FEAR AND LOATHING IN NORTHERN JOHANNESBURG: THE SECURITY PARK AS HETEROTOPIA.

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INTRODUCTION.

This is somewhat of an unconventional paper. It is essentially a "sketching of ideas", a speculative generation of hypotheses that precedes a larger empirically-based research project on identity and space in the South African security park. It opens with a brief discussion of how space - much like discourse more widely - is able *to inform identity*. It then moves onto a focus on the South African security park, that exclusive and affluent living space so favoured by the inhabitants of Northern Suburban Johannesburg. Foucault's conception of the heterotopia is applied to this focus as a means of exploring (and generating hypotheses around) the inter-relatedness of the categories of space, power and identity. The paper turns then to briefly consider the shortcomings of the notion of the heterotopia, before closing by asserting a series of general (and hypothetical) conclusions about the apparent interconnectedness of power, space and identity in such a place as the security park.

THE PRAGMATICS OF SPACE (OR PLACE) AS DISCURSIVE.

As way of beginning, it is important to make a number of qualifications, the first of which concerns the difference between "space" and "place". For the purposes of this discussion, and following Chaney (1994), "place" will be understood as a distinct, recognizable and discrete *category of space* - a space that has become imbricated with social values, meaning and identity. In this sense, again following Chaney (1994), "place" is closely implicated in the processes of the reproduction and transformation of social-relations and meaning. Given then that "space" is the more encompassing, generic term, this paper's specific focus will be more on *place*, although obviously comments on space will have bearing on place, just as findings regarding place will importantly influence how we "think" space.

Leading on from this is another pragmatic and methodological concern: the very difficulty of speaking about space in any precise way. Certainly, without the training or expertise of the geographer or architect, one does not necessarily have an appropriate vocabulary of

space, or a properly-formed matrix of measurement and/or qualification through which to conceptualize space, a concern which Harvey (1990) has treated as paramount. In order to in some ways sidestep this difficulty, this paper will engage with space principally *as an element of discourse*.

Discourses and power may well be realized in texts, as Parker (1992) suggests, but as Foucault is himself (1981) at pains to point out, discourse is by no means exhausted by the text. Foucault's (1981) standpoint is that discourse is heterogeneously realized in a variety of forms, in material practices, in architectural structures, and, indeed, as in the example of the Panopticon, in the regulation of space. [Indeed, as he later asserts "Space is fundamental in any exercise of power" (Foucault, 1983:164)]. As Best and Kellner (1991) emphasize, discourse theorists argue that meaning is constructed across a diverse range of institutional sites and material practices; in this sense, the understandings, values, identities and practical functionality of places are amenable to discursive forms of analysis. The idea here, in short, is that just as language is a dimension of political activity - so space (and even more so *place*) - through its various constructions and characteristic practices - is likewise a dimension of political meaning/activity amenable to deconstructive forms of analyses.[1]

Perhaps the best way to give theoretical form to this notion of space as discourse is through Soja's notion of "spatiality". It is with this notion that Soja (1989) points to a separation between space *per se*, space as a contextual given, and socially-constructed space, the created space of social organization and production. Rather than imagining space as a white page on which the actions of groups and institutions are inscribed, Soja (1989) warns of *the social production of space*, and argues that the organization, meaning and functioning of space is a product of social translation, transformation and experience. "Socially-produced space is a created structure comparable to other social constructions" he claims (1989:79-80), before going on to quote Lefebvre:

"Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology and politics; it has always been political and strategic ... Space has been shaped and moulded from historical and natural elements, but this has always been a political process. Space is political and ideological. It is literally filled with ideologies" (Lefebvre, cited in Soja, 1989:80).

Soja (1989) hence operationalizes "spatiality" as that socially-constructed and socially-practised space intricately intertwined with socio-political relations of power, meaning and ideology. Spatiality then will be the term used to refer to those discursive forms of space implicated in the operation of power, and it will be the spatiality of the security park that this study will hope to describe. Given that the notion that discourse may inform identity is no longer particularly novel or controversial (cf. Shotter & Gergen, 1989; Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Burr, 1996; Wetherell, 1996), it hence seems reasonably unproblematic to assert that a particular form of spatiality may well, at least in theory, bear a formidable influence

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1. Of course the danger one evokes here is the ontological and epistemological fallacy of collapsing everything into discourse. This is a tendency and an error that Hook (in press) has critically addressed in some detail elsewhere. Suffice for now to say that such discursive (or textual) examinations should ideally be paired with analyses of the seemingly "extra-discursive", by which is meant the field of physical and material arrangements of power. This paper hopes to represent the first steps in just such a process.

upon the identity of groups or individuals. One should point out here that this is not a totally unprecedented approach. Questions of the discursive construction of space and how it relates to subjectivity have been previously addressed within the South African context (Dixon, Foster, Durrheim & Wilbraham, 1994; Dixon & Reicher, 1997; Dixon, Reicher & Foster, 1997; Durrheim & Dixon, 1998). Furthermore, taking this work one step further, Dixon & Durrheim (2000) have recently explored how the environmental concept of "place-identity" may be framed within a critical discursive approach. Such an approach pays special attention to the collective practices through which specific place identities are framed, reproduced and modified, in addition to how constructions of place are oriented to the performance of social actions (blaming, justifying, excusing, excluding, etc.) (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). Dixon & Durrheim (2000) ambiguously refer to the last focus as a "grounds of identity" in the double sense of a "belonging to place" and a warrant through which particular social practices and relations are legitimized. Whilst this analysis will not explicitly engage with these conceptualizations, they will hopefully resonate with certain of the findings to this study.[2]

URBAN FORTRESSES: THE SECURITY PARK.

"The golf estate lifestyle has captured the hearts and minds of discerning South Africans who yearn for the freedom of living in a secure, rural setting amongst people of like-minded persuasion who seek a lifestyle of real quality ... We recognize the special nature of golf estate development, where superior lifestyle and security are paramount to a discerning audience....where standards are non-negotiable" (Dainfern promotional brochure, 1999).

