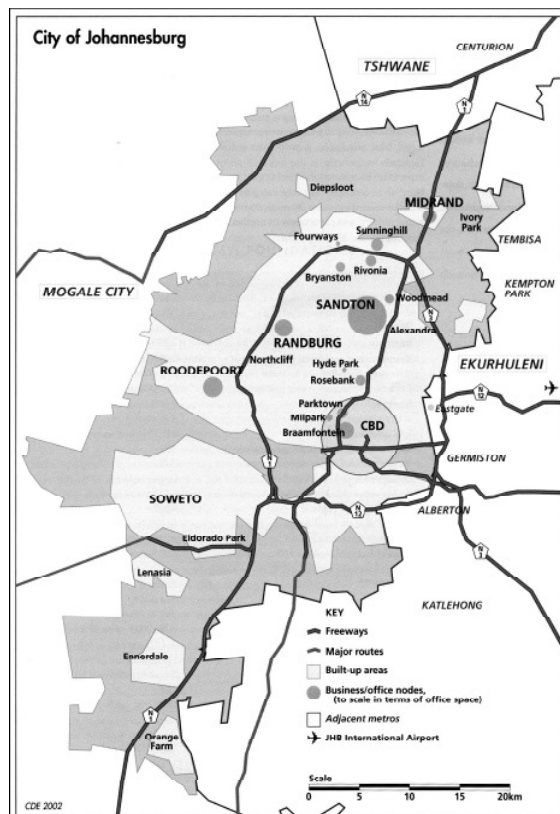


Stephanie Pongratz (Red.)

# Johannesburg

## Stadtentwicklung im Spannungsfeld sozialer Bedürfnisse und innovativer Ideen

Mit Beiträgen von Phil Harrison, Peter Fattinger, Anna Lindner, Katharina Zerlauth und Peter Nigst



Elfriede Pekny-Gesellschaft


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*gefördert durch die*

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# Vorwort

Es ist mir eine große Freude, die Dokumentation des Symposiums „Johannesburg. Stadtentwicklung im Spannungsfeld sozialer Bedürfnisse und innovativer Ideen“ präsentieren zu können. Die Veranstaltung war das erste von SADOCC organisierte wissenschaftliche Symposium in einem größeren Rahmen und bestand aus einem architektonischen und einem künstlerischen Teil. In der vorliegenden Dokumentation werden nur die architektonischen Beiträge dargelegt, da vor allem Bilder und Filmmaterial die künstlerischen Beiträge ausmachten. Manche der Vorträge sind in englischer Sprache dokumentiert und andere in deutscher Sprache, wobei die gewählte Sprache jener des jeweiligen Vortrags bzw. der jeweiligen Diskussion entspricht.

Im Laufe der Veranstaltung wurde ersichtlich, daß eine Analyse von Johannesburgs Stadtentwicklung angesichts der Komplexität vielfältige Blickwinkel erfordert. Es war SADOCC in diesem Sinne wichtig, österreichische Architekturprojekte mit der Frage nach der sozialen Entwicklung Südafrikas zu verknüpfen und einen interdisziplinären akademischen Dialog anzuregen. Dabei sind die einzelnen Projekte von Bedeutung, zugleich müssen sie aber stets im stadtspezifischen Kontext betrachtet werden. Hier spielen kulturelle, sozioökonomische und politische Faktoren eine wichtige Rolle, und es stellen sich Fragen wie: Ist es immer gut bzw. sinnvoll, einen Kindergarten oder ein *community center* in einem Township zu bauen? Welche Rahmenbedingungen müssen vorhanden sein, damit architektonische Projekte einen nachhaltigen Beitrag leisten können?

Dank meiner Beschäftigung mit den Beiträgen des Symposiums hatte ich die Möglichkeit, die vielschichtig-komplexen Strukturen Johannesburgs in den Blick zu nehmen. Zudem wurde mir ersichtlich, welche hoch politischen Charakter Fragen der Stadtentwicklung in einer Stadt wie Johannesburg haben.

Schließlich möchte ich mich bei all jenen bedanken, ohne die das Symposium nicht möglich gewesen wäre: allen Vortragenden, den Verantwortlichen des „Depot“, der Österreichischen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, Eva Rauter, Bernhard Bouzek und Walter Sauer von SADOCC sowie Asmita Banerjee (Dolmetschung) und Marlene Wagner (Consulting).

*Stephanie Pongratz*

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Die sehr interaktiven Darstellungen von Marietta Kesting und Walter Stach/Marcus Neustetter am Nachmittag konnten wir nicht in einem Protokoll dokumentieren – sorry. Das heißt nicht, daß diese Präsentationen und Kunstwerke nicht eindrucksvoll waren – ganz im Gegenteil. Verschaffen Sie sich bitte einen ersten Eindruck im Internet unter

- [www.univie.ac.at/visuellesoziologie/Abstracts/FilmKesting.pdf](http://www.univie.ac.at/visuellesoziologie/Abstracts/FilmKesting.pdf)
- <http://www.wstach.at>
- <http://www.marcusneustetter.com>

Die Fotopräsentationen der Referent/inn/en sind online abrufbar von unserer Website [www.sadocc.at](http://www.sadocc.at).

# Programm des Symposiums

## Freitag, 18. November 2011

18.00 Eröffnung  
Botschaftsrätin Debra Steiner  
(in Vertretung von Botschafter Xolisa Mfundiso Mabhongo)  
Gemeinderat Christoph Chorherr

Vortrag mit Diskussion  
Phil Harrison, Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg  
*Changing Johannesburg* (in engl. Sprache)

Moderation: Bernhard Bouzek

## Samstag, 19. November 2011

9.30-13.00 Architektonische Impulse aus Österreich und Stadtplanung in Johannesburg

Präsentationen von

- Peter Fattinger (Technische Universität, Wien)
- Anna Lindner und Katharina Zerlauth (Architektinnen Wien)
- Peter Nigst (Programmleiter Architektur FH Kärnten)

Kommentare: Phil Harrison

Moderation: Walter Sauer

14.00-17.00 Österreichische Künstler/innen in Johannesburg:

- *Howzit? Life in Johannesburg: Hillbrow and Dainfern.*

Filmregie: Marietta Kesting

- *Arts on Main und Mainstreet Life: Maboneng / Place of Lights.*

Ein exemplarisches Kultur- und Kunst-Projekt von Walter Stach (mit Lifeschaltung zu Marcus Neustetter nach Johannesburg)

Moderation: Gerlinde Ehrenreich

# Ablauf des Symposiums

**Freitag, 18. November 2011**

- **Eröffnung**

Bernhard Bouzek eröffnete das Symposium im Namen von SADOCC. Die Zielsetzung des Symposiums sei es, junge Wissenschaftler/innen verschiedener Fachrichtungen zusammenzubringen und im Hinblick auf die Entwicklungen des Südlichen Afrika einen interdisziplinär-akademischen Dialog zu initiieren. Dabei sollten sowohl Ansätze aus der Theorie als auch aus der Praxis eingebracht und der Nord-Süd-Austausch gepflegt werden. Der rote Faden des Symposiums sei dabei die Frage nach den allgemeinen Entwicklungen in Johannesburg mit einem Fokus auf die österreichischen Architekturprojekte in Südafrika. SADOCC sei es ein wesentliches Anliegen, ebendiese Projekte als Ergebnis eines hohen Engagements zu sehen; zugleich müsse aber immer auch die Frage in den Blick genommen werden, welche Beiträge sie zur Bewältigung spezifischer südafrikanischer Probleme leisteten. Das bedeute, daß sie in einen größeren, ganzheitlichen Kontext gestellt werden müßten.

Botschaftsrätin Debra Steiner, in Vertretung von Botschafter Xolisa Mfundiso Mabongo, und Gemeinderat Christoph Chorherr gestalteten in weiterer Folge die Eröffnung des Symposiums. Debra Steiners fokussierte auf die aktuellen politischen Herausforderungen sowie Zielsetzungen der südafrikanischen Regierung, während Christoph Chorherr spezifisch auf die städtische sowie räumliche Entwicklung Bezug nahm.

Im Rahmen von Debra Steiners Einleitung wurde die Vielschichtigkeit des Begriffes „Stadtplanung“ ersichtlich. So habe dieser ihrer Ansicht nach hat weitaus mehr Dimensionen als nur jene der Dienstleistungen sowie Infrastruktur für die Bürger/innen; vielmehr sei ihm auch ein starkes psychosoziales Element inne. Dies sei insofern eine hochpolitische Frage, als die breite Mehrheit der südafrikanischen Bevölkerung in historischer Perspektive von ebendiesen Strukturen exkludiert gewesen sei. Um zielführende Ergebnisse in der nationalen Entwicklung zu erreichen, habe die südafrikanische Regierung fünf Hauptbereiche identifiziert, welche in den kommenden Jahren die Prioritäten darstellen sollen. Diese sind: Armutsreduktion und die Schaffung von Arbeitsplätzen, öffentliche Sicherheit, die Verbesserung des Gesundheitssystems, eine qualitativ bessere Bildung sowie Wohnpolitik. Seit dem Beginn der soziopolitischen Transition im Jahr 1994 habe die

südafrikanische Regierung eine große Anzahl an Häusern gebaut sowie Elektrizität und Wasser geliefert, sowohl in ländlichen und städtischen Gebieten als auch in informellen Ansiedelungen (*settlements*). In einigen Aspekten seien diese Initiativen sehr erfolgreich gewesen, in anderen eher nicht. So habe es beispielsweise Probleme gegeben, wenn Häuser in informellen Ansiedelungen abgerissen wurden, damit Strom- oder Wasserleitungen verlegt werden konnten. Debra Steiner betonte in diesem Sinne die Relevanz des Dialogs mit den *communities*. Zudem überbrachte sie eine persönliche Nachricht des Botschafters: Dieser schätze das Engagement von Österreicher/inne/n, welche in Projekten in Südafrika involviert seien, sehr. In diesem Zusammenhang liege ihm das Konzept eines beidseitigen Lernens sehr am Herzen, denn genauso wie Südafrika von Europa lernen könne, könne Europa von Südafrika lernen.

