

SOCIAL HOUSING AS HERITAGE

Case Study: Langa Hostels

Whose Values and What Significance?



Fig.1 The 1925 Single Quarters (Main) Barracks, Langa. SAHRA “Grade I” status (R.Smith, 2013)

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Fig.2 Aerial Photograph: Langa within broader Cape Town context, (Google earth, 2013).

“Heritage is redefined not simply as a thing or place, or even intangible event, but rather as a cultural process involved in the performance and negotiation of cultural values, narratives, memories and meanings. Heritage is one of the cultural tools used in the process of individual and collective remembering and commemoration, while it is also a performance involved in ‘working out’ and asserting identity and sense of place and the various cultural, social and political values that underpin these. This emerging viewpoint challenges not just the assumptions but the practices of heritage, which we argue open up the entire heritage sector to more meaningful relations with subaltern groups, and demand that the unquestioned assumptions about class and national narratives are vigorously interrogated” (Smith, Shackle, and Campbell, 2011:4).

ABSTRACT

This study examines the first identification and assignment of heritage values and significance undertaken by the “establishment”, the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) and the City of Cape Town (CCT) in the Township of Langa in the Cape Province a decade ago.

In brief, this is the story of Langa migrant labour hostels reviewed for its meaning as heritage to the diverse communities within Langa, compared with an earlier 2001/2 official evaluation by the state-led heritage management institutions.

It is within a broader socio-political, cultural and heritage discourse context that this research project explores what the residents of Langa find significant. This is done with particular reference to the migrant labour hostel schemes since the intention was to establish to what extent conservation and heritage management is an appropriate response in an environment of material, economic and social difficulties; and, if so, to what degree the inhabitants of the hostels’ sense of value correspond to that articulated in the “official statement of significance” of 2004.

This study questions the validity of nominating migrant labour hostels as “Grade I” national heritage resources. It is also argued that the potential consequences of the official conservation approach to Langa buildings, which could keep residents trapped in a narrative of the past, be a financial burden while restricting development of new housing, has not been thought through. A certain bias was observed which may have led to assumptions regarding “community” values due to a lack of proper enquiry. Through interviews, personal observations and after having consulted literature on the subject of values and significances, it is concluded that the hostels should not be regarded as “Grade I” buildings as it appears that certain heritage values may have been imposed during the official survey. Finally, there is not much point in grading sites as “Grade I” resources if they are not going to be promulgated and managed as such.

KEYWORDS Community Heritage, Imposed Heritage, Invented Heritage, Migrant Labour Hostels.

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AUTHOR'S STATEMENT

This research project, which was undertaken between July 2013 and December 2013, is submitted as a dissertation in partial fulfillment of the Master of Philosophy in Conservation of the Built Environment Degree.

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Acronyms

AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
Burra	Burra Charter on Significance (Australian ICOMOS Convention, 1999)
CCT	City of Cape Town
DACST	Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
HIA	Heritage Impact Assessment
HWC	Heritage Western Cape
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
LUPO	Land Use Planning Ordinance No 15 of 1985
NUA	Native (Urban Areas) Act No 21 of 1923
Nara	Nara Document on Authenticity (Japanese ICOMOS Convention, 1994)
NBR&BS	National Building Regulations & Building Standards Act No 103 of 1977
NEMA	National Environmental Management Act No 107 of 1998
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act No 25 of 1999
NLA	Native Location Act of 1902
PHRA	Provincial Heritage Resources Agency
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

Aim of the Research Project and Issues Explored

This case study concerns itself with Langa Township, 11 kilometers east of Cape Town along the N2 (see Fig.2), which was created under the Native (Urban) Areas Act. It is the oldest township in South Africa which was planned for “native” administrative control and was replicated throughout South Africa during the apartheid years. Although the railway siding was completed in 1924 with the first phase structures being built in 1925, Langa was officially inaugurated on 10 September 1927.

The social housing schemes referred to in this study are the various types of hostels which were constructed under the Housing Act of 1920. The hostels of particular concern in this study are four of the early hostel types built during the establishment years of Langa which are regarded as “Grade I” structures: The Main Barracks, Spinster Quarters, Special Quarters and the North Barracks.

The official assignment of high cultural value to these four hostel types by SAHRA in 2004 will be reviewed and interrogated for its meaning. This will be compared with the findings in this research project undertaken a decade after the official state-led identification and assignment of heritage values and significance process in the township of Langa.