The South African security park is that walled-in and security-riddled "community" living-space so favoured by the affluent white inhabitants of (particularly) Northern Suburban Johannesburg. Much like the gated-community phenomenon of the USA and Brazil (cf. Davis, 1992; and Caldeira, 1996a, 1996b, respectively), the South African security park accommodates the homes of a typically elite and demographically-homogenous group. Security parks typically combine the luxury amenities of a high-class hotel with paramilitary surveillance and protection technology in an effort to separate off exclusive and desirable living areas from the from the city at large.

The security park is in many ways the outcome of the post-apartheid transformation of local government, a transformation which resulted in a lacuna in bureaucratic procedures of planning, leaving the control of development to the entrepreneur who quickly identified the security park as an important growth market for the building industry (Bremner, 1999). The self-sufficiency and autonomy which such security parks strive to realize is suggested by the degree to which they maintain their own internal bylaws, and their own "architectural mandate" over what may and may not be built within their confines. (Unlike the vast majority of building projects scattered across the city of Johannesburg, the city council has only limited powers of intervention within such security park complexes).

An indication of the autonomy (and for that matter, of the self-serving agendas) of the security park is evidenced in their lack of engagement with national architectural and city-planning debates on how best to restructure Johannesburg so as to facilitate the de-

2. Perhaps the easiest way to separate this approach from that of Dixon and his colleagues, is that whereas the latter focus primarily on *discourses* of space, the current study attempts to engage *space* as in some ways discursive.

segregation of the overall Johannesburg metropolitan area. The priority of security park developers, in strong contrast to national agendas of inner city reconstruction and redevelopment, is to build on the ever more northerly outskirts of Johannesburg, so as to escape, in ever greater distances, the urban centre of the city. Although the division of those living in better protected environments from those living in more exposed settings is increasingly along economic rather than merely racial lines (Kruger *et al*, 1997), these divisions defer largely to the structural socio-historical opportunities left behind by apartheid, and hence nonetheless reify inequality in the old terms of a privileged white minority and a dispossessed black majority.

The agenda of security park developers, seems, above all else, the creation of a perception of staunch and inviolable security, where one's rights to property and personal privacy remain sacrosanct. The zeal of the attempt to fortify against the threat of crime has meant that security park developers have placed an inordinate emphasis on familial and personal security, on efficient and fail-safe crime prevention. It is true in this sense to say that these collaborations of local governance and building industry innovation have thus far outstipped any contribution by the state in respect of successful crime prevention (Kruger *et al*, 1997). It is hard to miss this crime-prevention "selling point" in the promotional material of security parks, as is explicit in the case of Dainfern[3], one of the most northerly and probably the largest security park. Prichard Security System's double page advertisement states that:

"In maintaining a secure oasis at Dainfern ... one of the key ingredients ... is the security consciousness and peace of mind ... Dainfern ... relies heavily on the designed security infrastructure and the appointment of a reputable security firm, capable of honouring the requirements of the developers, the Homeowners Association and residents. Prichard Security Services, a subsidiary of the PSG ... is responsible for the security controls at Dainfern" (1994/5:36-37).

MILITARIZED SECURITY TECHNOLOGY.
The separation of the security park from the rest of South African suburban\urban society is not only a question of relative civil autonomy, and financial privilege, it is also a very 'concrete' question of barred-off roads, unpassable walls, electrified fences, booms and razor-wire. The Dainfern Security System, for example, boasts "unparalleled round-the clock security ... [including] a two-metre perimeter wall topped by an electronic fence ... homes are linked to the security control centre by radio and telephone, and there are 24-hour perimeter and entrance centred guards" (Hofmann, in Stamper, 1999).

In addition to these measures, guards record entry and exit times, in addition to the personal details and motives of those entering the security park. All this is typically accompanied by video-taped documentation of the appearance of visitors and their means of transport. Only two controlled entrances allow access to a large suburban territory (Dainfern is 320ha in size). Visitor cards are granted after signing a document agreeing to abide to the rules of the Dainfern, and only after verbal confirmation of an appointment by a resident.

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3. Although the Danifern complex is usefully referred to here in an illustrative capacity, it is worth reiterating that this paper is concerned with the security park phenomenon as a whole, and not with critiquing any one particular example.

The guards employed as part of such security measures are typically well-trained, and are often attired in para-military garb, prepared to offer a pro-active policing of the security park space and to rebuff crime in an "armed response" capacity. To give some indication of the frequency of this form of security, it is useful to quote the figures supplied by Rossouw (2001), namely that private security personnel in South Africa now outnumber the police by two to one, and that in Gauteng alone, security companies employ more than 200 000 guards.

A "CULTURE OF SECURITY" AND ITS STATUS SYMBOLS.

The security park hence may be read as the "crowning achievement" of an anxious "culture of security", a culture, which, feeding a booming security industry, has effectively been translated into a hierarchy of security status-symbols. This is a situation whereby suburban fortification has become highly desirable, and has indeed been commodified such that the demand for luxury security park homes has soared, along with the elevation of their appreciation costs. A new security aesthetic has hence become ascendent; the desirable home is not only one appealing in image and style, it is one that promises prison-like security measures.

Aware of both the security benefits and the "consumer fetishism" attached to security park real estate, developers have wasted little time in adding to this "appeal" with the addition of stylized quasi-pastoral designs and imagery. The idyllic imaginary of eco-sensitive architectural styles and evocative names like "Tanglewood", "Meadow Grove", "Needlewood" and "Brentwood Estate" are viewed as strong means of broadening the market-appeal of the security park. These words and images conjure up lifestyles that are increasingly divorced from reality; Tudor, Mediterranean, Medieval and Modern styles frequently subsist in the security park, in a mishmash of colliding architectural genres, such that style, as Bremner (1999) rightly notes, becomes the vehicle for denying the violent context of the city (Figures 1 and 2 – see end).

A case in point here is one of the prime sites on the Dainfern estate, which, according to Johnnic Properties Managing Director Raymond Hofmann, is the "California styled theme village, overlooking the 10th fairway of the course. The ten stands, priced from R750 000 to R1.5 million, are located immediately adjacent to the luxurious clubhouse in an exclusive enclave and are regarded as the most select in this development" (Stamper, 1999:24). The appeal to rural charm is powerfully evident in the promotional literature for Dainfern:

" ... the superb Gary Player designed championship course...meanders around the Jukskei River that runs through the estate, set in a beautiful valley. The rolling terrain provides sweeping views from the homesites. Views of the landscape are interspersed by the challenging and superb fairways. Weeping willows, reeds and dams, rocky outcrops in the river, and the remarkable abundance of bird-life, are at the heart of the estate" (Stamper, 1999:24).

