Exploring the Colonial and Apartheid Roots of Urban Authoritarianism in Postapartheid South Africa

Khanyile Mlotshwa

Introduction

In urban studies, the concept of neoliberal authoritarianism has become central, almost hegemonic, in addressing issues of financialization and commodification in cities across the world. However, central to this chapter contribution is the argument that in cities in the formerly colonized Global South, the neoliberal authoritarianism concept has to be supplemented by the concept of coloniality drawn from decolonial studies. While the concept of neoliberal authoritarianism unmasks issues of class, the concept of coloniality presents issues of race, colonial history, gender, and other intersectional matters as relics or constructs of the colonial period. Stuart Hall conceptualizes 'the postcolonial' as the conjectural moment "in which both the crisis of the uncompleted struggle for 'decolonization' and the crisis of the 'post-independence' state is deeply inscribed" (Hall 1996, 224). Andreas Huyssen calls it a time when the focus shifts from "present futures to present pasts" (2001, 57; see also Gregory 2004). The concept of neoliberal authoritarianism, while exposing issues of class and financialization even in the Global South, needs to be supplemented by the idea of coloniality which powerfully unmasks racist ways of thinking about the world while articulating them to global capitalism. This chapter contribution theorizes the enduring racial inequalities, class inequalities, spatial inequalities, and brutality present in the governance of the poor Black subject in postapartheid South Africa as both urban authoritarianism and coloniality. As a way of discussing two illustrations of urban authoritarianism in postapartheid South Africa, the chapter further opens a debate on the need to decolonize the concept of the right to the city that has become hegemonic in studying urban social movements globally. Henri Lefebvre popularized the concept of the right to the city, a superior form of right, manifesting itself as "a cry and a demand" (1967, 158). As a superior right, it carries within it a sense of the right to the commons, to participation and appropriation (Lefebvre 1996, 174; Mitchell 2003). It is the contention of this chapter that, particularly in Africa, the right to the city is an ideal. This ideal-

ism is dealt with in detail as the last section of the chapter that reflects on the two illustrations.

Neoliberal Authoritarianism and Coloniality in the City

The enduring racial, class, and spatial inequalities and brutality in the governance of the poor in postapartheid South Africa is in this chapter analysed through the staging of a debate and dialogue between the concepts of neoliberal authoritarianism and that of coloniality. The concept of coloniality is not used here to displace that of neoliberal authoritarianism but in a spirit of complementarity between the two. Ronaldo Munck's (2013) observations about the concept of precarity in the Global South are also relevant in this study of neoliberal authoritarianism. While Munck feels the concept of the precariat is generally inadequate, he emphasizes that for the Global South it does not name anything new, but "elides the experience of the South in an openly Eurocentric manner" (Munck 2013, 747). The superexploitation and accumulation through dispossession that precarity refers to has always prevailed in the Global South. Similarly, growing state power and the exclusion of a large majority of populations that neoliberal authoritarianism names have been the living conditions for most people in the Global South since colonization. Decolonial thinkers have named these conditions as coloniality, in order to make them visible by reaching as far back as 1652 to the present. In this section, I discuss the concepts of neoliberal authoritarianism and coloniality, and how they can be articulated.

Ian Bruff has argued that under neoliberal conditions it is imperative to look beyond the mere exercise of brute coercive force in order to perceive the ways in which the state and other institutions of power are reconfigured to insulate them from dissent and contestation (2016, 107). Neoliberal violence is legitimated through ideological means (Biebricher 2020; Springer 2016). It is, however, also visible in constitutional debt ceilings, sweeping free trade agreements, direct and violent suppression of political freedoms, austerity measures, increasing support for right-wing and xenophobic sentiments, and the normalization of illicit financial transactions (Fabry and Sandbeck 2018; Ryan 2018). For Cemal Burek Tansel, neoliberal authoritarianism relies upon both coercive state practices that suppress opposition and judicial and administrative state apparatuses that limit the space to challenge this violence (2017, 2). Neoliberal authoritarianism disenfranchises subordinate groups and moves policy making beyond popular contestations (Fabry and Sandbeck 2018, 3). Bruff, however, contends that this strengthening of the state does not insulate it from popular struggles and demands, or discontent the disenfranchised (2016, 108). This has been the case in South Africa where against increasing brutality, such as the police shooting of 34 striking miners in Marikana on

16 August 2012 and the random killing of protestors and activists, strikes have not abated (Swart and Rodney-Gumede 2019; South African Human Rights Commission [SAHRC] 2015). Authoritarian neoliberalism can be categorized into three varieties that include technocracy, populist nationalism, and traditional authoritarianism (Gallo 2021). Across the globe, and in a transnational manner, technocrats are deployed to use "their scholarly and professional reputation to enact fully fledged neoliberal programmes" (Gallo 2021, 5). For Bob Jessop (2014), this expertise is used as a tool for depoliticization, where elected leaders give way to unaccountable bodies, agencies, and committees of experts who push political agendas such as expenditure cuts, liberalizations, and privatizations. Growing populist nationalism has been paralleled by growth in xenophobia. Technocracy and populist nationalism share a claim that they want to enact what is good for the country (Caramani 2017). Hall (1985) names the link between neoliberalism and nationalism as "authoritarian populism". Traditional authoritarianism is seen in the rise of political entrepreneurs who promise to protect countries from world markets (Inglehart and Norris 2017).

