rules governing the behaviour of domestic workers in this complex?
3. The attempts to change either of the above (if applicable)?

Interviewee Category: Workers and Domestic Quarter Residents

Question(s)
1. Can you tell me a bit about yourself (age, gender, place of origin)? 2. Where do you live and how long have you lived there? 3. Why did you decide to live there? 4. Do you enjoy living there? Why/ Why not? 5. IF you were not living where you are, where would you be staying? What is the alternative like? 6. If you do not live in the building, how is your commute to work every day? 7. Do you know of any rules that domestic quarter residents need to follow? 8. What do you think of these rules? 9. Do you know if the domestic quarter residents have done anything to change the rules? Why/ Why not? 10. What other things do you think need changing? 11. How do you think this will be achieved?

11.3. Appendix C: Ethics Clearance Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Fenton

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H21/05/10**
PROJECT TITLE	Grounding "Locations in the Sky": An Analysis of Domestic Work and Post-Apartheid Urban Living in the Apartment Blocks of Northern Johannesburg
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Miss A Fenton
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Geography, Archeology and Environmental Studies/
DATE CONSIDERED	21 May 2021
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Risk Level: Low
EXPIRY DATE	08 June 2024

DATE 09 June 2021 **CHAIRPERSON** _____
(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Prof J Fitchett and Dr R Ballard

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to submit an amendment of the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a regular progress report. For Minimal and Low studies, this is due annually on 31 December. For Medium and High Risk studies, this is due twice annually on 30 June and 31 December.**

_____ 10 / 06 / 2021
Signature **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

11.4. Appendix D: Participant Information Sheet

Apartment Residents

Good day,

My name is Annabel Lee Fenton and I am completing Master of Arts by Research in Geography through the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), Johannesburg. My dissertation, supervised by Prof. Jennifer Fitchett and Dr Richard Ballard, is investigating the current experiences of domestic workers in the apartment blocks of northern Johannesburg to understand how the rules set by Body Corporates and the decision-making processes which govern changes to these rules produce urban realities in a post-Apartheid city and complicate definitions of 'home' in this context.

I will be using a series of interviews with domestic workers, employees, residents, employers and body corporate trustees to inform this research, and hence have invited you to be interviewed. The interview will take a semi-structured format, meaning that there are some guiding questions which I am going to ask you, but there is room for you to express any related thoughts, or deviate away from the questions. The interview should take 30 – 45 minutes. You do not have to answer any questions you do not feel comfortable answering, and if you feel distress or discomfort at any point, we will stop the interview, or resume another time. With your permission, I would like to audio record the interview using my mobile phone. This recording will be stored in a password-protected Google Drive and only I will have access to this recording. It will be deleted after 5 years.

There will be no personal costs to you if you participate in an interview, and you will not receive any benefits from participation. Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary, and you are welcome to opt out at any point without any disadvantage. The interview will be entirely anonymous as I will use pseudonyms and leave out or change identifying information to conceal the identity of participants. Furthermore, the information you disclose to me will only be used for the academic purposes of this research. If you feel distressed or need some support or counselling services following the interview, I will assist you in accessing these services, through LifeLine on 065 989 9238.

Should you have any questions afterwards, please feel free to contact me on using the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. If you wish to receive a summary of this report, let me know and I will be happy to send it to you. The data collected from this research project will be stored in a password-protected Google Drive and will be kept for 5 years. With your permission, the data collected from this research project may be used by other researchers in an anonymised format. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone 011 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za.

Thank you for your participation.

Kind regards

Annabel Fenton

Mobile number: 082 699 5557

Email: 1057935@students.wits.ac.za

Supervisors:

Prof. Jennifer Fitchett

Jennifer.fitchett@wits.ac.za

Dr Richard Ballard

Richard.ballard@wits.ac.za

DOMESTIC WORKERS, EMPLOYEES AND DOMESTIC QUARTER RESIDENTS I WANT TO HEAR FROM YOU!

Hello,

My name is Annabel Fenton and I am completing Master of Arts by Research in Geography through the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), Johannesburg. My research, supervised by Prof. Jennifer Fitchett and Dr Richard Ballard, is looking into the **current experiences of domestic workers and residents, such as yourself, in the apartment blocks of northern Johannesburg**. There are a number of apartment buildings which were built during Apartheid that have a place for the domestic workers and staff to live and rules that need to be followed, but a lot of these conditions have not changed even as Apartheid ended. I am looking into what they are now, and how these affect the lives and rights of people such as yourself living in these conditions.

I am hoping to do interviews with domestic workers and residents to get your perspective on the topic and make sure your voice is heard. The **interview will be 30 minutes** and will be completely anonymous. **I will not share anything you tell me with anyone else**, and will only use it to inform my research. When I write up my findings, I will use different names and will not share any identifying information. You do not have to answer any questions you do not feel comfortable answering, and if you feel distress or discomfort at any point, we will stop the interview. With your permission, I would like to audio record the interview using my mobile phone.

If you have any questions afterwards, please feel free to call me. If you want to receive the findings of my research, let me know and I will be happy to send it to you when it is done.

Thank you for your participation! I am excited to make sure your voice is heard in my research!

Kind regards

Annabel Fenton
Mobile number: 082 699 5557
Email: 1057935@students.wits.ac.za

Supervisors
Prof Jennifer Fitchett: Jennifer.fitchett@wits.ac.za
Dr Richard Ballard: Richard.ballard@wits.ac.za

11.5. Appendix E: Participant Consent Form

Grounding "Locations in the Sky": An Analysis of Domestic Work and Post-Apartheid Urban Living in the Apartment Blocks of Northern Johannesburg

Master of Arts by Research in Geography
Annabel Fenton – 1057935

Consent Form

I, ……., agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below).

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous.	YES	NO
I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his / her research report.	YES	NO
I agree that the interview may be audio recorded.	YES	NO
I agree that the information I provide may be used in an anonymised format after this project has ended, for academic purposes by other researchers, subject to their own ethics clearance being obtained.	YES	NO

PARTICIPANT:

…… (signature)

…… (name of participant)

…… (date)

RESEARCHER:

…… (signature)

Annabel Fenton

…… (date)