Here ecological discourse is coupled with the promise of international architectural style to proclaim Dainfern's succession from greater Johannesburg (Figure 3 – see end).

The creation of a feeling of natural retreat and seclusion, along with an according sense of autonomy, is increased by the fact that the Dainfern complex compromises stand-alone

homes and townhouse complexes along with a series of villages namely Hampstead, Hertford, Brentwood, Sherwood, Riverwood, and Willowgrove Village. Each village has a unique character and identity designed and customised by leading architects. The cluster units are constructed to meet the aesthetic and functional needs of the family and to cultivate "creativity and the need for individual identity and self expression" (Cohen, 1994/5:53). The halcyon connotations of the village names help foster the natural image of the estate. Even the use of the term "village" allows for a quaint bucolic sentiment. This county ambience is fostered by the use of earthy colours, natural timber windows and natural brick paving (Cohen, 1994/5).

Careful to avoid the levelling of potential status symbols, or to create a sense of conformity, provision has been made for building designs within the estate to "reflect the personality of the owner". So whereas there are certain nodes within the estate where design criteria have been set, and where a panel of architects ensures that new homes are not incongruent to the site as a whole, provision is still made for the buyer who would like to pursue the building of their own unique and personalized home.

"THEME PARKS" OF THE RICH AND FAMOUS.

"The harmony and style of Dainfern Ridge make an instant impact. Palm-lined avenues ... Classically designed parks, with porticos, fountains and water-features. A far cry from what passes for parks in the city. A place to stroll freely. No litter. No tension" (Dainfern promotional brochure, 1999). Ever more elaborate in the attempts to suspend the disbelief of anxious homebuyers (that the security park will prove the antidote to crime), the stylization of security parks increasingly transforms them into virtual theme parks, ever more detached from the reality of the asymmetrical socio-economic conditions lying beyond their parameters. In many ways, the retreat into luxury is the best escape from the threat of crime, and the home-within-the-hotel qualities of the security park become the best defence against confronting the social inequalities of the current post-apartheid dispensation. Hotel-like amenities such as adjoining golf-courses, restaurants, squash/tennis courts, private bars, children's play-areas, swimming-pools, decorative fountains (Figures 4, 5 & 6 – see end) and a full accompaniment of care-taking staff, all play their role in keeping the security park virtually "recreationally self-sufficient". The unstated agenda being that most recreational activities can be catered for within the security park, hence an ever decreasing need to go outside the premises.

As mentioned above, Dainfern boasts its own championship golf course, replete with a "ProShop" (Clover 1994/5a). Additionally, there are walkways, cycling trails and jogging tracks, swimming pools, squash and tennis courts, children's playgrounds, a bird sanctuary and parks. Never of course foresaking the charms of nature, Dainfern includes also an upgraded bird dam with multiple habitats which encourage a variety of species of bird and insect life. Cultivated water features and the two indigenous ridges on the property have been carefully preserved so as not to loose the natural beauty of the area (Clover 1994/5a). Accordingly, the Dainfern brochures assure one that "you'll become part of a community of people who, like you, prefer country style living in a secure, natural environment, where you fall asleep to the call of the kiewiet, and wake up to the gently flow of the Jukskei river". In this respect, and as Ndebele (1999) has noted, the security park is reminiscent of the game lodge, not only in its attempt to "get closer to nature", but also, by virtue of its electrified fences and patrolling guards, in the way it attempts to ensure that an inner core of cleared space is sealed of from the country at large.

The stark contradictions of nature against sophisticated surveillance technology, of safety despite urban detachment start to manifest here. Security, manufactured and computerised to the utmost degree, becomes synonymous with this "natural environment", and along with it, a prerequisite for peaceful living. Despite however the allusions of an existence disassociated from the city and high density development, Dainfern is simultaneously within easy access to Sandton City (an expensive upper-class shopping mall) and the Fourways Mall is, as the brochure informs us, a mere 4.6 km away.

AUTONOMY OF AMENITIES.

In certain security parks such as Dainfern an "autonomy of amenities" has developed to the extent that the park now boasts its own post-office and postal code (Figure 7 – see end). In fact, the walled-in area of Dainfern now operates as a suburb, despite the facts that it is largely impenetrable to outsiders, and is only artificially-attached to surrounding residential areas. Rather than rely on municipal water supplies, the Dainfern complex draws on the Jukskei River to supply much of its water. Additionally, almost all civil maintenance resources, such as the removal of trash, the upkeep of roads and public parks, trees and assorted plantlife, are managed internally. Dainfern even manages its own emergency "storm water maintenance plan", and has ensured, with the building of its own power exchange on the premises, that there will never be a shortage of power lines available to owners (Clover, 1994/5a).

In perhaps the most dramatic evidence of its plans to assert its separation from South African civil society in general, Dainfern has its own school, the suitable entitled "Dainfern Collage". The school is situated at the entrance to the estate allowing children "to walk safely from home to school and back". It was established because of "current fears about the possible deterioration in the government schooling system" (anonymous, 1998). The school operates on a Debenture system ensuring that ownership resides in the hands of the parents and governing body, and secures a child's place in the collage.

A NEW "SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT".

Virtually impenetrable to the outsider, highly-stylized and effectively cut-off from the rest of the socio-economic and geographical reality of Johannesburg, the security park represents an increasing privatization of potentially public activity, and an increasing independence and autonomy from the general civic life of the city. A privatized form of "separate development", such living spaces make for security-riddled fortresses of luxury and detachment. Despite this, it is difficult to deny their efficacy; security parks appear to have been successful in consolidating a sense of safety, security and commonality within their confines. This is Bremner's (1999) intimation when she speaks of the fact that security park-dwellers can now "leave their gates open" and let their children "play in the streets". The fortification of suburbs comes at a cost however, and their necessary consequence in terms of the greater community is that "freedom of movement is restricted, chance contact is eradicated and public interaction limited to that between self-defined, homogenous groups" (Bremner, 1999:11). Landman (2000a, 2000b) reaches the same conclusion. She suggests that by barring undesirable new residents, casual passers-by - and even potential buyers - through various physical and financial measures, security parks have extended social segregation and exclusion, a situation which as lead to fragmentation within the greater community, elitism and dashed prospects of social interaction (Landman, 2000b). This is an attitude reflected in one brochure, assuring that

the security entrance is "welcoming to those who live there and their guests ... [but] much less to people with no business there, which is exactly how Dainfern residents like it".