On the 23rd of August 2013, an article “A new lease of life for apartheid hostels” appeared in a Cape Town newspaper reporting on the municipality’s R5.6 billion social housing project. The article indicated that construction would commence on the first 400 rental flats on vacant land in Langa to house 1000 families. At the time these families were living in hostels designed to accommodate one “bed card” carrying male per room dating back to the migrant worker single quarter apartheid-era hostels.¹ “Since this legislation had been repealed, many of these ‘bed card

1 “Bed card holders” To be allocated a room with a bed in a Langa hostel, the worker had to register for a card. Proof of work was one of the prerequisites.

holders' were joined by their families, leading to severe overcrowding and the deterioration of conditions at these dwellings. Once the tenants from the 'New Flats' and 'Special Quarters' hostels are accommodated these buildings will be demolished to make way for further development". A further 837 flats would be completed by 2018 and, according to the article, each living unit would enjoy an outside play area, washing lines, kitchenette, toilet with solar hot water shower and two bedrooms. The article ended stating that "According to the heritage impact assessment for the project, the historical significance of the hostel sites should be preserved and recorded..." (Lewis, 2013, Cape Argus). In the executive summary of the impact assessment referred to, significance was described as follows:

The Heritage significance of Langa as a settlement is of high cultural significance. It was the first formal township that was created under the 'Native' Urban Areas Act of 1923 and was the inheritor of the first formal township [Ndabeni] established under the Locations Act of 1901 of the Cape Colonial government. The character and cultural significances of Langa have been determined by and derived from a particular set of historical political, economic, and social contexts. Its topology, structure, their forms, style and siting's and biological content of the landscape features are outcomes of those contexts.

Langa has a role as an historical document that embodies the values of the relative governments and the inhabitants. Other examples of similar historic townships in Gauteng (Sophiatown) and Durban (Bourneville) have been demolished (O'Donoghue, 2013:iii).

This determination of "high cultural significance", derived from criteria established during a process managed by the officials (City of Cape Town and SAHRA)² in

2 SAHRA is the South African Heritage Resources Agency which was established under the National Heritage Resources Act to manage the national estate in terms of heritage resources.

2004 to identify and nominate the hostels as “Grade I” heritage resources will be interrogated.³

It is against a background of conservation management in South Africa, with its many contestations and conflictual opinions in terms of what should be regarded as conservation worthy heritage resources, that this study has been conducted. Many reasons for different opinions exist, amongst other our multi-cultural environment and the problematic history of colonialism and apartheid which resulted in what Herwitz describes as a country which has “morphed in some complicated and less complete way from a settler society (dominated by a settler state and values) to a society set on reclaiming a pre-colonial past repressed by that very settler formation” (Herwitz, 2012:24). Herwitz explains that South Africa “occupies a hybrid place in the post-colony in virtue of its diversity of kinds of population and its specific kinds of national heritage construction (post-settler/ pre-colonial)” (Herwitz,2012:25). In Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge’s *Pluralising Pasts* (2007) various models employed to deal with multicultural societies are discussed which will be briefly explored in a later section.

White settler values dominated the cultural heritage discourse in South Africa until 1994 when South Africa became a democracy. Conservation management focused on the colonial past of Dutch and, to a degree, English heritage (see Frescura, 1991:12-29). And it still does to a large extent. Although the need for a new set of criteria based on values which reflects a more inclusive society has been identified, its articulation is incomplete as Herwitz has pointed out.

In a country still in transition with regards cultural agency and working out of power relations among communities, contestations around values, meaning and

3 From 2001 SAHRA and CCT engaged in the identification of heritage resources in Langa Township through two separate studies which came to similar conclusions and were used in the SAHRA Western Cape nomination to SAHRA National Council for “Grade I” status of sites in Langa including a heritage area. This nomination and grading was accepted and approved by SAHRA Council in 2004. The process of formal declaration has not been followed.

significance reflect such struggles (see Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). For instance, it has been noted that in 1994, ninety eight percent of monuments in South Africa represented colonial history (see Frescura, 1991).

Clearly the form of heritage needed to be transformed from the past “pillar model” of completely separate identities - such as apartheid was - to a new form which attempts to create cohesion amongst cultures, while respecting individual rights and identity including minority rights as enshrined in the constitution. What form this new national narrative was to take on has been debated ever since. The democratically elected government has adopted what has been coined the “salad bowl/ or mosaic model” which attempts to create a sense of societal cohesion as a means to manage pluralism (see Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, 2007). But of course, staying true to South African idealism, we re-defined it as the “rainbow nation model”. Drawing with it the attention of the world to see if it will work.

The democratic government, which came to power in 1994, attempted to address the cultural imbalance in South Africa which was caused by the apartheid system of separate development through the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technologies’ White Paper of 1996. As a result of this, the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 was promulgated bringing about the establishment of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) to co-ordinate national, regional and local bodies in the task of identifying and managing heritage resource in the country. Unfortunately, as Townsend comments in a response to draft two of the 2013 revised White paper, “the single most important task established in the Act, the identification of heritage (and the articulation of its significance), is simply being ignored throughout the country”, with the exception of the Western Cape province which has a functioning provincial heritage resources agency, Heritage Western Cape (Townsend, 2013, Cape Argus).

