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by: Jenny Robinson

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THE GEOPOLITICS OF SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES: STATES, CITIZENS, TERRITORY

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This paper addresses two problems within the analysis of South African society. The one, that of the nature of the state, has been the focus of a great deal of intellectual activity. The other, the spatiality of South African society, is more remarkable for its absence from published work: an absence which the intensely geographical nature of our society calls upon us urgently to redress. These two problems - the state and space - are, I will argue, very much inter-related, both in the history of South Africa, and more generally at a theoretical or analytical level.

South Africa's racial order is now in the midst of what seems to be a serious reformulation. But for decades the stability of white minority rule has been remarkable, sustained without consensus or legitimation from the majority of the population. How has this come about? Violence captures the inhumanity of the Apartheid system, of course, as does the criminalisation of millions under the harsh racial laws. However, in South Africa, as elsewhere, violence is an inefficient and costly form of power and the history of racial domination in South Africa has not only been one of the continuous naked assault of a dominated majority. Rather, a more routine, more subtle deployment of power has been necessary - even in this most unsubtle of dominative regimes.

In terms of African people, though, it has not been the pervasive disciplinary power of the West which has secured white domination in South Africa: instead, a series of strategies and manouevres at the level of populations rather than that of individuals have marked out a large part of the terrain of state power and racial domination. One of these, the residential segregation of African people in the towns and cities of South Africa, is the focal point of the broader study to which this paper forms an introduction. An inheritance from colonial times, the "Location" - with its orderly layout and administrative apparatus - persisted into the twentieth century with some functions and purposes intact. The Location was employed as a means of governing non-disciplined, non-consenting populations who proved difficult to observe and to record, making the implementation of specific policies an insurmountable task. This problem of securing routine state capacities continued to confront successive governments in South Africa well into the 1950s, and in their policy deliberations the strategic value of the Location was well appreciated.

The persistence of a non-legitimated racial state and the increasingly segregated form of South African cities have been significantly related to one another, then, not only in terms of African segregation and domination, but also with respect to the residential and citizenship arrangements for other defined population groups. And the complex relations between urban spatial arrangements and state power which we can observe in the past should alert us to the possibility that current restructurings of the state and of urban areas may also be closely related to one another. Before I flesh out the reasons why I suspect that spatial form and political power are intertwined in South Africa's cities, let me offer you two cameos of the processes to which I am referring.

1. "Visions of the City"

a. The Garden Location

Between 1936 and 1938, more than 20000 African people were moved from Korsten, a mushrooming shack and freehold area, to an extension of the New Brighton township known as McNamee Village - named for the current Location Superintendent. There are many different tales to be told about this removal, but here we are most interested in views which the planners and authorities held of the place to which these people were relocated.

Although the detailed plans for McNamee Village were as influenced by questions of economy as were the negotiations with the central government over financing, the planning exercise was, especially in retrospect, surrounded by a self-consciously noble, liberal, and even religious rhetoric. An observer who visited the new township in 1941 enthusiastically described the authorities as possessing

> "not merely professional pride and thoroughness but a real spirit of goodwill and friendliness - the human touch too often lacking in organised social service - toward those for whom they were planning and working"[1]

To this commentator the authorities in New Brighton were amongst those "building the Kingdom of God on earth". The City Council itself claimed a lot of credit for their "progressive housing policy", which justifiably or not was cited as a model throughout the Union and beyond. Many municipalities requested information concerning McNamee Village, as did the Treasurer of Pietermaritzburg in Natal, who wrote that

> "owing to the various bouquets which are being handed to your city in respect of your sub-economic Housing Schemes, we are naturally "sitting up and taking notice" and I have been requested ... to obtain details"[2].

Councillors - especially Cllr. Schauder, who was an ardent supporter of the housing scheme[3] - applauded their own endeavours in housing the growing population both in terms of the size of the scheme (some 3,000 houses) and with respect to the form which the scheme took. They felt that the plans and the houses conformed to their generally "fair and just" treatment of the African population in that, to their minds, a "model" or "garden" village had been created:

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[1] Anonymous, 'Impressions of the McNamee Township at New Brighton' SA Outlook 1 March 1941, p. 48.

[2] CA (Cape Archives) 3/PEZ 4/2/1/1/360 City Treasurer Corporation of Pietermaritzbutg to City Treasurer Port Elizabeth, 31-12-1938.

[3] On one occasion his absence from a deputation to the Central Housing Board was noted and the comment passed that the housing scheme "had been his baby", that he had "more or less 'lived' with the scheme of slum clearance". CA 3/PEZ 1/3/2/6/9 6-7-1937. Minutes of Proceedings of Meeting of Deputation with members of the Central Housing Board 14-6-1937.

one which enhanced both the environmental and the social living conditions of the population. However, although they were not slow to congratulate themselves at every opportunity, the Council had to be vigorously persuaded to take on financial responsibilty for a housing scheme at all, let alone one of a size and cost reasonably appropriate to the population in need of accommodation. They were similarly indebted to outside actors for the vision of a garden village, most notably to F. Walton Jameson. Walton Jameson, then chairperson of the Central Housing Board, had forwarded to the council a paper which he had written on the matter of "native" housing (it appeared later in the Race Relations Journal, 1937), commenting that since he received so many requests for information concerning the planning of housing schemes he had decided to "write it all down on paper" and circulate this document to interested parties instead[4]. If the Port Elizabeth case is any indication, then this paper and Walton Jameson himself were certainly influential in the housing schemes developed around the country at this time. In Port Elizabeth both the City Engineer and the Location Superintendent considered the paper to be "most valuable", and they duly took detailed note of the recommendations[5]. But since their plans failed to satisfy the Central Housing Board, Walton Jameson himself travelled to Port Elizabeth and spent a week assisting the Engineer in drawing up more appropriate detailed plans[6]. McNamee township, then, is certainly a "model village" in the sense that it reflected the dominant vision of key figures in the housing field at the time that it was built.