Christoph Chorgherr betonte, daß Entscheidungen in Bezug auf städtische und im besonderen räumliche Entwicklung sehr langfristige Wirkungen haben. Er stellte die Organisation SARCH („Social Sustainable Architecture“, <http://sarch.twoday.net/>) vor, welcher er selbst im Vorstand angehöre und die in den „armen Umgebungen“ rund um Johannesburg sowie an der Wild Coast sozial nachhaltige Architektur umsetze. Europäische Architekturfakultäten würden ermuntert, am Projekt teilzunehmen, in einem ersten Schritt seien Kindergärten sowie Einrichtungen für Menschen mit Behinderungen gebaut worden. Seit 2008 und 2011 gebe es außerdem zwei Schulen in der Nähe von Heidelberg, südwestlich von Johannesburg, und im Eastern Cape. Diese Projekte würden nicht als klassische Entwicklungsprojekte verstanden; vielmehr handle es sich um ein beidseitiges Lernen. So laute das Motto auch „Build together, learn together“. Die Absicht sei, Strukturen zu schaffen für Kinder, die im Hinblick auf den Zugang zu Bildung benachteiligt seien.

Weiters stellte Christoph Chorgherr die Frage nach der räumlichen Entwicklung von Städten und betrachtete bestimmte Aspekte ebendieser aus einer kritischen Perspektive. So seien die Distanzen in Johannesburg eine große Herausforderung, für allem für all jene Menschen, die täglich zwischen einem *Township* oder einer informellen Ansiedelung und dem Stadtzentrum hin- und herpendeln. Diese räumlichen Strukturen hingen in enger Form mit sozialen Fragen und Problemen zusammen. Chorgherr bemängelte in diesem Zusammenhang, daß er keinen großen Unterschied zwischen Baustrukturen des Apartheid-Regimes und heutigen Entwicklungen sehe.

*Stephanie Pongratz*

- Vortrag

Phil Harrison (Witwatersrand University)

## Changing Johannesburg

### *Introducing the presentation*

It is an honour for me to be talking here this evening; it's my first time in Vienna, first time in Austria. I arrived yesterday in the freezing fog but this afternoon was very bright and beautiful. So I'm very pleased to be able to see something of this lovely city.

Let me start – before I get into some of those tough questions that have already been raised – with some of the literature on Johannesburg.

- Let me start in 1899 with Olive Schreiner, who was South Africa's first modern author; she wrote *The Story of an African Farm*. She arrived in Johannesburg that year and was shocked by Johannesburg, horrified by the city. She wrote: „Anything so poorly decayed I had never seen. We are a city given to lust, lust of money in the first place, lust of pleasure, lust of excitement“. Needless to say she didn't stay very long in Johannesburg.
- Sarah Gertrude Millen, who was a famous writer in the first part of the twentieth century, said something a little more positive about Johannesburg, she said: „It has greater thoughts than any other town in Africa, but it is alive. For good or evil, things happen there. From its restless vitality spring the excitements and movements of South Africa. Johannesburg is ardent and urgent, it spurs men to ideas, to action, to competition. There is electricity in its atmosphere.“
- And more recently our famous photographer, David Goldblatt: „Johannesburg is seldom a beautiful city“ – it's not like Vienna – „but there is a dark poetry in its bleak urban environments“.
- John Matshikiza, who sadly died recently: „Johannesburg is proud that history and beauty and all that bunk aren't a significant feature of its landscape“. In fact Johannesburg is a very new city in international terms, 120 years old.
- Riaan Malan – you might have read some of his crime writing – wrote „You might get hijacked (that's car-jacked) on your way home, but what the heck!“ That's something of what Johannesburgers think of their city.



The presentation will begin with context and background. I know that some of you are familiar with Johannesburg and some of you have even lived in the city, but I must dwell on context and background for those who don't know Johannesburg. In the second part of the presentation I am going to ask the difficult question that has already been raised here in various ways: What has changed and what hasn't changed with the official ending of Apartheid in 1994? And it's a complex story, not a simple story. If I have time I will briefly talk about the way in which Johannesburg has been represented in the scholarly literature. I won't get very academic about it. I will just talk briefly with some images about the ways in which Johannesburg has been represented in the literature and I will argue that none of these representations are adequate – the city is too complex, too multidimensional – and that we really need to layer representations if we can begin to understand the city.

### *Contextualising Johannesburg*

Now let me start not with Johannesburg but with the city region of which Johannesburg is a part. Johannesburg is a city of four million people – in international terms, that is not very big – but it sits within a city region of around eleven million people. And a city region of eleven million people is quite big in international terms. You would have seen this well-known photograph; this is the world at night. You can see Europe, North America, Japan, parts of China, parts of the Middle East; all well lit up. Africa is not quite as bright. But, there at the bottom end of Africa you will see some bright lights. That's what is called the Gauteng city region; named after the province of Gauteng in which Johannesburg is located. If you look at the insert you will see the quite complex structure of the Gauteng city region. That's Johannesburg, the core of the city region. There's a linear belt of urban development from Johannesburg to the metropolitan City of Tshwane, previously known as Pretoria; and in the east is the metropolitan City of Ekurhuleni, a mining and industrial centre where OR Tambo International Airport is located. There are also some lights in the south; in the heavy industrial area of the Vaal. So to understand Johannesburg you have to understand the city region.

That diagram on the right makes the point that has already been made: that we're talking of a highly fragmented and complex city region. A „conventional“ city has high levels of density in the centre or the core, close to jobs, and has a negative density gradient with densities declining towards the edge. But in South African cities, because of the Apartheid legacy, we have low residential densities in the centre and high densities on the urban edge, far from jobs, creating a huge challenge in terms of moving people from jobs to work. So here we

have the economic heart of South Africa; Johannesburg contributing seventeen percent of national GDP, and the wider city region around thirty four percent. Johannesburg is also the business and financial heart of South Africa with seventy percent of South Africa's corporate headquarters. Contrary to what I suggested you will see a spike of residential density in the inner city. But, it wasn't like that twenty years ago. This is recent; after 1994 as large numbers of immigrants have moved into this area. So, as you can see, there have been significant changes after apartheid, in some areas at least. But, beyond the inner city, there are very low densities...the sprawling suburbs. On the edge, however, you also see quite high densities in places such as Soweto and Diepsloot and in Orange farm, furthest away from the inner city. And the rest of the city region, outside Johannesburg, is even more fragmented. All of this poses high costs for the poorest of the poor as they must navigate this complex urban structure.

Let's look at Johannesburg and the city region in an international comparative perspective. The diagram shows the Gauteng city region in relation to major cities in Europe, North America and Asia. You will see that, on the same scale, London has a very similar population to the Gauteng city region but a much smaller physical footprint. Jakarta has about double the size of population but a footprint similar in physical size to Gauteng. Johannesburg is the densest city in South Africa but its' density is still low in international terms; akin to densities of North American cities and a lot less than European or Asian cities.

Let's contextualize Johannesburg briefly in terms of South Africa as a whole. You'll see Gauteng there in the north of the country, and figures will show that Gauteng's economic and demographic dominance has increased since the end of Apartheid. With the ending of Apartheid many people believed that the coastal cities would gain a greater share of the nation's wealth as South Africa reintegrated into the global economy but it never happened in that way. The coastal cities have struggled and the city region that has grown in absolute and relative terms is that of Gauteng. On the map you can see the previous homeland areas, consisting of quite dense rural settlements, and accounting for about thirty four percent of South Africa's population. These are mainly poverty traps that are strongly tied to the city-regions as historically the mining industry established a system of circular, or oscillating, migration to and from the rural areas and the cities. Increasingly, however, there is a more permanent movement of people from these poverty traps and other areas of economic crisis to the cities.

Johannesburg is a new city. It began in 1886 as a mining camp and grew explosively into a modern city, gaining official recognition as a city in 1927. It was a city with a very turbulent initial history. To begin there was the bitter conflict of a three year war over gold as the British desired the gold on territory controlled by the Boers. There was also a bitter conflict between

capitalists and workers with the capitalists wanting to employ black labor, which was cheaper, causing bitter conflict with white labor. Then, of course, there was the conflict between black and white over many years and the lengthy liberation struggle. So Johannesburg is a city literally built on gold, but also built with the blood spilt in the conflicts around gold and race.

Now, Johannesburg is no longer a city of gold. There are some big mining houses that are still located in Johannesburg but there are no operating mines. The physical production of gold stopped in the 1970s but Johannesburg's economy never collapsed. By then its economy was strong and diversified although it was not strong enough to absorb all its people into formal employment. Johannesburg was built on gold but its gold mining days have left some significant challenges, including severe environmental challenges that I will talk of later.

Johannesburg was born from mining but was significantly shaped by racial spatial engineering. From the very beginning there were attempts to segregate out the races. But, from the 1920s, the programme was more systematic and from the introduction of Apartheid in 1948 was especially brutal. Racially mixed slums were moved – destroyed – and new segregated housing estates were created. The biggest township to eventually emerge was Soweto, which now has a population of about a million-and-a-half people. There are townships not only for black Africans but also for people of Indian descent and black people of mixed race. From the 1960's pinnacle of a township growth, new township development was halted as the government moved to prevent further influx of black Africans into the city and focused new township development in the homeland areas. Despite influx control and lack of houses, however, black Africans still came into the city. From the 1980s this led to the proliferation of shacks.

Urban Apartheid started falling apart after the student uprising of 1976: influx control collapsed, land invasions were leading to informal settlements, and payment boycotts were making it more difficult to govern black areas in the city. In the 1980s there was widespread unrest. From the late 1980s, new townships were built which were called „less formal townships“. Government acknowledged that influx control was not working, and that the black population was urbanizing, and so it decided it would start building houses again for black Africans but it built the houses on the urban edge, as far as possible from the center of the metropolitan city. And that's why Orange farm and Diepsloot and Ivory Park and settlements like these came into existence long after the initial development of places such as Soweto and Alexandra. These are late Apartheid townships.

After 1994 fragmented racially segregated local government was replaced with metropolitan government, although there was a prolonged transitional period. There was the Reconstruction Development Programme which included mass housing delivery and many initiatives to address service backlogs. But, as I will say again later, the outcomes have not been clear; they have been contested. There are some critics who argue that inequalities have even been reinforced since 1994 but it's always a complex story. I will return to this discussion.

Now we have to talk about the natural environment, and in Johannesburg there is a great divide. The north of Johannesburg is spoken of as the world's largest urban forest. This part of the city was originally just bare veld (grassland); there were no trees. But humans have transformed the landscape, and in this case possibly for the better! We've got wonderful bird life, an incredible variety of trees, and this enormous urban forest. But the south, from the mining belt, through Soweto into Orange farm, it is barren; it's quite desolate environmentally speaking. In recent years, however, there has been an ambitious initiative to green Soweto and surrounding areas.