Simon Springer (2016) opens up the concept of neoliberal authoritarianism to a dialogue with coloniality, positing that both colonialism and neoliberalism pave "a road to hell with ostensibly good intentions" (2016, 153). His central argument is that neoliberalism has managed to hide its violence and authoritarianism through creating the impression that all violence is 'local' and blaming it on "backward" cultural practices (Springer 2016, 155; see also Kaplan 2000; Huntington 1996). The postcolonial period in Africa has been characterized as marked by dictatorships, coups and ethnic wars. This has occluded external interference such as the recently come to light role of France in the Rwandan genocide of 1994 (BBC 2021; Aljazeera 2021). To Springer, these Orientalist discourses ignore "the 'global' political economy of violence" as encapsulated in neoliberal authoritarianism (Springer 2016, 155; see also Ryan 2018; Bourdieu 1998; Dumenil and Levy 2011; Giroux 2004; Goldberg 2009; MacEwan 1999). We now turn to the concept of coloniality to expose the long history of the colonial presence of authoritarianism in the Global South.

Emerging from the Latin American decolonial school of thought, coloniality refers to the endurance of colonialism and the patterns of its authoritarian violence. It is the "relations of domination that continue even after colonialism has ceased" (Hlabangane 2021, 166). Coloniality represents the technologies of imperialism and colonial matrices of power that still haunt the Global South (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013, 11). Derek Gregory would call it the colonial presence which is "the performative force of colonial modernity" (2004, 4). William Mpofu and Melissa Steyn argue that the coloniality of Western modernity has led to extractivism around natural resources, exploitation of labour, and the legal control of 'undesirables' (2021, 2; Grosfoguel 2008; Maldonaldo Torres 2008; Mignolo 2005). This sounds like neoliberal authoritarianism. However, Artuto Escobar notes that coloniality is an ana-

lytical tool concerned with understanding modernity basing on colonial difference and from the locus of the enunciation of ex-colonized people (2007, 179–210). Similar to neoliberal authoritarianism, coloniality is part ideological. It has endured more than colonialism "in some part due to the knowledge systems with which it conceives of and engages with the world" (Hlabangane 2021, 168). The concept of coloniality allows us to unmask, resist, and seek to destroy gendered violence and inequality, peripheralization, underdevelopment, displacement, and dispossession (Mpofu and Steyn 2021, 2; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). It challenges those involved in democratic projects to centre the voices of the oppressed (Ndlovu 2021). As a theoretical concept, it reveals how racial and ethnic classifications of people endure as specific and constitutive elements of the global capitalist system (Quijano 2000, 1). While the concept of neoliberal authoritarianism will unmask issues of class, the concept of coloniality will shine light on issues of race, colonial history, gender, and other intersectional matters.

Genealogies of Authoritarian Urbanism in South Africa

In South Africa, the history of urban space appears to be already authoritarian in that it emerges at the crux of colonialism, land dispossessions, and racism, as a zone where Black Indigeneous subjects are excluded. The South African economy was transformed by the discovery of minerals—diamonds and then gold—in the late 1800s, marking the beginning of capitalist urbanization as linked to deepening European conquest, dispossession, discrimination, migration and capitalist economic progress (Feinstein 2005, 3). Two forms of migration are central to the emergence of urban spaces. First, was the increased European migration after the discovery of diamonds and gold in the 1800s, when about 5,000 artisans and labourers were brought to the Cape of Good Hope from the United Kingdom to boost the population in the colony (Feinstein 2005, 28). Second, was the regional migration of Black subjects in order to boost labour in the mines that was encouraged by the mining industry. This migration between South Africa and most of sub-Saharan Africa in the 1870s which persisted in the postapartheid moment was jointly initiated by the colonial South African government and capital (Xulu 2013; Fine 2014). Its genealogy can be traced back to the farm labourers at the time of conquests and land dispossessions in the 1700s and mapped ahead to the present African migrants engaged in precarious jobs in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, and many of the postapartheid cities. A former editor of the Cosatu magazine, Dominic Tweedie, argues that the South African working class comes from a lot of different countries in the African continent (in Hlatshwayo 2010, 7). Harold Wolpe notes the links and continuity in the "ideological foundations of apartheid" especially with regard to "the African reserves and the African migrant labour" (1972,

289). Once the urban space emerged in the combination of the crystallization of colonial capital around mining compounds and a thriving labour migrant system, racist legal developments increased its authoritarianism.

The 1913 Natives Land Act sums up the articulations of land dispossessions, urbanization, inequalities, and subjectivation and primitive accumulation under colonial conditions. The implications of the Act were that the confiscation or expropriation of land from the Black Indigenous peoples left them landless, compelling them to be labourers in farms, in mines, and in the manufacturing industries in emerging urban centres. This landlessness made Black people living in cities perpetual 'squatters', "a native... with no land of his own" who is in a perpetual state of unfreedom (Mabin 1992, 15). While the intention was to grow the reserves, later Bantustans, where black people lived exiled from citizenship, the 1913 Native Land Act had unintended implications in that "from the 1930s, informal settlements on the fringes of the cities and many towns began to become common" (Mabin 1992, 16). After this Act, the colonial and Apartheid authorities instituted further legal instruments to alienate the Black subject from the urban space. The Natives Urban Act of 1923, linked to the 1913 Native Land Act, was supposed to provide for improved conditions of residence for natives in or near urban areas and the better administration of native affairs (Worden 1991; Dyzenhaus 1991; Davenport 1991). The Natives Urban Areas Consolidated Act of 1945, also called the Bantu Urban Areas Consolidation Act, came as a follow-up to the Native Urban Act of 1923 and was meant to tighten "influx controls" of Black African people into urban spaces (Dyzenhaus 1991, 37; Dugard 1978, 422). The Act effectively deemed urban areas in South Africa as 'white' and required all Black African men in cities and towns to carry around permits called 'passes' at all times (Worden 1991; Dyzenhaus 1991; Davenport 1991).