The layout and housing design reflected Walton Jameson's compromise between economy and "social upliftment". The scheme was planned along the lines of a "garden city", with a central open space and roads radiating out from this (see Fig.1). The houses were to be situated on numerous cul-de sacs which were on the one hand intended to provide privacy, variation in appearance and safe playing areas for children. On the other hand they were employed in order significantly to reduce the costs of service provision (water, sewerage, electricity) by cutting down the road frontage. Specific local factors were considered in matters such as the floor covering, but another detailed aspect of house design was the effort to ensure some variation on the standard houses constructed. Each house was to have a garden, which was a central feature of Walton Jameson's intention to create a "homely" environment, and hedges were planted around each house in an effort to achieve this (see Fig.2). Basic services such as house lighting (which was unusual at the time and even today is a mark of distinction between McNamee and the rest of the sprawling African township in Port Elizabeth) were provided, and formed the basis of the Council's perception that they were "improving" and "uplifting" the African population. Nevertheless, even though the internal design of the houses included some basic facilities (concrete shelves, cooker), and even though these houses were amongst the most heavily subsidised ever built in the country, the question of economy kept them very small. The largest houses had dimensions of 13 feet by 21 feet, and consisted of only two bedrooms and a living/kitchen room.

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[4] CA 3/PEZ 1/3/2 Agenda 28-10-1936, F. Walton Jameson to PE Town Clerk, 31-8- 1936: as he said, "so many people appeal to me for help that I have decided this is the best way to help in an informative way".

[5] CA 3/PEZ 1/3/2/6/8 Agenda 28-10-1936, City Engineer's Report, 22-10-1936 Also Superintendent's Report 26-10-1936

[6] At the suggestion of the CHB and the Department of Health: CA 3/PEZ 1/3/2/6/8 Agenda 10-6-36 Secretary Central Housing Board to Town Clerk, 5-5-1936

This ambition of rehabilitation was linked to a wider council policy promoting what they termed "harmonious progress" in the town. But we have to place this generally noble-sounding motivation against the background of inequality, unemployment and the extremely inferior access to state resouces which black people in the town experienced as compared to their white neighbours. But it is nonetheless instructive to reflect upon this perception which the Council had of the wider role of its housing developments.

Addressing the Annual Congress of the Native Advisory Boards of the Union of South Africa in 1949, Cllr. Alf Schauder, who was by then a member of the National Housing and Planning Commission, began by outlining the connections which he felt existed between housing and "native policy". Without adequate housing and associated "civilized" lifestyles, he argued, a suitable "Native policy" was not really feasible. In this respect he considered that Port Elizabeth represented an exception to the generally poor relations which existed between "European" and "non-European" sections elsewhere in the country. This condition he ascribed to Port Elizabeth's progressive housing policy, but also to its refusal to implement the pass regulations which applied in most other major towns in the country[7]. Both of these distinctions contributed, in his view, to Port Elizabeth's "fair and reasonable treatment" of the African population. As evidence of their success he discussed the new residents in McNamee Village, who had successfully turned to housekeeping and gardening in their new homes, and he also cited the allegedly low level of "Native crime" in Port Elizabeth. Along with many people who were involved in housing and official policy developments at the time, Port Elizabeth's councillors felt that a new environment - "gay little gardens and clean houses" as opposed to the "disorder and filth" of Korsten[8] - was able to transform the slumdweller[9].

But the local state's support for the Location strategy was not entirely motivated by the philanthropy evident in their public pronouncements. Providing housing in the Location was also meant to achieve a measure of political control and domination which slum areas did not allow. The control functions of the Location were one of the main arguments employed by the Council in its resistance to the central government's influx control policy. The Location Regulations provided for the registration of all location residents, and laid down rules requiring visitors to report their presence in the area to the Superintendent. Residents were obliged to produce residence certificates when requested. Thus, the council argued, such provisions together with the exercise of administrative discretion in allowing admission to the location had the potential to control influx, so long as alternative areas of urban residence were eliminated.

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[7] A. Schauder, 1949. A Social and Housing Policy for the Urban Bantu. Paper Delivered to Annual Congress of Native Advisory Boards of the Union of South Africa. Port Elizabeth, December 1949. Cory Library, Rhodes University.

[8] Mrs Holland, City Councillor, quoted in SA Outlook 1 May 1941, 'Urban Native Administration Examined', p. 93

[9] PE Mayor's Minutes 1939 Chief Housing Supervisor's Report p. 104. PE Public Library.

b. The Compact City and the New Nation

Since Walton Jameson's Garden Locations, the South African state has produced a number of urban visions, including the more rudimentary townships of the 1950s, the displaced cities of the 1970s and 1980s, and the privatised elite environments of the late 1980s and 1990s. All along, people themselves have, much closer to the ground than the grand visionaries of state bodies, constructed their own humble environments where the failures of the political and economic systems to deliver housing have left them homeless. The visions of the 90s, though, reflect a more complex process of state and nation-building than before. Indicative of this is the proactive role which Capital and its think-tanks are playing in formulating new concepts for urban planning. A central theme of the more visionary concepts is the idea of creating a "Compact City" (Wood, 1988), filling in the spaces and inefficiencies created by several decades of segregationist planning.

The Urban Foundation, for example, argues - in what is an interesting parallel with earlier efforts to rehabilitate the slumdweller - that racial integration in inner city areas could, following the alleged American example, alleviate racial conflict (Urban Foundation, 1990). The problems of the 90s, then, are not to eliminate slums, disease or to routinise and regulate the lives of African people. Rather, the ambition is to create a "healthy, vibrant urban environment" (UF, 1990: 44) with harmonious, responsible inter-racial neighbourhoods forming the foundations of a new urban community and of a new growth path for the ailing economy. Apart from the way in which this vision skims over the speculative and violent dimensions of the US inner city experience (Bond, 1990), it depends upon a new urban managerialism, new techniques of ordering and systematising urban life. The double bind of modernity - order and nationalism - certainly informs the initiatives of the state and private organisations in this era; even as the liberal activists and state officials of the 1930s, for example, sought a particular sort of urban order and worked within the context of white domination (Rich, 1980).

