



Berea, Durban 2026

Apartheid Urbanism and Architectural Power:
A Spatial Survey of Lord Holford's Durban Planning
Proposals through Archival Analysis.

Author: S'busile Mgaga

Supervisor: Professor Iain Jackson

Content

Acknowledgements.....	5
Declaration.....	6
Abstract.....	7
Introduction.....	8
Literature Review.....	11
Modernism, Planning Rationality, and State Expertise.....	11
Genealogy of the British Empire Colonies.....	13
Postcolonial, Decolonial, and Spatial Theory.....	14
Architecture, Symbolic Power, and Identity Formation.....	15
Archives, Power, and the Interpretation of Holford's Work.....	16
Apartheid Urbanism and the Spatial Politics of South African Cities.....	17
Representation, Mapping, and Planning Knowledge.....	18
Methodology.....	19
Sources and Materials.....	19
Analytical Framework.....	20
Methodological Steps.....	21
Limitations and Interpretive Challenges.....	23
Conclusion.....	24
Chapter One.....	25
1.1 Holford as a Planner.....	25
1.2 Archival Content of D147/SA series as evidence.....	26
1.3 Archival extraction theme 1.....	27
1.4 Archival extraction theme 2.....	29
1.5 Archival extraction theme 3.....	31
1.6 Chapter conclusion.....	32

Chapter Two.....	33
2.1 Apartheid Durban’s Planning Constraints.....	33
2.2 Municipal Commissioning and the Role of Planning Expertise.....	36
2.3 Where Apartheid Enters Holford’s “Technical” Language.....	37
2.4 Forced Removals, Buffer Zones, and Separation.....	38
2.5 Chapter conclusion.....	41
Chapter Three.....	42
3.1 Archival extraction.....	42
3.2 Reconstructing the Central Business District.....	43
3.3 Circulation Hierarchies and the Regulation of Movement	45
3.4 Zoning Purification, Buffers, and Spatial Separation	49
3.5 Holford’s Epistemic Authority and the Imagined City.....	50
3.6 The Projected 1980 Vision of Durban.....	51
3.7 Chapter conclusion.....	52
Conclusion.....	52
Epilogue.....	54
Bibliography.....	57
List of Archives.....	62
Appendices.....	65
Appendix A – Genealogy of British Empire.....	66
A.1 The Genealogy of the British Empire Colonies.....	66
A.2 Empire as a Differentiated System.....	67
A.3 Dominion Trajectories: Canada and Australia.....	68
A.4 South Africa: Hybrid Dominion, Racial Colony.....	69
A.5 Full Colony Trajectories: Nigeria and Ghana	70
A.6 Developmental Starkness: Comparing Outcomes.....	70
Appendix B - Legislative Foundations of Apartheid Spatial Governance (Pre-1994)	70

B.1.....	71
B.2.....	72
B.3.....	73
B.4.....	74
Appendix C - Comparative Morphologies of Apartheid Spatial Separation.....	75
Introduction.....	75
C.1 – Durban	77
C.2 – Johannesburg.....	78
C.3 – Cape Town.....	79
Conclusion.....	80

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Iain Jackson for his scholarly guidance, critical insight, and patience throughout the development of this research. His intellectual rigour and generosity of thought were invaluable in shaping both the direction and clarity of the dissertation. I also wish to acknowledge the staff of the University of Liverpool Library, specifically the Special Collections and Archives team for their invaluable assistance, expertise, and dedication in facilitating access to essential research materials.

I am deeply grateful to my family, and especially to my parents, for their unwavering support, belief, and sacrifices, without which this research would not have been possible. To my extended support system, whose emotional support, encouragement, and understanding sustained me through the demands of this work.

Finally, I acknowledge the many scholars, practitioners, and thinkers whose tireless engagement with questions of architecture, planning, power, and justice continues to shape and challenge the discipline. This work is thankful to those who persist in expanding architectural discourse beyond form, and toward responsibility and accountability.

Declaration

The work written in this dissertation was completed as a part of the University of Liverpool M(Arch) Architecture degree. The work is my own. Where the work of others is used or drawn on, it is attributed to the relevant source.

Abstract

Holford was a British modernist planner commissioned to advise on Durban's urban development during apartheid. This dissertation examines how his work brought together modernist planning principles, imperial knowledge systems, and apartheid governance in shaping the city's urban form. It examines the role of British planner Lord William Holford in the planning of Durban during the apartheid era. Holford, a RIBA Gold Medal winner and knighted figure in post-war British planning, was commissioned by the Durban City Council in the 1950s and 1960s to advise on urban development and produce long-term plans for the city centre. Using archival material from the Lord Holford Collection at the University of Liverpool, this study analyses Holford's reports, correspondence, zoning diagrams, and circulation plans, with particular focus on the *Durban 1985 – A Plan for Central Durban* volumes.

The research demonstrates that Holford proposed a spatial framework centred on a consolidated white commercial core, hierarchical road networks, controlled circulation systems, and zoning strategies that reinforced racial separation. His plans prioritised efficiency, order, and traffic movement, while marginalising African, Indian, and Coloured populations to peripheral zones and reinforcing apartheid's labour and residential geographies. Although the archive is framed within the neutral language of modernist planning, these proposals aligned closely with apartheid state objectives.

By reconstructing Durban's projected spatial future from Holford's archival materials, the dissertation shows how international planning expertise contributed directly to the production and legitimisation of apartheid urban form. The study argues that Holford's work illustrates how administrative planning practices functioned as instruments of racialised governance, embedding apartheid ideology into the physical structure of the city.

Introduction

This dissertation examines how modernist planning, imperial knowledge systems and apartheid governance intersected to shape the spatial development of Durban in the mid-twentieth century. At the centre of this inquiry is Lord William Holford, a British planner whose advisory work for the Durban City Council between the 1950s and 1960s offers a critical lens through which to interrogate how planning expertise functioned as a conduit of racialised state power. The research examines how his work brought together modernist planning principles, imperial knowledge systems, and apartheid governance in shaping the city's urban form. Modernist planning, celebrated for its claims to rationality and neutrality, has long been understood as a technocratic regime that implemented efficiency, order, and legibility into urban spaces. John R. Gold notes that, post-war planning framed itself as a discipline grounded in “scientific objectivity and public benefit,” an interpretation that granted planners substantial authority while masking political implication.¹ Holford's work is characteristic of this paradigm. His planning proposals for Durban operated within a professional culture that presented technical expertise as apolitical although it shaped profoundly racialised spatial outcomes.



Fig. 1: Lord William Graham Holford

¹ John R. Gold, *The Practice of Modernism: Modern Architects and Urban Transformation, 1954–1972* (London: Routledge, 2007), 14: “scientific objectivity and public benefit.”

Holford's involvement in Durban resulted in a series of correspondence, reports, diagrams, and planning proposals, most notably *Durban 1985 – A Plan for Central Durban*, which outlined recommendations for traffic circulation, zoning, and urban growth.² These documents proposed a consolidated commercial core supported by hierarchical road networks, functional zoning, and infrastructural separation between different urban areas. While the work is articulated in the 'neutral' language of efficiency, order, and technical rationality associated with modernist planning, these proposals were produced within; and aligned closely to; a political system structured around racial segregation and spatial control.³

This research takes the Lord Holford Archive, held at the University of Liverpool Special Collections and Archives, as its primary source. The archive contains Holford's planning reports, correspondence with Durban municipal officials, zoning diagrams, and circulation plans relating to his work in South Africa.⁴ Instead of regarding these materials as passive documentation of professional activity, the research examines them as active tools in the perpetuation of apartheid urban environment. The methodology the dissertation adopts is a critical archival approach informed by Ann Laura Stoler's argument that archives reveal "what was thinkable, recordable, and actionable" within administrative systems.⁵ Through a close reading of Holford's proposals, diagrams, and written justifications, the study reconstructs how planning expertise translated political objectives into technical solutions.

The archive, full of diagrams and memoranda yet silent on racial violence, illustrates the epistemic filtering characteristic of bureaucratic knowledge. Verne Harris's critiques of South African archive methods highlight how exclusions perpetuate inequality and influence historical interpretation. These insights guide the dissertation's reconstruction of Durban's projected 1985 spatial vision, framing it not as an empirical projection but as an artefact of planning imagination.

² William Holford, *Durban 1985 – A Plan for Central Durban* (Durban City Council, 1968), see Holford Archive, University of Liverpool Special Collections and Archives (hereafter SCA), D147/SA9/1–3.

³ M. Silverman, "How International Style Modernism Came to Dominate in Apartheid Architecture in 1960s South Africa," *Architectural Histories* 11, no. 1 (2023).

⁴ Lord Holford Collection, University of Liverpool SCA, D147/SA3–SA15.

⁵ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 20.

The subsequent chapters transition from archival analysis to spatial interpretation. Chapter One analyses Holford's professional formation and planning worldview. Chapter Two contextualises his work within broader frameworks of land management, segregation, and urban governance in South Africa. Chapter Three reconstructs Durban's projected spatial future as articulated in Holford's planning documents. Together, these chapters illustrate that planning was a fundamental mechanism through which apartheid governance was materially embedded in Durban's urban form.⁶

To conclude, this dissertation contributes to architectural discourse by questioning the discipline's long-standing tendency to treat modernist planning as politically neutral or ethically detached⁷. By accentuating planning documents, diagrams, and spatial proposals as settings of ideological production, the research reconsiders architecture and urban planning as active protagonists in systems of racialised governance rather than passive technical services.⁸ Tracing the persistence of these planning logics into contemporary urban inequalities and newer forms of displacement; inclusive of digitally mediated housing pressures and globalised mobility; the dissertation demonstrates the continual relevance of architectural history to present-day spatial justice debates.⁹ Ultimately, the study positions Holford's work as a critical case through which architecture's responsibility, complicity, and ethical limits can be more carefully investigated.¹⁰

⁶ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Jennifer Robinson, *The Power of Apartheid*.

⁷ Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

⁸ Jayne M. Rogerson and Christian M. Rogerson, "Airbnb in South Africa: The Case of Cape Town," *Urbani Izziv* 29, no. 2 (2018); Christian M. Rogerson, "Tourism, Urban Governance and Economic Development in South African Cities," *Local Economy* 31, nos. 1–2 (2016).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Verne Harris, *Archives and Justice: A South African Perspective* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2007).

Literature Review - Theoretical Foundations for Understanding Modern Planning, Empire, and Apartheid Urbanism

This literature review establishes the conceptual groundwork for examining how modernist planning, imperial governance, and apartheid spatial politics shaped the conceptualisation of urban space in Durban, and frames Lord Holford's involvement within these wider intellectual and political systems. This review integrates scholarship from planning theory, colonial and postcolonial studies, architectural sociology, archive theory, and critical cartography to situate Holford's planning proposals within a multifaceted international network of expertise and authority.

The works of scholars such as Fanon, Said, Mbembe, Scott, and Vale are engaged with to interrogate how space and design have historically operated as media of governance, identity formation, and racial control.

The review synthesises seven thematic bodies of literature titled: The Rationalities of Modernist Planning, The Genealogy of the British Empire, Colonial and Apartheid Urban Histories, Postcolonial Theories of Space, The Symbolic Work of Architecture, The Politics of Archives, and The Representational Power of Maps; review how architecture and planning have functioned as cultural and ideological technologies that materialise political authority. Collectively, these perspectives provide the intellectual context necessary for interpreting the Holford Archive as a result of imperial knowledge systems and for understanding how planning contributed to the development of apartheid Durban's spatial order.

1. Modernism, Planning Rationality, and State Expertise

Modernist planning is best understood as an administrative regime built on claims to rationality, legibility, and scientific authority. John Gold argues that post-war planners positioned their work as serving the "public benefit," prioritising technical expertise over political responsibility.¹¹ This self-image authorised figures such as Holford to

¹¹ John R. Gold, *The Practice of Modernism: Modern Architects and Urban Transformation, 1954–1972* (London: Routledge, 2007).

encode state priorities into spatial form under the guise of neutral expertise. James C. Scott's notion of state legibility further develops this rationale. Scott illustrates how states reduce intricate social realities into maps, zones, and circulation grids to enhance their control.¹²

In apartheid South Africa (1948 - 1994), these simplifications translated racial ideology into technical categories (buffer zones, road hierarchies, zoning codes) exhibiting segregation as administrative logic rather than political violence. Holford's planning drawings exemplify this process, converting deeply political acts of exclusion into rational spatial order. Jennifer Robinson reinforces this by stating that apartheid spatiality developed from the merging of racial ideology and modernist rationality.¹³ Planning tools did not merely implement apartheid policy; they actively produced it.

Robinson's argument supports the dissertation's claim that Holford's proposals contributed to shaping apartheid's spatial expression. Mark Crinson and Anthony King trace these rationalities to imperial precedents. Crinson demonstrates that colonial architecture projected an image of progress and legitimacy while masking oppression.¹⁴ King shows how planning exported metropolitan norms into colonial contexts, recoding imperial authority as technical expertise.¹⁵ These observations position Holford within a historical lineage of British planners whose influence permeated imperial networks and whose methodologies disseminated unevenly throughout the Empire.

¹² James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

¹³ Jennifer Robinson, *The Power of Apartheid: State, Power and Space in South African Cities* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1996).

¹⁴ Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

¹⁵ Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (London: Routledge, 1976).

2. Genealogy of the British Empire Colonies

To contextualise planning expertise in South Africa, this dissertation applies what can be described as the **genealogy of the British Empire Colonies**.¹⁶ The British Empire was a differentiated system of governance comprised of dominions, settler colonies, crown colonies, protectorates, and later overseas territories. This system shaped political development, identity formation, and access to planning expertise.

Lesley Lokko captures this distinction succinctly: “Dominions¹⁷ were *settled* by Europeans colonies were simply *ruled*. I’m from Ghana, which was a colony, not a dominion”.¹⁸ Dominions such as Canada and Australia were established as future white nations, granted extensive autonomy, and developed infrastructural and institutional frameworks aimed at long-term settler sovereignty.¹⁹ Crown colonies; such as Nigeria and Ghana; were governed for extraction rather than development, relying on indirect rule and limited investment.²⁰

South Africa held a hybrid status. Constitutionally a dominion after 1910, it granted self-rule to its white population while enforcing colonial domination over Black Africans and other racial groups.²¹ This dual identity shaped its adoption of planning expertise: dominion status encouraged the importation of British planning knowledge, while colonial racial hierarchy dictated how that knowledge was used.

This genealogy rationalises why planners like Holford were invited into South Africa’s urban projects. Modernist planning fulfilled dual objectives, rendering Holford’s work inseparable from the imperial trajectories that influenced its dissemination.

¹⁶ For a detailed definition of the genealogy dominions, see **Appendix A**.

¹⁷ Ibid (appendix A).

¹⁸ Lesley Lokko, “Decolonising Architecture,” *Assemble Papers*, 2019.

¹⁹ Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: A Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).

²⁰ Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

²¹ Saul Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility and White South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

3. Postcolonial, Decolonial, and Spatial Theory

Postcolonial theorists substantiate how the reciprocal production of race, space, and identity within colonial settings. Frantz Fanon's characterisation of the colonial city as a "compartmentalised world" remains pivotal.²² Fanon's analysis emphasises that segregation is both spatial and ontological: it organises not just territory but subjectivity. Under apartheid, this compartmentalised structure evolved into an institutionalised national order.

Achille Mbembe expands this through **necropolitics**, arguing that colonial and apartheid space is defined by disproportionate access to movement, life, and death.²³ Planning under apartheid operated as a necropolitical mechanism, determining where people could live, travel, and labour.

Ananya Roy's theory of "worlding" further shows how cities in the Global South adopt planning norms shaped by imperial histories.²⁴ Durban's pursuit of modernity reflects this dynamic: it deployed metropolitan planning models while reinforcing racial hierarchies.

Arturo Escobar critiques modern design for collapsing diverse cultural worlds into narrow visions of progress.²⁵ During apartheid South Africa, this translated into planning that erased Indigenous spatialities to impose racialised order.

Holford's work; documented in the archive; reveals that practice can be understood as a site where modernist abstraction actively displaced alternative spatial ontologies, as evidenced in his drawings, reports, and diagrams.

²² Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin Books, 1961).