Authoritarianism gives rise to its own resistance, all coloniality is matched by acts of decoloniality. Townships, as specific places where Black people lived in urban South Africa, have emerged as both a mark of this subject's subjugation and resistance. The South Western Townships (Soweto) are an example of how colonial urban policies around health issues and sanitation combined with the desire by Black people to be in the city. In 1904, Black people and Indians were removed from the inner city to Klipspruit Farm about 12 miles out of the city of Johannesburg, after a pneumonic epidemic broke out among Indian communities. The Indians and Africans were compelled to remain at the outskirts of the city even after the epidemic had waned. In 1963, now greatly expanded, it was named Soweto (Phillips 2013, 311). However, the Soweto residents over the ensuing years developed and offered resistance to white rule. James Mpanza's squatter movement in the 1940s and the Asinamali Party's rent boycotts between 1954 and 1958 are some of the examples of early resistance in the townships (Phillips 2013, 311; Sisulu 1998). Alexandra, a township that lies across from Sandton, the richest square mile in Africa, was established in 1912, a year before the 1913 Land Act (Musiker and Musiker 2000).

However, as a result of informal urbanization over the years, the township is now populated by shacks called *imikhukhu* or *imijondolo* in isiZulu. In the early 1960s, to control the population of Black people in Alexandra, the apartheid government decided to implement a programme of demolishing houses in the township, replacing them with hostels. The idea of hostels was to accommodate Black people—especially men—temporarily in the city as labourers. They were not expected to be permanent, and therefore, to have a lease. This is explained in the next section, where I discuss two cases of how urban authoritarianism has manifested itself in postapartheid South Africa, the issue of leases is one of the lingering problems that keep emerging in the many protests around housing.

Urban Authoritarianism and Coloniality in Postapartheid South Africa

Urban authoritarianism and coloniality in postapartheid South Africa manifests in a variety of ways, all of which have a historical genealogy. This section illustrates two such manifestations and their provenance. The first one involves migration and the experiences of alienation that migrants contend with in inner city Johannesburg, where they live crowded and in most cases, dirty, squalid high-rise buildings. The second case involves residents of Soweto, Johannesburg's oldest township, who refused to vote in local government elections on 1 November 2021 but chose to protest at the African National Congress's (ANC) headquarters in the city centre—the ANC is the ruling party. This chapter follows a qualitative methodology to probe ways in which South Africa's postapartheid Black subjects make sense of their situation in urban spaces (Guest, Namey, and Mitchell 2013; Merriam 2009; Marvasti 2004; Denzin and Lincoln 2005). To collect data, the chapter combined archival research and ethnographic methods. This involved participant observation in inner-city Johannesburg where most immigrants live, keeping a notebook, taking pictures on a mobile phone, and conducting interviews. The data collected was subjected to a combination and triangulation of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), ideological analysis, and semiotic analysis (Wodak 2001; Thompson 1990; Van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2004). In one way or another, each of these illustrations exemplify the struggle for right to the city.

Migration and Living Under Borders and Coloniality in Urban South Africa

In the postapartheid moment, the Johannesburg that immigrants—both local and from across Africa—come to is a place aspiring to be a global city (Acuto and Steele 2013; Sassen 1991). It is a concrete jungle, described as the "New York of Africa" and the "heartbeat of Africa" (Sihlongonyane 2005, 22). The city is caught up in coloniality and authoritarianism in at least two significant ways. First, Johannesburg

has historically been a big city in Sub-Saharan Africa, such that thousands of migrant labourers who flock their every year are caught up in the circuits of capitalism whose roots go all the way back in the 1800s. The second sense of this authoritarianism is cultural, manifesting in how the fingerprints of apartheid are still legible in the streets and buildings that these migrant labourers occupy. For the majority Black people, the spatial arrangements that were obtained under apartheid still persist, where Black people are consigned to cramped in townships. The situation obtained in inner city Johannesburg has an added cultural dimension. Suburbs in central Johannesburg like Hillbrow, Yeoville, and Berea, that under Apartheid were occupied by white migrants mostly from East Europe, are now under the occupation of Black migrants from outside South Africa. However, coloniality persists, for example, in the naming of streets and buildings. It is important to briefly describe this coloniality of the built environment of the inner suburbs of Johannesburg before bringing in the voices of interviewees who discuss how it alienates them.

Fig 1, Fig. 2: Street signs bearing street names in Yeoville.