The vision of the new nation on the part of these urban modernisers may be one in which all races participate, which is quite different from earlier periods of urban reform, but for the Urban Foundation it is one in which strong and decisive leadership will shape the form of the city and the nature of the governing political alliance. The Nationalist Party has similar ideas about the importance of the rational management of change, as the Minister of Constitutional Development put it recently,

> "The approach of the NP does not preclude the possibility of practicial administrative rationalisations and adaptations in order to cater for the proper management of the transition from the present to the new dispensation... Also it is important that we should keep in shape the valuable and efficient administration and bureaucracy that is taking care of the services of the existing structures" (Hansard, 1991: 8842)

It is inevitable, then, that processes of political and urban change will set in place new sorts of power relations[10] which might enable or constrain human development and political transformation in all sorts of ways, regardless of the sorts of solutions to the "national question" which may be arrived at. While not wishing to decry some important improvements, the framework for analysis which this paper begins to explore in the following sections suggests that any new political and spatial order will require critique and some form of opposition, even as we applaud the passing of Apartheid divisions in both of these dimensions of society.

2. Explaining Geographies: The rise of urban segregation

These visions of urban change from the 1930s and the 1990s form one moment in the long and complex path between social processes and urban form. Because of South Africa's particular urban past, historians have paid considerably more attention than is usual to the construction of past geographies. The removal of hundreds of thousands of people over the years to new, planned and segregated environments and the politics of these removals and of the localities involved have been extensively researched (for example, Saunders, 1978; Mabin, 1986; Adler, 1987; Bozzoli, 1987; Bonner, 1988; Baines, 1989; Pinnock, 1989) However, because of certain historiographical trends this research has not often moved to the level of generalisations, abstractions, or even to the consideration in any detail of state motivations for creating these environments. My central contention is that accounts to date have been excessively society-centred, and that we can gain new and interesting insights into both urban segregation and the nature of Apartheid as a political system if we move our attention to the workings and interests of the state. While this perspective does cast a critical shadow over some of the more reductionist accounts of segregation and Apartheid, it does not aim to suggest that all histories and theories to date have been unhelpful. Rather, my approach allows for multiple explanations of spatial forms since many different social processes feed into the concrete outcomes in which we live out our lives.

In order to draw some more general or systematic points from a very diverse and empirically grounded historical literature, I would, very briefly, like to discuss some of the dominant social processes identified as important in shaping urban segregation[11]. First amongst these are the material causes which the revisionist literature has stressed. I would suggest, however, that these are more varied and subtle than some overtly Marxist accounts of segregation in South Africa might otherwise suggest (Mabin, 1986; Hindson, 1987). Land use processes, including competition for residential land, property interests, the growth of the building and construction industry, pressure for commercial/industrial land and so forth shaped segregation in many cities (Hendler, 1987; Baines, 1989) and contributed to the urban crisis and degeneration which at various times occasioned central and local state interventions (McCarthy and Friedman,

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[10] Laclau (1990) offers an understanding of power as pervasive in society, and suggests that this entails a profound contradiction for the project of "global emancipation" since, "the radical disappearance of power would amount to the disintegration of the social fabric". Thus, he writes, "(e)ven in the most radical and democratic projects, social transformation thus means building a new power, not radically eliminating this" (Laclau, 1990: 33).

[11] It is also very important to disaggregate "segregation" - clearly there were a number of different processes dealing with different population groups at different times, and we should ensure that we do not collapse them all into one another.

1983).The pressures of employers with respect to labour were never unambiguous in terms of segregation, especially in earlier colonial cities. Calls for Africans to be accommodated close to work rather than in distant Locations were heard in both Port Elizabeth and Cape Town (Baines, 1990) and the contradictions which distant residential arrangements have engendered in terms of travelling time and costs have persisted to this day. In later times, too, Capital has been shown to be both fragmented (Lipton, 1986) and ambivalent about central state urban policies (Posel, 1986) and their implementation at a local level. Thus while the imperatives of nationally organised merchant, mining and industrial Capital have contributed at times to the practices of segregation (for example in the development of labour hostels and mine compounds - Rex, 1974; Worger, 1983; Mabin, 1986; Turrel, 1987), the overall tale of the relations between economy and segregation is a lot more complex.

In addition, some accounts stress non-economic aspects of the social processes which encouraged segregationist legislation and outcomes. Seminal here is Swanson's (1977) account of the "Sanitation Syndrome" in which concerns for public health on the part of officials in response to plagues, epidemics and more endemic slum conditions played a large part in shaping the form and timing of segregationist efforts. But within the framework of a more recent concern for the discursive construction of social processes concerning race and class in South Africa (Chisholm, 1989; Dubow, 1989b), Swanson's contribution could play a far greater role in explaining urban segregation than previously acknowledged. The discourses of public health and the practices of the health profession - and of planners, administrators and engineers (see Smit, 1989; Mabin, 1990) - need to be explored in greater detail(see also Thomas, 1990). Similarly, as others have noted, the local nature of racist discourses should be established, and the direct activities of local political agitations in shaping segregation initiatives need to be acknowledged (Parnell, 1991).

The overriding problem with these (and many other) interesting accounts of the origins and rise of segregation in South Africa has been a weak theory of state actions (Robinson, 1990). Where the state has been the focus of attention, it has more often than not been incorporated in a somewhat reductionist and functionalist manner. While we can't expect to explain segregation by considering only the state (even if it was the state which implemented segregationist legislation), it is clear that by failing to focus on the state as an institution and an agent with its own dynamics and interests we miss out on many potentially important reasons for the history of South Africa's urban forms. We also lose sight of some interesting processes and perspectives which shape political power more generally. Two of these, which form central themes in the rest of this study, are the concepts of citizenship and spatiality. I will argue that these have been crucial, not only in the construction of the Apartheid city of the past, but also in new initiatives to reshape South African society and cities.

3. State, citizenship and spatiality.

Citizenship has come to be understood as the relationship between a state and those who live within its sovereign territory and who have certain claims, rights and obligations with respect to the state (Heater, 1990)[12]. It is usually associated with democratic powers of populations to determine the nature and direction of a state. However, I would also like to mobilise the term in an even more general way to understand the actual substance of the relations between a state and its population. This involves far more than these formal rights and obligations, and includes the way in which modern states have enmeshed people in detailed and embracing surveillance networks (Giddens, 1985). Within South African politics, then, we might wish to exclude African people under Apartheid from the category of "citizen" since they had none of the currently acceptable democratic rights or claims of citizenship (Ashforth, 1990). However, we could most certainly acknowledge that African people through the twentieth century were increasingly caught up in relations of surveillance and domination with the state. Similarly, white people in South Africa - as with citizens of many Western states - may have enjoyed considerable privileges and rights, but the subtle networks of state power were similarly shaping their lives, albeit in very different ways. To consider only one or the other of these two dimensions of citizenship would be to neglect an important aspect of state power. In addition, they are mutually enabling and shaping of one another. An exclusionary citizenship, such as experienced by African people in South Africa, might enable very different modes of surveillance and domination on the part of the state than a fully inclusive democratic citizenship. However, citizens are also most certainly constructed, and both enabled and constrained by the subtle forms of power which are associated with the broader notion of citizenship, conceived as the power relations existing between the state and people.