Divisions previously cemented on the basis of governmental regulation are now secured through the ever advancing exclusivity of privatization. The prospects of a truly democratic and demographically-representative sense of community space is lost. The spatial logic of apartheid is hence given a new rooting-point and Johannesburg becomes increasingly fragmented, dispersed and divided, to the point where Bremner (1999) is justified in claiming that security parks have obliterated public space from the urban realm.The formal similarities between the micro- spatial logics and powers of the security park and those of the past apartheid order are notable. No more pass-books in the security park, but entrance is only permissible under extremely well-controlled circumstances, which in many cases bear a striking formal similarity to the past means of limiting movement in apartheid (signing registers, requiring the permission of empowered parties, possessing the correct "documents" of access).

Similarly, racial segregation is no longer enforced by the group-areas act, or forced removals, nor, for the moneyed elite, does it need to be. The new politics of space in South Africa are both far more pro-active, and more liberal than the old order. The new racial politics of space are predicated not so much on categorical racial *prohibitions* as on highly individualized and specified *rights* of admission. This no doubt makes for a far more refined and selective system of access control, where prejudice manifests not only on the basis of race, but on the far more extensive continuum of prejudice against "outsiders" in general. Indeed, the sophistication of spatial controlling in these new modalities means that there is no longer any need for overt repressive measures like those of forced removals. The exorbitant costs of security park housing ensures that they are effectively the abode only of the high-earning upper class.

THE HETEROTOPIA: REAL UTOPIAS, EFFECTIVELY REALIZED POLITICAL SITES.
Foucault's (1997) notion of the heterotopia, is, at its most basic, a way of conceiving social space, a model, as Lees (1997) puts it, of contemporary (or historical) socio-spatial life. The predominant function of the concept, it seems, is to act as a *spatial frame* for analysis, from which larger commentaries may be drawn about the values, practices and discourses of a particular social site. It will be helpful, so as to inform the analysis to come, to provide a brief characterization of this spatial-political concept. The heterotopia is an extraordinarily pliable notion; as Soja (1995) notes, the heterotopia is always variable and culturally-specific, changing in form, function, and meaning according to the particular "synchrony of culture" in which it is formed (p15). Similarly, its meaning and function may change over time. The heterotopia, furthermore, is also a universal element of human societies, "a constant feature of all human groups" (Foucault, 1997). Foucault (1997) is similarly categorical about the fact that the heterotopia *posses a precise and well-defined function within society.* This is an important point. Given that heterotopic places have well-formulated rationales and highly-specialized social functions and meanings, it stands to reason then that one should be able to study the discourses and characterizing practices which "institute" the place of the heterotopia and solidify its social identity. Indeed, this would seem quite central to Foucault's suggested project of "heteropology" which "would have as its object the study, analysis, description and "reading" ... of those different spaces, those other places [that enable]...both mythical and real contestation of the space in which we live" (Foucault, 1997:352-353). For Foucault then (1997), the study of

heterotopias without doubt leads the analyst back to the over-arching schema of political practices and discourses of the society in which it is localized. In this sense the heterotopia makes for a viable theoretical tool for linking space and power, politics and place; *an analytic node through which one might deduce greater networks of power.*

A further characterizing feature of the heterotopia is that it is importantly related to other spatialities. Despite that the heterotopia is notably distinct from the spaces around it, it does connect and link with other spaces, even if such connections more than anything work to create effects of contrast and difference. Following Foucault (1997), the role of the heterotopia is either to create "a space of illusion that exposes real space as still *more* illusionary", or, to create a space that is "other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well-arranged, as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled" (1997:356). The heterotopia then, by definition, is a *differential space*, importantly similar to, but always fundamentally different from, the places which surround it. Given this quality, it is unsurprising that, as Foucault (1997) insists, the heterotopia "has the power of juxtaposing in a single real place different spaces and locations that are incompatible" (Foucault, 1997, p. 354). This is a difficult point to grasp without the aid of illustrating examples (although such examples will be forthcoming). Suffice to say that the analysis of the heterotopia typically yields a variety of contradictions not necessarily perceived at first. The variability of the heterotopia is again important here, as Soja (1995:15) notes that "[T]his complex juxtaposition and cosmopolitan simultaneity of differences in space ... charges the heterotopia with social and cultural meaning". The incompatibility of the heterotopia's various internal combinations, in short, makes for important focal points of a critical analysis.

HETEROCHRONEITY, PROTECTED ENTRY AND SITE OF CRISIS.
Another characterizing feature of the heterotopia is the special nature of its time. Foucault (1997) notes that the heterotopia exhibits a "pure symmetry of heterochronisms", that it is linked to "bits and pieces of time", that it enables visitors to enter "a total breach of traditional time". The ability, in relative terms, to generate altered senses or perceptions of time within its domain, is thus another quality by which we might identify the heterotopia.

Heterotopias also presuppose a system of opening and closing (Foucault, 1997). The question of accessibility is central here and Foucault (1997) is concerned with how a place is open or closed to public entrance, how it maintains boundaries, barriers, gateways and *disallows* thoroughfare, loitering or anonymous entrance. It is at this dimension of space that power becomes, arguably, most palpable, and Foucault (1997) is adamant that all heterotopias involve a system of opening and closing that, at the same time, isolates them and makes them penetrable. Indeed, one does not generally access a heterotopian location purely by the force of one's will alone, access is rather accompanied by a form of submission or by a variety of a rite of purification (Foucault, 1997).