Discourse development around cultural values and value systems which informs the criteria used to identify significance of heritage resources in South Africa is progressing slowly as a result of the contestations and inefficiencies due to poor management of policy and insufficient funding of the heritage sector. These are, however, not the only difficulties faced with, unrealistic policy revisions

and top-down decision-making processes without proper consultation are further constraints and problematics in identifying and determining significance of heritage resources.

In this regard, Shepherd asks a pertinent question about which heritage language is involved and what is meant by it? (Shepherd, 2008:117), while the Getty Conservation Institute “has asserted the idea that the notion of heritage is universal, but is articulated in culturally specific ways”⁴ (Avrami, Mason and de la Torre, 2000).

The debate is complicated by trying to ascertain what is meant by heritage in a “hybrid” society with so many past and present strategies of “invented traditions” implemented to assimilate and control which influences perceptions about heritage. Also, in the case of Langa, the superficial social construct of an engineered “community” forced to live in military style conditions impacted in a major way on peoples’ self- perception, their dignity and diverse cultural values as they were not all from the same rural backgrounds. Further to this, the residents were treated as temporary citizens removed from any sense of family life and stability.

Ranger for instance draws our attention to the use of “models of subservience” drawn from European culture such as military discipline and the monarchy as forms of authority (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983:211-262). In this regard, Ramphele has provided an account of how such a form of control and authority was imposed on the Langa hostel residents through “headmen”⁵ placed in charge of an area as well as through the barrack style design to observe and control the movement of people (Ramphele, 1993:60-61).

Although South Africa subscribe to the international ICOMOS⁶ charters, the

4 The Getty Conservation Institute is a research-based organization that works to advance the practice of conservation. It is based in Los Angeles, USA.

5 Headmen - Also known as *isibonda* (singular) in Xhosa. Placed in charge of a hostel. Such a system was also used by the Nationalist Government to control rural villages (see Hammond-Took, 1975:80, Gordon, 1989:41).

6 ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) is a UNESCO non-governmental professional organization formed in 1965, with headquarters in Paris. ICOMOS is primarily concerned with the philosophy, terminology, methodology and techniques of cultural heritage conservation (ICOMOS website, 2013).

Practical implementation of heritage management falls short of being ideal in various ways. Among the issues which needs to be addressed is the relationship between provincial and national heritage authorities worldwide and the different opinions on what “community” heritage is which often leads to what has been coined a “top-down” approach in projects (Watson and Waterton, 2010:1-3).

Further concerns are “box ticking expedencies associated with ideas about social inclusiveness” and “political imperatives that celebrated the value of communities without ever examining its definition or content”. This aspect is of particular concern in the context of Langa and will be explored further in a later chapter as it appears to be a classic case where heritage content may have been assigned without proper examination.

In fact, as Smith and Waterton point out, “for decision-makers in government, and those who frame and deliver policy, the yoking together of ‘community’ and ‘heritage’ has been far less effective than they might have hoped”. They elaborate further suggesting that this is due to “ill-defined assumptions” of policy-makers about what community, heritage and social inclusion is. If it means one community visiting the heritage of another and not also the other way around, it is “nothing other than cultural assimilation, and makes many unwarranted assumptions about who should visit what and why” (Smith and Waterton, 2009:11-12).

In the South African context, according to Ashworth “much of the ‘old’ heritage sites are now in private or corporate hands”, such as the Voortrekker Monument, Victoria and Alfred Waterfront, Kimberley Mining Museum and Club, Taal Monument and many more, which removes it from state control (Ashworth, 2007:202). Although I believe that this may be an overstatement, it raises the issue of “parallel” narratives and how such contradicting representations of national identity will be resolved in the future to be “accommodated” into a new narrative and be promoted to all communities to visit.

This notion is expanded by Smith and Waterton: “the idea of ‘community’ most frequently embraced as something ‘good,’ ‘safe,’ and ‘comfortable’, it is with an acute sense of paradox that we note its emergence out of a distinctly uncomfortable and challenging context”. Smith and Waterton explain that perhaps “the most powerful impetus behind our talk of community” is due to the agitation by indigenous people in colonial settler environments needing their opinions and views of their past to be heard (Smith and Waterton, 2009:14). Wherever the origin of community focus on heritage may be, the value of seeking broader opinion from various types of communities, including geographically defined, virtual communities or experts from multi-disciplinary fields in determining significances has become the norm in charters and also in practice, albeit still in an experimental stage.