And here we come to the central argument of this present study, an argument which links this concern with state power and citizenship to the history of urban segregation discussed above. The hypothesis, very broadly, is that the spatiality of South African society is by no means incidental to the nature of state power or to the specific forms of citizenship which have characterised this political order. In the rest of this section I offer a theoretically oriented defence for this hypothesis, after which, in the final section, I give some indications of how I intend to flesh this out through studies of aspects of South Africa's urban history.

Much of what I've learnt about these complex matters of state, power and spatiality has been informed by some of Foucault's empirical and methodological writings, although there are significant differences between Foucault's western analyses and the South African situation. I will begin by pointing to some of the directions in which Foucault and others lead us in terms of powers and spaces, as well as by offering some caveats to his analysis which should help mediate our encounter with the South African situation. These are primarily to do with the problem of forms of power ie

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[12] Recent debates concerning citizenship, particularly with respect to the United Kingdom, suggest that this concept is also useful in offering a radical critique of restricted forms of democracy which might be offered to the South African people. However, as Laclau and Mouffe (1985) suggest, a democratic discourse, as opposed to a closed and unifying "class" discourse, creates the possibilities for the "dissemination of democratic demands into all areas of the social" (Norval in Laclau, 1990: 153).

specifying domination, and with the involvement of the state in organising territorially dependent power relations.

a. Modernisation, discipline and power

Foucault's own empirical work dealt with the creation of disciplined individuals and was concerned with the application of power mechanisms at the level of the body - in prisons, hospitals, asylums, schools and so on by reformers, wardens, doctors, teachers. The fabric of the modern age, on his account, is partly woven from the generalised disciplinary power which depended on particular timings and spacings and from his later works, as much on self-subjectification as on the societal construction of docile subjects. The infrastructure of modernity, then, depended upon a network of powers including practitioners, institutions, discourses and practices which sustained the disciplining of bodies and which laid the basis for modern forms of political dominance and economic productivity.

Already we notice that Foucault is directing us to a technology of power - a focus on the "how" of power relations and on the exercise of power rather than on the juridico-legal level of constraints on social life. He asks us to make a move, from the "top" or "centre" outwards, calling for a focus upon the "extremities" of power which would emphasize the capillary nature of power relations (Foucault, 1986). I have interpreted this to mean that we should focus on the edges of institutions such as state apparatuses which, in the context of my project, suggests an investigation of the interaction between state officials and people in situated, designed contexts[13].

Foucault coins the term "bio-power" to refer to the "multifarious strategies concerned with the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations" (Foucault, 1980: 140). He observed that several of these "disciplines" or techniques of power - such as medical knowledge, law and punishment, treatment of the mentally ill - "have come more and more under state control...(they) have been progressively governmentalised, that is to say, elaborated, rationalised and centralised in the form of, or under the auspices of, state institutions" (Foucault, 1982: 224). As Gordon (1987: 296) comments, Foucault's work, concerned with government "designates a continuity between micro- and macro- levels of political analysis" and postulates a direct relationship between government and a "micro-physics" of power at the individual level.

In the context of a study of South African urban segregation, a process in which the state is deeply involved, these links between government and more micro-power relations are of crucial importance. But Foucault's account of power presents at least two problems for us in this regard. Firstly, in wishing to talk of the elaboration of racial domination we have to distort his account by adding a more precise normative dimension to power relations than he might advocate - and in talking about power relations we invoke a more Giddensian human agent than Foucault would encourage (see

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[13] This offers a salient point for reflecting on South African scholarship which has deliberated at length on discriminatory laws and policies but failed to dwell upon the actual enactment or exercise of power at the level of the individual or population. Insofar as we have moved to that level it has been in the guise of "people's history" which being admirably "bottom-up" in its approach has usually missed out an analysis of the exercise of power by the state (Dubow, 1986; Murray, 1989; Deacon, 1991; although see Beinart and Bundy, 1989 and Sapire, 1990 for counter examples)

also Dandeker, 1989). Secondly, Foucault himself does not talk very much about the state as such (Driver, 1985), but I would argue that his discussions of power and of discursive formations provide a very useful means for thinking about states as complex, conflict ridden organisations irreducible to society and both historically and geographically located. We will consider these two points consecutively.

i) Power and domination

The pervasive absence of a normative dimension to Foucault's analyses of power has attracted considerable criticism (Fraser, 1982; Dews, 1984; Miller, 1987). He stresses the productive and constitutive characteristics of power (Foucault, 1986: 242) and my problem has been to find some basis for specifying different sorts of power relations. Thus, although all sorts of power relations may be "productive" (of subjects, actions, texts etc), we could characterise some as dominative, some as exploitative and some as emancipatory (what Miller (1991) calls "mutually beneficial" powers). There is no time to defend these particular sub-divisions here (and there are numerous different ways of usefully categorising power relations - see for example, Galbraith, 1984; Mann, 1986; Arendt, 1986), but I join with Fraser (1982) in wishing to find some way out of the normative confusion of Foucault's understanding of power[14]. Foucault himself does venture now and again to offer some divisions of power, notably where he distinguishes between three types of struggles against power relations: against forms of domination (ethnic, social, religious), against forms of exploitation "which separate individuals from what they produce", and against "that which ties the individual to himself (sic) and submits him to others in this way (struggles against subjection, against forms of subjectivity and submission)" (Foucault, 1982: 212).