²³ Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

²⁴ Ananya Roy, "Urbanisms, Worlding Practices and the Theory of Global Urbanization," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35, no. 1 (2011): 233–237.

²⁵ Arturo Escobar, *Designs for the Pluriverse: Radical Interdependence, Autonomy, and the Making of Worlds* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018).

4. Architecture, Symbolic Power, and Identity Formation

Lawrence Vale's *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* provides a critical examination of the symbolic aspects of urban planning. Vale contends that architecture functions as a platform for political power: constructed forms validate regimes by conveying stability and logic. His notion of symbolic power elucidates how regimes use urban design to normalise political ideas.

In apartheid South Africa, modernist planning performed precisely this function. Technocratic proposals – road hierarchies, zoning rationalisation, spatial order – masked coercive racial control under the appearance of administrative competence. Holford's work exemplifies this phenomenon.

Paul Jones's *The Sociology of Architecture* complements Vale by emphasising that architecture constructs, stabilises, and performs social identities.²⁶ Built environments not only reflect social categories – they actively produce them.²⁷ This is vital for understanding apartheid spatiality, where planning inscribed racial identities onto the landscape. Durban's segregated districts, labour compounds, and circulation systems generated racialised identities as spatial facts.

Together, Vale and Jones show that planning under apartheid was not simply functional but deeply ideological, producing both political legitimacy and racialised identity through space.

²⁶ Paul Jones, *The Sociology of Architecture: Constructing Identities* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011).

²⁷ Ibid (*Vale Architecture, Power and National Identity*).

5. Archives, Power, and the Interpretation of Holford's Work

Ann Laura Stoler's and Verne Harris's writings provide a critical framework for interpreting the Holford Archive. Stoler argues that archives reveal the governing imaginaries of administrations, exposing what was thinkable and recordable while rendering invisible the experiences of the governed.²⁸ Holford's archive is filled with maps, diagrams, and technical memos but devoid of reflection on racial oppression – demonstrating how modernist expertise produced its own silences.

Harris's concept of "archival justice" highlights how South African archival collections reproduce political inequality through omission.²⁹ The Holford Archive's focus on order, circulation, and functionality reflects the state's priorities, not its violence. These insights support the dissertation's methodological stance: reading the archive critically, attending not only to what is present but to what is absent.

Gail Super's work on punitive infrastructures reinforces this approach by showing how spatial systems (roads, checkpoints, compounds) operate as tools of discipline and control.³⁰ Holford's proposals for Durban align closely with these logics, embedding surveillance and spatial regulation within seemingly neutral infrastructures.

²⁸ Ann Laura Stoler, "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance," *Archival Science* 2, nos. 1–2 (2002): 87–109.

²⁹ Verne Harris, *Archives and Justice: A South African Perspective* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2007).

³⁰ Gail Super, "Cars, Compounds and Containers: Judicial and Extrajudicial Infrastructures of Punishment in the 'Old' and 'New' South Africa," *Punishment & Society* 24, no. 5 (2022): 824–842.

6. Apartheid Urbanism and the Spatial Politics of South African Cities

Robinson's *The Power of Apartheid* provides a foundational understanding of the spatialisation of racial ideology in South African cities.³¹ Mabin and Smit further demonstrate how apartheid amplified earlier segregationist practices through increasingly formalised planning instruments.³² Durban's spatial form – segregated housing, industrial buffer zones, controlled mobility – emerged from this trajectory.

Hilton Judin identifies how apartheid's state modernism mobilised architecture to present the regime as technologically sophisticated and globally aligned.³³ Melinda Silverman's recent work shows that International Style modernism gained traction in apartheid South Africa precisely because its abstraction concealed the racial and political violence of spatial design.³⁴ Combined with Super's analysis of punitive infrastructures³⁵, these works show that apartheid spatiality was simultaneously modernist, disciplinary, and racialised.

7. Representation, Mapping, and Planning Knowledge

Jeremy Crampton's critical cartography studies emphasise that maps do more than simply represent space but construct it.³⁶ In apartheid Durban, planning diagrams rendered racial segregation as rational spatial management. Sara Ahmed's concept of **orientation** supports this insight by showing how bodies are directed through space by social norms and built environments, shaping belonging and exclusion.³⁷ These theories guide this dissertation's interpretation of planning documents as instruments of ideological production.

³¹ Robinson, *The Power of Apartheid*.

³² Alan Mabin and Dan Smit, "Reconstructing South Africa's Cities? The Making of Urban Planning 1900–2000," *Planning Perspectives* 12, no. 2 (1997): 193–223.

³³ Hilton Judin, *Architecture, State Modernism and Cultural Nationalism in the Apartheid Capital* (London: Routledge, 2021).

³⁴ Melinda Silverman, "How International Style Modernism Came to Dominate in Apartheid Architecture in 1960s South Africa," *Architectural Histories* 11, no. 1 (2023).

³⁵ Ibid Super, p 824-842.

³⁶ Jeremy Crampton, *Mapping: A Critical Introduction to Cartography and GIS* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

³⁷ Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

Conclusion

The literature collectively reveals architecture's deep complicity in systems of racialised power, showing that spatial design has long served as a medium through which ideology is materialised, and social hierarchies are maintained. Modernist planning – framed through narratives of order, progress, and efficiency – proved easily adaptable to colonial and apartheid projects, where it helped legitimise segregation as rational and administratively necessary. Within this context, examining Lord Holford's work becomes critical not simply for understanding Durban's development, but for interrogating how his professional authority and planning philosophy aligned with broader imperial and racialised modes of governance.

Through a postcolonial lens, the Holford Archive emerges as both a spatial and ideological artefact, capturing the convergence of British modernist expertise and apartheid spatial policy. Reframing the archive in this way exposes the mechanisms of architectural complicity and the transnational circulation of planning ideas that underpinned apartheid modernism. The dissertation's contribution lies in revealing the archive as an active site of knowledge production – one that makes visible how planning operated as a conduit of institutional power – and in doing so, it positions the study within a critical lineage challenging disciplinary silences while advancing more reflexive interpretations of architectural history.

Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to set out the methodological framework through which Durban's projected 1980 spatial vision is reconstructed. This chapter explains how these insights are operationalised in the dissertation's analytical process. The methodology brings together archival research, spatial interpretation, document comparison, and theoretical analysis to reveal how Holford's planning epistemology shaped the imagination of Durban's urban future. It demonstrates how modernist planning tools – maps, diagrams, zoning categories, circulation models – produced a particular representation of the city's spatial logic and how those representations informed the projected 1980 vision.

The chapter proceeds in four sections. First, it outlines the sources used in reconstructing Durban's 1980 spatial vision, including the Holford Archive and municipal planning documents. Second, it explains the analytical framework guiding the reading of these sources, drawing on concepts of legibility, spatial production, and archival interpretation. Third, it sets out the step-by-step methodological process through which the reconstruction is conducted. Finally, it addresses the limitations and interpretive challenges inherent to the research process.

1. Sources and Materials

The reconstruction of Durban's projected 1980 vision draws on four primary source sets. The most significant is the Holford Archive, held at the University of Liverpool Special Collections Archive (hereafter the SCA), a comprehensive collection of correspondence, reports, annotated maps, and planning diagrams documenting Holford's consultancy work in Durban during the 1950s and 1960s. The archive provides insight not only into Holford's recommendations but also into the assumptions and categories through which he interpreted the city. The archive is characterised by its technical language – circulation flows, zoning coherence, and functional clustering – and by its limited engagement with the political realities of apartheid. It represents the epistemology of modern planning in its purest form.

The second source set includes cartographic materials: maps, aerial photographs, land-use diagrams, and circulation plans. These provide the spatial data necessary for reconstructing the imagined 1980 city. They show how the planners envisioned the expansion of the CBD, the development of industrial corridors, the structuring of residential districts, and the hierarchical network of arterial roads.

The third source comprises legislative, and policy documents related to apartheid spatial governance. While this dissertation is not a legal study, these documents contextualise how planning proposals intersected with racialised territorial control. They are essential for understanding how the projected 1980 vision reflected apartheid's political logic.

Together, these sources allow for a reconstruction that is both empirically grounded and attentive to the epistemic frameworks that shaped planning practice.

2. Analytical Framework

The analytical framework guiding this reconstruction draws on three conceptual pillars: state legibility, the production of space, and archival interpretation.

James C. Scott's concept of legibility provides the first pillar. Scott argues that modern states seek to simplify complex social environments into administratively manageable forms.³⁸ Mapping, zoning, circulation modelling, and statistical categorisation transform lived realities into technical abstractions that facilitate governance. Holford's archive demonstrates such processes: his diagrams reduce Durban to flows, nodes, and zones, making the city legible to planners while obscuring the social relations underlying these forms.

³⁸ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 3.

The second pillar is Henri Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, which emphasises that space is not merely a container but an outcome of social, political, and economic processes.³⁹ Applying Lefebvre allows the reconstruction to attend to the ways in which apartheid ideology, economic priorities, and planning expertise shaped Durban's spatial future. It also highlights the distinction between conceived space (planning documents), perceived space (the built environment), and lived space (urban experience): the projected 1980 vision represents a powerful instance of conceived space.

The third pillar is the interpretive approach drawn from archival theory, particularly the work of Ann Laura Stoler, who argues that archives reveal the epistemic assumptions of governance.⁴⁰ This perspective is essential for analysing Holford's documents not simply as sources of data but as expressions of planning knowledge that constructed the city in a particular way. Reading the archive "along the grain" highlights how the categories and silences within the documents shaped what was thinkable and actionable in Durban's planning future.

These three conceptual pillars structure the methodological process of reconstructing the projected 1980 vision.

3. Methodological Steps

The first stage, archival extraction, involves the systematic identification of key themes, assumptions, and spatial concepts embedded within Holford's writings, diagrams, and correspondence. Particular attention is paid to recurring patterns of circulation hierarchy, zoning strategies, central business district renewal objectives, logistical and industrial planning principles, and assumptions about mobility, density, and economic clustering. Conceptual terms such as "tidiness," "clarity," and "functional coherence" are analysed as indicators of Holford's modernist planning

³⁹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

⁴⁰ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain* (Princeton University Press, 2009), 20.

worldview. These extracted elements form the conceptual foundation for the subsequent stages of analysis.

The second stage, spatial translation, converts the extracted textual and cartographic material into a set of spatial categories. Holford's planning concepts are coded into interpretive layers that include arterial road hierarchies, commercial intensification zones, industrial corridors, racially structured residential districts, and open-space and buffer-zone designations. These layers are then aligned with municipal planning documents in order to generate a composite spatial vocabulary. Through this process, Holford's proposals shift from descriptive recommendations into spatial frameworks that can be systematically compared across multiple planning sources.

The third stage, comparative layering, overlays Holford's proposals with municipal planning strategies developed from the 1960s through to the late 1970s. This process identifies direct points of influence where his ideas were adopted, areas of divergence where municipal planners departed from his vision, and zones of structural continuity where his spatial logic persisted without explicit acknowledgment. This stage reveals the genealogical endurance of modernist planning principles within Durban's long-term urban strategy.

The final stage, synthetic projection, brings together the analytical findings into a reconstructed 1980 spatial vision. This projection does not claim to represent what Durban actually became by 1980, but rather how planners imagined its future. The reconstructed vision is characterised by a consolidated central business district, a hierarchical arterial road network, segregated residential districts structured by apartheid logic, expanded industrial and logistical nodes linked to port development, and extensive buffer zones functioning as infrastructural borders. This synthesis demonstrates how Holford's epistemology and apartheid's spatial politics converged in shaping Durban's imagined urban future.

4. Limitations and Interpretive Challenges

The scope and interpretation of this study's results are shaped by a number of conceptual and methodological constraints. First, during the writing period, no official site visits were made to the three main case study locations - Durban, Johannesburg, and Cape Town. The lack of contemporaneous fieldwork restricts the ability to confirm current spatial conditions, observe common urban practices, or directly engage with the lived experience of apartheid's spatial legacies, even though prior visits and personal familiarity with these cities inform the researcher's contextual understanding.

Additionally, the study lacks interviews with planners, residents, policymakers, or other involved parties. This lack limits the research to archival, textual, and secondary materials, hindering triangulation through oral histories, expert testimony, or community viewpoints that could highlight how Holford's proposals were received, enacted, opposed, or modified on-site. Consequently, the analysis favours institutional and professional perspectives rather than lived experiences.

Third, the thesis is arranged around a purposefully confined analytical emphasis on one planner and one main urban case study. Although this depth facilitates a focused and theoretically profound exploration of Holford's work in Durban, it inevitably constrains the generalizability of the results. Holford's position should not be seen as indicative of the entire range of planning practices during apartheid, nor can Durban be regarded as completely representative of South African urbanism in that era. The conclusions presented are thus analytically particular instead of universally relevant.

Another constraint exists in the uncertainty surrounding Holford as a historical figure. The existing archival documentation offers substantial proof of his professional work but discloses surprisingly little regarding his personal political beliefs, nature, or ethical self-perception. Aside from his planning efforts, little is known about his private beliefs, inner drives, or personal views on apartheid. This lack of clarity limits the dissertation's ability to assert clear conclusions regarding intentionality, complicity,

or moral stance, necessitating that the analysis concentrate on structural impacts instead of personal conviction.

The research is limited by its dependence on one main source, specifically the Holford Archive. Although this collection is exceptionally detailed, it still reflects just one institutional viewpoint. It fails to encompass the complete spectrum of participants engaged in apartheid planning, such as South African municipal officials, engineers, politicians, private developers, or the local communities impacted by these measures. Furthermore, significant extra materials probably exist in municipal and provincial archives in Durban and other locations, which are still outside the empirical scope of this research. Consequently, the dissertation must reconstruct Durban's anticipated spatial future through a limited documentary perspective.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodological framework through which Durban's projected 1980 spatial vision is reconstructed. By integrating archival interpretation, spatial analysis, and planning theory, the methodology uncovers how Holford's modernist epistemology intersected with apartheid's spatial logic. The four-step process – archival extraction, spatial translation, comparative layering, and synthetic projection – provides a rigorous and transparent method for tracing how planning expertise shaped the imagination of Durban's urban future.

Chapter One – Holford’s Planning Worldview as Demonstrated in His Durban Materials

1.1 Holford as a Technocratic Modernist Planner

The Modern urban planner emerged in the twentieth century as a discipline grounded in claims to rationality, scientific objectivity, and spatial order.⁴¹ Lord William Holford occupies a central position within this intellectual formation.⁴² His professional career exemplifies the technocratic planner: a figure whose authority rested on procedural competence, institutional trust, and the capacity to translate complex urban conditions into administratively legible systems.⁴³ Holford was neither a social theorist nor an explicit political actor; rather, his work reflects a modernist epistemology in which cities were understood as systems to be optimised through circulation hierarchy, functional zoning, and spatial efficiency.⁴⁴

Holford’s ascent within British planning circles coincided with the post–Second World War expansion of the planning profession.⁴⁵ Reconstruction, welfare-state development, and the growing administrative reach of the modern state produced unprecedented demand for professional planners.⁴⁶ During this period, planning consolidated itself as a civic science, increasingly framed as a neutral and technical discipline serving the “public benefit.”⁴⁷ Holford’s obituary described him as possessing “quiet authority” and a “methodical intellect,” emphasising administrative clarity and sober judgement rather than ideological ambition.⁴⁸ Such descriptions articulated a post-war professional ideal: the planner as neutral expert whose legitimacy derived from technical competence rather than political engagement.⁴⁹

⁴¹ John R. Gold, *The Experience of Modernism: Modern Architects and the Future City 1928–1953* (London: Routledge, 1992), 3.

⁴² Lawrence J. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 45.

⁴³ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 2.

⁴⁴ *ibid.* (*Seeing Like a State*, 33).

⁴⁵ Gold, *The Experience of Modernism*, 56.

⁴⁶ *ibid.* (*The Experience of Modernism*, 61).

⁴⁷ *ibid.* (*The Experience of Modernism*, 74).

⁴⁸ William Graham Holford, Baron Holford, *Obituary*, D147/8/2/1, Lord Holford Papers, Special Collections and Archives, University of Liverpool.

⁴⁹ Gold, *The Experience of Modernism*, 82.