There are other major environmental challenges. Johannesburg is one of the few major cities in the world that is not near a coastline and not near a major river. We do have a bridge, but there is no water flowing under the bridge. This is the Nelson Mandela Bridge that crosses railway shunting yards. Johannesburg's water comes from inter-basin transfers. It depends on water imported from places such as KwaZulu-Natal and Lesotho. Unless there is a very significant action to secure Johannesburg's water supplies into the future, and unless there is a significant reduction in demand – thirty percent of water is unaccounted for – Johannesburg could face water shortages in twenty or thirty years.

Food security is another concern. The poorer segments of Johannesburg's population are seriously affected by rising global food prices. Energy security is worrying and Johannesburg did experience rolling power blackouts in 2008. Big new power stations are being built currently, but the problem is they are still coal-fired power stations and are a serious „lock-in“ as we attempt to make the transition to a low carbon economy. Issues of energy security – in the short term, at least, – are being resolved but at the expense of broader environmental objectives. In the longer term, South Africa must fundamentally change the mix of its energy supply and here there are tough debates to be had around matters such as nuclear energy and prospecting for shale gas.

In world terms, South Africa is a surprisingly high emitter of green house gases.

Johannesburg is a much poorer city than London or Berlin but its' emissions are per capita are nearly equivalent to those cities. Johannesburg's emissions are a lot higher per capita than other cities in the global South such as Mumbai or Sao Paulo. The only comfort is that

emissions per capita are lot less than that than cities in the United States, Australia or the Middle East. Johannesburg's relatively high emissions have mainly to do with South Africa's dependence on coal-based energy. The transition is necessary but it is a transition that may impose enormous costs in the short term on South Africa, and the rate of this transition is a big debate currently.

There is also the environmentally damaged mining belt. Much of the land here is toxic although some of the land is now being rehabilitated. That's a horrible picture on the screen, but it's a horrible story as mining has left a damaging legacy. The mines are closed and so there is no-one pumping out the water in the abandoned mines, and so acidic water is rising at fifteen meters a year. It is predicted that in three years acidic drainage will spill onto the surface seriously affecting national heritage, public health, and the built environment with even the foundations of buildings being affected. Urgent attention is being given to this but whether the response is quick enough is an issue.

Johannesburg's population is around four million. The graph shows how dramatically the population has grown. However, if we extend the graph to 2011 we will see that population growth rates have been declining. Today, South Africa's annual population growth rate is hardly more than one percent per annum. This is a result of HIV/AIDS, but it is also the result of a surprising drop in fertility rates in the country. Johannesburg has had an even sharper drop in fertility levels than nationally but this has been countered by in-migration, and so Johannesburg's population continues to grow faster than the national average, although at a declining rate. In the 1990s, population of the city grew at around 3 % per annum, which is quite high in international terms. It has dropped to two percent over the last few years and is now expected over the next few years to drop to around 1.3%, which is just slightly higher than South Africa's growth rate. So the demographics are going to change, which has positive and negative implications for the country and for the city.

Of all cities in South Africa, Johannesburg is the most diverse – you know South Africa has eleven official languages and they are all spoken on the streets of Johannesburg on a daily basis. But, there are also many other languages spoken in Johannesburg because immigrants are coming to Johannesburg from across Africa. French, for example, is very commonly spoken in Johannesburg now because many African countries are francophone. And it's not just from Africa, large communities are moving in from China, India, Pakistan and elsewhere. There are, for example, around eighteen large Chinese malls in Johannesburg. Many of the immigrants have come in without official documentation. It is very difficult to count numbers as many migrants live „below the radar“. Because of high unemployment in South Africa, many communities see migrants as an economic threat. You may have heard of the distressing violence – the xenophobic unrest – that started in Johannesburg in May

2008. This underlying tension remains a real concern. On the screen there are two images taken from the American media; two different faces of Johannesburg, both relating to the rest of the world. The one on the left was taken during the xenophobic unrest of 2008. The one on the right was taken in July 2010 when South Africa welcomed the world with the hosting of the FIFA World Cup. It presents two very different faces of the same city.

It is said that Johannesburg is one of the most unequal cities in the world. Some statistics suggest that it is either the most unequal city in the world, or nearly so, with a GINI-coefficient close to 0.7. While GINI-coefficients are dropping sharply in Latin American cities, in South African cities GINI-coefficients have remained stubbornly high. Let me talk very briefly about the economy of the city. As I have said, Johannesburg was built on mining, but mining contributes less than two percent of the economy now. By the 1950s manufacturing was larger than mining and this sector grew rapidly until around 1980s when it declined sharply. However, Johannesburg continued to grow as finance, real estate and services emerged as the leading sectors. Johannesburg is today an emerging financial centre globally, and an important financial gateway into Africa.

Johannesburg has a vibrant and resilient economy. While South Africa's economy grew at around 3.3% per annum between 1994 and 2009, Johannesburg's economy grew at over 4%. However, unemployment remains a crisis even in Johannesburg. Official unemployment rates nationally are now standing at around twenty eight percent and Johannesburg is not much better off as people continue to arrive in the city in search of jobs increasing the number of job-seekers locally. The real crisis is youth unemployment with more than fifty percent youth unemployed; in some age categories – 20-24, for example – it's closer to sixty five percent. The alienated, disenchanting, unemployed youth are perhaps our greatest concern. Of course, people make livelihoods and if they don't have employment in the formal sector they move into the informal sector. But South Africa's informal sector is not well developed compared to many other countries, even in Africa or Latin America. It tends to remain survivalist activities at the low end.

Spatially, in Johannesburg, there is, broadly speaking, a North-South-divide. On the screen you will see the lowest levels of deprivation in green and the highest levels in red. South of the mining belt you have the greatest poverty and north of the mining belt the greatest affluence. But, it is more complex than that. There are large pockets of poverty in the North, such as in Alexandra and Diepsloot, and also pockets of affluence in the south, such as the Indian community of Lenasia and in the middle- to upper-middle class "southern suburbs". Soweto is becoming increasingly differentiated; with the emergence of the black middle class it is not just a picture of poverty. We must understand that spatial divides are real but also quite complex.

Johannesburg is a polycentric city; the CBD has declined and you have the emergence of new nodes of activities such as Sandton, the new financial heart of Johannesburg. So, Johannesburg has decentralized spatially over the past twenty years but has decentralized mainly to the north. There has been very little business development in the south; the shopping malls in Soweto excluded. Is it possible to reverse this geography? It's a big debate amongst planners at the moment. What will it take to bring some of the jobs to the poor who live primarily in the South? Alternatively, what will it take to bring people closer to the jobs in the North?

The map on the screen shows residential densities. You can pick up the inner city which now has a large, mainly migrant, population; about 300 000. You can pick out Soweto – 1.5 million – and also scattered pockets of density down in the South into Orange farm. The population here is very dispersed, partly because of the geology. The land is dolomitic; undermined by cave formations and sinkholes, or potentially unstable, and so you can't build everywhere. Settlements are very scattered there. And then you see the low density suburbs up to the North but also some pockets of density in the north such as Alexandra township. There are around 180 informal settlements in Johannesburg, scattered mainly in an arch from the South to the North, across the Northwest of the city. These shack settlements account for about twenty percent of Johannesburg's population. This is not very high in African terms, but nevertheless a very significant proportion and therefore represents a major challenge for city governance.

Spatial fragmentation is a real burden on the poor. On average urban households in South Africa spend twenty percent of their income on transportation. Of course, some households spend fifty percent and some ten percent, but the average is twenty percent, which is high in international terms, especially when you have a relatively poor population. And it's the poor who are most affected because it's the poor who are most distant from work opportunities, unlike in many other cities in the world. As I have said before, there are very few cities in the world that have the density profile of South African cities. And that's why, if we're addressing poverty and if we're addressing inequality, we have to address spatial fragmentation; but it's not easy to do so. It will be a long term task to change the structure of the city.

Let me quickly tell you where people are living: around ten percent in the inner city, fifty percent in the townships, just over twenty percent in shack settlements, twenty percent in the middle class suburbs. The inner city changed very dramatically after the ending of Apartheid from a center of business to a residential center. Some of the processes were poorly managed. With insufficient formal accommodation in the inner city, slumlords moved in very quickly, seizing the opportunity. Today, much of the accommodation in the inner city is

provided by slumlords. There is overcrowding, infrastructure of buildings collapsing, a lot of exploitation of tenants, many buildings hijacked, and owners who have lost control of their buildings. It is a very complex situation. There has been some turnaround over the past decade but processes of change have been highly contested.

Let's look at townships: they are not the same; some are still very marginal but some, like Soweto, are stabilising. Soweto has been through an interesting process of transformation; parts of it are beginning to look quite sub-urban in places.

Informal settlements: the numbers are fairly stable as there have been hardly any new land invasions since the 1990s. Also, the housing programme has relocated some shack dwellers into new formal settlements. However, informal settlements remain the main interface between the city and rural areas; this is where a large proportion of the newly arrived rural poor are trying to get a foothold into the city. They can't find affordable accommodation, so they move into shacks and they are staying an increasingly long time in shacks because of the difficulties of accessing the formal job market. Increasingly, however, new shacks are to be found in the backyards of formal properties rather than in new or existing freestanding informal settlement.

And, of course, there are still the leafy suburbs that we know in this very unequal city. That image is of Montecasino, an entertainment complex that takes the form of a fake Italian hill-top village. It is surrounded by Tuscan-style villas. But, we cannot represent the northern suburbs just in terms of these glitzy images. These suburbs are very diverse. Some are extremely affluent, even in international terms, but many are quite modest and ordinary.

Transport and mobility is an important element of spatial form. Middle-class Johannesburg is a very car-oriented society. The middle class simply don't use public transport. This is why I think that the Gautrain (a newly developed fast rail system) may actually be a very positive intervention despite criticisms that it is elitist and does not provide for mass transit. It is the one intervention currently that is at least starting to get the middle-class out of private motorcars. The thing about Johannesburg is that it was almost entirely built during the age of the automobile, not like European cities that have a much longer history. The black middle-class is quickly catching up with the white middle-class in terms of car ownership.

Where I do agree with the critics is that the massive new investment in freeway upgrading may be a terrible mistake as it just reinforces this dependency on the motorcar. Most of the urban poor don't use publicly owned transport. But they do use mass transit; a big proportion use privately owned mini-bus taxis. The use of mini-bus taxis increased from three percent in the 1970s to over forty percent after 2000; at the same time that the use of public transport buses and trains declined dramatically. And, of course, the mini-bus taxi is in some ways a



very successful example of black entrepreneurship. It's also very well suited to the highly complex spatial form of Johannesburg; it's not like a train or a bus systems which have fixed routes. But on the other hand, minibus taxis are poorly regulated; some of them are run by dodgy cartels; and there are serious safety problems. This notwithstanding I do think we have to take on board mini-bus taxis and start looking much more seriously at their contribution to the city.