In a paper “identifying heritage values in local communities,” Mydland and Grahn point out that “more and more it seems that the research focus within the field of heritage has become regional and local, rather than national” (Mydland and Grahn, 2011:564). Greer supports this view saying that “community-based” research should be defined as “empowering communities” through assisting in the construction of local identity by way of what she calls “interactive orientation to communicate” (Greer, 2002:265). Unfortunately, as will become apparent, it appears that both these notions were lacking in the Langa identification process by SAHRA and CCT in favour of a national narrative consistent with what Seaton regards as “negative heritage” or “dark tourism” (Seaton, 1999:131).

Although the history of “community” research can be mapped through stages with the 1960’s and early 1970’s having seen the arrival of a conservation ethic, an interest in marginalised and ordinary “subaltern” groups in the 1990’s and community cohesion and social inclusion policies since 2000, the subject has not been explored exhaustively. This has led to a continued “uncritical notion of community” which is “embedded and disseminated within heritage policy” (Smith and Waterton, 2009:23). Indeed, the very notion of what a “community” is must be challenged since a community could be a virtual community of experts, authorities or heritage practitioners who all make up alliances with group interests in mind. It

is no wonder that some have come to the conclusion that “the politics of community engagement and the power relations that were manifest in the particular configurations of policy and practice that have developed over time” requires revisiting (Waterton and Smith, 2010:4). In the case of Langa, officialdom (SAHRA and CCT) appears to have decided on how, when and why the heritage of Langa should be determined. The “community” participation seems to have been part of the legitimization process of achieving a predetermined goal of wanting to establish a heritage tourism trail and other tourism activities. The lack of participation by the communities in Langa, as pointed out by Kqwevela: “not enough people participated”: (Kqwevela, interview, 2013), certainly suggests that it may have been the case.

Clarke observes that the idea of communities being homogeneous with an “enduring image of tradition” and notions of “golden age” nostalgia with no conflictual opinions was typical of the 1950’s and 1960’s notion of what community heritage is (Clarke, 2007:98). This notion about what a “community” is, appears to have influenced the process of identification of heritage significance in the Langa case. Research by anthropologists Wilson and Mafeje on this issue will be referred to in Chapter Three.

In relation to this, we may well question how much of those constructions was “invented heritage” to make the story flow and read fluently as a uniform identity rather than being based on empirical evidence. In this regard Hobsbawm and Ranger identified three types of “invented tradition”: “those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities; those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority; and those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behavior” (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983:9).

Crook suggests that a “community” is a “multi-layered and politically charged concept that, with a change in context, alters in meaning and consequence. According to the situation, different priorities will come to the fore and the purpose of community-heritage engagement will differ”. Crook also refers to the “diversity of

that engagement, which varies according to social, cultural and political demands” (Crook, 2010:16). In this regard, the social and political pressure on the authorities to deliver jobs and services in Langa is huge. This reality may well have influenced the authorities in how they went about the identification of heritage resources in Langa township which may have resulted in a form of “top-down” determination process in favour of an approach to maximise tourism for instance.

According to Tunbridge and Ashworth, new notions of critical engagement with “communities” have emerged which focus on the lived experience of working-class people rather than on grand narratives, objects or ideology only (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). Tunbridge and Ashworth further explain that “the articulation of ideas of ‘heritage’, as well as those of ‘community’, lies in social processes that surround places and artifacts, and not in the artifacts themselves” (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, xvii). In my opinion, this notion as expressed by Tunbridge is particularly relevant in the context of Langa, since the built environment in Langa was not created by the residents themselves and therefore cannot represent their heritage in any way other than in an imposed negative sense.

In the case of the Langa heritage project, did anyone ever ask the various communities which make up the larger “community” of Langa what they value and how they want to go about expressing their heritage? Interviews on oral histories were undertaken as part of the official process a decade ago, but to what extent did this explore their ideas of “heritage” and whether they also participated in deciding to what “use” their heritage should be put is questionable. Also, were the practical implications and potential consequences of the heritage Act explained and thought through with regards the future maintenance of the “Grade I” buildings with particular regard to how the residents may be effected. How will a resident with little means be able to deal with the strict regulations which accompanies a “Grade I” site in terms of management for instance? What will happen when a resident wants to add on a room, change windows or paint their walls?

The temporary heritage body, referred to as the “Langa Heritage Reference Group” made up of “community” members of Langa, was called together by CCT during the identification of heritage resources process. This raises the question: to

what extent did this body represent the opinion of the various communities in Langa?

These issues will be specifically and critically explored in Chapter Three under the heading: Review of criteria used and the values involved.