This professional self-image is essential for understanding how Holford's expertise later operated within apartheid South Africa. The claim to neutrality, order, and efficiency allowed planning knowledge to circulate across politically charged contexts while appearing detached from the regimes that mobilised it.⁵⁰ Holford's authority travelled not because he articulated a political programme, but because modernist planning itself was understood as universally applicable and ideologically neutral.⁵¹

1.2 Archival Content: The D147/SA Series as Evidentiary Core

This dissertation is grounded in the Lord Holford Archive held at the University of Liverpool Special Collections, with particular emphasis on the D147/SA series documenting Holford's consultancy work in South Africa.⁵² These materials constitute the primary evidentiary base for analysing Holford's planning worldview and reconstructing his proposals for Durban.

The D147/SA series contains several distinct categories of documents. First, it includes formal planning reports, most notably *Durban 1985 – A Plan for Central Durban* (D147/SA9/1–3), which articulate Holford's long-term spatial vision for the city centre.⁵³ Second, the archive contains correspondence between Holford and Durban municipal officials (D147/SA3), revealing how planning problems were framed, prioritised, and translated into technical briefs.⁵⁴ Third, zoning diagrams and land-use plans (D147/SA6) visualise functional separation and spatial order.⁵⁵ Finally, circulation diagrams and traffic plans detail proposed arterial routes, distributors, and access systems intended to rationalise urban movement.⁵⁶

Across these materials, the archive is overwhelmingly procedural in tone. Discussions of congestion, circulation efficiency, zoning consistency, and redevelopment sequencing dominate the

⁵⁰ Anthony D. King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* (London: Routledge, 1984), 12.

⁵¹ Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), 7.

⁵² Lord Holford Papers, Special Collections and Archives, University of Liverpool (hereafter Holford Archive), D147.

⁵³ William Graham Holford, Baron Holford, *Durban 1985 – A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 1 (1968), D147/SA9/1, Holford Archive.

⁵⁴ Holford 1968, D147/SA9/1.

⁵⁵ *ibid.* (*Durban 1985*, correspondence section).

⁵⁶ Holford Archive, zoning diagrams, D147/SA6.

documentation.⁵⁷ What is striking is the archive's silence on the political conditions within which these plans operated. As Ann Laura Stoler argues, archives reveal the epistemologies of rule by documenting what administrators considered "thinkable, recordable, and actionable," while systematically excluding the social and political violence shaping those contexts.⁵⁸ Holford's archive exemplifies this dynamic, preserving modernist technical reasoning while bracketing the realities of apartheid governance.⁵⁹

1.3 Archival Extraction Theme 1: Order, Clarity, and Efficiency

A recurring logic across Holford's Durban materials is the prioritisation of order, clarity, and efficiency as foundational planning values. These concepts appear repeatedly across reports and correspondence, functioning as operational criteria through which urban problems are defined and addressed.

In *Durban 1985 – A Plan for Central Durban*, Volume 1 (1968), Holford identifies congestion and spatial disorder as primary obstacles to the city's future development.⁶⁰

*"Although the main railway station was hailed as a boon to Durban when it was built, it has, together with the adjacent central civic complex (the City Hall, Post Office, Revenue Buildings, St Paul's Church, Medwood Gardens and the Town Gardens), effectively prevented any natural eastwards or northwards expansion of the city's commercial core. Since expansion to north and north-west is also prevented by the "Grey Street Area", the main focus of Indian investment and commercial activity on Durban, and since the Bay forms the southern boundary, recent growth in the core has taken form of an intensified use of land on re-development, leading to increasing local congestion."*⁶¹

⁵⁷ William Graham Holford, Baron Holford, *Durban 1985 – A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 2 (1968), D147/SA9/2, Holford Archive.

⁵⁸ *ibid.* (*Durban 1985*, vol. 1).

⁵⁹ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 20.

⁶⁰ *ibid.* (*Along the Archival Grain*, 25).

⁶¹ William Graham Holford, Baron Holford, *A Plan for Central Durban*, 1968, p. 30, D147/SA9/1, Lord Holford Papers, Special Collections and Archives, University of Liverpool.

This framing is significant. Durban is not presented as a socially divided or politically unequal city, but as a technically disordered one. “Order,” in this context, refers to the rational arrangement of functions: separating incompatible land uses, consolidating commercial activity, and eliminating spatial ambiguity.⁶² Urban conflict is reframed as inefficiency, and spatial intervention is presented as neutral problem-solving.

Here, clarity operates as a technology of governance. Simplified zoning categories and streamlined circulation systems render the city administratively legible.⁶³ Efficiency is measured not in social outcomes, but in throughput, accessibility, and functional performance.⁶⁴ Political questions of displacement and exclusion are absorbed into technical language.⁶⁵

1.4 The Central Business District as a Mechanism of Apartheid Spatial Governance

Holford’s most sustained engagement with Durban’s spatial structure occurs in *Durban 1985 – A Plan for Central Durban (D147/SA9)* series. Across all volumes, the central business district (CBD) is positioned as the organisational core of the city’s future.⁶⁶

The CBD is framed as a space requiring consolidation, intensification, and functional purification. Residential uses are identified as incompatible with its primary role, while commercial, administrative, and financial activities are prioritised.⁶⁷ This framing aligns seamlessly with apartheid’s spatial objectives and presents the displacement of non-white residents from central areas as rendered a technical necessity rather than a political act.⁶⁸

⁶² *ibid.* (*A Plan for Central Durban*, 87).

⁶³ William Graham Holford, Baron Holford, *Diaries of W. G. Holford and Kantorowich, 1965–1968*, D147/SA4/2, Holford Archive.

⁶⁴ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 77.

⁶⁵ *ibid.* (*Seeing Like a State*, 92).

⁶⁶ Jennifer Robinson, *The Power of Apartheid: State, Power and Space in South African Cities* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1996), 101.

⁶⁷ Holford, *Durban 1985 – A Plan for Central Durban*, vols. 1–3, D147/SA9/1–3.

⁶⁸ *ibid.* (Holford Archive, D147/SA6). *Ibid.* (*Durban 1985—A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 1 page 54).

*An increase of almost a million people in 20 years will place considerable pressure on land resources in the [coastal] sub-region. This is **especially true of existing Coloured and Indian Groups Areas** which are quite unable to absorb the increase, even at greatly increased densities. To cater for this, the regional strategy plan assumed that major Indian Group Areas will be established north of Durban in the Inanda Magisterial District, on Land at present under sugar-cane. It is similarly assumed that more land will be made available for Coloured as well, but it has not been possible to determine the exact location of such areas since practically all land in the sub-region appears to be pre-empted by the demands of other races.*

Zoning diagrams accompanying the reports (D147/SA6) visually reinforce this logic, depicting a purified commercial core buffered from surrounding districts by infrastructure and open space.⁶⁹ These representations do not reference race explicitly, yet they reproduce apartheid's racial geography through functional abstraction.⁷⁰ The CBD thus operates as a mechanism of apartheid spatial governance, consolidating white economic dominance while masking exclusion through planning rationality.⁷¹

⁶⁹ *ibid.* (Durban 1985, zoning section).

⁷⁰ Anthony Lemon, Ronnie Donaldson, and Gustav Visser, eds., *South African Urban Change: Three Decades After Apartheid – Homes Still Apart?* (Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland, 2021), 7.

⁷¹ Holford Archive, D147/SA6.



Fig. 2 - The above diagram is extracted from the D146/SA6 archival material.

1.5 Circulation as Governance

Circulation planning forms the third major pillar of Holford's Durban proposals. The archive contains multiple diagrams outlining hierarchical road systems, arterial routes, distributors, and controlled access points.⁷²

Holford's circulation logic reflects a principle of controlled interdependence. Segregated urban areas are functionally linked through transport networks while remaining spatially and socially divided. Proposed arterial routes connect peripheral labour areas to economic centres without enabling spatial integration.

*“Major assumptions were that, as a result of the implementation of the Group Areas Act, non-whites in Durban and Pietermaritzburg would be progressively removed to more peripheral areas; that the Durban Pietermaritzburg axis would form a ‘White corridor’; that apart from a few isolated Indian settlement, the Region’s coastline would be reserved for White occupation; that wherever possible, Coloured and Indian Group Areas would be interposed between White and Bantu areas, except that neither Coloured nor Indian areas would be permitted in Camperdown Magisterial District; and that the location of industrial areas and communication lines would be related to the pattern of residential development.”*⁷³

In the apartheid city, circulation systems function as technologies of governance. They regulate movement, visibility, and access without explicit enforcement.⁷⁴ As James C. Scott argues, state power depends upon simplification: rendering complex social realities into legible administrative forms.⁷⁵ Holford's circulation diagrams exemplify this process, translating racialised control into infrastructural logic.

⁷² Holford, *Durban 1985 – A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 2, D147/SA9/2.

⁷³ *ibid.* (*Durban 1985*, vol. 1, page 30).

⁷⁴ Holford, *A Plan for Central Durban*, 51.

⁷⁵ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 183.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that Holford was a technocratic modernist planner whose authority derived from professional neutrality, administrative clarity, and institutional trust.⁷⁶ It has shown that the D147/SA archive documents a planning practice oriented toward technical problem-solving while systematically bracketing political context.⁷⁷ Through archival extraction, the chapter has identified three recurring logics - order, CBD consolidation, and circulation hierarchy - as structuring principles of Holford's Durban work.⁷⁸ These logics reveal how modernist planning expertise translated apartheid spatial governance into administratively rational form.⁷⁹

Together, these analytical lenses prepare the ground for Chapter Two's examination of apartheid land politics and Chapter Three's reconstruction of Durban's projected 1980 spatial vision, demonstrating how planning functioned as a technology of power within apartheid modernism.

⁷⁶ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 31.

⁷⁷ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 184.

⁷⁸ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 94.

⁷⁹ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 38.

Chapter Two – How apartheid planning instruments intersect with Holford’s Durban proposals.

2.1 Durban’s Apartheid Planning Constraints

By the time Lord William Holford began advising Durban’s municipal authorities during the 1950s and 1960s, the city was already profoundly structured by apartheid planning instruments.⁸⁰ These constraints did not originate with Holford; however, they decisively shaped the spatial and political terrain within which his proposals were conceived and received.

“Within 10 miles from the centre of Durban, Whites, Indians, and Bantu each constitute about one-third of the total; but within a 2 1/2 mile radius, Whites alone are nearly two-thirds of the total. The evolution of this pattern – largely the result of the implementation of the Group Areas Act since 1951 – can be seen in the population of the Old Borough area of Durban – east of Ridge Road and between the Umgeni and Umbilo Rivers – at 1951 and 1966.”⁸¹

Durban’s urban order was governed by three interlocking planning logics: the enforcement of Group Areas, based racial zoning, the regulation of African labour through peripheralisation, and the preservation of a white-dominated central business district.⁸² Legislative instruments such as the Group Areas Act of 1950 (**fig 3**) and earlier segregationist statutes provided the legal framework through which racialised land use was implemented.⁸³ Municipal planning reports and zoning schemes translated these laws into spatial practice through land-use designation, infrastructural separation, and controlled mobility.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Anthony Lemon, Ronnie Donaldson, and Gustav Visser, eds., *South African Urban Change: Three Decades After Apartheid – Homes Still Apart? Urban Perspectives from the Global South* (Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland, 2021), 1, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-73073-4>.

⁸¹ Ibid. (*Durban 1985—A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 1, page 44).

⁸² Jennifer Robinson, *The Power of Apartheid: State, Power and Space in South African Cities* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1996).

⁸³ Union of South Africa, *Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1913).

⁸⁴ Republic of South Africa, *Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950* (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1950).

*“Linked to the control of the Bantu Migration are policies of industrial decentralisation in general, and ‘border industries’ in particular. Several of areas in the project region have already been designated ‘border industrial areas,’ namely Hammarsdale, Pietermaritzburg and Tongaat (an Indian industrial area), and Cato Ridge (Bantu), and Verulam (Indians) are also possible locations for border areas”.*⁸⁵

Map of the Bantustan homelands of the Union of South Africa 1910-1961

The Bantustans or black homelands were territories that the National Party administration of the Union of South Africa (and the later Republic of South Africa) set aside for Black South African inhabitants.

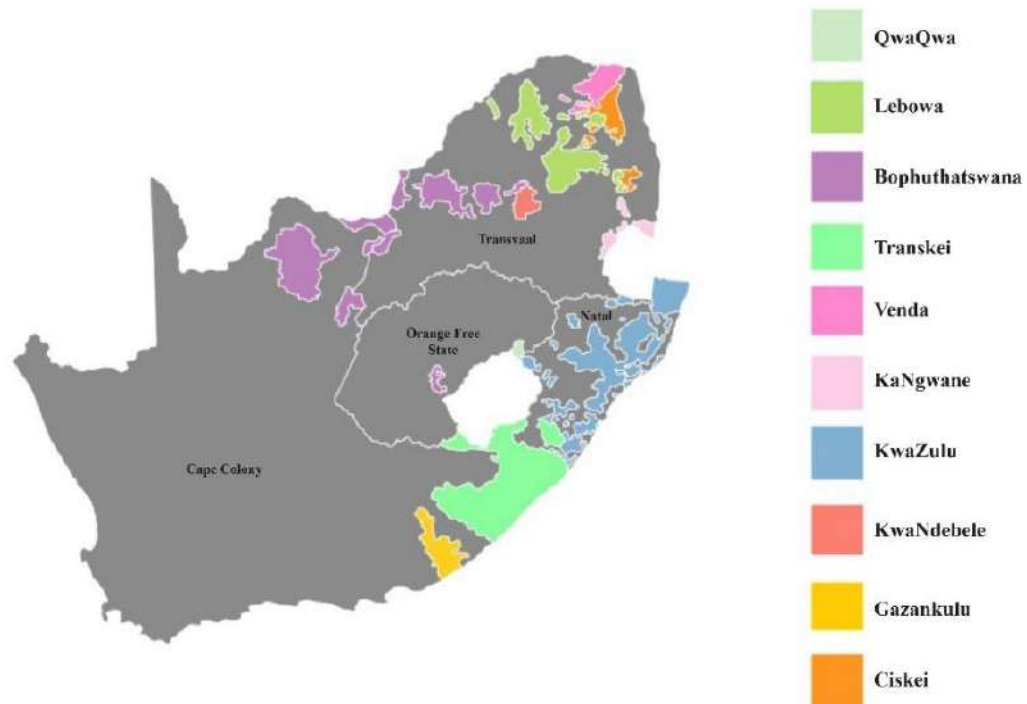


Fig 3 – map of the Bantustans across the union of South Africa

⁸⁵ Ibid. (*Durban 1985—A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 3 page 53).

Apartheid planning in Durban relied heavily on buffer zones, infrastructural corridors, and zoning “purity” to maintain racial separation.⁸⁶ The central business district was preserved as a white commercial and administrative core, while African, Indian, and Coloured populations were progressively displaced to peripheral townships including KwaMashu, Chatsworth, and Phoenix⁸⁷ (fig 4). These spatial constraints are essential for interpreting Holford’s work: his proposals did not intervene in a neutral urban field but entered a city already organised through entrenched systems of racialised spatial control.

“The main assumption were that non-Whites currently residing in the Region’s major urban centres would continue to be displaced towards the more peripheral areas; that the Durban-Pietermaritzburg axis would form a ‘White corridor’; and that the major portion of the region’s coastline would be reserved for the White occupation. Discontinuance of the Indian residence (but not trading or other commercial and social activities) was also assumed for the Grey Street area of Durban, although it was not expected that all Indian resident there would have been moved by the end of the planning period.”⁸⁸

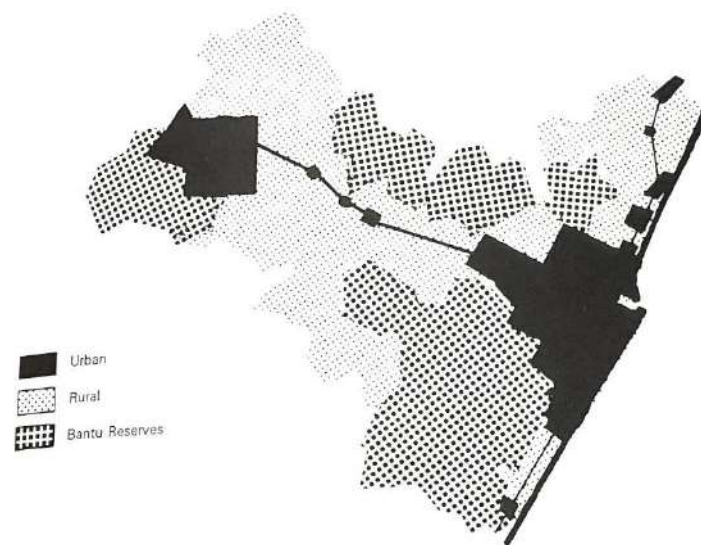


Fig 2.2 Urban, Rural & Bantu Reserve Areas

Fig 4 – Archival map extract from D147/SA9/1 Urban Rural & Bantu reserve areas between Durban and Pietermaritzburg

⁸⁶ William Holford, *Durban 1985—A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 1 (1968), Lord Holford Archive, University of Liverpool Special Collections and Archives, D147/SA9/1.