The last major characterization Foucault supplies us with is to suggest that there are two fundamental forms of the heterotopia: one of crisis, and one of deviance. The heterotopia of deviance are those places occupied by individuals who exhibit behaviour which deviates from current or average standards of a society: the asylums, psychiatric clinics, prisons, rest homes, schools for delinquents, old people's homes, etc. (Foucault, 1997). The heterotopia of crisis is generally recognized as that privileged or forbidden place reserved for the individual or society in a state of upheaval, difficulty or breakdown with reference

to the greater environment in which s/he or they live. We have already noted that heterotopias are *differential spaces*; the fact that they are typically sites of crisis and deviance only strengthens this differential quality. Indeed, it is from this difference, their very "otherness" that stems their ability to offer critical perspective on other places. Hence Foucault's (1997:352) description of the heterotopic place as that which is "absolutely *other*" with respect to all the arrangements that they reflect". In the same vein he (1997) claims, the heterotopia is "a place that lies outside all places and yet is localizable" (p352). One surmises from this that the heterotopia is a place able to transcend its basic social function and to subvert or mirror the typical kinds of social intercourse of a society.

It is possible to further motivate this idea. As both place of "otherness" and highly-specified social function, it would seem that the heterotopia should be able to demonstrate a certain amount of friction between its *normative* and *extraordinary* identities. This would seem to be exactly the condition underlying its ability to represent a point of slippage, or de-stabilization, for current socio-political or discursive orders of power. This is central to Foucault's understanding - and one central to the various ways in which the concept of the heterotopia has been "taken up" (cf. Genocchio, 1995; Soja, 1995; Lees, 1997; Hetherington, 1997, 1998) - that it is a viable form or site of resistance. Hence, in Lees's (1997:321) terms, the heterotopia is a "spatially-discontinuous ground" that "opens a critical space" which "provides a real site of practical resistance". More directly yet, and on the same basis Lees (1997:322) defines the heterotopia as a "heterogenous field of potentially contestatory countersites for political praxis and resistance". Similarly, Genocchio (1995:36) speaks of heterotopias as "socially-constructed counter-sites embodying ... form[s] of "resistance".

In this way one may start to see how the heterotopia stands as Foucault's (1997) theoretical conversion of the idealized notion of *the utopia* into pragmatic, "real-world" terms. For him (1997), both utopias and heterotopias "have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites... in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect" (Foucault, 1997:352). However, whereas utopias are ideal sites with no real place, and remain fundamentally *unreal*, heterotopias are "real sites" of "effectively enacted utopias" (Foucault, 1997:24). Heterotopias are the potentially transformative spaces of society from which meaningful forms of resistance can be mounted. These are the places capable of a certain kind of social commentary, those sites where social commentary may, in a sense, be *written into* the arrangements and relations of space. Following on this, Lees's (1997) claims that the practised politics of the heterotopia would not be merely *analogies* or *figurative comparisons* of resistance, as in the case of the imagined space of the utopia, but would instead constitute *real-world interventions* within the political fabric of society, *acted upon* rather than simply *spoken* forms of criticism *commensurate with the realized and actual field of political action and power*.

In summation, Foucault (1997) claims that heterotopias are the "real and effective spaces which are outlined in the very institution of society...which constitute a sort of counter-arrangement, of effectively realized utopia, *in which all the real arrangements, all the ... real arrangements that can be found within society, are at one and the same time represented, challenged and overturned*" (Foucault, 1997:352, emphasis added). However, importantly, this "recycling", this re-representing and challenging, of the meaning and functioning of other spaces need not be used solely towards laudable or progressive

security and order. This regularization and repetition of time is accompanied by another means through which time is permeated with surveillance and control, the unresting "monochroneity" of an unceasing vigilance, where 24 hour security is perpetually maintained, throughout day and night. In this sense the time, like the space of the security park, is rigorously patrolled and controlled, in a way "domesticated" such that the control of the environment may be ever more permeated by power. Again then a juxtaposition, on this occasion that of the unregulated and free-flowing time of relaxation with a meticulously and anxiously monitored time of surveillance, which may be taken to be indicative of how social structures of power have come to invest a place.

SYSTEMS OF ADMISSION AND "ALTERNATE SPATIALITIES".
The idea that the heterotopia maintains a strict or ritualized system of opening and closing is so obviously manifest in the security park that it barely warrants mentioning. That the security park vigilantly prohibits general public access, and operates a variety of boundaries, barriers and gateways disallowing thoroughfare has already been established. Indeed, its rituals and gestures of admission are so well-defined as to be automatic on the part of most visitors. It is interesting to note here - in line with Foucault's (1997) warning that one should pay special attention to the details and concealings of heterotopic systems of inclusion - that security parks often also feature *internal* divisions of space. Whilst these forms of division are typically no way near as thorough and omnipresent as are those of the perimeter exclusions of the security park, they do point to the fact that there is no absolute class uniformity within such spaces, and that they themselves are fragmented with multiple divisions and levels. Suffice to say, the imperative of privacy does extend itself also *within* the divided spaces of the park to individual homes and dwelling spaces, even in such formalities of the dress codes demanded by internal clubs (such as golf "clubhouses"). Shy of automatically assuming a "communality of community" with security parks, one would do better to assume that the regulation of their systems of admission revolve, more than anything else, around individualized rights of seclusion, privacy and protection.

On the basis of the theoretical speculations mounted so far one might suggest that security parks are sites of the appropriation of certain *civil* governmental responsibilities of safety and security, law and "order", and of certain municipal functions (as in various above-cited examples, such as providing water, backup electricity and even education). It seems these are certain civil and municipal responsibilities which the financially-empowered elite have taken aboard as their own in the confidence that they will perform them better. Indeed, in effect, security parks operate a micro "government" of space which is self-owned and self-serving, and which, worryingly, exhibits, a variety of formal similarities with the historical macro politics of apartheid (particularly in the ways it enables the aforementioned functions of exclusion, separation and avoidance). In this respect the security park appears, very overtly, to be a "potentially transformative space of society", *albeit a politically conservative one*. In a heterotopic manner, the security park performs the job of inverting social relations manifest in external societal contexts; reordering them, "correcting" them, "perfecting" them against an opposed political rationality, such that the interests of a particular minority (here the affluent upper class) might win out.