In the context of migrant labour history (such as the Langa case) and values, Harries points to an “emphasis on rural areas, not just for the causes and consequences of migrancy”, since socio-economic causality was moved away from in the 1980’s, “but by examining the webs of signification spun in the homestead and the chiefdoms, I stress the importance of the cultural norms through which migrants gave meaning to their lives” (Harries, 1994: xvii). He continues referring to the “meaning and values of specific material objects which are dependent on the symbols and signifying practices with which they are invested” (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996: xvii, et al).

It is within this broader international, national and local socio-political context and heritage discourse that this research project explores what the residents of Langa, heritage practitioners, authorities and academics find significant in a context such as Langa. This is done with particular reference to the hostel schemes since the intention of the research project is to establish to what extent conservation and heritage management is an appropriate response in an environment of material, economic and social difficulties and, if it is, to what extent the communities’ sense of value corresponds to those articulated in the official “statement of significance” articulated by SAHRA in 2004.

Of special interest is: how such a statement of cultural significance was determined? What process was followed and what criteria were used in its determination process? Whose values and what significances are being observed through its conservation? Should social housing be regarded as heritage? And most importantly, in this particular case, do the residents of Langa regard the hostels as heritage? And, if so, what specifically do they regard significant about

the structures? And, finally, how would this effect the physical management of these buildings?

These questions are to be explored against the background history of Langa which includes the identification and nomination of various sites which includes, amongst others, four of the hostels built in as so-called “Grade I” resources.⁷

Case Study Selection

A pen picture of my background seems pertinent. Given the context, I must add that I am a white South African. I was born in 1963, in the Orange Free State mining town of Welkom. My father worked as a miner for ten years after which he joined a furniture company which relocated our family every one and a half years.

This resulted in our family having occupied twenty three different dwellings during those years. It is likely that this lived experience gave rise to my interest in the concept of “home”, what it means and how it affects one’s sense of being in the world. After school I was conscripted for two year compulsory national service in the military. This exposed me to military style discipline and to living conditions in barracks. Today, I am an architectural practitioner working in the field of residential architecture with a special interest in conservation of the built environment and heritage.

Having regularly driven past the Langa Township along the N2 for the past ten years, the framing of shacks and hostels through my car window, prompted the question of what it would take to provide dignified housing. When I became aware that CCT and SAHRA had identified and nominated parts of Langa, including

7 A national system of grading significance was promulgated under the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 which distinguishes between three categories of significance: “Grade I” heritage resources have qualities so exceptional that they are of special national significance; “Grade II” are those resources of provincial or regional importance; and “Grade III” of local significance.

some hostels as “Grade I” heritage resources in 2004, I questioned the extent to which this declaration reflected the diverse communities of Langa’s values and those of professional conservation practice and, further to this, how this would impact on the communities of Langa.

A further concern was whether the communities agreed with such a nomination, understood its meaning and whether they had been sufficiently consulted during the determination and evaluation of significance process. Given that this is in large part working class communities with limited means and limited education, the difficulties involved in gathering “community” opinion and formulating heritage importance acceptable to the majority would have been considerable.

Since a formal process of heritage identification and determination of significance had been undertaken in Langa by the authorities (CCT and SAHRA) after 2000, I knew that information would be available which would assist in exploring my concerns. I thought that such a study could be useful in not only evaluating the success of that process but also to explore the extent to which the principles and readings expressed then would conform with those expressed today, should a new study be undertaken a decade later.

Apart from being intrigued by the possible motivations behind the assessment of high significance of the hostels, I was also interested in understanding what values were at stake and what the descendants of migrant laborers would regard their heritage to be. A further interest lay in what they would regard important in an urbanised environment where the material and symbolic is often in conflict with traditional values of rural Transkei and Ciskei from where the hostel residents, or at least their parent’s generation, originated.⁸

8 Transkei and Ciskei were “Bantustans” (self-governing independent states in the apartheid era created on ethnic grounds for Xhosa speaking people and part of South Africa’s Eastern Cape Province.

Research Methodology

This is a case study.

At the inception a literature survey was embarked on to position the work within the broader body of knowledge while exploring attitudes and arguments within the heritage sector.

Archival documentation on Langa heritage, its establishment history, minutes and decisions of meetings, photographs, official records, heritage practitioners' reports on the identification and evaluation of resources of the City of Cape Town and SAHRA as well as a pilot oral history study undertaken by Sean Field in 2001/2 were reviewed.⁹ Because the official reports and the SAHRA Submission of 2004 relied on the Field oral histories as basis for the determination of heritage values, he was interviewed in April 2014 for this study.

On the other hand, I gathered evidence by means of a series of interviews with individuals, mainly residents of Langa hostels and others having an interest in the study area. After completing the interviews, an analysis of the information gathered took place, correlating and triangulating it with information from other sources and references. The buildings and environment in question were also assessed.