⁸⁷ Ibid. (*Durban 1985—A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 1).

⁸⁸ Ibid. (*Durban 1985—A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 3 page 39).

2.2 Municipal Objectives in Commissioning Holford

This subsection establishes the parameters of Holford's consultancy, demonstrating that his technical remit was shaped by pre-existing apartheid planning objectives rather than independent critique.

Durban's invitation to Holford must be understood as a strategic response to these pre-existing apartheid planning constraints. Summaries contained within the *D147/SA9/3 – Durban 1985 Volume 2* indicates that Durban sought external expertise to rationalise traffic congestion, modernise circulation systems, and project an image of orderly urban growth.⁸⁹ The consultancy brief was framed explicitly in technical terms, emphasising land-use incompatibility, infrastructural inefficiency, and the need for long-term spatial coherence.⁹⁰

Notably, Holford was not invited to question Durban's racial order as a political problem. Rather, he was commissioned to improve its operational efficiency. The framing of the brief implicitly allowed apartheid's spatial logic to be addressed only through the ostensibly objective language of planning rationality. In this sense, Holford was authorised to engage racialised spatial arrangements indirectly, under the guise of neutral technical optimisation.

*“Our terms of appointment were unusual. We were asked to work in association on this project – which we call the Central Durban Planning Project (CDPP) – by forming a team, specifically from the professionally trained planners and research workers in South Africa and overseas, who would operate independently during the period of the Project, but within the City Engineers' Department and with the collaboration of his staff: and it was intended at the end of the period, to leave the nucleus of a forward-planning division in being, to supplement the considerable range of executive and administrative work for which the City Engineer is responsible.”*⁹¹

Holford's own summaries of the consultancy brief reinforce this framing. Durban's problems are presented as issues of congestion, inefficiency, and spatial disorder, while racial displacement and exclusion remain implicit rather than explicit.⁹² The municipality thus sought not ideological guidance

⁸⁹ William Holford, correspondence with Durban municipal officials, Lord Holford Archive, University of Liverpool Special Collections and Archives, D147/SA3.

⁹⁰ Ibid. (Correspondence, D147/SA3).

⁹¹ Ibid. (Correspondence, D147/SA3).

⁹² William Holford, *Durban 1985—A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 2 (1968), Lord Holford Archive, University of Liverpool Special Collections and Archives, D147/SA9/2.

but a modernist vocabulary capable of stabilising existing planning objectives under the authority of internationally recognised expertise.

2.3 Technical Rationality as a Vehicle for Apartheid Spatial Order

Holford's planning language does not explicitly reference apartheid policy, racial separation, or social order. Instead, his technical language of congestion relief, spatial redistribution, circulation management, and administrative coordination aligned seamlessly with apartheid's spatial objectives.⁹³ In *Durban 1985 – A Plan for Central Durban* (D147/SA9/1), he identifies spatial disorder within the CBD as a primary obstacle to economic growth and administrative clarity.⁹⁴

Operationally, this language privileges the consolidation of the CBD, the removal of residential and informal uses, and the intensification of commercial activity.⁹⁵ This technical framing is significant. In apartheid Durban, congestion relief and spatial redistribution were not neutral objectives. Proposals to relieve congestion in the central business district entailed the displacement of residential populations deemed incompatible with commercial and administrative functions. Roads functioned as borders; zoning functioned as exclusion; efficiency functioned as justification.⁹⁶ Holford's emphasis on administration and coordination thus translated apartheid's spatial priorities into the language of technical necessity.

Meeting minutes contained in the *D147/SA5/I* series further demonstrate how such technical rationality intersected with explicitly racialised decision-making, including discussions concerning the removal and relocation of Indian workers from central areas. Holford's technical language did not invent apartheid's spatial logic, but it stabilised it by rendering racialised outcomes legible as rational planning solutions. As Lemon, Donaldson, and Visser observe, apartheid relied on planning to translate segregation into spatial necessity, producing an urban geography in which separation appeared inevitable rather than imposed.⁹⁷ Holford's reports exemplify this process.

⁹³ Ibid. (*Durban 1985—A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 2).

⁹⁴ Holford, *Durban 1985*, vol. 1, D147/SA9/1.

⁹⁵ Ibid. (*Durban 1985—A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 1).

⁹⁶ Robinson, *The Power of Apartheid*, esp. chaps. on urban spatial governance and planning instruments.

⁹⁷ Lemon, Donaldson, and Visser, eds., *South African Urban Change*, 1.

*“The next step is how does one ensure that in due course of tie that these flats will disappear? **The Indians must eventually move from this area.** We think the answer lies in the **ordinance itself.** You will be aware that a town planning scheme can be initiated either by the local authority to by the administrator. If the Administrator is satisfied that a scheme ought to be prepared, he may order that authority to prepare such a scheme.”⁹⁸*

2.4 Forced Removals, Buffer Zones, and Spatial Separation

The convergence of Holford’s proposals with apartheid’s most violent planning instrument; forced removals; becomes visible through close analysis of zoning diagrams and land-use plans (**fig 5**) as a result of systematic collection and tabulation of demographic land-use data across the four race groups to evaluate their respective proximity to the CBD. This quantitative and classificatory methodology redefined racial governance as an administrative issue of spatial distribution, allowing for the management of varied access to the CBD through zoning, circulation regulation, and redevelopment sequencing instead of overt racial mandates is evidential in the **D147/SA6** series and the **D147/SA9/3** volume footnotes and appendices.⁹⁹

*“A ‘border industrial area’ may be loosely described as an industrial area situated sufficiently close to the boundary of a Bantu reserve area to enable Bantu Living in the Reserve to commute to work daily in the industrial area. Border areas are designated by the Permanent Committee for the Location of Industry. The significance of this designation is that industries establishing themselves in such areas are subsidised, either directly or indirectly. These subsidies (or ‘concessions’) are expressly intended to **divert both existing and proposed industries away from the established industrial centres to the border areas.**”¹⁰⁰*

⁹⁸ Durban consultation/meeting documentation (re: Group Areas/municipal planning discussions), Lord Holford Archive, University of Liverpool Special Collections and Archives, D147/SA5/1.

⁹⁹ William Holford, zoning and land-use diagrams (Durban materials), Lord Holford Archive, University of Liverpool Special Collections and Archives, D147/SA6.

Ibid. (*Durban 1985—A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 2).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. (*Durban 1985—A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 2 page 53).

One such diagram designates the CBD exclusively for commercial use, relocates residential functions to peripheral zones, and introduces infrastructural buffers separating these areas. The archival material from **D147/SA9/3** verbatimly refers to the hardcore [sites] as the commercial and social focus of the ‘White’ CBD.¹⁰¹ This CBD is defined by through tabulation of with the volume – exploring and predicting the an. These spatial decisions align closely with the logic of Group Areas enforcement, even when race is not explicitly referenced.¹⁰² As Lemon et al. emphasise, “the human damage inflicted by race zoning was and remains immeasurable,” despite being enacted through seemingly technical procedures.¹⁰³ Holford’s plans participated in this system by providing the spatial grammar through which separation was normalised and operationalised.

¹⁰¹ The Hardcore is the commercial and social focus of the White CBD with the Indian district performing a similar role for the Indian community, despite signs of stagnation due **artificial restraints on growth**. (*Durban 1985—A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 2 page 492).

¹⁰² Ibid. (Zoning and land-use diagrams, D147/SA6).

¹⁰³ Lemon, Donaldson, and Visser, eds., *South African Urban Change*, 7: “The human damage inflicted by race zoning was and remains immeasurable.”

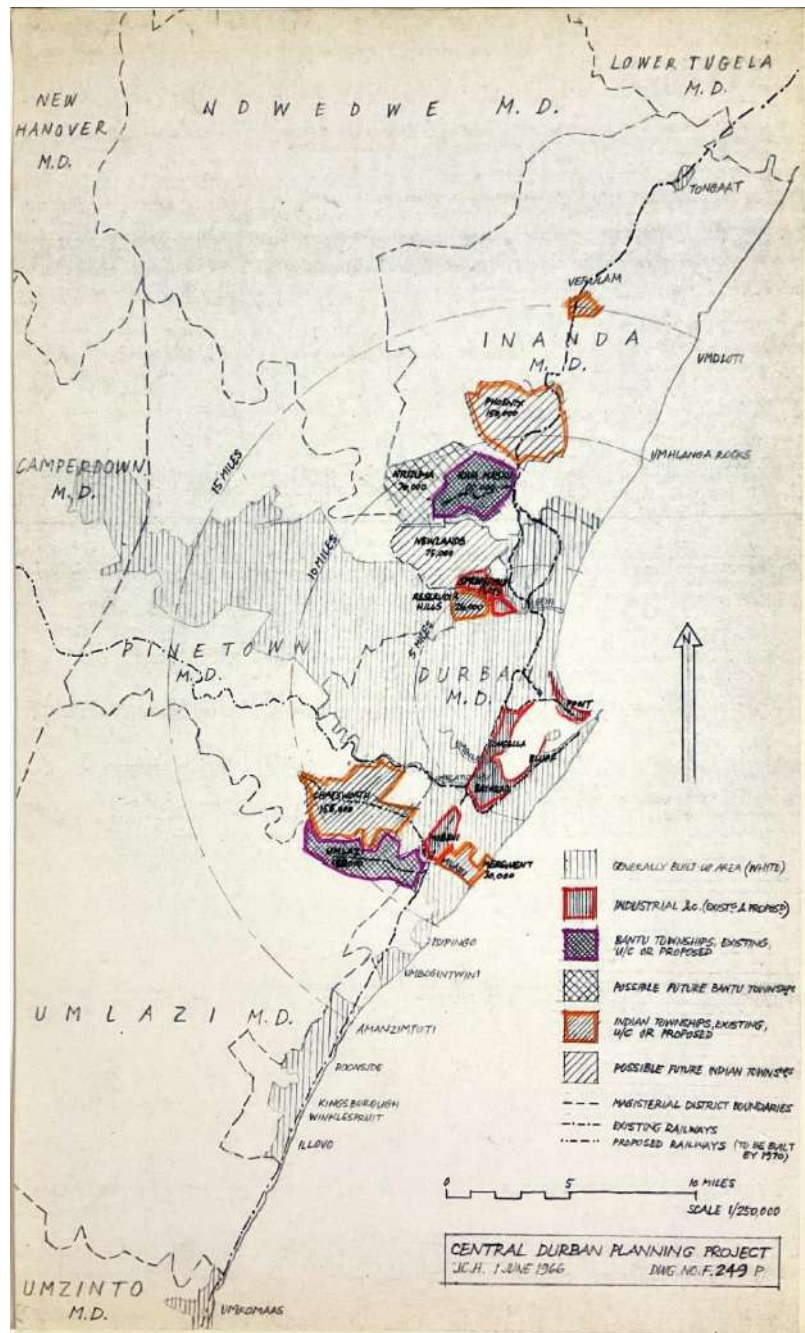


Fig 5 – Archival map extract from D147/SA6 of township mapping in Durban

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how apartheid planning instruments intersected directly with Holford's Durban proposals. Durban's racialised planning constraints shaped both the consultancy brief Holford received and the ways in which his work was mobilised. His technical language of order, efficiency, and functional separation aligned seamlessly with apartheid's spatial objectives, translating racial domination into administratively legible form.

Holford does not emerge here as the architect of apartheid urbanism, but as a key figure through whom modernist planning rationality stabilised it. Chapter Three reconstructs Durban's projected 1980 vision by translating Holford's extracted categories - CBD consolidation, circulation hierarchy, and zoning purification - into a composite spatial projection that reveals how apartheid imagined its urban future.

Chapter Three – Reconstructing Durban’s Projected 1980 Urban Vision

Reconstructing Durban’s Projected 1980 Urban Vision

Modernist planning played a decisive role in shaping how apartheid South Africa imagined and organised its urban future.¹⁰⁴ While apartheid was fundamentally a racial and political project, it relied heavily on the authority, techniques, and language of modernist planning to render its spatial ambitions legitimate and administratively actionable.¹⁰⁵ This chapter reconstructs Durban’s projected 1980 spatial vision through direct engagement with Lord William Holford’s planning reports and associated diagrams produced during the late 1960s.¹⁰⁶ Rather than treating modernist planning as an abstract ideology, the chapter focuses on what Holford and his collaborators actually proposed for Durban: the spatial arrangements, circulation hierarchies, zoning logics, and redevelopment priorities that together articulated an imagined future city.¹⁰⁷

Holford’s involvement in Durban formed part of a broader advisory team that included Professor Kantorowich, whose co-authorship on the *Durban 1985 – A Plan for Central Durban* volumes reflects the collective nature of expert planning knowledge at the time.¹⁰⁸ Placing Holford at the centre of this reconstruction does not imply that he authored apartheid policy.¹⁰⁹ Rather, he is examined as a carrier of modernist planning epistemologies whose technical authority translated apartheid’s spatial objectives into apparently neutral planning form.¹¹⁰ Through close reading of *Durban 1985 – A Plan*

¹⁰⁴ John R. Gold, *The Experience of Modernism: Modern Architects and the Future City, 1928–1953* (London: E & FN Spon, 1997), 3–6.

¹⁰⁵ Jennifer Robinson, *The Power of Apartheid: State, Power, and Space in South African Cities* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1996), 1–4.

¹⁰⁶ Lord William Holford, *Durban 1985: A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 1 (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Special Collections and Archives, 1968), D147/SA9/1.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. (*Durban 1985*, vol. 1), 2–5.

¹⁰⁸ Gold, *The Experience of Modernism*, 42–45.

¹⁰⁹ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 2–4.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. (*Seeing Like a State*), 22–25.

for *Central Durban* (D147/SA9/1–3), this chapter demonstrates how modernist rationalities rendered racialised spatial restructuring legible, governable, and future-oriented.¹¹¹

Holford's planning worldview must be understood within the intellectual trajectory of twentieth-century modernism. Trained during the interwar period and professionally ascendant in the post-war reconstruction era, Holford's career reflects the consolidation of planning as a rational, technocratic discipline oriented toward order, efficiency, and functional clarity.¹¹² His advisory work in Durban occurred at a moment when modernist planning had achieved global authority, circulating across former imperial territories as a universal language of urban progress.¹¹³

3.1 Archival Extraction: The *Durban 1985* Reports

The primary evidentiary basis for this chapter is *Durban 1985 – A Plan for Central Durban*, produced in multiple volumes between 1967 and 1969.¹¹⁴ These reports address traffic circulation, land-use zoning, commercial redevelopment, and long-term urban growth within the central city and its regional setting.¹¹⁵ Holford frames Durban's future as a technical problem of congestion management, economic efficiency, and spatial rationalisation.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ Anthony Lemon, Ronnie Donaldson, and Gustav Visser, eds., *South African Urban Change: Three Decades After Apartheid – Homes Still Apart?* (Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland, 2021), 6.

¹¹² Ibid. (*South African Urban Change*), 6–7.

¹¹³ Lord William Holford, *Durban 1985: A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 2 (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Special Collections and Archives, 1968), D147/SA9/2.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. (*Durban 1985*, vol. 2), 14–18.

¹¹⁵ Lord William Holford, zoning and circulation diagrams, Liverpool University Special Collections and Archives, D147/SA6.

¹¹⁶ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 21–23.