There are now very serious attempts to restructure the city around new transport routes; around the new bus rapid transit (BRT) system; and around the Gautrain; to try to integrate the city better.

We must also talk about governance. The slide may be rather state-centric, showing how the formal administration is structured, but it is important to acknowledge the role of civil society. Unfortunately, however, the civil society discussion is a really difficult one because it has been undermined since 1994 as activists have moved into government, and it's much weaker than it once was. Johannesburg consisted of around fifteen previously separate racially divided local authorities. In the 1980's the rallying call was „one city, one tax base“ as the desire of the civic opposition was to bring the city together to allow for redistribution.

There was a long transition between 1996 when the first democratic local government elections were held and the end of 2000 when a consolidated, single-tier metropolitan government was established for Johannesburg. The new metropolitan government was controlled by the party of struggle, the African National Congress (ANC). However, almost as soon as it came to power it was accused of working against the interests of the poor. The administration was, for example, charged with being ‚neo-liberal‘ when it corporatized service delivery by establishing city-owned companies to deliver water, electricity, waste removal, and so on. The programme to regenerate the inner city led to the displacement of residents in so-called ‚bad buildings‘ and this was also the source of great controversy. The story however is really complex and glib labeling is not really helpful. Some of the actions of city government may indeed have had negative outcomes for the urban poor, but many other programmes and actions were directly redistributive such as, for example, free basic services for households on an indigency register; informal settlement upgrading; affordable housing development; new forms of public transport; and, a reorientation of the capital budget from areas of wealth to previously marginalized areas. We need to understand the different imperatives shaping the actions of the city including the need to balance the budget and ensure that the (mainly white) middle class continues to pay property taxes but also the need to respond to the concerns of a mainly poor and black electoral constituency.

*What has changed? What remains the same?*

Now I am going to talk briefly about transformation. This is the question: what has changed, what remains the same? Has the city desegregated? Well, race separation remains a stubborn feature of the landscape, but there have been notable shifts. A significant proportion of the rapidly expanding black African middle class, and also of the well established Indian middle class, has moved into previously white suburbs, which are now fairly mixed. That is change, although some would regard this as being of little consequence overall. The schools in previously white suburbs are now very mixed, with many parents from Soweto, for example, bussing their children to the previously white suburbs on a daily basis. This is integration. Of course spatial proximity doesn't necessarily imply social interaction, and so there are still divides. Invariably, however, there will be a growing level of social interaction, especially in the younger generations.

The previously white working class suburbs, mainly around the inner city, are now almost entirely black with a large proportion of immigrants from other African countries; from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Nigeria, Congo, and so on. There are, for example, neighbourhoods where French is one of the most common languages spoken as many migrants come from Francophone Africa. These are now diverse neighbourhoods, even though they have once again become mono-racial. The historical townships and informal settlements remain mono-racial; they remain areas still entirely black. So, some areas are integrating, while some areas remain resolutely segregated.

Has growth been equitable? Well again, it's a complex story. At the top end of the income spectrum there has been significant deracialization. The proportion of black Africans in the top twenty percent of income earners in South Africa increased from 39% in 1995 to 48% percent in 2009 and this percentage continues to grow. The black middle class will very soon be larger in absolute size than the white middle class (although, proportionately the black middle class is still far smaller in size). The policies of Black Economic Empowerment have been a success story.

But the other side of the story is that the benefits have not spread evenly to the mass of black South Africans. Now it doesn't mean that there hasn't been a rise in income amongst black Africans on average - there has, and that's largely because of state grants which have been equalized. But the proportion of South Africans living below the poverty line was 48% percent in 2009, which was only slightly, not dramatically, down from the 53% in 1995. At best, there has been a small relative and absolute improvement in income levels for the majority, but it is proving very difficult to shift levels of inequality in any substantive sense.

### *Redress in delivery?*

Well yes, there has been significant progress with service delivery, in relation to services such as water and sanitation and electricity. In addition to the provision of service infrastructure in marginalized areas, Johannesburg has introduced an “Expanded Social Package” which offers up to 16kl of free water per month, and 150kWh of free electricity, dependent on the level of indigency.

But at the same time levels of frustration have risen. The irony is that in the parts of the country where you have the highest levels of service delivery – like 97% accesses to portable water in Johannesburg – you have the most frequent (and often violent) service delivery protests. These are the areas where the expectations are highest and where the expectations are rising the fastest. Frustrations also relate to problems with the maintenance of those services, and real concerns around corruption in delivering services. Conversely, in some of the least capacitated municipalities where service levels are low, expectations are low and you don’t get the sort of service delivery protest you are seeing in places like Orange farm and Diepsloot in Johannesburg.

Social transformation? Well, another difficult story. If we measure progress in terms of income poverty there has, indeed, been progress. South Africa’s GDP per capita rose on average by 1.3 percent per annum between 1990 and 2008, similar to that of many Latin American countries, for example. However, if we measure progress by using the composite measure of the UNDP’s Human Development Index (HDI) the story is different. After 1994, South Africa’s HDI actually declined. The reason for the decline was the impact of HIV/AIDS and the poor handling of HIV/AIDS in the initial decades after apartheid ended. We know the figures: South Africa has 0.6 percent of the world’s population but 17 percent of the world’s HIV/AIDS infections.

HIV/AIDS impact on life expectancy and thus on HDI measurements. In 1995, South Africa’s HDI was 0.74. It declined to 0.67 by 2003. South Africa’s global ranking in terms of the HDI slipped from 90<sup>th</sup> to 121<sup>st</sup>; a severe decline. There is considerable variation within South Africa with Gauteng’s HDI in 2003 being higher than the national average: 0.74 compared with 0.67 but this still marked a decline from a provincial peak of 0.81 in 1995. Fortunately, there has been a modest upward trend from around 2007 as life expectancies edged upwards again. New HIV infections have also begun to drop although levels are still high and the effects of HIV/AIDS will continue for the next twenty or thirty years, at least.

So again it’s a complicated picture. Conditions have improved in terms of the narrow measure of income but deteriorated for an extended period using a wider measure before returning to an upward trajectory.

### *Spatial transformations?*

Well, also good news and bad. Government has been really successful in terms of delivering numbers. Around 3 million houses have been built since 1994 through state subsidies. That is quite a lot by any measure. Where we have failed, however, is in building houses in a way that creates sustainable cities and neighbourhoods. So many of the houses unfortunately have been built on the periphery, reinforcing apartheid. Why? Because the land is cheap on the periphery and developers who receive subsidies seek out least cost land. Many of these new settlements are also poorly connected to public transport.

In 2004 there was a major policy shift with the introduction of a new housing policy known as Breaking New Ground. In terms of this policy it was no longer only about meeting numerical targets but about building sustainable communities. But, unfortunately, it has taken time for the shift in policy to translate into real change on the ground. The policy changed by the major instrument of implementation - the capital subsidy scheme - remained almost the same. Gradually, however, we are seeing things happening differently. We have still got a long way to go; we have to change those instruments of implementation.

Let's look specifically at Johannesburg. The inner city is a symbolically and economically important part of the city. I have already spoken of the changes in the inner city: of how the inner city became an immigrant gateway; and of how slumlords took advantage of the situation, crowding tenants into buildings with deteriorating infrastructure. The inner city has changed dramatically with the ending of apartheid, and is a complex, fluid space.

Some big business, including major banks, remained in the inner city, but there was a major flight to decentralized nodes in the 1990s. Johannesburg became an increasingly polynodal or polycentric, city. The decline of the inner city became a major concern to business and city government.

However, in the late 1990s, the private sector initiated an urban renewal process which was picked up by city government, and there has been interesting success since 2000. There has been a return of investment to the inner city, although the developments have been patchy and it is unlikely that the inner city will ever again be Johannesburg's central business district.

Urban renewal does however come at a price and can be socially exclusionary. As property prices and rentals rise, so the urban poor - who found shelter in the inner city when accommodation was cheap - are displaced. Inner city evictions have been a major area of controversy since 2000. So again, the story is complex. While it is only in the interest of the

slumlords for the inner city to decay, the process of renewal must be managed in a way that accommodates all segments of society. The inner city should not be a ghetto of poverty but neither should it be a gentrified space where the poor have no place. The inner city should be able to accommodate all income segments in decent living environments.

Let us move from the inner city to the suburbs, which were previously „White Group Areas“. Middle class suburbanites like to complain about deteriorating service standards in their neighbourhoods – about potholes and street lights that don't work and grass along the road verges that is not cut. In general, however, the middle class suburbs of Johannesburg remain pleasant, leafy environments, and lifestyles have changed relatively little. Crime, and fear of crime, is the greatest scourge and most houses are surrounded by high walls and electric fences, and the streets are patrolled by private security companies. Some neighbourhoods are gated. However, even crime rates have stabilized, and are seemingly declining. The white middle class in Johannesburg has – crime notwithstanding – had a surprisingly easy time of transition.

The suburbs are gradually deracialising as the black middle class expands and moves from the towns, while schools and shopping centres and places of entertainment are increasingly integrated. The middle-class suburbs will, however, remain dominantly white in real and symbolic terms for a long time to come. This is different from the previously white working class suburbs which are now largely black occupied or highly mixed. Townships, on the other hand, are entirely black. There has been no movement of whites into townships.

There have, however, been changes. Townships have become increasingly differentiated as a black middle class has emerged. Middle-class households do leave for the suburbs but the aspirant middle class who are yet unable to leave are changing the character of townships. In Johannesburg, the biggest changes have taken place in the politically connected and symbolically important suburbs of Soweto and Alexandra.

Soweto has been significantly transformed with large-scale public investment and with private investment. The only major form of private investment in Soweto is new shopping malls. This investment reflects the nature of consumerist post-apartheid society in South Africa. Unfortunately it has also significantly undermined the small business informal sector in Soweto. Alexandra is a more difficult environment than Soweto, with a long historical divide between the original black land owning families in the township, and the majority of residents who are tenants. There has been massive investment in Alexandra over the past decade, but development has been highly contested.

There are other townships in Johannesburg – Orange Farm, Diepsloot and Ivory Park – but these are more spatially and politically development and, until very recently, did not attract

the same level of investment as Soweto and Alexandra. „Township“ development didn't end in 1994. Many of the post-1994 housing developments have, unfortunately, produced environments that are not very different to those of the apartheid townships. Our challenge is to make the idea of 'sustainable human settlement' a reality.