South African authorities have, over the years, grappled with the politics of naming in terms of streets and buildings. If you go into the city centre in Johannesburg, nearly all the streets and major buildings have been renamed after African liberation heroes including Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, and Reginald Luthuli, to mention a few. The recent addition is the Winnie Mandela House, which is the newly unveiled headquarters of the opposition, the Economic Freedom Fighters

(EFF) party. These are deliberate moves to 'decolonize' the city. However, the streets and buildings in the Yeoville, Berea, and Hillbrow suburbs still bear the names of some key players of the colonial and Apartheid eras, and mostly Black African immigrants live surrounded by this coloniality and colonial presence. This architecture gives those who dwell here specific subject positions as they are constantly confronted with coloniality. This psychologically and culturally positions them in the margins of the city and the economy. The naming of the mostly dilapidated buildings and the streets keeps the immigrants out of the city, even when they are in the city. One interviewee captures how these buildings, streets, and public spaces still mirror a white South Africa, whose image they have carried with them from their home countries and their villages within South Africa. Ncube, an almost 65-year-old man from Zimbabwe, says this is the Johannesburg that they have always called "*e'skhiweni*" (a white place). "This is what we mean", he says. "It is not only because we will be referring to the large number of white people, compared to where we come from, but the city is white, the streets bear white names and even the buildings that we sleep in". Ncube says he intentionally uses "sleep" rather than "live in" because for most of the day they will be at work, as they labour long hours as security guards and in restaurants. In the interviews, it becomes clear that to call a place "a white place" is also to make an economic statement. It means it is a place where capital is concentrated and where it is possible to get a job, no matter how precarious it is. The implications of this cultural rejection by Johannesburg are its subtle bordering which brings us to how, under neoliberal capitalism, the majority of immigrants in cities live under the authoritarianism and coloniality that emerges at the intersection of migration, borders, and urbanism.

In Johannesburg, the immigrant as a Black subject lives as if estranged from the city. Nkosinathi, a 43-year-old Zimbabwean immigrant, explains that, "we are in the city, but we are outside the city. It is like living at the border. These buildings, these streets reject us in many ways. We cannot inhabit them". Nkosinathi, not his real name, is married and lives with his wife and a child in Hillbrow, one of the inner-city suburbs. Ironically, Nkosinathi grew up in Beitbridge, an area at the border of Zimbabwe and South Africa. He notes that when he got to Johannesburg, it was his first time experiencing city life. For some Africans, coming to Johannesburg is coming to the city and migration to Johannesburg can be thought of primarily as 'rural-urban' migration although national borders are involved. He says when he first arrived in Johannesburg, he lived at Park Station, a big bus station in Johannesburg, "sleeping outside" and bathing at a nearby hostel. He was homeless. Nkosinathi's early years of homelessness are not peculiar to him but speaks to what can be characterized as the alienation that most migrant experience in big cities. This is part of living at the border (Wright 2013; Nyers 2010; Ngai 2003; Balibar 2002). Most of the interviewees, especially women, spoke about neglect in many spaces including clinics, police stations, and other public offices. It

also means that migrants have marginal access to public services, meaning they cannot get decent paying jobs and as a result, cannot afford decent housing. For Ms. Bibesho, who has worked for nine years as a domestic servant for a Congolese family in Sandton, Johannesburg is a classic diaspora space, where the diaspora is a place of pain that you live in because of fear of returning home. However, Ms. Bibesho says she has not experienced xenophobia, but saw it on television from the comfort of Sandton. This speaks to the geography of xenophobia and the borders that it inscribes within the country. It always takes place in the poor townships and some poor inner-city spaces.

Protesting for Housing on Election Day

Housing struggles articulated as land struggles have continued to be an indication of the marginality of Black subjects in urban South Africa in the postapartheid period. What is starkly revealed as problematic here is the relationship of the people, who long for a piece of land even if it is to build a shack, and the state as a specific authoritarian, colonial, and Apartheid relic that is uncaring (Alexander 2010; Bénit-Gbaffou 2008). The last point is significant because under the postapartheid regimes, the state is mostly constituted by the ANC, a former liberation movement that people looked up to deliver freedom. For most Black Africans, how they come to inhabit the city is through owning a small piece of land where their family house stands. This ownership is important because it also means access to water, electricity, education, health, and other social services. The marginalization of Black subjects in postapartheid South Africa has been a constant struggle that has made South Africa a hotspot in terms of protests. In South Africa, there are numerous service delivery protests every week. According to the Institute for Security Studies, there are about 2.26 protests daily. Until now the highest number of incidents were recorded in 2013 and 2014, with more than three protests a day. This period was followed by reductions to nearly one per day in 2018, when Cyril Ramaphosa became president. The number started growing steadily again in 2019, reaching about 2.5 a day on average (Lancaster and Mulaudzi 2020).

During the local government elections on the 1 November 2021, there were protests on issues of service delivery around the country. Some of the protests were at places designated as polling stations. However, the most significant of these protests was staged by Soweto residents at Luthuli House, the ruling party's headquarters in Central Johannesburg. The more than 1,000 residents from different parts of Soweto marched to Luthuli House after refusing to vote. They wanted to hand a petition to the ruling party. Their main grievance was the long wait for Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses. The residents, who said they are backyard dwellers, said some of them had been waiting for more than 25 years for houses. Independent South Africa is 27 years old this year. This means the

promise of houses was made in the honeymoon years of the country's independence. According to the media, "some of the grey-haired protesters came armed with their C4 housing application forms—some dating as far back as 1996—when then president Nelson Mandela unveiled the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which culminated in several residents being allocated houses" (Pillay and Ndaba 2021). As earlier alluded to, these residents were directly linking the issue of housing to that of land. This is a link that the ANC had sought to downplay in its messaging. Since the opposition Economic Freedom Front (EFF) party brought the matter to the centre of national politics, the ANC has remained unclear on the issue of land. On several occasions, the ruling party has refused to vote with the EFF on the land issue. The parties disagree on the aspect of expropriation without compensation that the EFF insists on. It was only in the years approaching the party's 2017 congress which elected Cyril Ramaphosa as leader of the movement that the ideas of the Radical Economic Transformation (RET) emerged, their ideas on the land seemed to converge with those of the EFF. Under president Cyril Ramaphosa, a billionaire, the ANC has been hugely ambiguous on the issue of land. This is inspite of the fact that for many residents and citizens, the land issue is real and is central to their citizenship. In recent years, the differences between the ANC and the EFF are that the opposition party wants radical change to ownership patterns whereas the state would own all the land and lease it out according to its judgements. The ANC, while agreeing on the need to reform land ownership still insists on private ownership patterns.

