JOHANNESBURG: 5 cities

1) The Mining Camp 1885 - 1917

2) The Informal City 1917 - 1948

3) The Rationalized City 1948 - 1970

4) The Regional City 1970 - 1990

5) The Open City 1990

WESTERN NATIVE TOWNSHIP: 3 stages

1917 - 1935 colonial camp mud and dung

1935 - 1950 tolerated town tin and wood

1950 - 1965 repressed city plaster and paint
### STAGE ONE 1918-1930

**HOUSING:**
- Township established but little demand for houses.
- About 2,000 houses built in five stages: first single rooms, huts and two-roomed houses, and after 1930 three-roomed houses.
- Houses have no plaster, ceilings, floors or internal doors.
- Houses built at costs ranging from $156 to $226 per unit; house rents from $3.50 per month upward.

- Tenants use cowdung on floors, mud on walls, hessian for ceilings and curtains as interior doors.
- First decorations by people of Bakwena tribe consisting of patterns and animals scratched in mud and dung.

### STAGE TWO 1930-1940

- Population pressure builds up (population about 12,000 in 1933) and township crowded.
- Municipality allows residents to house sub-tenants on application but demolishes outbuildings and shakes built by tenants in backyards.
- Municipality recognizes pressures on space and at end of this stage adds an additional room for tenants who request more space and are willing to pay increased rental.

### STAGE THREE 1940-1950

- Municipality considers temporary porch enclosures health hazards and orders them removed after fires.
- Building of additional rooms by Municipality suspended until after war: tenants may still do so at own expense.
- Illegal outbuildings still being removed by Municipality.
- Municipality first adopts resolution to remove WNT.

### STAGE FOUR 1950-1962

- Rents increased: now range from $2.50 to $9.00 per month.
- Municipality acts against permanent porch enclosures but after test court case and in loco inspection allows such construction on approval of plans by superintendent.
- No more municipally built room additions after 1957.
- Municipalities begin negotiations with tenants about removal but refuses to compensate tenants for any improvements.

### SERVICES:

- People walk, cycle or use horse-drawn public transport.
- Municipal tram service extended to WNT; fare 3c to town.
- Houses have no individual water supply; only two communal taps per street and bucket sewerage.
- Municipality erects fences and plants some trees around township and in three streets.
- Women form organization to prevent people from throwing dirty water into streets.
- Tenants plant trees and hedges in front of houses.
- Strikes, riots and boycott of trams after fare increase.

### COMMUNAL FACILITIES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION:

- Municipality builds administrative and police station.
- First schools (American Board Mission Communal Hall built by Municipality.
- Two more schools (one high school) and six churches erected.
- First African library built.
- New creche opened by Native Council of African Women from money raised from residents.
STAGE ONE
1918–1930

- Wesleyan Methodist Mission
  opens.
- First churches (Presbyterian and Congregational) built.
- Municipal clinic and later first private hospital built (Nokuphila hospital).

STAGE TWO
1930–1940

- 'Talitha House' girls' reformatory opens.
- Municipal Beer Hall opens after continuous police raids on houses where women brew beer illegally in back yards.

STAGE THREE
1940–1950

- Two more churches built.
- Old-age home and YMCA opened.
- Playground equipment installed by Municipality as well as additional sports fields.
- Co-operative society goes bankrupt and replaced by seven privately owned shops including 'Abyssinian Fish and Chips' shop.
- Municipality offers prize for best gardens at WNT.

STAGE FOUR
1950–1962

- At end of this stage, WNT has seven schools, ten churches and ten shops.
- Home of WNT.

- Economic level of residents remains static: average annual household income about $180.
- First African co-operative society founded with 166 members and four shops (tearoom, grocer, butcher and baker).
- Wide variety of social, sporting and entertainment organizations formed: WNT Ladies' Civic Society, Unemployed Young Men's Club, Hungry Lions Benefit Society, Philharmonic Society of WNT, WNT Pioneers' Club, Children's Picnic Committee, etc.
- Sporting clubs: Transvaal Jumpers Football Club, baseball, tennis, cricket, etc.

- Jazz and dance bands: Merry Black Birds, Harmony Kings, Jazz Maniacs, Japanese Express Band, etc.

- War stimulates growth of new industries and average annual income rises to about $340.
- 'Rising tide of lawlessness' and hooliganism (tsotsis) reported in African newspapers.
- Civic guards and later Civic Protection Society (CPS) formed to combat thugs and gangs.

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- Populations still almost entirely working class with small percentage of professional and clerical workers: average annual household income now about $560 but still far below Poverty Datum line (about $700).
- Fairly static population with high proportion of widows as female heads of families and pattern of interchange with rural areas less frequent than before.
- Riots at Municipal Beer Hall because of police raid.
- Boycott of schools organized by African National Congress and residents open their own school, Mohlomo Community School: Mayor expelled from ANC after having been accused of sabotaging boycott.
- Gang warfare between WNT 'Corporatives' and Sophiatown 'Berliners'; also clashes between 'Russians' and Civic Guard.
- Jazz singer Dolly Rathebe stabbed and famous reporter Henry Nxumalo killed by thugs.
- Witch-doctors ('nyangas') still operating and consternation caused by appearance of 'tokolosh' (magic animal) in WNT.
- After failure of continued representations to Municipality, people accept being moved out: Mayor addresses residents: 'This is the saddest day of this township... this is the oldest township of Johannesburg and people of this area in Johannesburg have made the greatest contribution in building Johannesburg.'
true of most ancient Greek temples and most buildings, for example, by Alberti or Palladio. In these buildings partitioning, ornament, and rhythm, in the sense we have been using here, form a conceptual structure for implementing a major part of the program of classical architecture: to create representations of reality; to explore through the formal relations of the building the architecture of reality; to identify in reality independence, equivalence, subalternation, contrarity, symmetry, transitivity, correlation, identity, whole, continuity; to study how space works, how we can work in space, how our mind works, and how we can work together as a society.

But the formal patterns of a classical building can also relate to reality in a diametrically different, nonmimetic way. We call this relation foregrounding and strangemaking. The world of the building in this case is not only about what is but also about what must be done, not only about truth and epistemology but also about goodness and morality.

Foregrounding in architecture comes from the theories of the literary poetics formulated by the Prague School of linguistics of the 1930s and in particular by Jan Mukačovský, and by the Russian Formalists of the 1920s, especially Victor Shklovsky. According to this theory, the essential feature of a literary text is the transformation of ordinary language into poetic language. "Foregrounding" as translated by Garvin (1964, p. 9) (in the original Czech aktualisace), or what Shklovsky called "roughened form," brings about certain characteristics of a text that make its linguistic organization—phonetic, grammatical, syntactic, semantic—deviate from ordinary use. Thus the poetic identity of a building depends not on its stability, on its function, or on the efficiency of the means of its production but on the way in which all the above have been limited, bent, and subordinated by purely formal requirements.

What distinguishes a classical building as a poetic object from ordinary buildings is there, on the surface, in its formal organization. But beyond this formal veil lies the act of foregrounding through which selected aspects from the reality of a building are recast into formal patterns. The resulting quality of architecturalness is not a portrait of reality. It is its critical reconstruction.

The relation between the formal and the social needs of a work of art are often taken in a mechanistic way. As an example of this, Shklovsky refers to Herbert Spencer's (1882) comments on rhythm in poetry.