In brief, this is the story of Langa's migrant labour heritage as reflected through the hostels, reconstructed and interrogated for its meaning to the communities of Langa. This was compared with an official evaluation undertaken by the authorities which had resulted in a "Grade I" status being given to four hostel types, various other sites and a large heritage area which comprises most of Langa (see Fig's.10 11 & 12).

The case study method was chosen for this project since it allows the exploration

9 Sean Field is responsible for the first pilot oral history study undertaken in Langa during 2001/2; past Director of the Centre for Popular Memory (2001 to 2012); is Senior Lecturer at the Faculty of Humanities: Department of Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town. The complete recordings and transcripts are available at the Special Collections library. These oral history recordings contain in-depth lived experiences of twenty Langa residents.

of a specific environment with a limited geographical area and communities such as those within Langa and its hostels; and, as Yin points out in his *Case Study Methods*, case studies enable the researcher to “explore and investigate real-life phenomena by means of contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions, and their relationship” (Yin, 1984:23).

The core of this study is the interviews as this is the source from which new information and insights regarding notions of value and significance informing heritage meaning as understood by the communities in Langa were to be uncovered. It was also the only realistic means through which the communities’ values and attitudes towards heritage could be determined.

The approach to the interviews was therefore of critical importance as it: “attempts to understand the world from the subjects’ point of view, to unfold the meaning of people’s experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations” (Kvale, 1996:45).

Knight and Ruddock elucidate the aims of qualitative research (and interviews) saying that it “seeks to describe and understand the meanings of central themes in the life world of the subjects,” and that it is especially useful to ascertain the story “behind a participant’s experiences” (Knight, 2008:113).

The approach followed during the information-gathering stage of this study, resembles aspects of the “grounded theory” of Glaser and Strauss with respect to initial hypotheses which may change as new knowledge drives the process of discovery. Also, through comparing incidents, theoretical properties are generated as saturation of knowledge is achieved which requires no further information since a tendency has been established (Glaser, 1967:114).

The sample of fifteen interviewees in this study cannot be seen to represent the diverse communities in Langa, so the study should be regarded as a pilot study, indicating tendencies. Nevertheless, because of the potential repetition of incidents, a qualitative case study within a defined geographic area on a specific topic such as this can be particularly helpful in understanding phenomena.

For this study, which should be regarded as a pilot survey to determine a tendency or tendencies, the interviews were designed with both closed and open-ended questions which were posed to all the participants. In other words, definite answers such as “yes” or “no” were required to most questions while explanations were also solicited. This facilitated the gathering of useful research specific information and, more specifically, the values articulated by the interviewees regarding the hostels which could be compared, allowing an analysis of opinions and views expressed.

Two interview groups were identified: First, six individuals who represented, or still represent, Langa heritage bodies or cultural organizations in various capacities (some of whom had also been involved in the official process undertaken a decade ago) and, second, nine residents of the Langa hostels. A significant difference of opinion between these two groups were observed with those involved in bodies mostly in favor of some form of restoration/ preservation as opposed to the majority of the resident interviewees who do not seem to share this opinion to the same extend.

The participants are referred to by their surnames in the text. More background information on the participants’ background is offered in the relevant section. The actual interview field note transcripts may be found under Annexures p119-134. Research questions posed during the formal interview sessions can be divided into two categories:

First: eight background establishing questions which were:

1. Name
2. Place of birth
3. Where do you live now and for how long?
4. Where did you live before and for how long?
5. Are you married and do you have children?
6. Where do you work?
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or have you lived in?
8. Do you know other people in the hostels?

Second: ten questions around values and significances. These questions were:

9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? If yes, what makes them special? If no, why are they not special?
10. What do these buildings mean to you?
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience of them?
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings?
13. Are these buildings nice to look at?
14. Do you enjoy living in them?
15. What do the people call these buildings?
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? If yes, what should be built in its place? If no, what should they do with these buildings?
17. Which hostel/ barracks building do you like, if any, and why?
18. Which is your favorite place or street or building or object in Langa which you think is special and must be protected and why?

Most interviews were conducted in Langa at the participant's hostel, barracks or home. Three interviews were conducted telephonically with participants from the first group (belonging to authoritative bodies) as a result of logistical problems. Fifteen formal interviews were recorded after four less formal exploratory sessions were undertaken. These initial less formal interviews were experimental of nature and the aim was to test the research questions' efficacy, general response and particularly to ascertain an appropriate format. Either single one-on-one interviews or small group sessions were intended. The latter was discarded since it was clear that the stronger personalities dominated the stage in such a format which may have resulted in a thinning of content obscuring multiple meanings.