Decolonising the Right to the City

To borrow from Fanon on Marxist analysis in colonial conditions, in Africa, and much of the Global South, the concept of the right to the city must be "slightly stretched" (1963, 40). This is because when conceptualized as a right, it comes with assumptions that become problematic when one acknowledges centuries of colonial and postcolonial history and takes into account the centrality of race in understanding urban inequalities, divisions, and resultant struggles. Lefebvre popularized the concept of the right to the city, a superior form of right, manifesting itself as "a cry and a demand" (1967, 158). As a superior right, it carries within it a sense of the right to the commons, to participation, and appropriation as distinct from the right to property (Lefebvre 1996, 174). According to Don Mitchell, the right to the city is "a work in which all its citizens participate" (2003, 17). In the context of cities across the world and in Africa in particular, this is ideal. Lefebvre has been seen as utopian. For Peter Marcuse (2012), this utopianism carries with it a revolutionary will to imagine a city different from the current neoliberal cities and this means radical and complete change to the capitalist system (see also Purcell 2002,

101). For David Harvey, the right to the city must not only be "a right of access to what the property speculators and state planners define" but must include the right to change the city (2003, 941). In cities in the Global South such as Johannesburg, the majority Black subject emerges out of the ashes of a history of colonialism, Apartheid, and racism, closed out of urban spaces, the right to the city is not pre-given. It comes with a lingering question of the 'human' who is the subject of the (human) right to the city. This human can be recovered by acknowledging the colonial, apartheid, and racist history of the urban space in postapartheid South Africa. For Samara, He, and Chen, the production of urban space in the Global South today is tied to neoliberalism and the right to the city (2013, 2). While neoliberalism is characterized by an emphasis on an urban future of various forms of enclosure, the right to the city emphasizes various forms of justice (Samara, He, and Chen 2013, 12). As shall be discussed in the next paragraph, this overlooks cases when the right to the city is appropriated by neoliberalism to perpetuate its own brand of authoritarianism.

Lucy Earle (2017) argues that there are three reasons for embracing the concept of the right to the city. First, the right to the city concept "tallies with international aid donor concern for decentralization" putting emphasis on devolution of responsibilities from national to city levels (Earle 2017, 8). Appropriated by experts and international donors, the right to the city here straddles a thin line between a right and authoritarianism. In his three varieties of authoritarian neoliberalism, Ernesto Gallo (2021) cites technocracy as the first example. Here, technocrats are characterized as the "organic intellectuals" of neoliberal capital and international agencies penetrating the state from without (Gallo 2021, 5). There are a number of organizations that fight for rights such as the right to housing in South Africa and operate within this neoliberal context of donor funding which includes capital and ideas. There are experts advising these activists. The second reason for embracing the concept of the right to the city is that it presupposes equality and asserts a right for all "city dwellers to benefit from everything that urban life and society has to offer" (Earle 2017, 8). Earle's application of the concept of the right to the city is seen as an ideological and bastardized departure from the way Lefebvre, Mitchell, Harvey, and Marcuse thought about it. To reflect on Earle's arguments, first, assuming equality has been proven to be a fallacy by historical examples and the two illustrations proffered in this chapter. Illegalized migrants and Soweto residents still waiting for an RDP house are not equal in any way to the officials they protest to at Luthuli House, for example. They are not equal to white people in suburbs who cannot be seen protesting over anything. The third reason proffered by Earle is that the right to the city concept "appeals to the rights-based approach to development that has been in vogue over recent years" (2017, 8). We discuss this rights-based approach in the next paragraph from the angle of citizenship.

The right to the city is also conceptualized and argued for in the context of citizenship. Emerging in the context of modernity, citizenship is problematically "bound to the idea of universal equality" (Earle 2017, 33). The limits of universal equality have already been addressed. Citizenship is seen as eroding hierarchies and privileges to install a regime based on the equality of rights and equality before the law (Holston and Appadurai 1999; Scott 1998). Aaron Kamugisha problematizes this by pointing to the coloniality of citizenship as appearing in a "variety of practices, tropes of belonging and identity concerns that frustrate and deny the aspirations of many" (2007, 20). He describes the coloniality of citizenship as "a complex amalgam of elite domination, neoliberalism and the legacy of colonial authoritarianism" (Kamugisha 2007, 20). As in the case of South Africa, this is where existing colonial and Apartheid forms of citizenship persist beyond the independence moment and are kept intact by a middle-class nationalism that kow-tows to the racial order that underlies it. For Manuela Boatca and Julia Roth (2016), the coloniality of citizenship is in the conditions under which it emerged in Europe. Rather than a "modern, progressive institution that helped overcome particularities of unequal social origin", citizenship developed through "the legal (and physical) exclusion of non-European, non-White, and non-Western populations from civic, political, social and cultural rights; these exclusions, and thus citizenship as such, have historically been (en)gendered" (2016, 191). In the Global South, specifically in unequal societies such as South Africa, and as our two case studies attest, low-income residents of cities are not always excluded foreign migrants or members of minority ethnic groups but "national citizens living in a democratic state" (Earle 2017, 34).