Around one-fifth of Johannesburg's residents live in shacks settlements (generally known as informal settlements), and a significant proportion also live in shacks in the backyards of formal dwellings. The post-apartheid government has found it near impossible to eradicate informal settlements. Although around 3 million formal houses have been built through state subsidies, informal settlements remain, and may still be growing in places. In Johannesburg, the numbers of people in informal settlements is fairly stable, but there are growing numbers of households in backyard shacks.

Why are informal settlements such a persistent feature on the landscape and why is the provision of such large numbers of houses not reducing demand? One of the reasons, is that as new houses are built, households „decompress“ (or fragment). Previously individuals may have lived in extended households but the availability of new housing has allowed the children of the household to move out and establish new households. Although houses are built in fairly large numbers the demand for houses is not necessarily declining. There are other reasons such as households that have more than one dwelling because of high transport costs, and continued movement into informal settlements from rural areas. All this has meant that the government's aim to eradicate informal settlements by 2014 has failed. Gradually, government has come to accept that informal settlement will be a presence in our cities for many years to come. Instead of trying to eradicate, a better approach is to incrementally upgrade informal settlements; at least those that are safely located. The target of upgrading informal settlements is now formally included in the Presidential Scorecard; and so there has been some progress.

I should say something about the 2010 FIFA World Cup. The World Cup was very successful in many respects and really added to the confidence of South African society but there is a downside; in particular, the financial stress on the cities. And the cities are suffering because of that and in fact maintenance and infrastructure has deteriorated over the last few years.

I can't avoid referring to the new forms of public transport in Johannesburg, which are related, in part, to the World Cup. I have spoken of the Gautrain which is gradually enticing the middle class into public transport. The other new form of public transport system is Rea Vaya, a Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system developed on the Latin American model; based on Bogotá, Colombia, in particular. The BRT is a relatively affordable form of public transport that provides dedicated lanes for buses to find their way quickly through the very congested roads of the city. But, the BRT has been fiercely opposed by segments of the taxi industry

because it is competition to the taxi industry. Although taxi operators are now shareholders in the Rea Vaya, not all taxi operators are and these are the main opponents.

There was in fact some violence around the introduction of Rea Vaya and it's taking quite a long time for the system to develop because of the complexities of negotiating with the taxi industry. For me, the Gautrain and Rea Vaya are positive interventions but we have a long way to go before we have a viable and integrated system of public transport. In Vienna, for example, you have an integrated ticketed system that links different modes of transport. It may be a long time before we see this in Johannesburg.

### *Academic representation*

I am moving towards a conclusion but I will put up a few slides to show you the ways in which Johannesburg has been represented in the academic literature. When I have spoken about the transformation of the city, my key message has been a simple one. It has been about the complexity of what has been happening since 1994. Don't let anyone give you a simple story about South Africa, whether good or bad. It is simply not like that; it's much more complex and ambiguous.

I will say the same about academic representation. Up until the 1970s the common representation was of the transformation of a mining camp into a modern world city. It was a celebratory literature. But, there was a counter-literature which pointed to the dark side of modernity. This literature was not so much from the academic world as from novelists. Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1948), for example, pointed to the inequalities and the divisions of the city, although the book has been criticized for its rural romanticism and for not really embracing the realities of the city. It did however point to the dark side of modernity.

In recent years, however, there have been many representations of Johannesburg as a divided and unequal city. One of the most recent of these representations is Martin Murray's book *City of Extremes*. This representation clearly does speak to a key reality of Johannesburg. Look at the image on the screen. It shows two settlements at the same scale five kilometers apart. You can see the gated estate of Dainfern with its designer homes, golf course and swimming pools and also Diepsloot where around 80 000 people live in shacks and where, notoriously, sewerage runs down the streets.

But, there's another representation of Johannesburg. It is found, for example, in Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall's *Elusive Metropolis*, and in Nuttall's *Entanglement*. Instead of representing Johannesburg only in terms of separation and divide, it argues that Johannesburg has always been a city of cross-overs – it has always been a city of hybridity

and mixing and entanglement and transgressions; best represented, perhaps, in the music of the city; in the Jazz that emerged from the townships of the city.

There is another wonderful literature on the city which speaks of associational life in the city; of the way in which people manage to navigate hostile, threatening, difficult environments by weaving the relationships between them and creating support networks. This literature – best represented by the work of AbdulMaliq Simone – does acknowledge, however, that these networks are very provisional, very fragile. It is because of these networks that people can survive – can create a life for themselves – in a city where nearly thirty percent of people are unemployed. But, like any literature, there are limitations.

The work of „postcolonial“ writers such as those I have mentioned directs our attention to the elusiveness and provisionality of the city but does little to map or explain the materiality of the city; those elements of the city that have physical form and do shape the symbolic and relational aspects of urban life. In many respects the city is ethereal. As soon as you think you have grasped it, it just slips away. Some of the most interesting theoretical work in Johannesburg has come from the idea of the elusive city. But this is not the full story of Johannesburg because, of course, we have to map, we have to plan, we have to build houses, we have to put in the infrastructure to ensure that life in the city is sustained. There is a material dimension to life in the city that we cannot ignore.

My point here, is that each form of representation directs attention to some dimension of Johannesburg but that each representation is very limited in itself. What we really what need is a layering of representations that talk to each other.. We need a layering of representations that allows us to hold in tension very different conceptions of the city; for example, conceptions of the city as real and as imagined; as orderly and disorderly; as global and as ordinary. At the moment these conceptions of the city are simply not relating to each other.

We also need to address some significant gaps in the literature. For example, very little has been written to date on Johannesburg and natural ecology. With the looming environmental crisis we must address this.

It is, of course, not just the academic literature that is important in terms of representation. In terms of real impact non-fiction, film, music and the media may be far more important.

Perhaps some of you have seen the movie *District 6*. This is a futuristic film set in Johannesburg about aliens and spaceships but it speaks directly to concerns with xenophobia. Other films – *Tsotsi* and *Hijack Stories* – are about the gangsteriam and about crime in the city. There is much to say about representations and imagery – about its value and limitations – but I must come to a conclusion.



*Conclusion: Johannesburg as an exemplar of urbanity*

All of this is important to someone like me who lives in Johannesburg or to you who are here because of your interest in Johannesburg. But, why is it necessarily important in a wider sense? In the past, South African cities were seen as a unique outcome of particular political processes and ideological positions and there was little that these cities had in common with other places. Today, however, it is understood that much of what we see in Johannesburg is common to other places. It may be represented in Johannesburg in an extreme (or, in some cases, muted) form but it is experience elsewhere in some way. Johannesburg is increasingly seen – together with cities such as Mumbai, Sao Paulo and Shanghai – as an exemplar of urbanity in the global South and, in some case, as an exemplar of what is happening in cities globally. So while this talk has been about Johannesburg it is not necessarily only about Johannesburg. Martin Murray recognized this when he wrote „Sao Paulo and Johannesburg represent exaggerated examples of the dystopian dimensions of post-modern urbanism“.

Yes, I am interested in my home city, Johannesburg – in what is happening there now and in its future – but I am also interested in what the Johannesburg experience may be saying for other contexts.

I thank you for your attention.

- Discussion

The discussion focused on the question of meaningful city planning and city politics in general and the topics transportation, housing politics, social politics such as questions of gender and the topic of different stakeholders in particular.

One question concerned the current municipal structure of Johannesburg; in the Apartheid-era there had been thirteen municipalities, which were then unified. The motivation behind it was the idea that a redistribution of wealth could this way happen more easily. The question then was if this move had been successful from a developmental perspective. Harrison spoke in his reply of a very strong political rationale for creating metropolitan authorities, which had been the response to a history of fragmentation. Re-distribution has happened mainly to the poor areas on the one hand, on the other hand insufficient attention was given to areas that were growing economically. Another obstacle is the big bureaucracy that comes with the new structure.

Another point that was raised in the discussion was the question if literature can be a well suited important instrument when speaking of a complex city such as Johannesburg, as it gives attention to a narrative approach. Harrison agreed insofar as literature is a meaningful tool for such an analysis because it is inspired by tensions, but one also has to be careful because a novelist doesn't have to tell the truth.

The importance of the empowerment of women was also mentioned with regard to the topic of social development; for a successful social development one has to particularly consider the roles of women on the one hand and education on the other hand. Harrison agreed and mentioned that there is quite a lot happening in the field of women's empowerment; there are high rates of access to education and the rate on the job market has increased significantly. Nevertheless there are still problems concerning the numbers of women who have a seat in boards as well as in regard to wages. Harrison saw the biggest challenge in the violence within the South African society; women and children are in this context highly vulnerable.

Another topic of relevance was the one of civil society and the question was if there is still a strong cooperation between the government and civil society, or if civil society is not included sufficiently in the current developments. Harrison asserted that after 1994 civil has sadly been strongly undermined. One hoped that the ANC-government would be friendly towards civil society, which didn't turn out that way. He described the relationship as quite a confrontational relationship.

Chorherr then came back to the issue of prioritization of politics. He stated that even if it is assumed that Johannesburg is a highly complex city, one still has to set priorities. He pointed in particular towards the topic of the low-density single houses on the periphery as well as to

the question of transportation. Concerning the first point he insisted that it doesn't make any sense to build such a huge number of low-density single houses on the periphery, essentially it just means a thousand more problems with poverty. He furthermore asked if there was any consciousness about that and what the concrete reason is for maintain this policy despite the obvious problems. Concerning the second point he asked if there are any new ideas which provide an alternative as public investment, as the wide-spread car-model won't be sustainable in the future.

Harrison agreed and defined the following four areas as crucial priorities: creating jobs – especially for the youth –, education, the spatial structure and transportation. In terms of housing he said that there is more consciousness already and that the policy has started to change, but that practice is changing much more slowly. There are two reasons for this, the first being that the targets of the Johannesburg Housing Department still consist of numbers, which means that the whole performance management system has to change. The second reason is that the capital subsidies are still being paid to developers and the developer's priority is still to seek out the cheapest land. Harrison also accorded with the priority on public transport. Very significant progress was already made in the context of the world cup 2010, but efforts have to be made continuously and the already accomplished improvements have to be sustained. He considered the BRT-model a very exciting development, even though progress is made quite slowly because of political and financial issues. One obstacle in this regard is that public transport is still very fragmented in terms of regulation and administration between the spheres of government.