In "reality" things are, of course, a lot more muddled up than these subdivisions would suggest. Firstly, power relations are, according to Foucault (and contrary to Miller's (1991) reading of him) "immanent" in many different sorts of social relations (sexual, economic, knowledge etc), and not reducible to these (Foucault, 1980: 94; Habermas, 1987). Secondly, exploitation, for example, may entail dominative power relations, such as those necessary to maintain employer-worker relations in the workplace (Burawoy, 1985) and may even, on some accounts, contribute to emancipatory power as in the classical Marxist argument that the development of the productive forces under Capitalism contributes to the ultimate emancipation of human society.

[14] The basis for this moral analysis is weak and falls back on such claims as the rights of subjects to self-determination (but given the Foucauldian stress on the discursive construction of subjects this is particularly feeble), or the right of the human body to preservation and reproduction within certain historically and socially determined standards. These are historical, but perhaps we can only appeal to a historico-cultural morality, and in terms of political demands these are usually the only norms to which discursive appeals and demands can be oriented. While these are not sufficient grounds for a universal account of domination, they are sufficient for our purposes since a historical normative discourse against racially-based domination and for self-determination in most spheres of human life has a wide purchase in the contemporary world, and can certainly provide a basis for interpreting the South African state as entering into power relations with black subjects which could be characterised as dominative (drawing on authoritative, rather than allocative power resources, to use Giddens' (1985) terminology).

ii) The autonomous and conflict-ridden state

Despite his general orientation away from the state, in his later years, Foucault (1979) directed his attention towards what he termed "governmentality" (Gordon, 1987), by which he meant to capture the specific practices of state managers, and state-craft. Over time state managers developed a set of practices and ideas, which Foucault (1981) linked to a form of power he designated as "pastoral" - harking back to Church practices and even to Jewish theories of kingship (1983). He sees in the anti-Machiavellian literature of some three centuries the search for a "kind of rationality which was intrinsic to the art of government" (1979: 7) rather than bound up with the person and pleasures of the Prince. Many of the resultant practices were associated with activities such as information collection and storage, taxation, surveillance and economic management (Giddens, 1985) which have become central to the power of modern states. Thus "statecraft" or "governmentality" provides support for those concerned to identify some of the sui generis or autonomous interests of the state in its unity or at the executive level (Skocpol, 1979; Block, 1981; Miliband, 1983; Mann, 1984; Evans et al, 1985).

Foucault's concerns with bio-power also have some important implications for our understanding of the state. The multiplicity of state apparatuses with which these various forms of power have been associated constitute potentially multiple bases of power within the state and lead to competing interests, strategies and ideologies (Jessop, 1983; 1985; 1990). These varying logics and rationalities within the state can have significant independent influences upon policy outcomes (Shannon, 1982). The interests of the centre, then, are frequently counterposed to this fragmentation of rationalities which have come to be embodied in the state - although administrative obstacles to central state co-ordination have many sources and are not only due to the differential historical and professional origins of techniques of power with which some apparatuses are associated. An adequate account of the state should therefore take cognisance of the dynamics of both centralisation - co-ordination of state activities over its territory (Mann, 1984) - and fragmentation: the diversity of apparatuses which make this co-ordination ever problematic.

Although one of Foucault's main contributions in the area of social theory has been to turn us towards an account of what I have termed dominative power, his historical rendering of the state's interests in population is devoted to the state's concerns with economic growth and the productivity of disciplinary techniques for the evolution of capitalism (Foucault, 1965; 1982). If the state has had any interest in effective political domination or control aside from this, it is not specified. By contrast, this paper attempts to suggest how, in South Africa, strategies associated with bio-power have been co-ordinated to secure the domination of African people. I would argue that the state's interest in this process has been linked firstly, to the various "rationalities" which have been progressively incorporated into its apparatuses, and secondly, to the state's broad "interest" in developing at least a minimal administrative capacity. Alongside finances, a minimal capacity to act, or an administrative capacity, is essential to all states and often constitutes a powerful autonomous motive for state action. Accumulation of knowledge, surveillance capacities and the ability to carry out policy choices (the existence and mobilisation of an apparatus) provide a substratum of state interests which, in some situations, can be very significant. In other situations, state capacities have been very effectively

secured, as in modern Western Democracies (Giddens, 1985), and here such skeletal motivations for developing state capacities are less easily observable.

It is frequently the case that in constructing state power (and, more generally, in constructing all sorts of power relations) the spatiality of social life is a crucial factor (Mann, 1984; 1986; Sack, 1986). In building state power in South Africa, for example, a variety of spatial strategies have been deployed by the state. The section which follows will develop this point on the basis of Foucault's rich understandings of the spatiality of power relations, before I raise some questions about the applicability of his analyses in the South African context.

b. Foucault on Spatiality

Many social analysts have responded enthusiastically to the agendas which Foucault's prolific researches have suggested. Some of his ideas have been taken up in a South African context (Atkinson, 1987; 1990; Chisholm, 1989; Variava, 1990) but his ongoing emphasis on the spatiality of power and social relations (Gregory, 1989; Philo, 1991) has, as yet, been somewhat neglected. My ambition is to show why it is particularly this geographically sensitive aspect of Foucault's work which could be fruitfully explored within the South African context.

Perhaps the most well-known example of Foucault's acute sensitivity to questions of geography is his exploration of the Panopticon as a model of a particular sort of power mechanism, developed and implemented during the course of the nineteenth century (Foucault, 1977). The Panopticon embodied the modalities of power prevalent at the time - regulated distributions of bodies and the potential for continuous surveillance giving effect to the power of the supervising "gaze". The key to these technologies lay in the architecture of the institution and the micro-organisation of space. These particular physical arrangements were intended to induce not only a disciplined regimentation aimed at control of the body but also, by means of constant surveillance, were designed to invite self-regulation through moral reflection, the aim of which was to internalise the morality which informed discipline and thereby lead to the complete reforming of offendors.

Foucault's work encompasses a sense of the spatiality of power at a variety of scales. At the beginning of The Birth of the Clinic (1976) he points to three "spatializations" of medical knowledge - a primary spatialization at the level of "nosology" or the classification of diseases, a secondary spatialisation in which this classification is translated to the body - a disease "defined by its place in a family, be(comes) characterized by its seat in an organism" (1976: 10) - and a tertiary spatialization encompassing "all the gestures by which, in a given society, a disease is circumscribed medically, invested, isolated, divided up into closed, privileged regions, or distributed throughout cure centres, arranged in the most favourable way" (ibid: 16). He traces transformations in these spatializations at a crucial period in the history of western medicine when the constitution of the human subject as object in medical knowledge was definitively achieved.