It is also important to note that large group sessions were not considered as the official heritage survey conducted during the determination of significances in Langa between 2000 and 2003 had used meetings in the hall and library to communicate with the community and this had, in my opinion, proved clearly not to be successful. A temporary community heritage body was established, as

mentioned before, by the authorities during the CCT process which was taken to represent the community opinion. This approach was to be avoided completely in this study in order to explore other ways.

This study therefore also explores an alternative approach of engagement with the community in determining values and significances by engaging in a more personal and direct manner. My hope was that people would feel less intimidated and able to express their opinions without having to be concerned about potential negative comments from others, which is often the case in a group situation.

Ramphele, in her research on the living and health conditions in the Langa hostels for her *A Bed Called Home*, made use of a participatory methodology acknowledging the lack of successful models for such research (Ramphele, 1993:136).

It was important from the outset in this research project that formal heritage language was to be avoided during interviews in order to ensure that the residents of Langa would not feel alienated and would understand the questions posed without ambiguity. For this reason, as well as reasons of respect to the diverse communities in Langa, the service of a resident “interpreter,” who was born and still resides in Langa, was secured. Velile Soha, an artist friend of some twenty five years agreed to facilitate introductions and stand by in case the need for explanations arose and to ensure that no misunderstanding due to language barriers would occur. Soha’s services proved to be invaluable from the start. Not only because of his detailed knowledge of Langa but also because he is a respected community member familiar to some of the interviewees and other residents. This allowed me to wander about and engage freely without the need to explain my presence beyond the actual interview sessions. This saved a considerable amount of time and established immediate trust with the participants.

This approach also facilitated informal discussion with residents of Langa which presented the opportunity to enquire about general conditions and gather opinions on a neutral and friendly basis which would otherwise not have been possible. Such informal discussions assisted me in orientating myself while establishing a sense of the varied communities and context prior to the formal interviews.

The research topic may be regarded as controversial and sensitive for two reasons: first, it deals with the values of working class communities who are potentially vulnerable and, second, because it interrogates the officially posited evaluation of heritage significance(s) of Langa with specific reference to the hostels by the official national heritage body, SAHRA and the CCT.

The actual formal interviews were set up without prior warning. This was done intentionally so that the participants would not have the time to consult others which could confuse or manipulate the individual's opinions. Soha and I would typically engage with a potential participant outside the hostels on a friendly basis while enquiring whether they reside here. After this introductory talk, Soha would explain why we were there after which an interview was requested. This proved to be an effective strategy and the residents were by-and-large helpful, friendly and accommodating.

This, however, made me realise that the communities of Langa are vulnerable to manipulation as Knight and Ruddock point out:

Finally, beyond the acquisition of interview skills, interviewing is a philosophy of learning. The interviewer becomes a student and then tries to get people to describe their experiences in their own terms. The results are imposed obligations on both sides. The qualitative researcher's philosophy determines what is important, what is ethical, and the completeness and accuracy of the results (Knight, 2008:114-115).

Study outline

I have described the aim and context of the study in this Chapter One and I have explained why this case was selected. The research methodology to be followed has also been outlined.

Chapter Two summarises the historical background of Langa and development history of the hostels to contextualise the reading within the socio, political and economic environment.

Chapter Three reconstructs the official identification and assessment process followed by the authorities (CCT and SAHRA) of Langa's heritage which led to the decision of the SAHRA council to determine the "Grade I" status, analysing the statement of significance, criteria used and values involved. Although the main focus of this study is on the hostels, all the identified sites determined by the official identification process will be briefly covered in this chapter.

In Chapter Four the communities' cultural values and significances determined through interviews, with specific reference to the hostels, will be discussed.

Heritage values and significances are debated in Chapter Five.

Through a brief analysis, an interpretation will be offered and summarised in Chapter Six which also presents a conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO: Historical Background

The Story of Langa

Before constructing a detailed narrative of the development of the Township of Langa, which I will do in the next section, it is necessary to first give a brief outline of the political and legal trajectory of South Africa and particularly that of the Cape, which informed the power relations among colonists and indigenous people. This narrative ultimately resulted in the establishment of Langa.

Since the story of Langa, and particularly that of the hostels, is largely about the lives of descendants of slaves, working class black people and migrant labourers from Transkei and Ciskei having to forge a life far from home (see Harries, 1994; Callinicos, 1987; Wilson, 1972, et al), our point of entry into this history is around the time when an obligatory pass system was introduced for all Khoekhoe and slaves during the 1760's¹ (see also Penn, 2005, 1999).

The Cape was occupied by the British in 1795 after the battle of Muizenberg and changed hands back to the Dutch in 1802. Since 1801 the indigenous Khoekhoe had to be employed with a fixed address to be in Cape Town while their children had to work on the colonists' farms where they were born.