The security park may certainly be read as utopian in the sense that it is the realized compromise-formation of certain "utopian" ideals. This is not only the case in terms of how it promotes itself as a virtual "pleasure-resort" living space, it is also true in how spaces

external to it come to be constructed by contrast. Indeed, constructions of the security park makes one pressingly aware of the treacherous and crime-ridden urban spaces of greater Johannesburg, whilst nonetheless presenting the security parks own sanitized relations of "acriminality" and safety as a preferable, "more natural" living environment.[4] (In this connection - fulfilling one of the last of Foucault's criteria - the heterotopia finds its function in reference to alternate spatialities, making overt the problematics and vulnerabilities of "other" external and surrounding spaces). In fact, and here again in reference to its effectively realized "utopian" qualities, the heterotopia is, in many ways, the closest permissible version of a pseudo-independent and sequestered mini-society - variations of which are not unfamiliar to most South Africans - which hopes to maintain some variety of autonomous or demographic self-governance along with the enforced right to separation. In this connection it is worth mentioning that Davis (1992) has gone so far as to label gated communities "racist enclaves". One should be wary of the kinds of extrapolations one makes here however; security parks do not always exhibit as homogenous cultural and demographic make-ups as one might imagine [as Rossouw (2001) suggests], furthermore, as self-sufficient and autonomous as they seem to aim to be, this autonomy is seemingly based on issues of security, and civil amenity, rather than on explicitly political objectives and agendas. Again however, the functions of exclusion, separation and avoidance, even if realized only on a seemingly micro scale, or in respect of minor civil matters, does reinforce such comparisons.

On the basis of this (albeit largely theoretical) analysis, it would appear that the security park obtains enough of Foucault's criteria to qualify as a heterotopia, even if a particular reactionary variation, if by "heterotopia" one is assuming some kind of progressive politics of space. In fact, in many ways, the security park is an embodiment of exactly the kinds of spatially-infested power, of exactly the increasingly surveyed, segregated and simulated socio-spatial order that Foucault (1997), and more progressive heterotopic spaces take as their object of criticism. Turning now towards a conclusion, we may begin to speculate as to how this theoretical armature may further stimulate the empirical and critical analysis yet to come.

ENGENDERING A WIDER POLITICS: INSCRIBING POWER INTO SPACE.

A recurring consideration across the preliminary data gathering of this paper was the suggestion that the most frequently cited pragmatic rationales for security park development were not always borne out. Contrary to the most commonplace of such assertions - the importance of safety and security - residents [as both Rossouw (2001), and Landman (2000b) suggest] did not necessarily testify to feeling more safe. Similarly, as Landman (2000b:17) argues: "There's no evidence in existence that points to [security parks] actually reducing crime; there are only isolated instances where the crime situation has improved ... people make the mistake of thinking that criminals will always be discouraged by physical barriers like fences or booms. You have to look at the importance of community involvement ... ". Another finding of Landman's (2000a, 2000b) - leading off from this remark - is that, contrary to what one might expect, the development of enclosed communities *does not* necessarily create stronger community ties. As in the case of

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4. This is a key marketing tactic in virtually all the security park brochures collected by the researchers. As in one previously noted example: "The harmony and style of Dainfern Ridge make an instant impact ... Classically designed parks ... a far cry from what passes for parks in the city. A place to stroll freely. No litter. No tension" (Dainfern promotional brochure, 1999).

blocking-off suburban areas with booms and a guarded, fenced perimeter - as has become common-place in Northern residential Johannesburg - such programmes can lead to community conflict, especially when not all land-owners are in agreement with such plans (Landman, 2000a).

The insularity fostered by security park complexes might be said to filter down to ever more micro-levels of exclusion, separation and division. Such would certainly seem to be the case where individual homes in security parks continue to fortify themselves *even within* supposedly safe community living areas. Similarly, the internal division of homes into separate "secure zones" with multiple security gates would seem to reduplicate this insularity ever more internally. And this is to say nothing of how such an expensive and private system of service delivery cultivates a bloated sense of residential rights and entitlement in residents.[5] Such a heightened sense of individual residential prerogative can understandably be seen to lead to intra-community conflict rather than to the building of a "community spirit".

If one can convincingly advance then that security parks do not necessarily deliver on the very pragmatic reasons provided for their establishment, then what is it that they *do* actually do? Well, much like the symptom - if one is to borrow briefly from the vocabulary and theory of psychoanalysis - their *real* reason may differ quite radically from the cause typically attributed them. On the basis of the above discussion one might suggest that the driving force behind the establishment of the heterotopic security park is not as much about providing security, crime prevention and a new sense of community, but is rather *about inscribing a historical structure of privilege into space*. Although of course at some level these pragmatic rationales for security park development would hold - as would such given reasons, in a superficial sense, in the case of the psychoanalytic symptom - they detract from a more fundamental function. This inscribing of privilege and power means that the political prerogatives of exclusion, separation and avoidance have been effectively reclaimed by certain of those who had previously benefited from exactly their more formal, institutionalized and legislated existence in the apartheid era. Just because these practices of power operate beneath a (seemingly) powerfully legitimizing rationale - that of crime - and just because they have a predominantly spatial - i.e. apparently pragmatic - existence does not makes them innocent in the perpetuation of historical asymmetries of power.

Soja (1989) has consistently warned against analyses that treat space - and more than that *places* - as innocent depoliticized sites. Again, as cautioned at the beginning of this paper, we must be wary of preconceiving space as an arbitrary or unimportant dimension of power, (again as asserted by Soja (1989, 1995) and by Foucault (1993)) space, or more accurately, *place,* is an instrumental and fundamental means of transposing the logic of power into the forms of material practice. In the terms of this analysis the fact that space is so typically assumed to be an innocent, transparent or *apolitical* medium, has played a crucial role in reinstating certain historical structures of power in such an insidious or less than overt manner. (It is here where Foucault's theory of the heterotopia has most profited us, in linking place to power, in sensitizing the analysis to how the habitual practices of space may act as indices or co-ordinates of larger structures). More than just an index of

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5. In one preliminary interview a security park resident explained to the authors how his neighbour had requested that he have his dog's voice box removed, because the animal's barking had been disturbing the neighbour's afternoon naps.

the discourses of power, such practices of power realized in space - *in actual places* - may function as a "seeding ground", a practical and concrete *precedent* against which further relations of power may be expanded and elaborated.