The spatiality of modern power relations therefore incorporates a geographical imagining as well as a geographical

realisation at scales from the page to the body and the polity. In addition, the visual nature of many power techniques - for example, the medical "gaze", the illumination necessary to observe and isolate segments of the body - involves a certain opening up, a making visible: processes which entail particular physical arrangements and thus lead to a broad concern with distributions of both bodies and populations.

One of Foucault's first manouevres to extend the scale of his analysis from the institutional to the urban is captured in his discussion of the "carceral city" (1977: 307). This city - the product of an early nineteenth century author's imaginings - consists of a series of "carceral" institutions and mechanisms which work individually and in concert to "exercise a power of normalisation", producing the "disciplinary individual" (1977: 308). A transformation of this image to include a more complex account of modes of power and their spatial expression is necessary if we are to begin to consider Foucault's intentions at a broader urban and regional scale. Giddens (1985: 185-6) criticises Foucault's implied over-extension of the Panopticon model beyond the prison - to the factory, work-place and elsewhere - and reminds us that many different forms of power have a spatiality intrinsic to their deployment but that not all of these employ the twin aspects of the Panopticon model of power - being the discipline of the body and the exercise of surveillance. At the urban scale I would argue that it is a variant of the second aspect of Panoptic power - surveillance - which is most easily observed. And the agents and discursive concerns of urban-scale surveillance also need to be specified anew.

Some direction in this regard comes from two of the most interesting explicit extensions of Foucault's concerns to the urban context which have been conducted in colonial and ex-colonial contexts (Mitchell, 1988; Rabinow, 1989a; 1989b). In these texts, colonisers and local modernisers are presented as introducing reforms in education, planning, production and military spheres which are designed to transform the chaos of traditional urban patterns and the hidden-ness of urban life into open, orderly, regulated spaces for the "citizens" who were to be made/disciplined by the timing and spacing of these activities. In Mitchell's study of Egypt, urban order and individual discipline come to be linked in the efforts of modernisers to establish a productive state and society which required that the authorities "change the tastes and habits of an entire people, politics had to seize upon the individual, and by the new means of education make him or her into a modern political subject - frugal, innocent and, above all, busy" (Mitchell, 1988: 75; my emphasis).

c. Racial Domination and Spatiality

These concerns have resonance with some aspects of South African political history. Probably most similar are accounts of the "civilising missions" of nineteenth century governors, missionaries and administrators, who saw "assimilation" as the route to political accommodation between colonisers and colonised. Here, the policies and strategies of Sir George Grey appear most pertinent - concerned as they were with establishing Western institutions such as schools, factories and churches in African areas and breaking down traditional institutions and ways of life. Variava (1990) suggests that it was this particular Westernisation strategy which laid the foundations for the subjugation of the African people in South Africa as well as for the institutions through which this was achieved:

> "However much these institutions differed from each other in their ostensible function and declared purpose, they had the common aim of transforming blacks, and they shared similar methods. Above all, they were inspired by their determination to regiment conduct, make the conditions of black life uniform and in this way to constitute and mould a subjugated black population" (Variava, 1990: 161).

But I would suggest that this is too literal a translation of Foucault's concern with the infrastructure of power in modern, disciplined societies to South Africa. The institutions she refers to - compounds, locations, hostels and Bantu Education certainly had, variously, the aims of subjugation, indoctrination, discipline, control and surveillance, but their connection to Western disciplinary, individuating rationalities was arguably more tenuous.

Many of the technologies of power identified by Foucault have certainly been diffused into our non-Western context (Atkinson, 1990). Missionaries, educators, doctors and wardens as well as factory managers and compound managers have played their part in the colonisation and subjugation of South Africa's indigenous people and her settler population. It is the settlers, though, who are most thoroughly disciplined in the sense implied by Foucault's account and it is the abscence of many of the routine, modern disciplining institutions which appalls reformers in contemporary South Africa - the inadequate and dangerous mental health facilities for African people (Marks, 1988), the abscence of sufficient educational facilities and hospitals in most black areas and the resultant "lost generation" of youth are of equal concern now to both the present and potential government organisations, not least for their undisciplined, disruptive social impacts.

We need another "model", then. if we are to interpret the more or less successful subjugation of African people in South Africa - although we can still benefit from Foucault's concern with the exercise of power. But we do need to move away from a focus on the individual to the other "pole" of what Foucault termed "biopower" - to a concern with "populations" (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982).

Indeed, it is arguable that the model for modern South Africa's domination of African people came not so much from Grey but from his Natal-based "opponent" in the realm of Native policy, Shepstone (Cell, 1982; Welsh, 1978). In Shepstone's scheme, traditional African structures and symbols were mobilised in the domination of rural and urban black people, and the scale of political control and observation was that of the group (the "tribe" or "chiefdom") not that of the individual. Rather than it being individualising institutions which generated a quiescent population, one could hypothesize, then, that it was the "grouping" location.

Perhaps it is the disconnection between "citizen" and "African" as conceived by the South African state (cf. Mitchell's (1988) "modern political subjects"referred to above) which permitted the development of these relatively distinctive forms of state control: the mechanisms of domination were, at the same time as being mechanisms of <u>incorporation</u> into the purview of state surveillance, also mechanisms of <u>exclusion</u> from the state and from political rights. It was not as individual subject-citizens that Africans were constituted in South Africa, but as embodied, objectified subjects to be mobilised for productive ends and organised for political subjugation as a relatively undifferentiated mass

("undifferentiated labour power").[15]

Clearly it is impossible to make these sorts of grand generalisations in the absence of detailed studies of the wide variety of subjugating mechanisms, strategies and social relations which have operated through South Africa's urban history (eg Variava (1990) on education, identity and missions). The temptation to tie these together into a clear, central account of the essence of racial domination is very strong but what I will try to develop here comes from only one of many possible vantage points, namely the state, and its concern with effecting state power and racial domination in urban areas.

4. States, citizens and territory in South African cities: examples of themes to be explored

> "In the end citizens, without the vote, are mere subjects, ruled over by others over who they have no control or influence" (Heard, 1961: 31-32).