In *Durban 1985*, the central business district is identified as the organisational core of the city's future. Holford describes the CBD as requiring consolidation, functional clarity, and infrastructural reinforcement in order to accommodate projected commercial growth.¹¹⁷ Residential uses deemed incompatible with this vision are marked for removal or relocation, while circulation systems are redesigned to prioritise vehicular access and economic throughput.¹¹⁸ In this framing, urban problems are translated into technical questions of land-use efficiency and circulation order rather than social or political conflict.¹¹⁹

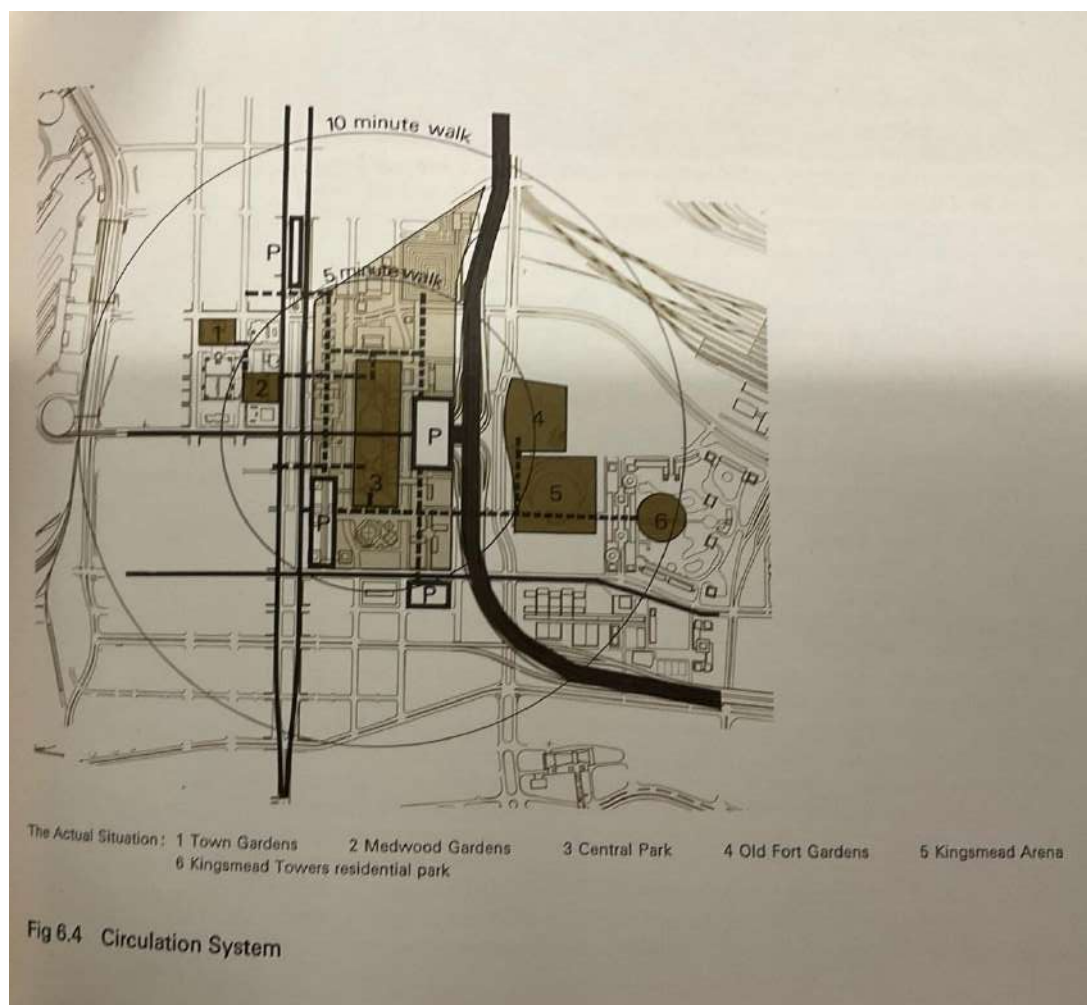


Fig 6. Archival extracts of circulation diagrams of Durban CBD

¹¹⁷ Ibid. (*Orientalism*), 54–55.

¹¹⁸ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 38–40.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. (*The Wretched of the Earth*), 39.

3.2 Reconstructing the Central Business District

Holford's proposals envisioned a central business district characterised by intensified commercial activity, reduced residential presence, and strict functional differentiation.¹²⁰

Zoning recommendations emphasised the purification of land uses, separating commercial, industrial, and residential functions in accordance with modernist planning doctrine.¹²¹

Holford's zoning plans, (fig 7) produced as part of the Durban 1985 plan stabilise the CBD as a concentrated commercial core, bounded by infrastructural corridors and buffer zones.¹²²

While they are articulated in the technical terminology of land-use efficiency and administrative clarity, supporting texts confirm that spatial organisation in Durban was distinctly racialised rather than functionally neutral. This is evident in his terminology, where references to a “white CBD” and a “non-white CBD” are present in planning documentation, illustrating that zoning functioned as a mechanism for racial differentiation, normalised through modernist planning discourse rather than recognised as political segregation.¹²³

“The CBD’s evolving land-use composition is characterised by the growing importance of flats, offices, and associated parking spaces.

The Hardcore is the commercial focus of the White CBD with the Indian district performing a similar role for the Indian community. ... The beach district is the fastest growing sector of the CBD and the Hardcore is the most intensively developed.”

¹²⁰ Martin J. Murray, *City of Extremes: The Spatial Politics of Johannesburg* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 27–29.

¹²¹ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 20–22.

¹²² Ibid. (*Along the Archival Grain*), 48.

¹²³ Ibid. (*Durban 1985—A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 3 page 71).

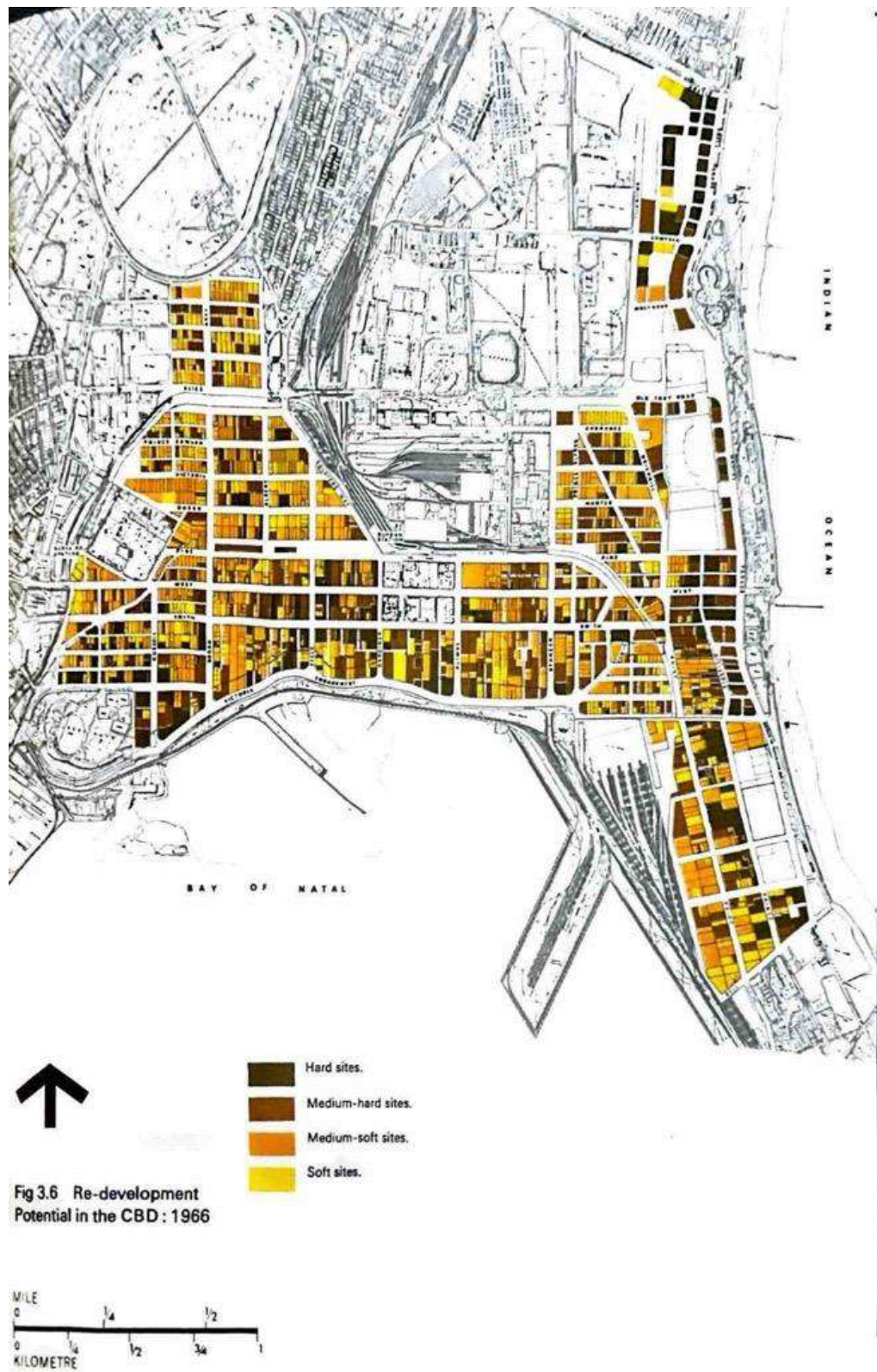


Fig 7 – Archival extract diagram depicting Re-development of the Potential of the CBD through compartmentalised zoning.

This restructuring aligned closely with apartheid's broader spatial objectives.¹²⁴ By consolidating economic activity in the CBD and removing residential uses, Holford's proposals reinforced existing patterns of racial exclusion while presenting them as necessary for urban efficiency and modernisation.¹²⁵

3.3 Circulation Hierarchies and the Regulation of Movement

A principal component of Holford's projected 1980 vision was the reorganisation of Durban's circulation network.¹²⁶ His reports proposed a hierarchical system of primary arterials, distributor roads, and local streets designed to streamline traffic flow and reduce congestion within the CBD.¹²⁷ (fig2 page 29)

In a 1968 circulation memorandum, Holford proposed routing through-traffic around rather than through the CBD, limiting permeability while maintaining high-capacity access for commercial movement.¹²⁸ This hierarchy prioritised economic circulation while regulating access and movement across the city.¹²⁹ In the apartheid context, such circulation systems functioned as instruments of spatial governance, shaping mobility without the need for explicit racial enforcement.¹³⁰

¹²⁴ Lemon et al. *South African Urban Change*, 8.

¹²⁵ Ibid. (*South African Urban Change*), 11.

¹²⁶ Robinson, *The Power of Apartheid*, 76–79.

¹²⁷ Lord William Holford, correspondence with Durban City Council, Liverpool University Special Collections and Archives, D147/SA3.

¹²⁸ Ibid. (D147/SA3), letter dated 12 November 1967.

¹²⁹ Holford, *Durban 1985*, vol. 1, 30.

¹³⁰ Ibid. (*Durban 1985*, vol. 1), 30–32.

James C. Scott's concept of state legibility clarifies this process.¹³¹ By translating urban complexity into simplified circulation diagrams and road hierarchies, Holford's plans rendered Durban administratively legible and governable.¹³² Displacement, restriction, and segregation were recoded as technical matters of traffic management and efficiency.¹³³

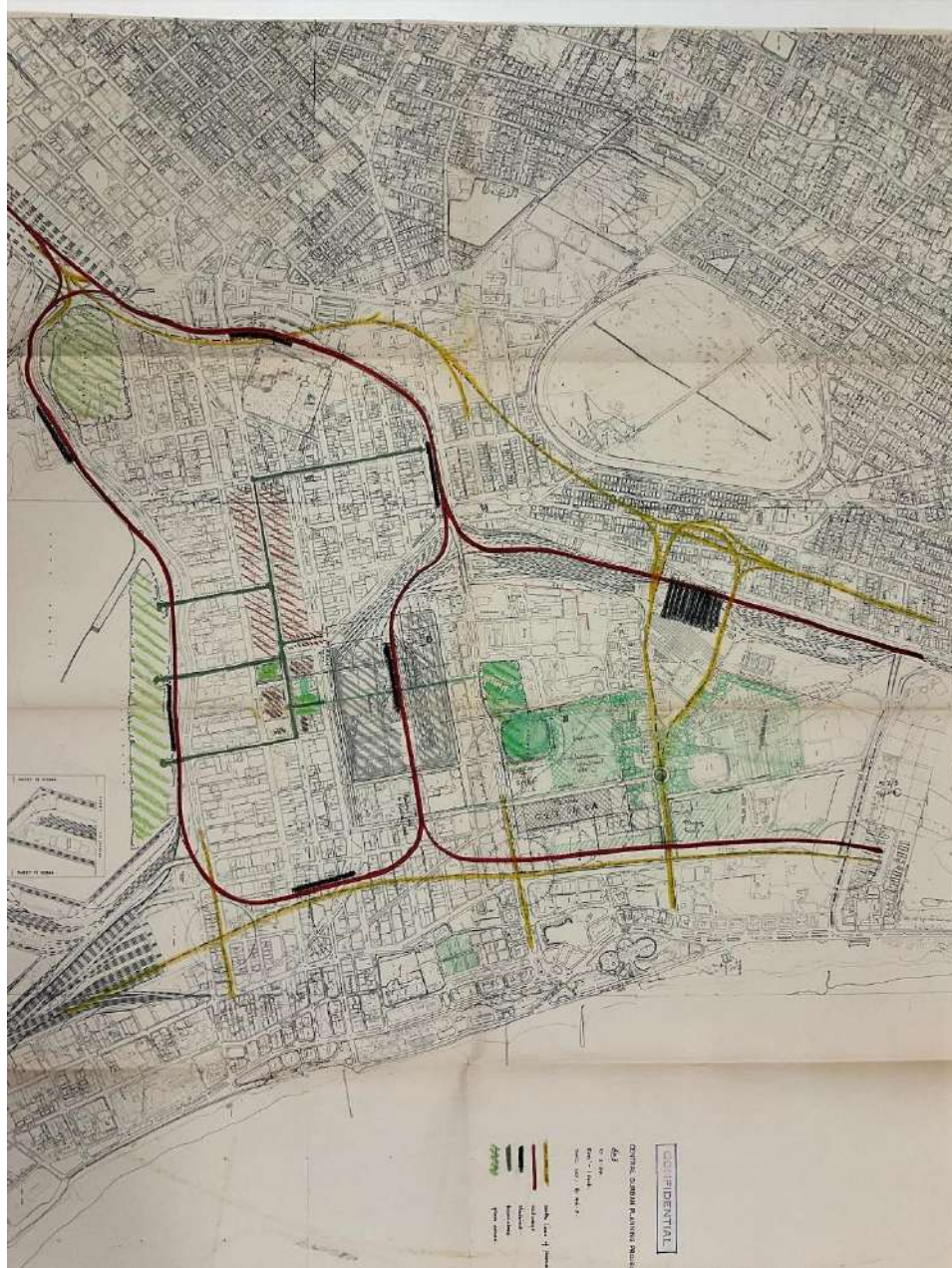


fig 8 – untitled map from the CDDP plans, depiction of the transportation proposals for the redevelopment of the CBD.

¹³¹ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 87–90.

¹³² Ibid. (*Seeing Like a State*), 91.

¹³³ Lemon, et al. *South African Urban Change*, 6.