Conclusion

A dialogue and debate between the concepts of neoliberal authoritarianism, on one hand, and, coloniality, on the other, is fruitful for the understanding of postapartheid urban authoritarianism in South Africa. While the concept of neoliberal authoritarianism makes apparent the classed nature of the struggles in divided and unequal postapartheid cities like Johannesburg, the concept of coloniality unmasks what this teleological and universalist approach obscures. The concept of neoliberal authoritarianism, with its roots in Europe and European history, could be colonizing in the sense that it reads the situation in Global South cities as similar to that of the West. In naming the struggles in Johannesburg as the struggle of the right to the city, deploying a neoliberal authoritarianism theoretical lens would obscure the fact that the working class in the Global South is population of mostly colonial subjects used for labour, that built cities in which it has always been unwelcome. The argument here is twofold. First, the specificity

of the working class and its struggles in the Global South are obscured through an uncritical application of a theoretical approach informed by neoliberal authoritarianism. Second, the uncritical application of this approach imposes European history onto the Global South and imagines the European working class as the revolutionary subject, ('demanding the right to the city') displacing the working class of the Global South as a specific historical subject. Neoliberal authoritarian as a theoretical concept constructs its subject of history as the European working class. The challenge then becomes the normativity, teleology, and universalism of the neoliberal authoritarianism theoretical approach. This is not exceptional to the concept of neoliberal authoritarianism. I argue elsewhere that Antonio Gramsci (1977), who pays attention to the colonial question, for all the important insights he makes on how colonies are exploited to develop the metropolises in Europe, writes the Black African subject out of African history (Mlotshwa 2022, 109–10). While Gramsci posits that colonialism was the expansion of the capitalist system outside the West where the colonies were impoverished for the benefit of European civilization, the problem becomes that it is the European working class that is enthroned as the population that would resolve the problems of capitalism at the centre of this globalizing history (Gramsci 1977, 302). The subject of the right to the city struggles in cities in the Global South, is unclear, and as such the struggles in the Global South are not textured, remaining unclear as part of a global urban struggles. This raises the need for a debate and dialogue between critiques of neoliberal urbanism and Global South epistemologies, such as the concept of coloniality, to make sense of the problems of urban authoritarianism. In postapartheid South Africa, what is at stake is the relationship of the masses who long for a piece of land even if it is to build a shack, and the state as a specific colonial and apartheid relic. Only an approach that takes the concept of coloniality seriously would unmask the tragedy of the fact that the contest between the postapartheid national and local government rulers, on one hand, and the people, on the other hand, not only echoes that of the colonial and Apartheid periods but is the same struggle. Coloniality makes these continuities apparent.

References

Acuto, M., and W. Steele (2013), *Global City Challenges: Debating a Concept, Improving the Practice*, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Al Jazeera (2021), "France 'enabled' 1994 Rwanda genocide, report says", 19 April 2021, available at https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/4/19/france-enabled-1994-rwanda-genocide-report-says. Last accessed on 29 July 2022.

Balibar, E. (2002), *Politics and the Other Scene*, London and New York: Verso.

Biebricher, T. (2020), "Neoliberalism and Authoritarianism", *Global Perspectives* vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1–18; available at https://doi.org/10.1525/001c.11872. Last accessed on 29 July 2022.

Bénit-Gbaffou, C. (2008), "Introduction: the place of participation in South African local democracy", *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, vol. 66, no. 1, pp. i–vii.

Boatca, M., and J. Roth (2016), "Unequal and gendered: Notes on the coloniality of citizenship", *Current Sociology Monograph*, vol. 64, no. 2, pp. 191–212.

Bourdieu, P. (1998), "Utopia of endless exploitation: The essence of neoliberalism", *Le Monde Diplomatique*, December: 1–5.

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) (2021), "Macron asks Rwanda to forgive France over 1994 genocide role", 27 May, available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-57270099. Last accessed on 29 July 2022.

Bruff, I. (2016), "Neoliberalism and authoritarianism", The Handbook of Neoliberalism, edited by S. Springer, K. Birch, and J. MacLeavy, New York and London: Routledge, pp. 107–17.

Caramani, D. (2017), "Will vs. reason: The populist and technocratic forms of political representation and their critique to party government", *American Political Science Review*, vol. 111, no. 1, pp. 54–67.

Davenport, T. R. H. (1991), *South Africa: A Modern History*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Delius, P. 2017. "The history of migrant labour in South Africa (1800–2014)", *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of African History*. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.93. Last accessed on 29 July 2022.

Denzin, N. K., and Y. Lincoln (eds.) (2005), "Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research", *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*, Thousand Oaks, London, and New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 1–31.

Dumenil, G., and D. Levy (2011), *The Crisis of Neoliberalism*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Dyzenhaus, D. (1991), *Hard Cases in Wicked Legal Systems: South African Law in the Perspective of Legal Philosophy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Earle, L. (2017), *Transgressive Citizenship and the Struggle for Social Justice: The Right to the City in Sao Paulo*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Easton, K. (2017), "Southern Africa", *The Routledge Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, J. McLeod (ed.), London and New York: Routledge, pp. 129–38.