The South African state in modern times has employed a number of specifically spatial strategies in order to reinforce its power, or to effect different economic and social policies. Both the "segregation" state and the "Apartheid" state were involved in creating geographies whose impact on human life has been substantial. But these geographies were not incidental outcomes of spatially unaware state policies. Rather, they were central to the formulation of the state's political and accumulation strategies. Territoriality as a strategic deployment of spatial arrangements is therefore an important aspect of the growth of state power in South Africa.

These policies were also intimately concerned with the effective control and domination of individuals and populations. The consolidation of what Foucault has termed "bio-power" has preoccupied state officials in South Africa for much of this century. The ability to observe and order both individuals and populations, the regulation of daily lives in ways which harness the potential for growth and reinforce the capacities of the state have all been of importance. But in the South African context, the problematic of racial domination has lent these complex strategies added dimensions. Not only was the implementation of many disciplinary and welfare strategies uneven amongst different racial groups, but disciplinary institutions incorporated racial classifications and racially-based spatial divisions of inmates (Chisholm, 1989). Similarly at an urban level, the dilemmas of urban management were shaded by racial domination.

a. Urbanisation.

Although my broader study deals mostly with urban segregation, the predominant concern of both policy makers and theorists has been with what was widely known during the 1920s as "territorial segregation". The regional-scale

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[15] Later reforms (1978) which differentiated this mass clearly extended (recovered?) the civilising, subjectifying, individualising disciplines of the West (and whites) to a segment of the population (hence Hindson's (1986) "differentiated labour force") - the productivity of discipline perhaps becoming more urgent than the apparently wasteful domination of subjugation.

separation of race groups and the confinement of African people to "reserves" were of central importance here. Job reservation, land distribution, and the exclusion of African people from vast areas of rural and urban South Africa formed the central aspects of the programme and ideology of Apartheid and, earlier, of Segregation. The question of urbanisation was also intimately connected to the problem of securing the orderly distribution of labour. Large-scale state intervention in the control of the movement and settlement of African labour characterised the Apartheid era, and was incipient in pre-Apartheid policies.

When theorists have debated the facility of segregation for economic accumulation, they have referred almost exclusively to the phenomenon of confining African settlement to certain areas and encouraging migrant labour (predominantly male) in an effort to secure the reproduction of "cheap labour power" (Wolpe, 1974). This formulation has been hotly debated (Simkins, 1981; Dubow, 1989a), as have been the arguments that the reserve strategy was associated with and directed towards meeting the interests, needs and demands of particular fractions of capital (specifically, agriculture and mining) (Posel, 1986). As a state policy for "canalising" labour power to meet the demands of various employers, the practices of influx control and labour bureaux have been contradictory and ultimately unworkable (Greenberg, 1987), and, as Greenberg (1987) and Posel (1986) demonstrate, it is insufficient to reduce these state policies to an instrumentality on behalf of capital. The state's interests in achieving population distributions and methods of population control or government which preserved white domination, secured adequate and directed economic growth and ensured it of the surveillance capacities necessary for effecting policies were also bound up with urbanisation policies and labour regulation.

But what most observers have failed to address is the strong connection between influx control and the effecting of orderly government within urban areas. Thus, available and possible strategies for urban management have significantly affected the implementation of policies to control urbanisation and labour distribution (as the short illustration (above) from Port Elizabeth alluded to).

b. Segregation and urban planning.

The emergence of the starkly divided Apartheid city was certainly not pre-determined in any teleological fashion - urban apartheid, as Mabin (1989) has shown, was something of an ad-hoc formulation after the Nationalist Party had taken office - but in many respects, urban Apartheid represented the coherent formalisation of many strategies for urban government which had emerged in the first half of the century, and before. A variety of technologies of control were employed more or less effectively and efficiently in an effort to deal with the problems of urbanisation in the South African context.

Two important poles for such state interventions were the medico-administrative power - which has been so influential in shaping cities throughout the world - and the concerns of effecting government in urban areas. Within local states the Medical Officer of Health and the Administrator of Native Affairs held powerful professionalised positions, and

were influential in the implementation of various policies, some of which had been formulated at the national level. Both these professions and the local states had set the problem of urban government and the solutions offered in racial terms by the last decades of the nineteenth century. It was African and Coloured people who were consistently seen to inhabit "filthy and dangerous" areas of town: their poverty and the ideology of racism combined to cement strategies for urban intervention in specifically racial terms. But there was a longer history to the racially segregated form of urban government and, following the argument of earlier parts of this paper, it was specifically the problem of securing rudimentary state capacities which motivated the longevity of this strategy.

c. Administrative power.

The Location strategy forms an important continuity in the growth of state power and state capacity with respect to African people in South Africa. Part of the value of the strategy was its association with an administrative apparatus whose responsibilities and powers were primarily confined to the designated territory of the Location (although there were significant changes in this from the mid-1950s). Territoriality thereby enhanced the administrative powers available to the state and made possible a personal surveillance of the resident population by a relatively small staff. However, at this level discontinuities were also apparent. The practices and ideology of the administrators changed substantially over time, from the early colonial efforts at "civilisation" and integration (Schreuder, 1976) to the Eugenicist-inspired paternalism associated with beliefs in cultural distinctiveness and the "child-like" qualities of black races. This paternalism has formed a unifying ideology of state officials involved in adminstering black populations for much of this century. But administrative practices during the period under review have altered substantially and we can trace the shift from a personal, paternal form of administration, to a bureaucratised, formal and hierarchical system of "urban native administration" (see also Atkinson, 1990). My study attempts to capture the way in which state power operated by analysing the history of these forms of administration in one locality - Port Elizabeth. It is hoped that a consideration of the forms of power operating at the "extremities" of the state will help us to understand more about the nature of state power and racial domination more generally. The primary ambition is to analyse the relationship between the state and the people. This intersection has been progressively confined geographically to the Location in the case of African people in South Africa's urban areas, and the micro relationship here is between the local administrators and the local population.

5. Conclusions

There are of course many different ways in which the themes I have alluded to in this introductory paper could be taken up and elaborated upon. Most strikingly, the examples I have used so far deal with African urban arrangements: the nature of the relationship between urban form, citizenship and white, coloured and indian defined race groups remains to be explored. These are likely to have less to do with rudimentary state capacities and racial domination, and more to do with the content of citizenship definitions and the provision of social facilities. I trust, however, that I have at least pointed towards a set of problems and explanations which could assist in adding another layer of interpretation

to both the past and the changes of the moment.