3.4 Zoning Purification, Buffers, and Spatial Separation

Beyond circulation, Holford's proposals relied heavily on zoning purification and infrastructural buffers to stabilise spatial order.¹³⁴ Industrial corridors, open spaces, floodplains, and major roadways were deployed as separation devices between urban functions.¹³⁵

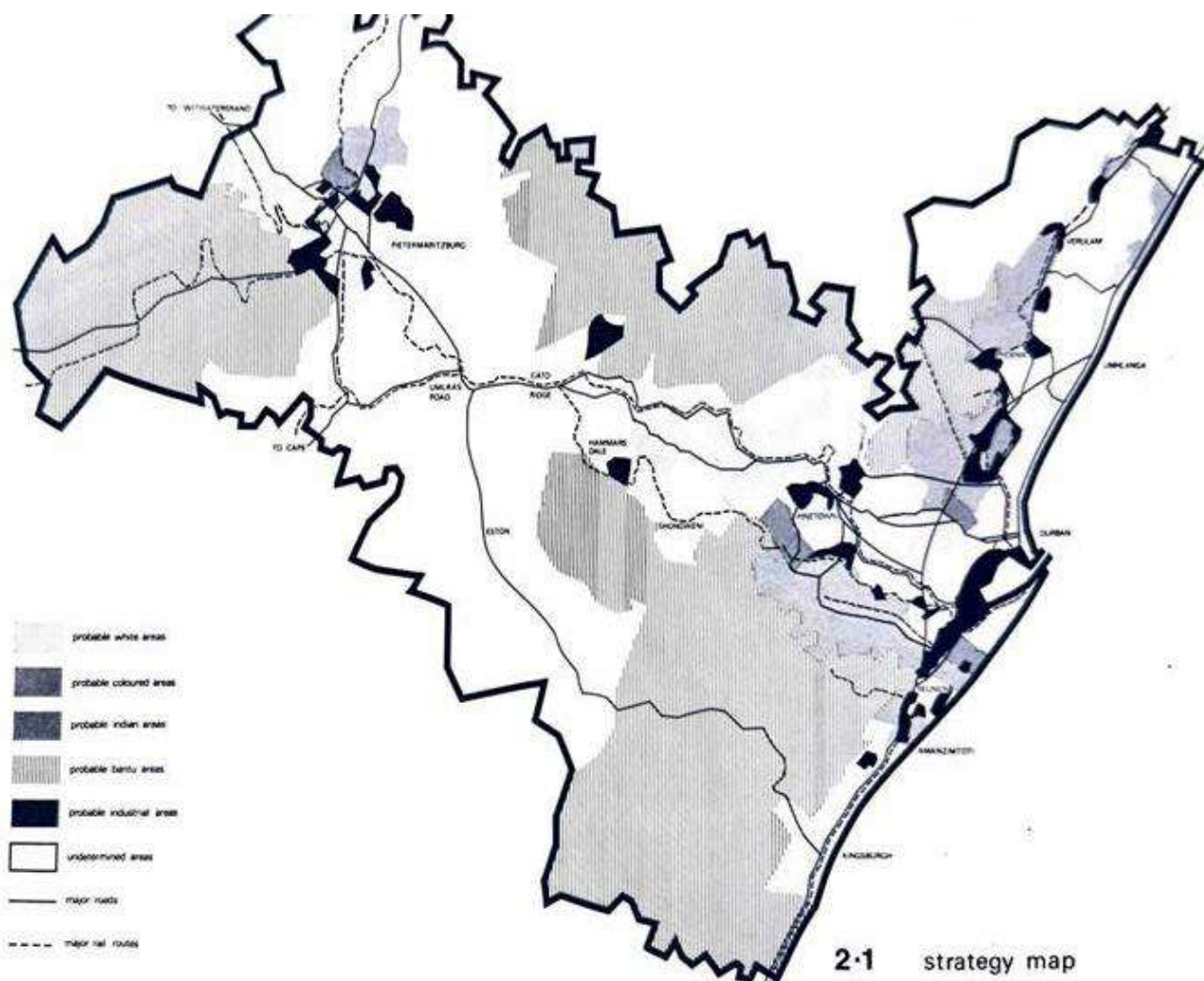


Fig 9 – archival extraction: map depicting the zoning strategisation of the Durban and Pietermaritzburg region

¹³⁴ Lord William Holford, *Durban 1985: A Plan for Central Durban*, vol. 2 (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Special Collections and Archives, 1968), D147/SA9/2, 14–18.

¹³⁵ Ibid. (*Durban 1985*, vol. 2), 15. and (fig 4 page 34)

These buffers served both practical and ideological purposes.¹³⁶ Justified in planning terms as necessary for safety, efficiency, and environmental management, they simultaneously reinforced apartheid's logic of separation by embedding distance and disconnection into the urban fabric.¹³⁷ Holford's plans thus contributed to a spatial environment in which racial division appeared naturalised through design rather than imposed through force.¹³⁸

3.5 Holford's Epistemic Authority and the Imagined City

Holford's influence extended beyond specific proposals.¹³⁹ His planning epistemology; rooted in abstraction, legibility, and functional order; shaped how Durban's future was imagined by municipal planners.¹⁴⁰ Even where his recommendations were partially implemented or later modified, the rationalist frameworks he introduced remained embedded within planning culture.¹⁴¹

Edward Said's theory of representation is instructive here.¹⁴² Holford's plans did not merely depict Durban; they constructed a version of the city in which circulation, zoning, and efficiency defined what was visible, actionable, and governable.¹⁴³ Frantz Fanon's description of the colonial city as a "compartmentalised world" further clarifies how these representations stabilised apartheid's spatial order.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁶ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 2–4.

¹³⁷ Ibid. (*Seeing Like a State*), 22–25.

¹³⁸ Ibid. (*Seeing Like a State*), 87–90.

¹³⁹ Lord William Holford, zoning and circulation diagrams, Liverpool University Special Collections and Archives, D147/SA6.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. (Holford zoning and circulation diagrams, D147/SA6).

¹⁴¹ Martin J. Murray, *City of Extremes: The Spatial Politics of Johannesburg* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 27–29.

¹⁴² Ibid. (*City of Extremes*), 31–33.

¹⁴³ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 21–23.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. (*Orientalism*), 54–55.

3.6 The Projected 1980 Vision of Durban

Taken together, Holford's proposals articulate a coherent imagined future for Durban by 1980.¹⁴⁵ This vision comprised a consolidated white commercial CBD (with non-white residents existing within the CBD peripheries), hierarchical circulation networks regulating mobility, purified zoning reinforcing functional and racial separation, and infrastructural buffers maintaining spatial distance between populations.¹⁴⁶

This future city was not an inevitable outcome of urban growth.¹⁴⁷ It was a carefully constructed projection shaped by modernist planning rationalities and apartheid governance.¹⁴⁸ As Lemon, Donaldson, and Visser observe, “the shadow of apartheid planning would remain evident in the geography of South African cities for years if not decades.”¹⁴⁹ The reconstructed 1980 vision demonstrates how planning projections functioned as durable spatial scripts rather than neutral forecasts.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 38–40.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. (*The Wretched of the Earth*), 39.

¹⁴⁷ Anthony Lemon, Ronnie Donaldson, and Gustav Visser, eds., *South African Urban Change: Three Decades After Apartheid – Homes Still Apart?* (Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland, 2021), 6.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. (*South African Urban Change*), 6–7.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. (*South African Urban Change*), 8.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. (*South African Urban Change*), 11.

Conclusion

This dissertation set out to examine the relationship between modernist planning, imperial knowledge systems, and apartheid governance through the planning work of Lord William Holford in Durban during the mid-twentieth century. By drawing upon archival material held within the Lord Holford Collection at the University of Liverpool, it has argued that planning cannot be understood as a politically neutral exercise in technical expertise. Instead, the research demonstrates how planning became an active mechanism through which political ideology was translated into the spatial organisation of the city.

The literature reviewed throughout this dissertation challenged long-standing assumptions surrounding modernist planning by demonstrating that architecture and planning have historically operated within broader systems of political authority, colonial administration, and state power. These debates provided the theoretical framework for critically reinterpreting Holford's work, moving beyond traditional architectural histories that celebrate planning as an objective professional practice. Rather than treating planning reports, maps, and diagrams as neutral documents, the dissertation examined them as products of the political and institutional contexts in which they were created.

The archival methodology adopted throughout this research proved fundamental to this reinterpretation. Reading the archive critically made it possible to examine not only what Holford documented, but also the assumptions, omissions, and administrative priorities embedded within his planning proposals. Following Ann Laura Stoler's understanding of the archive as a site where systems of governance become visible, and Verne Harris's recognition of archival silences, the research demonstrated that the value of the Holford Archive extends beyond the information it preserves to the ideological structures it reveals.

The analysis presented in Chapters One to Three demonstrates that Holford's proposals consistently reflected the principles of modernist planning while simultaneously reinforcing apartheid's broader programme of spatial segregation. His recommendations for Durban's commercial core, circulation networks, functional zoning, and long-term urban development were presented through the language of rationality, efficiency, and technical expertise. Yet these planning strategies closely aligned with the objectives of apartheid governance by consolidating economic activity within a white-controlled city centre while reinforcing the displacement and exclusion of African, Indian, and Coloured communities to the urban periphery. The research therefore argues that planning did not merely respond to apartheid; it materially participated in its production.

The significance of this dissertation extends beyond Durban or Lord Holford alone. While Holford provides the central case study, the research raises broader questions concerning architecture's historical relationship with political power and the continuing assumption of professional neutrality. It demonstrates that architectural expertise cannot be understood independently from the ideological systems within which it operates. Modernist planning was not simply a technical response to urban growth, but a form of spatial governance capable of legitimising unequal political structures through the language of objective professional practice.

Revisiting these forgotten histories is therefore not simply an exercise in historical recovery. It is essential to understanding how architecture has participated in the production of power, and why these histories continue to shape contemporary debates surrounding professional ethics, spatial justice, and the responsibilities of architects and planners. By repositioning the architectural archive as a critical site of inquiry, this dissertation contributes to ongoing discussions surrounding the decolonisation of architectural history and challenges the discipline to confront the political legacies embedded within its own professional narratives.

Ultimately, this dissertation argues that architecture cannot be understood solely through the buildings it produces, but also through the systems of knowledge, governance, and power that shape its practice. The forgotten histories contained within the Holford Archive reveal that planning was not a neutral instrument of urban development, but an active participant in the making of apartheid's urban landscape. Recognising these histories is not only necessary for a fuller understanding of the past, but also for informing a more critically engaged and ethically responsible architectural practice in the future.

Epilogue – Speculative Futures of Land, Memory, and Reparation

Despite the archival and racial findings traced throughout this dissertation, the enduring impact of apartheid's spatial engineering continues to define contemporary debates on land, justice, and urban futures in South Africa. The forcible relocations of the apartheid era, producing more than 3.5 million displacements, established not only physical geographies of exclusion but also durable structures of economic and social marginalisation. These logics, as the Holford Archive illustrates, were sustained through technical drawings, infrastructural visions, and planning rationalities that rendered racial domination as spatial order. Understanding this history clarifies that current debates on land restitution are not merely legal or political, but fundamentally spatial: attempts to correct the territorial hierarchies produced through decades of technocratic racial governance.

Yet the struggle for spatial justice today is shaped by forces that extend beyond apartheid's legacy. Even as the archive reveals the engineered nature of historical displacement, South African cities are confronted with **new, more sophisticated forms of urban dispossession**. The rise of digital nomadism, short-term rental platforms such as **Airbnb**, and speculative real-estate investment has intensified residential precarity, particularly in Cape Town and Johannesburg. Research on platform-driven urban change shows how Airbnb accelerates housing scarcity by converting long-term rentals into high-yield tourist accommodation, inflating property values, and displacing low-income residents¹⁵¹ – constituting, in some neighbourhoods, a technologically mediated continuation of forced removal under the guise of market logic. Academic analyses further demonstrate that platform-driven urban restructuring reshapes entire districts by privileging short-term profitability over residential stability¹⁵². Academic analyses of digital nomad enclaves likewise highlight how foreign remote workers, benefiting from currency disproportionateness and flexible mobility, transform central urban districts into exclusive zones of leisure consumption, pushing local residents into increasingly peripheral spaces¹⁵³. These processes underscore that spatial injustice persists not only through

¹⁵¹Jayne M. Rogerson and Christian M. Rogerson, "Airbnb in South Africa: The Case of Cape Town," *Urbani Izziv* 29, no. 2 (2018): 96–110.

Quote to include in the footnote if you want exact quotation:

"Airbnb has become a significant force reshaping residential property markets in Cape Town, contributing to rising rental prices and intensified competition for centrally located housing."

¹⁵² Christian M. Rogerson, "Tourism, Urban Governance and Economic Development in South African Cities," *Local Economy* 31, no. 1–2 (2016): 214.

"Short-term letting platforms have begun to restructure the urban housing landscape, with consequences for affordability and long-term residential stability."

¹⁵³ Christian M. Rogerson, "The Rise of Coworking Spaces in South Africa: Geography, Regulation and Urban Change," *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure* 9, no. 1 (2020): 9.

"Digital nomads and remote workers are emerging as influential actors in the reconfiguration of inner-city districts, contributing to new forms of exclusion through market-led spatial transformation."

historical state violence but through contemporary economic infrastructures that reproduce exclusion in subtler, yet equally consequential, ways¹⁵⁴.

Against this backdrop, the debate on **expropriation without compensation** reflects a national recognition that apartheid's territorial settlement cannot be addressed through market mechanisms alone¹⁵⁵. Restitution becomes a means of counteracting the spatial strategies developed by planners, architects, and bureaucrats who; intentionally or not; embedded racial hierarchy into the urban form. If apartheid established a geography of displacement, then post-apartheid justice demands a geography of reparation, one that acknowledges how land functions simultaneously as property, memory, identity, and political agency. The unresolved question is whether the tools of contemporary planning can meaningfully dismantle spatial orders that earlier generations of planners helped construct.

Here, the Holford Archive operates as more than a repository of technical documents: it is an ideological artefact that exposes the logics of abstraction, neutrality, and technocratic rationality through which apartheid urbanism was legitimised. Although Holford remains an ambiguous figure – largely unknowable beyond correspondence, diagrams, and reports – his professional authority contributed to a system whose spatial consequences continue to demand redress. The archive therefore must be read not simply for what it contains but for what its silences reveal: the institutional worldview that rendered racialised displacement a matter of urban efficiency rather than ethical catastrophe.

Speculating from this historical foundation, the epilogue asks whether contemporary planners can envision spatial futures that move beyond the ideological limits inherited from modernism. The comparison with cities such as Jeddah; where large-scale redevelopment under Vision 2030 has displaced thousands; illustrates that developmental displacement is not unique to apartheid South Africa. It emerges wherever economic modernisation is privileged over social stability. But South

¹⁵⁴ Jayne M. Rogerson, "Urban Tourism, Airbnb and the Changing Landscape of South African Cities," *Geojournal of Tourism and Geosites* 27, no. 4 (2019): 1121.
"The clustering of mobile global workers in desirable urban precincts intensifies socio-spatial inequalities, often accelerating displacement pressures for long-term residents."

¹⁵⁵ Ben Cousins, "Land Reform in South Africa Is Failing: What Must Be Done?" Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), University of the Western Cape, 2016:
"Market-based redistribution has failed to generate meaningful structural change, as the unequal territorial settlement created by apartheid cannot be undone through willing-buyer, willing-seller mechanisms that reproduce existing power relations."

See also Lungisile Ntsebeza, "Land Redistribution in South Africa: The Property Clause Revisited," in **The Land Question in South Africa**, ed. Ntsebeza and A. Hall (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2007); and Aninka Claassens, "The Limits of the Market: Land Restitution and the Case for Constitutional Amendment," *Acta Juridica* (2018).

Africa's case remains distinct in its racial genealogy, making the stakes of restitution uniquely charged.

Reparation, then, cannot be confined to the redistribution of land alone. It requires a transformation of planning ethics: a shift from designing efficient spaces to cultivating just ones. It demands recognition that planning expertise, once mobilised to rationalise exclusion, must now be mobilised to dismantle its effects. And it obliges policymakers to confront the uncomfortable continuity between apartheid-era dispossession and contemporary market-driven displacement, including those facilitated by digital platforms and global mobility.

The Holford Archive ultimately matters not because it illuminates a single planner's intent, but because it reveals the structural nature of spatial domination. As Mbembe argues, forms of power persist through institutional logics long after the individuals who enacted them have vanished. The archive shows how expertise can extend state power; the future challenge lies in how expertise might instead extend justice.

This dissertation therefore concludes with a provocation: that studying the past is not an act of retrospection but an opening toward alternative futures. In confronting the physical and symbolic residues of apartheid planning, and in recognising the emergent forces reshaping contemporary South African cities, the work of imagining new spatial orders becomes inseparable from the work of reparation. The landscape shaped by apartheid now demands not only remembrance, but redesign.