Bernhard Bouzek also raised the issue of the roles and the possibilities of the three major stakeholders: civil society, business and the political sector. He asked the question who is making the decisions and who is the most powerful actor in decision making? Chorgherr spoke in his response of the learning ability of the system and of the frustration of the South African people. Since 1994 structures have to be rebuilt and reinvented, which is a big challenge. According to him the question is how quickly the system can change and at the same time there is the potential danger that the system might explode if people get too frustrated over time. He asserted that if people have the trust that things will improve over time, then a positive development can happen, otherwise it can't.

Debra Steiner made the point that in regard to the power of the three actors it always depends on which issue is in question. In general all three of them have an important role to play. She pointed out the complexity of the challenges and saw the rapid growth of the black middle class as a very important development. According to her there is all kinds of transformations happening in South Africa and when confronted with the challenges one has to acknowledge the successes of the „new“ South Africa since 1994 in terms of democratic

development, infrastructural development, the roll-outs of basic social services as well as in nation-building. She reminded the audience of the miraculous transition in 1994 and considered this particular development as something unique – in this sense the problems of South Africa are also very particular. Harrison in this context referred to the National Planning Commission Report, which had just been presented. The report recognizes the achievements in nation-building and other areas but also names the problems, such as issues of corruption, weaknesses in the state and in the education system. In the report the service delivery model is put into question insofar as the citizenry has become quite passive, as a high number of citizens are for instance waiting for the delivery of a house. Harrison pointed out that an active citizenry is needed. In this sense it would be more meaningful if the state would become an enabler by supporting people from the low-income category to create their own houses by providing them with micro-financing, vouchers for the material, etc. As well on the level of the state as on the level of the citizenry a strengthening process is needed, which will hopefully result in the engagement of a capable state and an active citizenry.

Finally a question was posed concerning the possibility of building multi-storey buildings. It was argued that it might be more meaningful to build a higher number of multi-storey buildings than just separate houses and the question was brought up if something like community-subsidized tenement buildings („Gemeindebauwohnungen“) could become a more common housing option. Harrison replied that the housing program has indeed created the problem of unoccupied houses, as a high number of people would actually need rental accommodation. As a consequence the informal market provided rental accommodation. Social housing would under the current circumstances probably not work very well, as it is too expensive within the housing market. So what the South African housing market needs is a diversity of housing types that meet diversity in needs and a diversity of different households. There are interesting new models that are emerging, but the shift is slow.

**Samstag, 19. November 2011**

## **Architektonische Impulse aus Österreich und Stadtplanung in Johannesburg**

- Projektpräsentationen

### *Peter Fattinger (Technische Universität)*

Peter Fattinger präsentierte den ersten Beitrag des thematischen Blocks „Architektonische Impulse aus Österreich und Stadtplanung in Johannesburg“. Das von ihm geleitete Projekt in Orange Farm wurde gemeinsam mit Studierenden der Technischen Universität Wien konzipiert und umgesetzt. Fattinger legte zu Beginn seines Vortrags den universitären Rahmen des Projekts dar. So bietet er seit ungefähr zehn Jahren sogenannte Design Build-Studios an der TU an, im Rahmen derer Architekturstudierende die Möglichkeit haben, alle Phasen eines realen Architekturprojekts zu durchlaufen. Dabei spielen folgende Schritte eine wesentliche Rolle: die Recherche, der Entwurf, der Bau von Modellen, die Beschaffung von finanziellen Mitteln und Materialien, sowie die eigenhändige Herstellung des Gebäudes durch das Team der Studierenden. Im Sinne einer Vernetzung und beidseitiger Unterstützung wird weiters mit unterschiedlichen Abteilungen der Stadt Wien und mit NGOs, z.B. mit SARCH und mit Education Africa, zusammengearbeitet. Zwei unterschiedliche Linien, die dabei verfolgt werden können, sind erstens temporäre Installationen im urbanen öffentlichen Raum und zweitens permanente Gebäude für soziale Einrichtungen. Letztere wurden von Fattinger und seinen Studierenden in Südafrika, Indonesien und Wien umgesetzt.

In einem weiteren Schritt stellte Fattinger die Projekte in Orange Farm vor. Orange Farm befindet sich im Süden des Metropolgebietes Johannesburg und liegt ca. 40 Kilometer vom Stadtzentrum entfernt. Es wurde 1988 als semi-formelle Siedlung gegründet und 1997 zu einer offiziellen *township* erklärt. Dadurch wurde es möglich, Besitz zu begründen sowie Parzellen an Bürger/innen zu vergeben. Ab jenem Jahr wurde von staatlicher Seite auch die Belieferung von Wasser- und Stromversorgung versprochen, was allerdings nur teilweise erfüllt wurde. Es gibt mittlerweile eine kleine Anzahl von informellen Geschäften in Orange Farm und einige Supermarktketten, nichtsdestotrotz mangelt es an großen Arbeitgebern.

Der Einstieg in das Projekt erfolgte über Christoph Chorherr im Jahr 2003. Dieser war bereits seit 1994 in Kooperation mit der südafrikanischen NGO Education Africa am Aufbau und Betrieb des Masibambane College in Orange Farm involviert gewesen. Eine der ersten

Baufaufgaben für das Team der TU Wien unter der Leitung von Peter Fattinger, Sabine Gretner und Franziska Orso war sodann auch ein kleines Mehrzweckgebäude im Hof der Schule, welches als Unterkunft für Gastlehrer/innen und gleichzeitig als Spielplatzstruktur sowie als Open-air-Classroom dienen sollte. Ein weiteres Projekt, das im selben Jahr realisiert wurde, war ein Tagesheim für Menschen mit Behinderungen. Die Organisation *Modimo o Moholo* hatte bereits seit einiger Zeit bestanden. Thandi Mijako, welche selbst eine Gehbehinderung hat, hatte den Verein mit der Absicht gegründet; handwerkliche Tätigkeiten für Menschen mit Behinderung zu gestalten und eine allgemeine Integration anzustreben. Thandi Mijako wurde ein Grundstück von der Stadt Johannesburg zur Verfügung gestellt, auf welchem innerhalb von kurzer Zeit eine bauliche Maßnahme gesetzt werden mußte. Der darauffolgende Bauprozeß erfolgte sodann in Interaktion zwischen dem Verein und dem Wiener Team. So wurde das Raumprogramm von *Modimo o Moholo* entwickelt, und die Entwürfe wurden von Studierenden in Wien gestaltet. Für die Umsetzung reisten Fattinger, Gretner, Orso und die Studierenden nach Orange Farm. Die Aufenthaltsdauer der Studierenden war fünf Wochen. Fattinger sah den Lernprozeß der Studierenden nicht nur auf architektonisch-fachlicher, sondern ebenso auf menschlicher Ebene; demnach wurde der Horizont der Studierenden erweitert und deren Interesse geweckt. Das architektonische Konzept war dabei, möglichst viele überdeckte, windgeschützte Flächen zu schaffen, um Raum für die handwerklichen Tätigkeiten des Vereins zu schaffen. Hinsichtlich der Frage der Materialien kann gesagt werden, daß beide Gebäude simple Holzkonstruktionen darstellen. In weiterer Folge wurde auf demselben Grundstück ein Jahr später im Zuge einer Diplomarbeit ein Wohnheim für Menschen mit Behinderungen geplant und gebaut. Fattinger betonte zudem die Wichtigkeit des Austauschs mit der lokalen Bevölkerung; diese war sehr offen, und es wurden im Zuge des Aufenthalts eine Reihe von Freundschaften geschlossen. Es war dem Projektteam wichtig, den Bauprozeß interaktiv anzulegen. So waren auch einige Menschen aus der *township* in das Bauteam integriert, und viele andere Menschen besuchten das Bauteam regelmäßig. Das fertige Gebäude sollte in diesem Sinne kein Geschenk sein, sondern von Anfang auch als ein Projekt der Bewohner/innen gesehen werden.

Ein weiteres Folgeprojekt war der Bau eines Kindergartens. In Kooperation mit dem südafrikanischen Sozialministerium und Education Africa wurde ein bereits bestehender Kindergarten ausgewählt, der bis zu jenem Zeitpunkt in einem sehr baufälligen Gebäude untergebracht gewesen war. Der Entwurf wurde erneut von den Studierenden in Wien erarbeitet, wobei ein besonderer Fokus auf die Kinder – als zukünftige Nutzer/innen – gesetzt wurde und spielerische, räumliche Zwischenebenen eingeführt wurden. Im Entwurfsprozeß wurde nach der Methode „design through making“ vorgegangen: der Entwurf wurde im Vorfeld nur in groben Zügen festgelegt, erst im Laufe des Bauprozesses vor Ort wurde

der Entwurf finalisiert und die Details direkt am Objekt entwickelt. Zentrale architektonische Elemente des neuen Kindergartens waren ein Panoramafenster, eine Kletterrutsche sowie eine Galerieebene, über welche man einen weiten Blick über das Township hat. Fattinger ging auch auf die Thematik der Aneignung des Gebäudes von Seiten der Betreiber/innen und der Bewohner/innen ein. Einerseits wurde in den Jahren seit der Eröffnung ein eigenes Farbkonzept von den Nutzer/inne/n entwickelt und am Gebäude appliziert, andererseits veränderte sich auch der Name des Kindergartens im Laufe der Zeit, von *Titanic* während der ersten Bautage über *Aeroplane* bis schließlich hin zu *Parliament*. Denn ab dem Zeitpunkt der Eröffnung wurde das Gebäude außerdem als Community Center verwendet. Diese Entwicklungen weisen darauf hin, daß das Gebäude von der Bevölkerung in unterschiedlichen Formen angeeignet wurde.

Schließlich wies Fattinger darauf hin, daß es zwar einerseits einen enormen sozialen Bedarf an weiteren Projekten in Orange Farm gebe, andererseits betonte er, daß die Projekte sehr gut selektiert werden müßten und daß es sehr wichtig sei, mit den richtigen Partnern vor Ort zusammenzuarbeiten. Als positive Entwicklung der vergangenen Jahre kann die Vernetzung und Erweiterung auf europäischer Ebene genannt werden. So konnte Christoph Chorgherr über SARCH eine Reihe von europäischen Architekturschulen zu ähnlichen Projekten motivieren. Mittlerweile sind 10 europäische Architekturschulen involviert, welche insgesamt 26 Projekte realisiert haben.