The regulation and management of space, along with how it is discursively understood and employed, may hence serve as the basis for the engendering of a wider or a more far-ranging political rationality which functions as a set of identity-markers, as a basic "node of subjectivity" for its residents. Such a precise and well-developed regime of spatiality may hence have an interpellative function which provides a "grounds of identity" for those living within its parameters. In other words, this spatiality might work, in Althusser's (1977) terms, as an ideological mechanism which structures the lives and experiences of its residents, in a way which resonates with, and maintains certain historical arrangements of power and privilege.

The question that follows on from this is whether the functioning of security park space is then taken not simply as the answer to a problem - the necessary response to a dangerous "actuality" - or whether it functions as a precedent, as itself a legitimatory basis upon which to further extend the prerogatives of exclusion, separation and avoidance? Does this spatiality effectively function to cede a range of exclusive "rights" and prerogatives to its residents, of self-entitlement, violent self-protection, of self-government? Is this its principal function, that of ceding selective and exclusive "rights" to an elite which no longer qualifies for them simply by belonging to a racial demographic? If this is the case, does this particular spatiality correlate with particular discourses of subjectivity, does it inform, or correspond to, the personal identity of security park residents? This seems like a properly discursive question, in the sense that it would be well-tested against the given explanations and rationales of security park residents (for living where they do), and also in the sense that it provides a set of ostensibly extra-discursive correlates (actual material means of exclusion, separation and avoidance) to various identity markers in the self presentations of security park residents.

CONCLUSION: THE HETEROTOPIA AS TOOL, AND IN CRITIQUE.
This tentative and schematic perspective on the spatiality of the security park has hoped to importantly inform a more detailed empirical investigation (yet to follow) of the links between place and identity in South African security park residents. This speculation has been driven by an analytical engagement with Foucault's (1997) notion of the heterotopia, a notion which has succeeded in sensitizing the researchers to how one might think a "grounds of identity". That is, this theoretical notion is useful to us in linking together an "identity of place" to a broader sphere of political correlates such as those evidenced in day-to-day material practices, social-relations, and, potentially, personal subjectivities also. In short, if we are going to engage with place as in some ways informative of identity, then Foucault's (1997) seven-point "heterotopology" (the points by which one might identify a heterotopia) provide a useful means of calling the researcher's attention to the very *political* nature of space, to how it may form a grid of sorts, a set of material co-ordinates, for a greater political rationality.

The notion of the heterotopia is not, by any means, unflawed. Admittedly, it is not a concept that Foucault invested a great amount of time and work in, and in fact it has probably been elevated to a level of attention beyond that which it deserves precisely because of Foucault's "celebrity" intellectual status. For example, the concept has an

overly speculative or hypothetical feel; a sense of being overly-theorized, yet under-substantiated. Ruddick (1996:56) for example notes that the "notion ... is almost buried in Foucault's elaboration of the concept". Too "loosely fitting" to the referents to which it is frequently applied (almost any generally enclosed or functionally-defined public space may seemingly obtain the criteria to qualify as heterotopic), the concept seems potentially all-encompassing, lacking in the more concrete and material reference points which so characterize Foucault's genealogical work. More worryingly yet - and this would account for the notion's over-theorized yet unsubstantiated quality - in reading Foucault's writing on the heterotopia, one often gets the idea that he developed the notion more around the objective of *theorizing resistance*, than around that of understanding the politics of particularly circumscribed places. If this suspicion is correct, then Foucault may be in danger of assuming the legitimacy of a theoretical category precisely in order to theorize something else. This is a shortcoming which would pose a serious ontological problem - assuming the existence of one thing so as to "prove" the existence of something else - a problem which would, as a result, make the heterotopia a dangerous concept to use analytically.

Furthermore, Grey (in Genocchio, 1995) articulates a fundamental coherency problem in the concept. For the heterotopia to function as a *counter-site* it would seem to need some form of coherence, some substantive or unifying feature. Without this, the heterotopia would seemingly refer only to isolated acts of resistance linked merely by virtue of a shared geographical location. On the other hand, Foucault would characterize these differential sites precisely on the basis of their *internal disorder*, on the basis of their *ostensibly discontinuous character* (Genocchio, 1995). How then is it that we can locate, distinguish and differentiate the essence of this difference, this strangeness? Further yet, how is it that heterotopias may be "outside" of the general social space/order that distinguishes their meaning as difference? This problem of how one "gets outside" dangerously threatens the subversive prospects of the heterotopia. If one cannot be assured that the heterotopia manages, in some meaningful capacity, to challenge or escape dominant forms of political rationality, then its practices would seem not to be subversive, or potentially transformative at all, but merely reproductions, in some varied form, of given social values. As such, to misread what *is*, and what *is not* heterotopic, is to confuse the potential for resistance with the perpetuation of the status quo; to confuse unsettling a given pattern of politics with merely re-entrenching it.

As trenchant as these critiques are, and as crippling as they would prove to any concerted attempt to apply them analytically, they need not formidably undercut this study. Why is this so? Well the research to follow this paper will be able to treat the heterotopia as a disposable notion; as something that need not be retained in its final analysis at all. The use of the heterotopia here - and this makes for an important pragmatic in the application of theory more generally - has been speculative and conditional, yet instrumental at the same time; its use has been that of a tool with which one *generates critical hypotheses* As such, the heterotopia is a way of proposing - or stimulating - conjectural links between identity, power and place that may, or may not, be borne out in the following research.