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Lord Holford Archive – University of Liverpool Library Special Collections description and excerpt

Description obtain the University of Liverpool Special Collections and Archive website:

Special Collections & Archives, University of Liverpool. *D147 – Holford, William Graham, Baron, papers of*. Accessed 10th December 2025.

Main Creator: Holford, William

Other Creators: Gray, Richard, Wright, Henry

Content: 288 Boxes

Custodial history: The papers became the property of the University by a Deed of Assignment in 1981.

Date: 1902 - 1985

Related Material: D287 - Papers relating to the lives and careers of the holders of the Lever Chair of Civic Design; see Faculty of Social and Environmental Studies (SES)

Reference number: D147

Summary:

Records of Lord Holford's international visits: Australia (D147/AU) from the 1950s on and relating to his role as consultant from 1958 to 1970 to the National Capital Development Commission, Canberra; South Africa (D147/SA) regarding his development plan for the City of Durban in conjunction with R.H. Kantorowich, as planning consultant to the City of Pretoria, consultant for the Cape Foreshore Project and an assessor in a competition for Johannesburg Civic Centre.

Consultancy papers (D147/C): reflecting the diversity of Lord Holford's work in the UK as an individual or through his firms; covering his involvement in plans for the reconstruction of post-war London (with C H Holden), Piccadilly Circus, the Precincts of St Pauls, Cambridge and Corby (with H M Wright), the Army Museum Chelsea, United Liverpool Hospitals and Eton College; he acted as consultant to the expanding Universities in the late fifties and early sixties, Oxford and the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth.

Central Electricity Generating Board (D147/EB) of which Lord Holford was a part-time member from 1958 to 1973.

Financial Papers (D147/F): matters relating to the running of Lord Holford's firm of William Holford and Partners, based in London, Liverpool and Edinburgh.. Historic Buildings Council Papers from 1953-1975. These records are not complete, though contains routine correspondence of Lord Holford with his accountant, H.W. Pople of Liverpool.

Lectures and Articles (D147/LA): texts of lectures given by Lord Holford plus lecture notes, texts of articles, invitations to lecture which were refused, also includes notes for lectures at University College London. He meticulously preserved the texts of all the lectures and articles. Other papers from University College are to be found in their own section (D147/UCL), but these are very piecemeal concentrating only on departmental matters around the middle sixties and do scant justice to Lord Holford's tenure of the Chair of Town Planning.

The Membership of Societies (M): correspondence and papers of particular groups and societies, such as various Brighton and Hove Societies, the Civic Trust, the Georgian Group and the London Gardens Society, includes also professional clubs such as the Surveyors Club and the Bond.

Personal material (D147/P): contains Lord Holford's diaries, notes, private correspondence, personal documents, biographical notes and list of publications, press cuttings and details of his properties in Liverpool (80 Bedford Street), London (5 Cambridge Terrace and 20 Eccleston Square) and Brighton (133 Maring Parade).

Records of the Royal Institute of British Architects (D147/RBA): during the years of Lord Holford's presidency his activities and the influence he was able to bring to the questions of architectural politics of the time.

Staff and References (D147/SR): wide variety of references by Holford, also includes applications for positions within his own firm.

Trustee (D147/T): contains complete sets of agendas, minutes and papers for the periods during which Lord Holford was associated with particular committees.

Other Activities section (D147/OA): includes records relating to Holford as an assessor in various competitions and projects, includes Calder Bridge, Yorkshire and New Ways, London, The Commonwealth Arts Festival of 1965, The Countryside in 1970, as well as his work for the Artists General Benevolent Institution and for the Architectural Association.

A further deposit of material used by Mr. Richard Gray, a partner of Lord Holford in writing a biography (D147/8): includes various personal papers, a Biography, projects and writings by Holford, photographs, negatives and slides, correspondence and Marjorie Brooks' personal papers.

Lord Holford Archive Durban D147 – University of Liverpool Library

Special Collections list of archives

Reference	Description
• D147/SA3	Durban – Central Durban Planning Project (CDPP): Correspondence
• D147/SA4	Durban – CDPP: Diaries of WGH and RH Kantorowich – 1965–1968
• D147/SA5	Durban – CDPP: Meetings and Reports – 1965–1969
• D147/SA6	Durban – CDPP: Plans and Files – 1964–1971
• D147/SA7	Durban – CDPP: Press Cuttings – 1965–1968 (n.d.)
• D147/SA8	Durban – CDPP: Reports by C. G. Hands (City Engineer) – 1964–1972
• D147/SA9	Durban – CDPP: Report by Durban – 1965–1985
• D147/SA10	Durban – CDPP: Surveys (including outlined consultants) – 1957–1964
• D147/8/5/2	Slides of Plans and Sketches
• D147/1/9/1	Biography of Lord Holford
• D147/SA8/6	CDPP – Centrum, detailing zoning proposals of scheme submitted by Joint Planning Consultants WGH and RH Kantorowich
• D147/SA9/1	Durban 1985 – A Plan for Central Durban in Its Regional Setting
• D147/SA9/2	Durban 1985, Volume 1, Nov 1968
• D147/SA9/3	Durban 1985, Volume 2, Composite Photocopy Volume
• D147/SA10/2	A Traffic Plan for the City of Durban – Chief Engineer's Report
• D147/8/1/1	Bundle
• D147/8/1/2	Bundle
• D147/8/1/4	Bundle
• D147/8/2/1	Obituary
• D147/8/5/2	Slides
• D147/8/5/3	Slides
• D147/SA13	Report on the Town Planner
• D147/SA15	Letters to Monica Pidgeon, 17 December 1970

APPENDIX A – GENEALOGY OF BRITISH COLONIES

Introduction to the Genealogy of the British Empire Colonies

To understand the uneven development of former British territories such as Canada, Australia, South Africa, Nigeria and Ghana, it is useful to trace what we might call the genealogy of the British Empire Colonies. By this, I mean not simply a chronological history of conquest and decolonisation, but an examination of the *types* of colonial status – dominions, self-governing colonies, crown colonies, protectorates, and, later, overseas territories – and the ways in which these constitutional forms produced distinct trajectories of political, economic, and cultural development¹⁵⁶. The British Empire was never a single homogeneous political unit; it was a layered and differentiated structure in which juridical categories mapped closely onto racial hierarchies, settlement patterns and long-term development paths¹⁵⁷.

A.1 Empire as a Differentiated System

At its height, the British Empire was a “worldwide system of dependencies” encompassing dominions, colonies, protectorates, mandates and other territories under British sovereignty¹⁵⁸. Within this system, dominions such as Canada and Australia were largely self-governing polities dominated by European settlers, whereas crown colonies such as Nigeria and the Gold Coast (modern Ghana) were ruled more directly from London, often through systems of indirect rule that left local elites in place but subordinated them to imperial authority¹⁵⁹. South Africa occupied an ambiguous position: a white settler *dominion* whose internal order was structured through an intensely racialised colonial regime.

Formally, dominion status denoted a high degree of internal self-government. By the early twentieth century, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa were recognised as “largely self-governing countries” within the Empire, equal in status to Britain in domestic affairs while retaining a common allegiance to the Crown¹⁶⁰. In contrast, crown

¹⁵⁶ Darwin, John. *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830–1970*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

¹⁵⁷ Cain, P. J., and A. G. Hopkins. *British Imperialism, 1688–2015*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2016.

¹⁵⁸ “Worldwide system of dependencies—colonies, protectorates, and other territories” under British sovereignty. [Encyclopedia Britannica](#)

¹⁵⁹ McLean, Iain, and Alistair McMillan. *State of the Union: Britain in the 21st Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

¹⁶⁰ Darwin, John. *The Empire Project*, chapter 7.

colonies were ruled by governors appointed from London, with limited or no local democratic representation¹⁶¹. The distinction was not merely constitutional; it reflected profoundly different imperial imaginaries about who could be trusted with self-rule, who could own land, and who was destined to remain permanently governed.

Lesley Lokko captures this distinction with particular clarity in her reflections on architectural education and colonial histories. She notes that “there was a real distinction during the British Empire between dominions and colonies. *Dominions were settled by Europeans; colonies were simply ruled. I’m from Ghana, West Africa, which was a colony, not a dominion*”¹⁶². This distinction between territories where settlers *became* the nation and those where the coloniser never intended to belong sits at the heart of the genealogy of the British Empire Colonies and structures the comparative development of Canada, Australia, South Africa, Nigeria, and Ghana.

A.3 Dominion Trajectories: Canada and Australia

Canada and Australia exemplify the settler-dominion trajectory. Both began as colonies, but by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they had achieved responsible government and then dominion status, which granted them extensive autonomy over internal affairs and, later, increasing control over external relations¹⁶³. Dominion status coincided with large-scale European migration, the consolidation of parliamentary institutions, and the systematic dispossession of Indigenous peoples.

In Canada, the British North America Act of 1867 created a federation defined explicitly as “One Dominion under the Name of Canada”, with a constitution “similar in Principle to that of the United Kingdom”¹⁶⁴. This framed Canadian development as an extension of British constitutional modernity rather than as a colonial periphery. The dominion-state controlled immigration, land policy and infrastructural investment, enabling massive railway projects,

¹⁶¹ Young, Crawford. *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

¹⁶² Lokko, Lesley. “Decolonising Architecture.” *Assemble Papers*, 2019.

¹⁶³ Ward, Norman. *The Canadian House of Commons: Representation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.
Macintyre, Stuart. *A Concise History of Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

¹⁶⁴ British North America Act, 1867 (UK), now *Constitution Act, 1867*.

agricultural expansion on the prairies, and industrial development. The costs of this expansion (land seizure, broken treaties, the reserve system, and residential schools) were borne by Indigenous nations whose sovereignty was systematically denied.

Australia followed a parallel course. The Australian colonies achieved responsible government in the mid-nineteenth century and federated as the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901¹⁶⁵. Although formally still under the Crown, the new federation enjoyed considerable autonomy, later formalised in the Balfour Declaration of 1926 and the Statute of Westminster 1931. Settler control over land and labour allowed Australia to structure its economy around resource extraction, pastoralism, and urban industrial growth, while policies such as the White Australia policy sought to consolidate a racially exclusive settler nation.

The key point in the genealogy of the British Empire's Colonies is that Canada and Australia were envisioned as future “white nations” rather than permanent colonies. Dominion status expressed this: these territories were governed by settlers *for themselves*, with Britain gradually receding into the role of symbolic metropole. Development planning, infrastructure, and institutional investment were directed toward consolidating national economies, not simply extracting surplus for the metropole. This does not mean these states were egalitarian or decolonised, far from it, but it does mean their developmental frameworks were structured around long-term settler sovereignty.

A.4 South Africa: Hybrid Dominion, Racial Colony

South Africa's position complicates a simple dominion/colony binary. The Union of South Africa, created in 1910, was formally a self-governing dominion of the British Empire, uniting four former colonies into a single polity¹⁶⁶. Its sovereignty over domestic affairs was confirmed by the Balfour Declaration and the Statute of Westminster, aligning it constitutionally with Canada and Australia. At the same time, its internal racial order – built on conquest, dispossession, and segregation – functioned as a particularly intense form of colonial rule over the Black majority.

¹⁶⁵ Macintyre, Stuart. *A Concise History of Australia*.

¹⁶⁶ Worden, Nigel. *The Making of Modern South Africa*. 5th ed. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.

Unlike Canada and Australia, where Indigenous peoples were numerically marginalised, South Africa's white population remained a small minority ruling over a large African majority. Lokko highlights this demographic inversion in comparing South Africa and Australia, noting that South Africa is "8.9 per cent minority white population and 90.1 per cent black," which magnifies the contradictions of belonging, land, and identity¹⁶⁷. Dominion status in South Africa, therefore, meant self-government for whites, colonial subjection for Blacks. Development policy focused on white prosperity (industrialisation, mining, urban infrastructure) while relegating African populations to reserves, townships and labour compounds.

Within the genealogy of the British Empire Colonies, South Africa thus appears as a hybrid: constitutionally a dominion, structurally a colony. Its later apartheid regime can be read as an internalisation and intensification of colonial governance under the guise of sovereign self-rule. Planning expertise, including that imported from Britain, helped stabilise this racialised spatial order by translating it into technical terms of zoning, circulation, and land-use efficiency.

A.5 Full Colony Trajectories: Nigeria and Ghana

Nigeria and Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast) represent a different branch of this genealogy: non-settler, export-oriented colonies ruled largely through indirect governance. Britain did not envisage these territories as future settler nations. Instead, they were treated as governed spaces dedicated to resource extraction, missionary activity, and limited administrative reform.

In Nigeria, British rule consolidated diverse pre-colonial polities into a single colony, with governance increasingly structured through indirect rule - administering through existing chiefs and emirates while retaining imperial control¹⁶⁸. Under colonial rule, Western education, the English language, and Christianity spread, and new forms of money, transport and communication were established. Yet the economy was oriented around the export of cash

¹⁶⁷ Lokko, "Decolonising architecture," on South Africa's demographic proportions and the politics of identity. [Assemble Papers](#)

¹⁶⁸ Lugard, Frederick. *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1922.
Crowder, Michael. *West Africa Under Colonial Rule*. London: Hutchinson, 1968.

crops (palm oil, cocoa, groundnuts) and later minerals, rather than industrial diversification¹⁶⁹. Development policy prioritised infrastructure that served export corridors (railways, ports, trunk roads), leaving much of the interior underdeveloped and politically marginal.

Ghana's trajectory as the Gold Coast shows similar patterns with some important nuances. The British gradually consolidated coastal forts, Asante and the Northern Territories into a single colony, implementing indirect rule through chiefs while building transport and communication networks to support cocoa exports and coastal administration¹⁷⁰. Colonial rule did bring significant expansion of railways, roads, and education, particularly in the south, but these investments were structured by imperial priorities rather than by an imagined long-term Ghanaian nation-state. The political project was one of managed stability, not settler nation-building.

It is in this context that Lokko's distinction between dominions and colonies becomes analytically powerful. Reflecting on Ghana, she emphasises that "no Europeans ever came to Ghana to become Ghanaians," in contrast to settler societies such as Australia and South Africa. This absence of a settler project shaped the nature of colonial rule: governance without belonging, administration without identification. In terms of development, this translated into economies oriented to external markets, limited local industrialisation, and state structures designed to manage populations rather than represent them.

A.6 Developmental Starkness: Comparing Outcomes

Reading Canada, Australia, South Africa, Nigeria, and Ghana through the genealogy of the British Empire Colonies highlights the stark divergence in their post-colonial trajectories.

- In Canada and Australia, dominion status, settler sovereignty, and early institutional autonomy produced relatively high-income states with diversified economies, robust infrastructural networks, and strong state capacity – achieved, however, through the dispossession and marginalisation of Indigenous peoples.

¹⁶⁹ "Many changes accompanied British rule: Western education, the English language, and Christianity spread during the period; new forms of money, transportation, and communication were developed; and the Nigerian economy became based on the export of cash crops." [Encyclopedia Britannica](#)

¹⁷⁰ Austin, Gareth. *Labour, Land, and Capital in Ghana*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005.

- In South Africa, dominion status overlaid a deeply racialised colonial order. Economic development was significant - especially in mining and industry - but structurally exclusionary, producing extreme inequality and a spatial regime that remains highly segregated.
- In Nigeria and Ghana, colonial status as non-settler territories meant limited political voice, economies built around commodity exports, and infrastructural investments concentrated in ways that served imperial trade rather than balanced national development. Post-independence states inherited borders, institutions and spatial patterns designed for extraction, not inclusive growth.

Lesley Lokko's reflections on dominions and colonies offer a succinct way of understanding these differences from the standpoint of identity and belonging: dominions are spaces where settlers sought to become *of* the place, however violently and unevenly, while colonies are spaces that were governed *from elsewhere*, with little intention of a shared future¹⁷¹. If we take this seriously, the genealogy of the British Empire Colonies is not just a constitutional taxonomy; it is an account of how different colonial statuses produced different configurations of race, land, identity, and development.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. (Lokko *Assemble Papers*, 2019).