Escobar, A. (2007), "Worlds and Knowledges Otherwise: The Latin American Modernity/Coloniality Research Program", *Cultural Studies*, vol. 21, nos. 2–3, pp. 197–210.

Fabry, A., and S. Sandbeck (2018), "Introduction to special issue on 'authoritarian neoliberalism'", *Competition & Change*, vol. 23, no. 2, 109–15, available at https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1024529418813827. Last accessed on 29 July 2022.

Fanon, F. (1963), *The Wretched of the Earth*, New York: Grove.

Feinstein, C. H. (2005), *An Economic History of South Africa: Conquest, Discrimination and Development*, Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Fine, J. (2014), "Migrants and Migrant Workers in the Post-Apartheid era", *Global Labour Journal*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 330–46.

Gallo, E. (2021) "Three varieties of Authoritarian Neoliberalism: Rule by the experts, the people, the leader", *Competition & Change*, pp. 1–21, available at https://doi.org/10.1177%2F10245294211038425. Last accessed on 29 July 2022.

Giddens, A., and P. W. Sutton (2014), *Essential Concepts in Sociology*, Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity.

Giroux, H. A. (2004), *The Terror of Neoliberalism: Authoritarianism and the Eclipse of Democracy*, Boulder, NC: Paradigm.

Gowen, P. (2001), "Neoliberal cosmopolitanism", *New Left Review*, September–October, pp. 79–94.

Gramsci, A. (1977), *Selections from Political Writings, 1910–1920*, London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Gregory, D. (2004), *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq*, Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Grosfoguel, R. (2008), "Latin@s and the decolonization of the US empire in the 21st century", *Social Science Information: Special Issue on Migrants and Clandestinity*, vol. 47, no. 4, pp. 605–22.

Guest, G., E. Namey, and M. Mitchell (2013), *Collecting Qualitative Data: A Field Manual for Applied Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hall, S. (1985), "Authoritarian populism: A reply", *New Left Review*, vol. 1, no. 151, pp. 115–24.

Hall, S. (1996), "When was the 'postcolonial'? Thinking at the limit", *The Postcolonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons*, edited by I. Chambers and L. Curti, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 242–60

Harvey, D. (2003), "The right to the city", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 27, no. 4, pp. 939–41.

Hlabangane, N. (2021), "The underside of modern knowledge: An epistemic break from western science", *Decolonising the human: Reflections from Africa on difference and oppression*, edited by W. Mpofu, and M. Steyn, Johannesburg: Wits University Press, pp. 164–85.

Hlatshwayo, M. (2010), "Research report on Cosatu's responses to xenophobia", *South African Civil Society and Xenophobia: Synthesis*, edited by D. Everatt, New York: The Atlantic Philanthropies.

Holston, J., and A. Appadurai (1999), "Introduction: Cities and Citizenship", *Cities and Citizenship*, edited by J. Holston, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp. 155–73.

Huntington, S. P. (1996), *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, New York: Simon and Schuster.

Huyssen, A. (2001), "Present pasts: media, politics, amnesia", *Globalization*, edited by A. Appadurai, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp. 57–77

Inglehart, R., and P. Norris, (2017), "Trump and the populist authoritarian parties: The silent revolution in reverse", *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 443–54.

Jessop, B. (2014), "Repoliticising depoliticisation: Theoretical preliminaries on some responses to the American fiscal and Eurozone debt crises", *Policy & Politics*, vol. 42, no. 2, pp. 293–311.

Kamugisha, A. (2007), "The coloniality of citizenship in the contemporary Anglophone Carribean", *Race and Class*, vol. 49, no. 2, pp. 20–40.

Kaplan, R. (2000), *The Coming Anarchy*, New York: Random House.

Kruger, L. (2013), *Imagining the Edgy City: Writing, Performing, and Building Johannesburg*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Lancaster, L., and G. Mulaudzi, (2020), "Rising protests are a warning sign for South Africa's government", Institute for Security Studies (ISS), 6 August, available at https://issafrica.org/iss-today/rising-protests-are-a-warning-sign-for-south-africas-government. Last accessed on 29 July 2022.

Leeuwen, T. van, and C. Jewitt (eds.) (2004), "Introduction", *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 1–9.

Lefebvre, H. (1996), "Writing on cities", *Writings on Cities*, edited by E. Kofman, and E. Lebas, London: Blackwell, pp. 34–43.

Lefebvre, H. (1996), "The right to the city", *Writings on Cities*, edited by E. Kofman, and E. Lebas, London: Blackwell, pp. 63–184.

Mabin, A. (2000), "Varied legacies of modernism in urban planning", *A Companion to the City*, edited by G. Bridge, and S. Watson, Malden, MA, Oxford, and Victoria: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 555–66.

MacEwan, A. (1999), *Neoliberalism as Democracy? Economic Strategy, Markets, and Alternatives for the 21st Century*, New York: Zed Books.

Maldonado-Torres, N. (2008), *Against War: Views from the Underside of Modernity*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Marcuse, P. (2012), "Whose right(s) to what city?" *Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City*, edited by N. Brenner, P. Marcuse, and M. Mayer, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 24–41.

Marvasti, A. B. (2004), *Qualitative Research in Sociology: An Introduction*, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Merriam, S. (2009), *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*, San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Mignolo, W. D. (2005), *The Idea of Latin America*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Mitchell, D. (2003), *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space,* New York: Guildford Press.