### *Discussion*

Phil Harrison initiated the discussion by giving a comment on Peter Fattinger's lecture. At the time of the project, Harrison was working for the city of Johannesburg and the mayor at the time, Amos Masondo, referred to the project in a very positive way. Harrison asked a number of questions from the Johannesburg perspective concerning the question of the local impact of the project. Specifically he focused on the issue of sustainability, taking into account the topics of community support, local political support, exchange with South African universities, maintenance and the use of material, management, building regulations, skills-transfer and learning effects. He wondered whether the project really came across as easily as it seemed, as Orange Farm is quite a difficult community. Overall he had a very positive response to the project.

Fattinger replied that there was of course contact with the Witswatersrand University, which resulted in professors and students visiting the building site. Despite this contact, no closer collaboration emerged. Fattinger cited an architecture professor from Witswatersrand University who said that the distance to the townships is much further away for South African

students than it is for European students on a mental base. Concerning the issue of community acceptance he mentioned the contact with a councilor from Orange Farm, who informed the local people on a regular base. With regard to the building situation he referred to the very big knowledge of the local people; when there were difficulties in the building process the local people came up with ideas and improvisation. Locals also knew more about brick-laying than students, so they took over this task. Speaking about the follow-up process he said that former students are now involved in the follow-up projects on a constant base; they are running the projects and informing them about the status quo.

Another question was raised concerning the material, which was pine wood. Fattinger asserted that pine wood is not completely unusual; it is cheap and available also in the township building stores. The wood was also delivered from South Africa. Peter Nigst added that in their project they could already build on the learning effects from Fattinger's projects and that one of these learning effects was to use a different material than pine wood.

A former architecture student of the University of Pretoria also considered the use of wood as not the best choice and regretted that no close connection with South African students had happened. He also proposed to implement the projects over a longer period of time and argued for a mutual exchange of knowledge. The question was posed if the design phase could not happen in interaction with South African expertise. Fattinger replied that the project has already developed further and that they are now including learning effects from the previous time. He also approved of the suggestion that there should be a strengthening of the exchange with South African architecture schools.

Walter Sauer then took up the issue of political divisions and the question of reliable partners within the process. He explained that the origin of the settlement had been the forced eviction of people with a certain political tendency from Soweto. He asked who can really represent the local people and added that it might not be enough to talk to one councilor. Eduaction Africa in his view is also not very credible as it is quite elitist. The basic question therefore is how the team can make sure that the partners in South Africa are credible, reliable partners for the future. Fattinger responded that you can only check this until a certain point and that you can't contact all the people.

Another important point concerned the issue of the management of the buildings. Nigst pointed out that the SARCH was until the present moment responsible for the management of the Ithuba Community Center, which is a lot of work. He told the audience that Chorrherr is in contact with the local authorities in order to achieve that it shall be taken over from the public side. For this step to happen a range of regulations have to be fulfilled, which is being checked at the moment. Until that point the management form had been quite informal.



Finally the question was raised how the place can be a community center if it is owned privately and what the benefits are for the local people. It was asked if the people had the possibility to learn to use the material. Fattinger replied that the place could only become a community center because the people participated in the building process and because there had been a strong community involvement. He also mentioned the informal character of the way the building is used. He stated that the local people know the building techniques and materials very well, but the team could show them how to constructively protect the building against overheating and that it is possible to collaboratively build a building of this size in a short period of time. With regard to the issue of maintenance he said that the people who were intensively involved in the project know how to keep the building in shape.

## *Anna Lindner, Katharina Zerlauth (Architektinnen, Wien)*

Anna Lindner und Katharina Zerlauth waren in den von Peter Fattinger geschilderten Projekten in Orange Farm als Architektur-Studentinnen involviert. Sie erzählten, daß sie auf dem Weg nach Orange Farm täglich durch die ganze Stadt fuhren und betonten, daß Johannesburg für Europäer/innen keine einfach zu verstehende Stadt sei. Ihr Interesse war seit ebendiesem Aufenthalt geweckt, und so verbrachten sie 2009 einige Monate in Johannesburg, um für ihre Diplomarbeit zu forschen, welche 2010 unter dem Namen „City Catalyst. Punktuelle Regenerationsprozesse im urbanen Kontext Johannesburgs“ erschien. Die Absicht der Diplomarbeit war einen alternativen Ansatz zur Aufwertung der gewählten städtischen Problemzone zu entwickeln.

Lindner und Zerlauth wiesen darauf hin, daß die von ihnen beobachteten Phänomene und Prozesse nicht nur in Johannesburg, sondern ebenso in vielen anderen Städten der südlichen Hemisphäre vorzufinden sind. Diese typischen Phänomene sind eine hohe Rate an Landflucht, eine Verelendung des Zentrums sowie räumliche und soziale Segregation. Südafrika wird hierbei oft mit Brasilien verglichen; so haben beide Länder eine gewinnorientierte Wirtschaft welche zu starken sozialen Ungleichheiten führt und weit verbreitete räumliche Segregation. Es gab in der Vergangenheit starke Bautätigkeiten in der Innenstadt von Johannesburg, bald wurde der Raum jedoch zu eng und Investoren und Banken verließen das Gebiet. Heute leben mehrheitlich Migrant/innen in der inneren Stadt. Es gibt zwar Revitalisierungsversuche, häufig werden die benachteiligten Bevölkerungsgruppen jedoch nicht inkludiert.

Lindner und Zerlauth stellten in einem weiteren Schritt architektonische Zugänge vor, wie mit innerstädtischen Problemzonen umgegangen werden kann. Klassische Konzepte sind „urban renewal“, „urban upgrading“ sowie im europäischen Kontext „sanfte Stadterneuerung“. Eine neue Methode, welche in der Diplomarbeit angewendet wurde, ist jene der „urbanen Akupunktur“. Im Rahmen dieser werden kleine, gezielte Interventionen im Stadtraum umgesetzt, welche im Laufe der Zeit zu einem Netzwerk zusammenwachsen. Für den Kontext in Johannesburg erschien solch eine sanfte Methode aus kulturellen, geographischen und politischen Gründen unabdingbar; kleine Lösungen für einzelne Gebiete könnten so gefunden werden.

Vor Ort unterstützten Einrichtungen wie die Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) die beiden Architektinnen in ihrem Forschungsprozeß. Die JDA ist ein kommunales Unternehmen der Stadt, welches sich mit der Revitalisierung der Altstadt beschäftigt und ein Konzept zur Unterteilung der Stadtteile des Center Business District (CBD) von Johannesburg entwickelt hat.

Das sogenannte Mills precinct stellte den Forschungsraum von Lindner und Zerlauth dar; dieses liegt zwischen Fordsburg und Newtown und kann als Pufferzone zwischen diesen zwei unterschiedlichen Stadtgebieten verstanden werden. In der Vergangenheit gab es im *Mills precinct* einen Markt, doch seit dieser geschlossen wurde, wird das Gebiet kaum genützt. Es gibt ein paar Clubs und eine Schule, hierbei handelt es sich aber um Enklaven. Lindner und Zerlauth betrieben Feldforschung, indem sie einige Zeit in Johannesburg verbrachten und vor Ort Interviews mit Nutzer/innen, Expert/innen und Planer/innen durchführten. Im Laufe ihrer Recherche konkretisierten sich folgende Themenbereiche als zentrale Faktoren für das Konzept ihrer Diplomarbeit heraus: der Recyclingprozeß und die Lebens- und Arbeitssituation der Müllsammler/innen, die informellen Strukturen der Händler/innen und der fehlende Umgang mit dem öffentlichen Raum. In Bezug auf den letztgenannten Punkt legten sie dar, daß es eine langsam erwachende Kultur der Nutzung des öffentlichen Raums gibt, die Straßen generell aber auf den Verkehr ausgelegt sind. Zudem waren in ihrer Recherche die Themenfelder Sicherheit sowie lokale und soziale Faktoren von bedeutender Relevanz.

Das Konzept der beiden Architektinnen konzentrierte sich sodann auf die Strategie einzelne Interventionen zu implementieren, die sich nach und nach zu einem Netzwerk zusammenschließen würden. Davon sollte die Nachbarschaft belebt werden, eine Nutzungsheterogenität geschaffen werden, soziale Kommunikationsräume entstehen und auf diesem Weg sollte sich das ganze Gebiet nach und nach selbst regenerieren. Unter diesem Blickwinkel wurden schließlich fünf konkrete Vorschläge erarbeitet, welche als Katalysatoren das gesamte Gebiet aufwerten sollen. Diese sind erstens ein Markt, der die informellen Händler/innen aufnehmen soll, zweitens ein Wohnbau, drittens ein Recycling center, viertens ein Network store bzw. eine Bildungseinrichtung und fünftens die Belebung der Hintergassen.

Lindner und Zerlauth würden die Nutzer/innen bereits in der Planungsphase in partizipativer Form integrieren. Zudem wurde betont, daß die erarbeiteten Methoden natürlich nicht alle Probleme lösen können, die Wahl dieser spezifischen fünf Faktoren im Rahmen ihrer Herangehensweise aber jedenfalls zielführenden seien. So erschien ihnen der Fokus auf die lokalen Gegebenheiten unabdingbar für einen zielführenden stadtplanerischen Entwurf.

### *Discussion*

Walter Sauer, who initiated the discussion, considered Anna Lindner's and Katharina Zerlauth's work a sort of healing approach. Phil Harrison considered the project brave, approved of the philosophy of looking for small alternatives and of the idea of integrating

buffer zones. Concerning the size of such interventions he raised the question if big projects aren't necessary as well, given the scale of the problems. He also referred to the mentioned need to be sensitive to the community and asked how Lindner and Zerlauth would bring the communities into the project, as most people in the city are immigrants who don't have any political representation. Another question aimed at the affordability and the viability of the concept, as the state has very limited financial resources.

Lindner replied that there are a number of possibilities to lower costs throughout the project. With regard to the social building one could for instance give the people empty apartments so that they would build or buy their own furniture. Concerning the aspect of involving the communities she mentioned the existence of organizations that are already representing informal traders, so they could be partners in the process.

Another question aimed at the issue of the backyard streets. Walter Sauer was struck by the fact that they are public spaces which are privately used and he wondered how it would be possible to convince people to return them for public usage. Furthermore the question was posed if the blocking of the backyard streets may have happened out of a security concern. Lindner answered that in such a planning process you would anyways have to have meetings with the parties from the start onwards and that the process would have to be mentored. She negated the question of security.

One important point that was brought up concerned the informal structures of the merchants. It was asked why it is necessary to formalize structures which have so far worked in an informal way. Zerlauth pointed to the very difficult conditions with which the merchants are confronted: often they have to travel for more than one hour (one way). Furthermore they could be caught and displaced any time. They also don't have any space to work with the trash in order to prepare it for the recycling process. These are the reasons why it would be a huge improvement to have a storage place and a working place as well as a process of formalization.