Appendix B: Legislative Foundations of Apartheid Spatial Governance (Pre-1994)

Introduction

This appendix compiles key legislative instruments enacted prior to the 1994 Constitution and the Interim Constitution of 1993 that formed the legal foundation of apartheid spatial governance in South Africa. These Acts are presented as primary legislative sources, reproduced, and summarised through direct statutory language rather than retrospective interpretation. Together, they establish the juridical framework through which land dispossession, racialised mobility control, and urban segregation were implemented and later operationalised through planning instruments analysed in Chapter Two.

This appendix supports Chapter Two, Section 2.4 (Forced Removals, Buffer Zones, and Separation) by providing the statutory basis that enabled the planning practices discussed therein. It also provides essential legal context for understanding how planning expertise – such as that deployed by Lord William Holford – operated within a pre-existing regime of racialised territorial control.

B.1 Native Land Act, No. 27 of 1913

The Native Land Act of 1913 constituted the first comprehensive legislative instrument to formalise racial land segregation in South Africa. The Act prohibited Black South Africans from purchasing, leasing, or occupying land outside designated “native areas,” which comprised approximately seven percent of the national territory at the time of enactment.

Section 1 of the Act stipulated:

“A native shall not enter into any agreement or transaction for the purchase, hire, or other acquisition from a person other than a native of any land or of any right thereto...”¹⁷²

¹⁷² Union of South Africa, *Native Land Act, No. 27 of 1913*, Government Gazette, sec. 1.

This legislation established the territorial foundation for later apartheid planning by fixing racial identity to land access and ownership. Although enacted decades before apartheid was formally instituted, the Act created a spatial template that later planning instruments would intensify and urbanise.

Relevance to dissertation:

This Act underpins the long-term spatial marginalisation of Black populations and provides the legal precondition for the forced removals and peripheralisation discussed in Chapter Two.

B.2 Durban Land Alienation Ordinance, No. 14 of 1922

The Durban Land Alienation Ordinance of 1922 represented an early municipal-level mechanism for enforcing racial segregation within urban space. The Ordinance empowered the Durban City Council to restrict land ownership and occupation based on racial classification, particularly targeting African and Indian residents within the city.

The Ordinance authorised local authorities to:

*“...prevent the acquisition or occupation of land by natives or coloured persons in areas deemed unsuitable by the municipality.”*¹⁷³

This legislation enabled Durban to experiment with racially differentiated zoning prior to national apartheid laws, making the city a precursor and testing ground for later segregationist planning practices.

Relevance to dissertation:

The Ordinance contextualises Durban’s early adoption of racial zoning and explains why later apartheid planning instruments found an already receptive municipal framework.

¹⁷³ Natal Provincial Administration, *Durban Land Alienation Ordinance, No. 14 of 1922*.

B.3 Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950

The Group Areas Act of 1950 became the central legislative mechanism through which apartheid urban segregation was implemented. The Act authorised the Governor-General to declare specific urban areas for the exclusive occupation of designated racial groups and mandated the removal of occupants who did not conform to these classifications.

Section 3(1) stated:

*“The Governor-General may by proclamation declare any area to be a group area for the exclusive occupation of members of a specified group.”*¹⁷⁴

The Act further empowered authorities to expropriate property, demolish structures, and relocate communities deemed to be in contravention of declared group areas. Its enforcement resulted in the displacement of millions of people and the destruction of established urban communities.

Relevance to dissertation:

This Act directly underpins the forced removals discussed in Chapter Two, including the clearance of Cato Manor and the racial consolidation of Durban’s central business district.

¹⁷⁴ Union of South Africa, *Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950*, Government Gazette, sec. 3(1).

B.4 Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, No. 67 of 1952

Despite its misleading title, the Pass Law Act of 1952 consolidated and intensified the system of influx control by requiring Black South Africans to carry reference books regulating their movement, employment, and urban residence.

Section 10 required that:

“Every native shall be in possession of a reference book containing such particulars as may be prescribed.”¹⁷⁵

The Act enabled the state to criminalise Black urban presence outside approved employment or residential zones, thereby reinforcing the spatial segregation enforced through planning and zoning.

Relevance to dissertation:

This legislation explains how movement through urban space - particularly circulation systems analysed in Chapter One and Chapter Three - was racialised and policed, transforming infrastructure into a mechanism of governance.

¹⁷⁵ Union of South Africa, *Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, No. 67 of 1952*, Government Gazette, sec. 10.

APPENDIX C – Comparative Morphologies of Apartheid Spatial Separation

Introduction

This appendix provides comparative morphological evidence to support the analysis presented in Chapter Two, subsection 2.4, which examines forced removals, buffer zones, and spatial separation as instruments of apartheid urban governance. By juxtaposing Durban with Johannesburg and Cape Town, the appendix demonstrates that the spatial mechanisms underpinning apartheid were not isolated municipal responses but formed part of a systemic planning logic deployed across South African cities.

The maps included here are intended to clarify how apartheid planning translated racial ideology into repeatable spatial forms. In each case, forced removals were operationalised through zoning, infrastructural corridors, open space, and industrial land uses that functioned as buffers between racialised populations. These spatial devices transformed political objectives into durable urban morphology, embedding separation into the everyday organisation of the city. The appendix therefore complements the chapter's textual analysis by providing visual evidence of the spatial consistency of apartheid planning practices across different urban contexts.

Map of the Bantustan homelands of the Union of South Africa 1910-1961

The Bantustans or black homelands were territories that the National Party administration of the Union of South Africa (and the later Republic of South Africa) set aside for Black South African inhabitants.

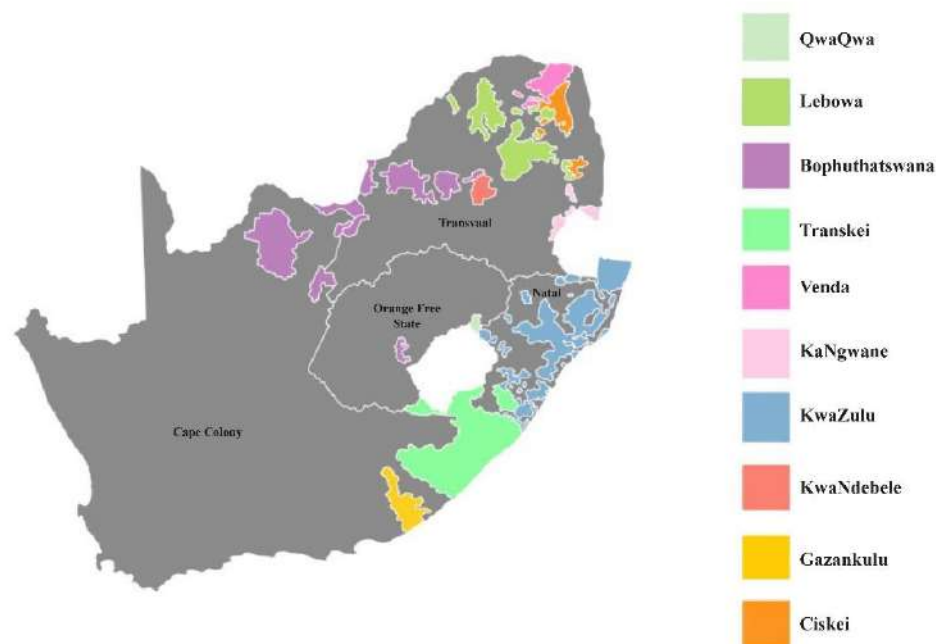


Figure i - The above map shows the geographical locations of allocated land to the various tribes of the Black native population of the Union of South Africa (1910-1961), later the Republic of South Africa (1961-present).

Appendix C.1 Durban

Durban's apartheid spatial structure was characterised by the consolidation of a white-dominated central business district, the displacement of non-white communities, and the use of infrastructural and environmental buffers to enforce separation. Forced removals in areas such as Cato Manor resulted in the relocation of African residents to peripheral townships including KwaMashu, while Indian communities were displaced to purpose-built settlements such as Chatsworth and Phoenix.¹⁷⁶

The accompanying maps illustrate how arterial roads, rail corridors, industrial land, floodplains, and open space were deployed as spatial separators. These elements functioned simultaneously as planning devices and instruments of governance, limiting permeability and regulating movement between racialised zones. Within this framework, Durban's CBD was stabilised as an exclusively commercial and administrative core, insulated from surrounding residential areas through infrastructural barriers.

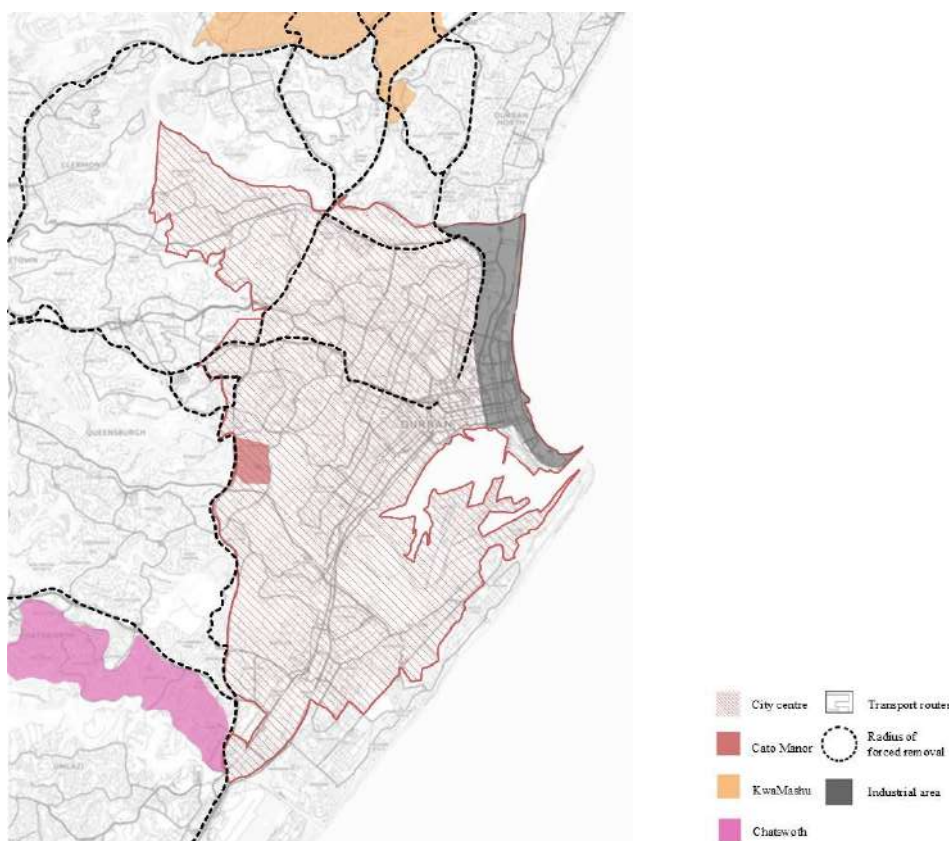


Figure ii: Durban - Forced removals, buffer zones, and infrastructural borders.

¹⁷⁶ Maharaj, Brij. *Politics, Community and Development: The Case of Cato Manor* (Durban: Centre for Social and Development Studies, 2001).

Appendix C.2 Johannesburg

Johannesburg exhibits one of the most explicit examples of apartheid spatial engineering. The forced removal of communities such as Sophiatown and the spatial containment of African populations in areas like Alexandra were reinforced through the strategic use of mining belts, industrial zones, and freeway infrastructure.¹⁷⁷ These features created extensive physical buffers that fragmented the urban fabric while appearing functionally necessary for economic production and transport.

The maps show how Johannesburg's mining belt operated as a continuous separation device, preventing the integration of residential areas across racial lines. Major transport routes further entrenched this separation by prioritising vehicular movement while limiting cross-access. Together, these elements produced a city in which spatial distance, infrastructural discontinuity, and economic zoning combined to sustain racial hierarchy through design.

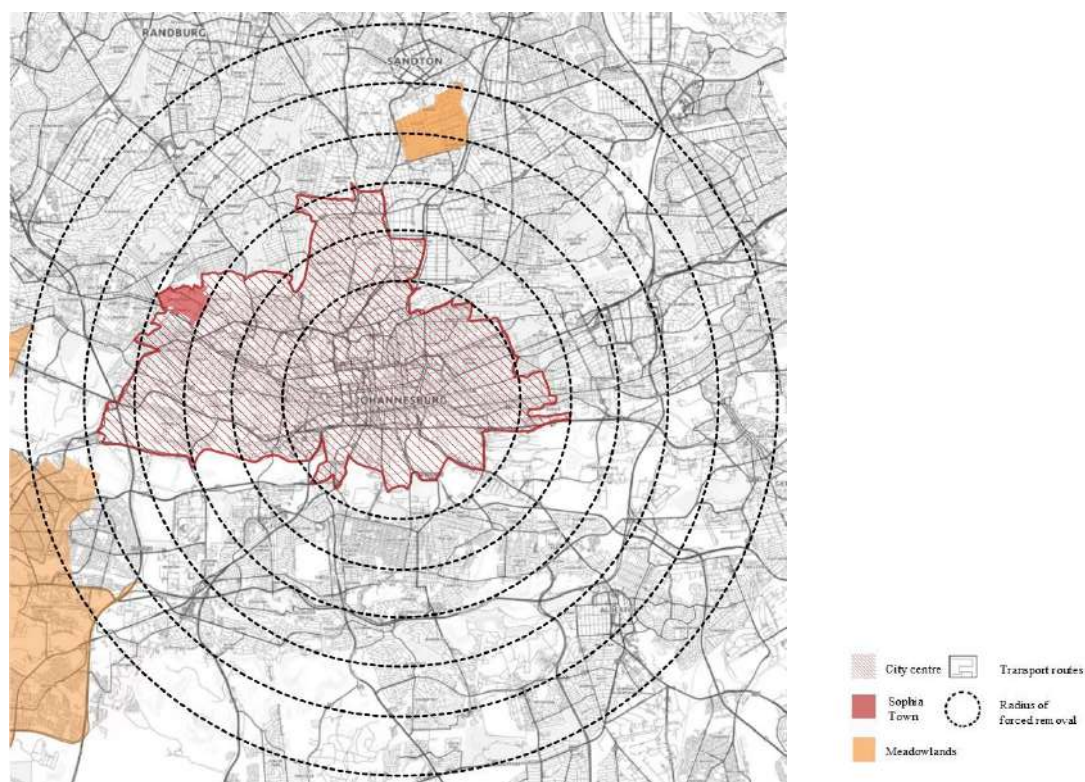


Figure iii: Johannesburg: Mining belt and freeway infrastructure as apartheid buffer zones.

¹⁷⁷ Murray, Martin J. *Cities of Exception: Johannesburg and the Changing Geography of Spatial Order* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

Appendix C.3 Cape Town

In Cape Town, apartheid spatial separation relied on a combination of forced removals, infrastructural borders, and natural topography. The destruction of District Six represents one of the most emblematic acts of apartheid urbanism, clearing a racially mixed inner-city neighbourhood to preserve white spatial dominance.¹⁷⁸ Residents were relocated to peripheral areas on the Cape Flats, where distance, limited infrastructure, and environmental exposure reinforced social and economic marginalisation.

The maps demonstrate how highways, railway lines, and open land were used to separate the city centre from displaced communities, while Table Mountain and surrounding natural features were incorporated into the spatial logic of separation. As in Durban and Johannesburg, these devices rendered racial segregation legible as urban order rather than political violence.



¹⁷⁸ Edwards, Iain. "Cato Manor and the Cruel Legacy of Apartheid Planning," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20, no. 4 (1994): 665–683.

Figure iii: Cape Town: District Six removals and relocation sites.

Appendix Conclusion

Across Durban, Johannesburg, and Cape Town, apartheid planning produced remarkably consistent spatial outcomes through the repeated deployment of forced removals, buffer zones, and infrastructural borders. Although each city possessed distinct geographic and economic conditions, the underlying planning logic remained shared: separation was achieved not only through law but through the material organisation of space.

This comparative evidence reinforces the argument advanced in Chapter Two that apartheid urbanism operated through technical and spatial instruments that normalised racial domination. By situating Durban within this broader morphological pattern, the appendix demonstrates that the spatial conditions into which Holford's proposals were introduced were neither accidental nor exceptional, but part of a national system of apartheid planning.