Mlotshwa, K. (2022), "Marxist theory, decoloniality and Black African subjectivity", *Marxism and Decolonization in the 21ˢᵗ Century: Living Theories and True Ideas*, edited by S. J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and M. Ndlovu, Abingdon and New York: Routledge, pp. 109–25.

Mpofu, W., and M. Steyn, (eds.) (2021), "The trouble with the human", *Decolonising the human: Reflections from Africa on difference and oppression*, Johannesburg: Wits University Press, pp. 1–24.

Muller, G. (2013), "The legal-historical context of urban forced evictions in South Africa", *Fundamina*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 367–96.

Munck, R. (2013), "The precariat: a view from the South", *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 5, pp. 747–62.

Murray, M. J. (2011), *Taming the Disorderly City: The Spatial Landscape of Johannesburg after Apartheid*, New York: Cornell University Press.

Musiker, N., and R. Musiker (2000), *A Concise Historical Dictionary of Greater Johannesburg*, Cape Town: Francolin Publishers.

Ndlovu, S. (2021), "Humanness and ableism: Construction and deconstruction of disability", *Decolonising the human: Reflections from Africa on difference and oppression*, edited by W. Mpofu and M. Steyn, Johannesburg: Wits University Press, pp. 65–85.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2012), "Beyond the equator there are no sins: Coloniality and violence in Africa", *Journal of Developing Societies*, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 419–40.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2013), "Why decoloniality in the 21ˢᵗ century?" *The Thinker*, vol. 48, no. 10, pp. 10–15.

Ngai, M. M. (2003), "The strange career of the illegal alien: Immigration restriction and deportation policy in the United States, 1921–1965", *Law and History Review*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 69–107.

Nyers, P. (2012), "No one is illegal between city and nation", *Studies in Social Justice*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 127–43.

Phillips, H. (2014), "Locating the location of a South African location: The paradoxical pre-history of Soweto", *Urban History*, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 311–32.

Pillay, K., and B. Ndaba (2021), "PICS: Soweto residents boycott elections, and give ANC 14 days to respond to their grievances", *IOL*, 1 November, available at https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/pics-soweto-residents-boycott-elections-and-give-anc-14-days-to-respond-to-their-grievances-87150648-d625-498b-beec-c2e6db74084c. Last accessed on 29 July 2022.

Purcell, M. (2002), "Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant", *GeoJournal*, vol. 58, pp. 99–108.

Quijano, A. (2000), "Coloniality of power, eurocentrism, and Latin America", *Nepantla: Views from the South*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 533–80.

Ryan, M. D. J. (2018), "Interrogating 'authoritarian neoliberalism': The problem of periodization", *Competition & Change*, pp. 1–22, available at https://doi.org/10.1 177/1024529418797867. Last accessed on 29 July 2022.

Samara T.R., He S., and Chen G. (2013), *Locating right to the city in the global south*, London New York: Routledge.

Sassen, S. (1991), *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

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

Sihlongonyane, M. F. (2005), "The Rhetoric of Africanism in Johannesburg as a World African City", *African Insights*, vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 22–30.

Sisulu, W. (1998), "Foreword", *Soweto: A History*, edited by P. Bronner and L. Segal, Cape Town: David Phillips, pp. 3–8.

Smith, D. M. (ed.) (1992), *The Apartheid City and Beyond: Urbanization and Social Change in South Africa*, New York and Johannesburg: Routledge and Wits University Press.

South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) (2015), "Marikana commission of inquiry: Report on matters of public, national and international concern arising out of the tragic incidents at the Lonmin Mine in Marikana, in the North West province", available at https://www.sahrc.org.za/home/21/files/marikana -report-1.pdf. Last accessed on 29 July 2022.

Springer, S. (2016). "The violence of neoliberalism", *The Handbook of Neoliberalism*, edited by S. Springer, K. Birch, and J. MacLeavy, New York and London: Routledge, pp. 153–63.

Strauss, M., and S. Liebenberg (2014), "Contested spaces: Housing rights and evictions law in post-apartheid South Africa", *Planning Theory*, vol. 13, no. 4, pp. 428–48.

Swart, M., and Y. Rodney-Gumede, (eds.) (2019), *Marikana Unresolved: The Massacre, Culpability and Consequences*, Johannesburg: Juta.

Tansel, C. B. (ed.) (2017), *States of Discipline: Authoritarian Neoliberalism and the Contested Reproduction of Capitalist Order*, London: Rowman and Littlefield International.

Thompson, J. B. (1990), *Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Vletter, F. de (1985), "Recent trends and prospects of black migration to South Africa", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 667–702.

Wodak, R. (2001), "The discourse-historical approach", *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, edited by R. Wodak and M. Meyer, London: Sage.

Wolpe, H. (1972), "Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa. From segregation to apartheid", *Economy and Society*, vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 425–56.

Worden, N. (1991), *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Apartheid, Democracy,* Basingstoke and London: Macmillan Press Limited.

Wright, C. (2013), "The museum of illegal immigration: Historical perspectives on the production of non-citizens and challenges to immigration control", *Producing and negotiating non-citizenship: Precarious legal status in Canada*, edited by L. Golding and P. Landolt, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 31–54.

Xulu, N. (2013), "COSATU and Internal Migrant Workers: Old Fault Lines, New Dilemmas", *COSATU's Contested Legacy: South African Trade Unions in the Second Decade of Democracy*, edited by Sakhela Buhlungu and Malehoko Tshoaedi, Leiden and Boston: Brill, pp. 212–27.