Another question was raised concerning the issue of transport. The woman who posed the question saw a historical parallel between the current situation and the situation during apartheid, as disadvantaged groups nowadays neither have the possibility to stay in the inner city. Her question aimed at possible solutions concerning the transport situation. Lindner and Zerlauth answered that the BRT system seems to be a meaningful intervention and that another possibility could be the approach of investing into a couple of sub centers instead of only investing into CBD.

Walter Sauer summarized the discussion of the session. All three presentations aimed at selective interventions, which made him ask if this kind of small interventions make sense.

He raised the question if they contribute to the overall context of city planning or if they only have an impact in the local context. Harrison replied that the problems are so enormous that it is important to tackle them at all scales. In his opinion the big interventions and big investments are of course needed and that another relevant question should be if the projects connect with each other. What Harrison really liked about Lindner's and Zerlauth's presentation was the focus on the interface zones, the question how former buffer zones can be used productively and how communities can be brought together. He also wanted to raise attention concerning the social aspects within such interventions; in his opinion the social aspects are often not considered sufficiently. In this sense cohesive communities, which take care of places within the city, are needed.

Walter Sauer closed the session by appreciating the expertise about Johannesburg and South Africa and suggested to work together in the future, focusing on further networking and dialogue.

## *Peter Nigst (FH Kärnten)*

Peter Nigst hat gemeinsam mit Studierenden der FH Kärnten das Projekt „Ithuba Skills College“, auch „Ithuba Community Center“ genannt, nahe dem Township in Magugula Heights geplant und realisiert. Magugula Heights ist ca. 40km südöstlich von Johannesburg gelegen, und das Ithuba Skills College liegt weitere 2 Kilometer von Magugula Heights, welche als Arbeitersiedlung für ein Stahlwerk entstanden war, entfernt.

Die Architekturschule in Spittal an der Drau ist eine kleine und junge Schule, es gibt sie erst seit 2004. Der Einstieg in das Projekt erfolgte 2007 durch Gespräche mit Christoph Chorherr, wobei das Jahr 2008 für Vorbereitungen genutzt wurde und 2009 eine Erkundungskommission vor Ort initiiert wurde. Nigst's Team arbeitete vor Ort mit dem sogenannten Build Collective zusammen, welches über Marlene Wagner und Elias Rubin einen wesentlichen Beitrag vor Ort leistete bzw. weiterhin leistet. Die NPO Build Collective arbeitet in Magugula Heights mit einer lokalen NPO zusammen. Peter Nigst zeigte in seiner Präsentation drei Kurzfilmen über den Arbeitsprozeß. Die Relevanz von Bildung für die Bewohner/innen wurde in einem dieser Filme ersichtlich, so sagte eine interviewte Frau folgendes im Hinblick auf die Zukunft ihrer Kinder: „I want to see my children grow up with education“.

Nigst betonte in seinem Vortrag die Relevanz der kulturellen Dimension, d.h. daß alle Beteiligten offen dafür sein mußten, sich mit den kulturell und sozial sehr unterschiedlichen Lebenswelten bewußt auseinanderzusetzen. Aus diesem Grund hat das Team soziologischen Erkundungen einen zentralen Stellenwert eingeräumt, und so begleitete ein Stadt- und Regionalsoziologe, Alexander Hamedinger, die Prozesse. Infolgedessen wurde ein Bericht der soziologischen Untersuchung veröffentlicht, in welchem einzelne Familien interviewt werden und die sozialen Umstände in den Blick genommen werden.

Nigst betrachtete die Aneignung der Schule vonseiten der Kinder und der Eltern als wesentliche Entwicklung. Im Konkreten wurde zu Beginn (2009) ein Klassenraum und ein Werkstattraum gebaut, welche über die Jahre sehr gut angekommen wurden. Im architektonischen Prozeß selbst sollten jegliche Elemente, die eine Distanz erzeugen könnten, vermieden werden da die Zielsetzung jene war, daß die Kinder und die Eltern die Räume tatsächlich als ihre annehmen würden. Hinsichtlich der Wahl der Materialien war es dem Team wichtig Material zu verwenden, welches in Südafrika üblich und gut verfügbar ist. Strohlehm wurde schließlich ausgewählt da dieser sich gut eignet und zudem kostengünstig ist. Ein methodischer Fokus war die Involvierung der Schüler/innen des Ithuba Skills College in den Bauprozeß; so konnte man in einem der Kurzfilme die Freude der Schüler/innen an den einzelnen Arbeitsschritten sehen. Nach zwei Jahren erfolgten eine Kontrolle hinsichtlich der Instandhaltung der Räume sowie ein anhaltender Reflexionsprozess. Nigst

charakterisierte das Thema der Instandhaltung als einen Problembereich, da es nicht leicht sei jemanden Geeigneten zu finden. Als Folgeprojekte wurden ein Brunnen und ein Spielplatz gebaut, wobei letzterer von Seiten einer Gruppe der Bank Austria durchgeführt wurde. Eine soziale Errungenschaft der letzten Jahre ist weiters ein Kiosk mit umgebautem Container, der bei einem Taxistandplatz eingerichtet werden konnte. Er wird täglich in der Früh betrieben und gilt als sozialer Treffpunkt.

Im Jahr 2011 wurde ein weiterer Projektteil gebaut, welcher zusammen mit der Universität Linz entwickelt wurde: ein Hof wurde ausgebildet und kommendes Jahr wird ein zweiter Hof entstehen. Dabei wurde viel mit Metall und händisch gearbeitet. Eine sehr positive Entwicklung stellt die sogenannte Gruppe 247 dar, welche aus 8-10 Arbeiter/inne/n besteht, die im Arbeitsprozeß involviert waren und nun ihre Dienste im Township anbieten. Aus architektonischer Sicht war unter anderem die Funktionalität wichtig; so gibt es beispielsweise große überdachte Bereiche. Nigst betonte, daß es sehr wichtig ist, daß das Team aus Spittal/Drau sich von allzu hohen Qualitätsstandards distanzieren sollte und daß der Fokus auf sinnvoll umsetzbare und kostengünstige Bauweisen gelegt werden sollte. Der fertige Projektteil wurde von den Schüler/innen gut aufgenommen, sie fühlen sich in dem Gebäude sehr wohl.

Als weiterführende Anerkennung des Projekts kann die von den Studierenden zusammengestellte Dokumentation genannt werden. Diese wurde eingereicht und hat im deutschen Architekturmuseum einen der zehn gleichrangigen Preise in Europa erhalten.

### *Diskussion*

Phil Harrison beglückwünschte Peter Nigst in seinem Kommentar zu zwei Konkretisierungen, und zwar hinsichtlich des Materials und bezüglich der Frage der Instandhaltung. Er befürwortete zudem die Durchführung der soziologischen Studie. Er stellte eine Reihe von Fragen welche sich auf den Ort sowie auf den Kontext des Projekts bezogen. So erkundigte er sich danach, warum die Schule nicht in der *community* selbst, sondern 2 Kilometer außerhalb situiert ist. Eine Frage bezog sich auf die Rolle der Firma und eine weitere auf die Nachhaltigkeit des Projekts insofern als Harrison nicht klar ersichtlich war ob die Regierung das township als permanente Siedlung anerkennt. Die Frage zielte somit darauf ab ob es eine sinnvolle Entscheidung war in jener spezifischen Gegend eine Schule zu bauen.

Nigst berichtete, daß sein Team sich zu einem Zeitpunkt in den Prozess involvierte (2007) in welchem es bereits beschlossen war, daß der ausgewählte Ort Magugula Heights sein würde. Seiner Information nach entstand die Initiative über einen österreichischen

Fabrikseigentümer, der dort lebt. Er charakterisierte diese Entstehungsgeschichte als keine planvolle Entwicklung, es kann aber durchaus gesagt werden, daß eine Möglichkeit ergriffen wurde. Die Frage der Entfernung vom township stellte für Nigst kein Problem dar, als es einen Schulbus gibt, welcher in der Früh und am Abend die Route befährt. Anna Lindner warf hinsichtlich der Frage nach dem öffentlichen Zugang ein, daß die Schule hinter der Fabrik steht und daß der Zugang in diesem Sinne nicht öffentlich sei. Ihr erschien diese Frage sehr wichtig. Nigst berichtete daraufhin, daß es bereits Gespräche mit staatlichen Repräsentant/inn/en gegeben hat, und daß sich die Zugangsform wahrscheinlich verändern wird, sobald die Schule vom Staat übernommen wird. Er fand eine kritische Betrachtung des Phänomens der *gated communities* auch sehr wichtig, räumte zugleich aber ein, daß es für südafrikanische Verhältnisse normal sei, wenn solch ein Areal von einem Tor eingegrenzt sei.

Zwei weitere Fragen bezogen sich zum einen darauf, ob Schulgeld verlangt wird, und zum anderen auf die Kriterien für einen Schulbesuch. Nigst bejahte die Frage nach dem Schulgeld, über die genaue Höhe konnte er keine Auskunft geben. Es gebe auch Formen der finanziellen Unterstützung. Hinsichtlich der zweiten Frage gab es eine Antwort aus dem Publikum: es gibt eine zweite Schule in demselben Gebiet und zwischen den Schulen herrscht ein Konkurrenzverhältnis. Einerseits wird bei der Auswahl auf die soziale Bedürftigkeit geachtet, andererseits auf die Leistung: wenn Kinder die Volksschule bereits besucht haben, ist der Zugang wesentlich leichter. Nigst warf in diesem Zusammenhang ein, daß Chorgherr aus diesem Grund bereits dazu angeregt hat, eine zweite Volksschule in der Region zu bauen. Ein weiteres institutionelles Problem ist jenes, daß Lehrkräfte im Ithuba Skills College eine niedrigere Bezahlung erhalten als Lehrkräfte an staatlichen Schulen.

Eine letzte Frage hatte die soziologische Studie als Inhalt. Nigst berichtete, daß es bei der Studie darum ging, die Lebensumstände der Familien besser zu verstehen und danach zu fragen, was sich die Eltern für ihre Kinder wünschten. Es ginge in diesem Zusammenhang auch darum herauszufinden, welche Wege gefunden werden könnten, um Schritt für Schritt von den *grassroots* her etwas aufzubauen. Insofern war die Beschäftigung mit den Bewohner/innen ein sehr wichtiger Bestandteil des Projekts.



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