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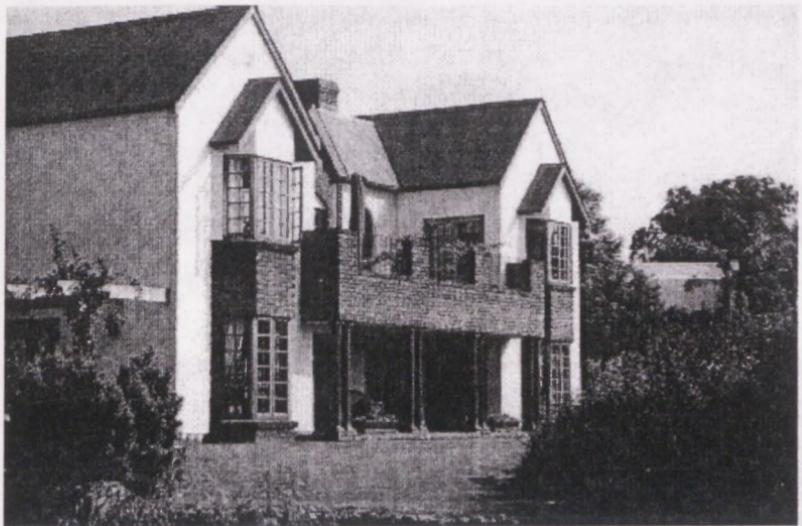
Fig. 1: The South African security park is dominated by international architectural styles.
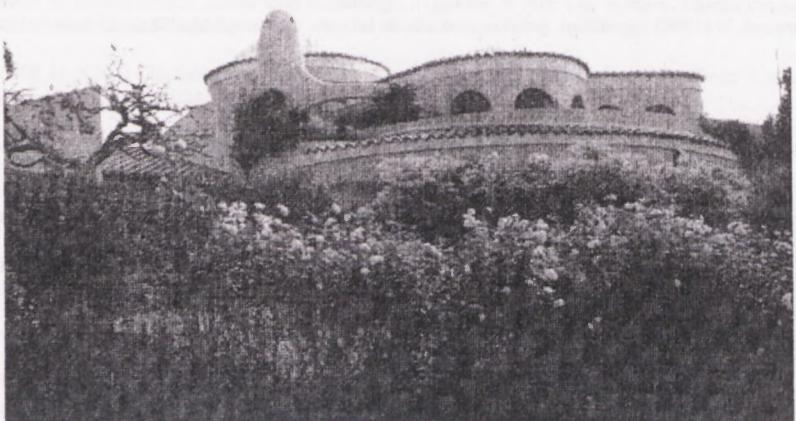
Fig. 2: The South African security park is dominated by international architectural styles.

Fig. 3: Indigenous bush is retained along the Jukskei river, creating the 'rustic' feel to which much Dainfern promotional material refers.
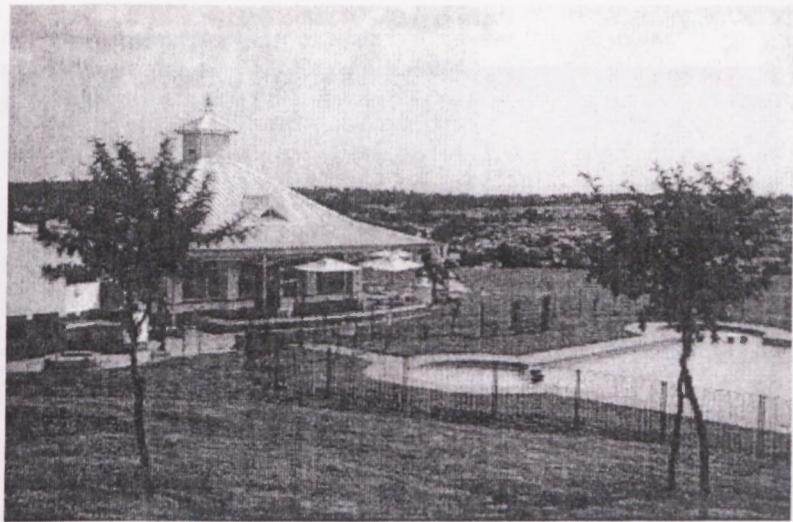
Fig. 4: The club-house and community-pool add to the 'holiday getaway' presentation of the security park.
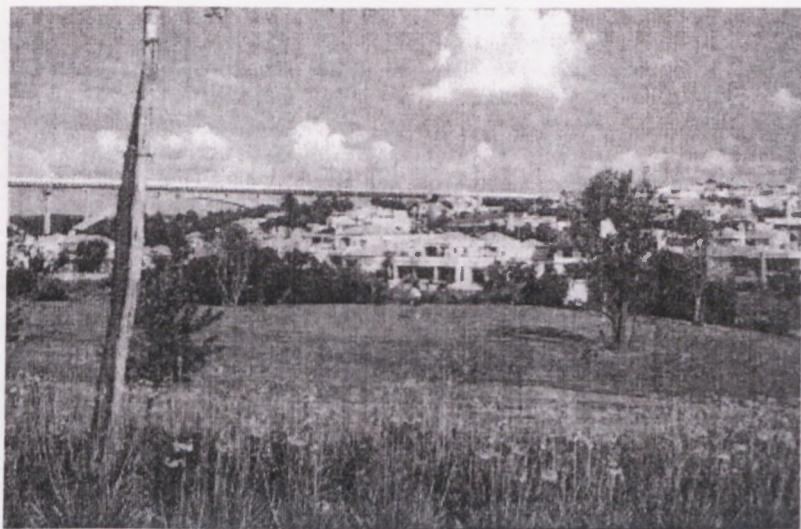
Fig. 5: Recreational golf forms part of the lifestyle on offer.

Fig. 6: A playground is one of the features provided for the Dainfern community.
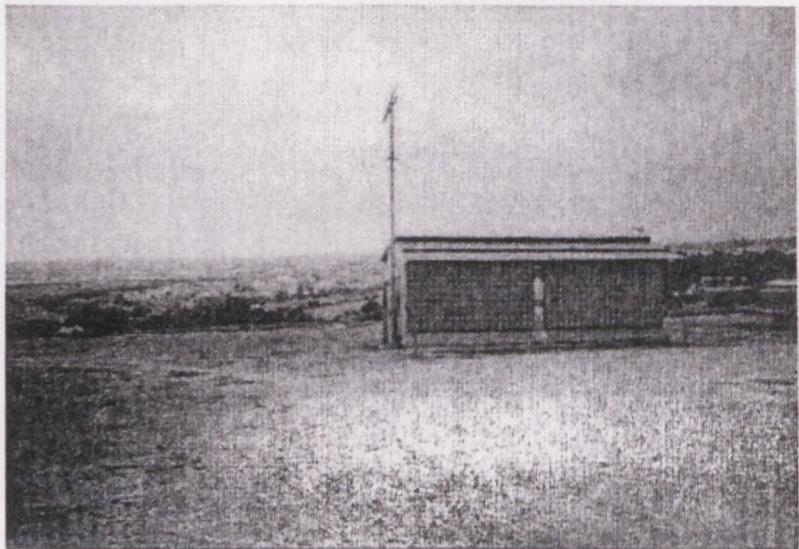
Fig. 7: Dainfern's own post office boxes situated just outside the main entrance.