

ation, they're liable to be left alone
time. Such "land invasions" appear
e of the greatest uncertainty over
nd 1991. There was a real fear for
djoining the city center at that time,
d.

g peripheral or interstitial, a third
ct on the overall landscape of South
e, "incumbent upgrading," is associ-
roduced into township housing for-
state. In 1983 "The Great Sale," a
off, was instituted, and by 1989 just
can government housing was in indi-
ents, who as renters in the past were
lditions or adornments officially torn
se same homes. As a result, the previ-
uth African townships has been partly
elf" diversity.

ree prior developments, a change that
while apartheid was on the law books.
e "grey areas" (because neither Black
Cape Town can now be seen so evi-
-water-mark of urban apartheid—that
may have thought it more or less had
s sewn up the way it wanted, with the
n District Six being expelled in 1982—
esburg a "White" area named Hillbrow
as a racially ambiguous zone. Eagerly
ped-for nonracial future, Hillbrow was
cursor of like zones in Durban, Cape
rmaritzburg, among others. In compar-
gimentation, the operation of the "free
n progressive, in its ability to conjure
sing supply and demand. "Greying" oc-
ges of downtowns, and particularly where
e for the suburbs, opening vacant slots
r-income Blacks (be they Indians, Col-
ight move. In 1988 a South African gov-
nethless



Upper Ashley Street,
now gentrified as
Blinde Street, among
the hummocky, rubble
strewn empty spaces of
the former District Six.
This was one of a hand-
ful of streets not razed
to the ground.

As the reader will find in Chapter 6, such was the District's sym-
bolism that after the enforced removal of the bulk of its population in
the early 1970s it proved exceedingly difficult to induce any non-
government investment there whatsoever. Indeed, the parallel with a
never-to-rise-again Carthage which I made by introducing the image
of tainted, *salted* earth (p. 153) seems to have become common coin
in any discussions of the square kilometer or more which is District
Six. The present resultant underutilization of extensive tracts of this
inner-city territory makes it, surely, an opportunity for a democratic
South Africa to show that times really have changed—as shall be seen
in the Epilogue