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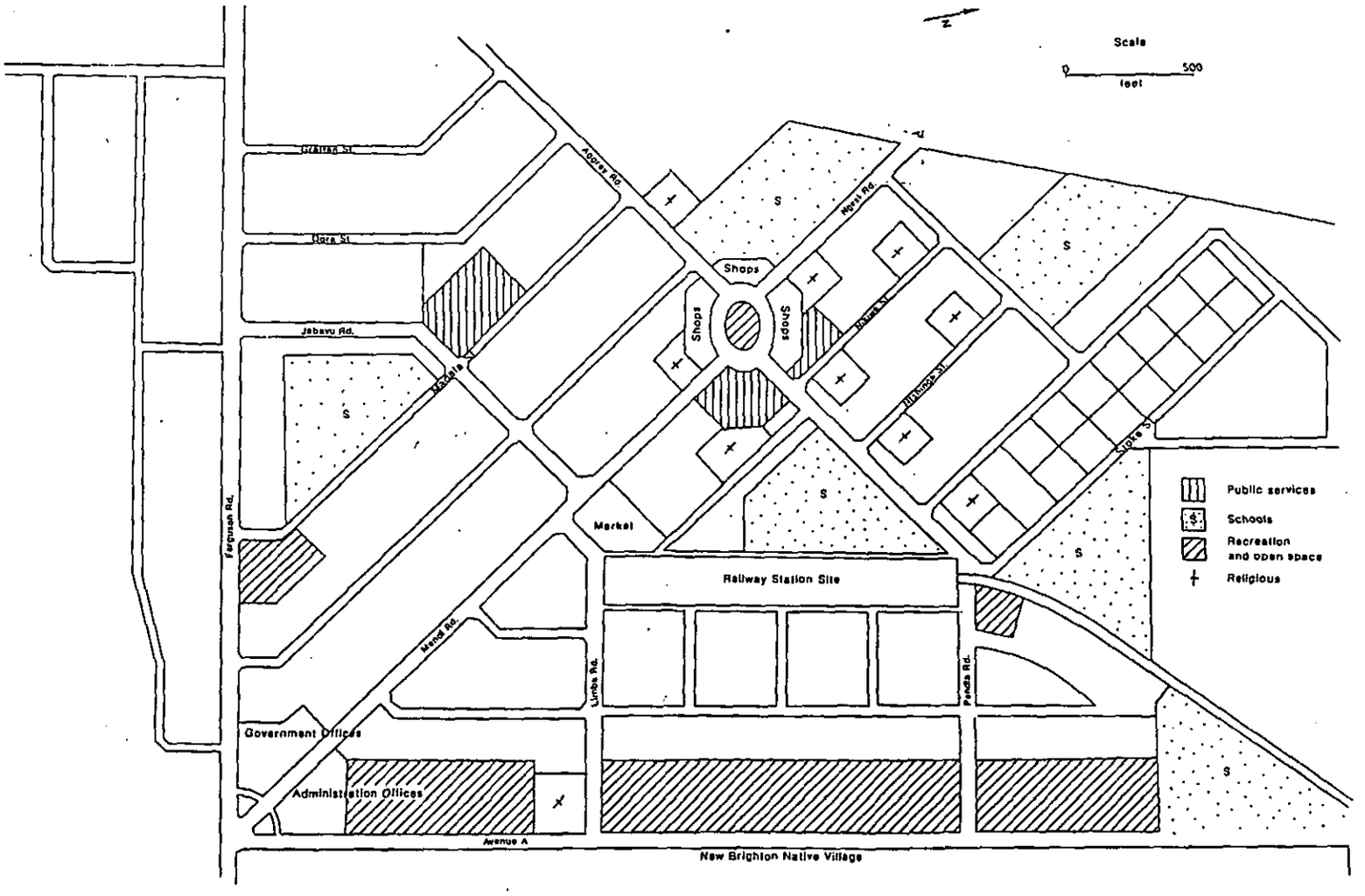


Fig. 1. Layout of McNamee Village, Port Elizabeth

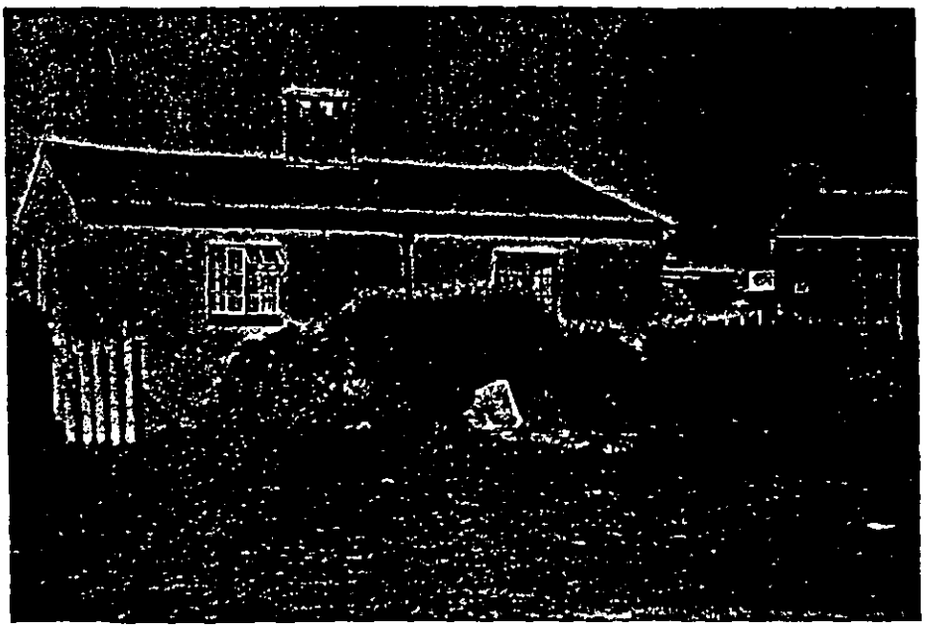


Fig. 2. A House in McNamee Village