The British re-occupied the Cape after the battle of Blaauwberg in 1803 for three years. In 1808, the British abolished slave trade, although it was continued by many other nations at the time. With the Anglo-Dutch treaty in 1814, the Cape remained in British hands.

After 1828 the new deeds office registered property transfers under Ordinance 39 while pass controls on African workers in the Colony was imposed under Ordinance 49. A system of apprenticeship replaced slavery in the Cape until 1838 when many emancipated slaves, originally from Malaysia, Madagascar,

1 Khoikhoi spelled Khoekhoe is standardised Nama (ethnic group from southwestern Africa) meaning "people, people" or "real people".

India and West Africa moved into residential areas on the edges of the city (such as the Bo-Kaap) on the western side of Cape Town CBD.

In 1840, Cape Town's municipal government was created, managed by ward masters and a board of commissioners. It was during this period that labour control became entrenched under the Masters and Servants Ordinance of 1841. Cape Town became the national capital during 1854 with the inception of the first Parliament of Representatives for the Cape.

In order to explore the origins of migrant labour in South Africa, let me pause the timeline for a moment: Wilson informs that "migrant labour is nothing new in South Africa. One hundred years ago, a decade before the birth of the Witwatersrand gold mining industry, generations before the evolution of the policy of apartheid, the system whereby men oscillate between their home in some rural area and their place of work was already firmly established as part of the country's traditional way of life" (Wilson, 1972:1).

According to Callinicos, prior to the 1870's, within the period of Boer republics and the British colonies of the Cape and Natal, "most Africans in southern Africa lived in independent chiefdoms" (Callinicos, 1987:11). During this period, "farmers in the Western Cape solved the perennial problem of labour shortage, which in previous centuries had been alleviated through the importation of slaves, by recruiting workers from wherever they could be found" by sending agents to Ciskei, Transkei, Mozambique and South West Africa, now Namibia (Wilson, 1979:1). Although this was the birth of large-scale migrant labour in South Africa, "the Pedi, the Tsonga and the southern Sotho were amongst those already engaged in migrant labour in the 1860's. In fact, the Pedi were already working as far afield as the Cape in the 1840's and Natal in the 1850's" (Callinicos, 1987:15).

According to Callinicos, most families from all parts of the country had at least one member working for wages by this time on either the "mines, in towns or on commercial farms." "Among the Pedi a migrant labour system was organised by the chief who sent young men off in regiments to obtain cattle and guns" (Callinicos, 1987: 15).

By the time diamonds was discovered in Kimberley during 1867, it was the “independent chiefdoms with established patterns of migrancy that sent their young men to become the first black miners” (Callinicos, 1987:15). “Less than fifty years later an industrial revolution had swept up all these little states and chiefdoms into one large state dominated by white capitalists” (Callinicos, 1987:11).

During the 1880’s gold rush on the Witwatersrand, many immigrants flocked to Cape Town because of work opportunities with the extensive harbour development and other projects underway. This influx of residents caused a housing shortage in Cape Town; and it was during this era that Cape Town was divided into six districts under the new Municipal Act.

In 1897 poor living conditions and sanitation in the urban environment of Cape Town gave rise to the Public Health Act as an attempt to improve the situation. The outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War, two years later in 1899 increased the pressure for accommodation in the city once more with around 25 000 foreigners from other parts of the country taking refuge in Cape Town which also accommodated huge numbers of British troops.

The bubonic plague epidemic broke out in the same year that Africans were forcibly removed from the city during 1901, to what was to become the first planned “location” on the eastern outskirts of Cape Town called Uitvlugt, later renamed Ndabeni (see Fig’s.3 & 4), and gave rise to the Native Reserve Location Act No 40 of 1902. Cape Town had a mixed residential pattern at that stage. Resistance and boycotts took place with socialist political and union movements being formed.

When the Union of South Africa was declared in 1910, the Colony became the Cape Province and within three years the Native Land Act came to being, preventing Africans leasing or purchasing land outside of “native reserves”.

In 1914 South Africa entered WW I. During 1918 thousands of Capetonians lost their lives due to an outbreak of the influenza epidemic.

The Pinelands Garden City for white and the Maitland Garden City for coloured people were planned in 1919 (see Fig.2 & 3). In 1923 the Natives (Urban Areas) Act was enforced to move Africans into locations and led to the building of Ndabeni, whose residents were later moved to nearby Langa (see Fig.3). Nyanga, another township south of Langa, was also established during this time. This history will be elaborated further in the next section which deals with the Development history of Langa specifically.

The great depression of the 1930's brought about a demographic change in the workforce of Cape Town resulting in government aid for "poor whites". By 1936 half of the workforce were white and mostly from rural areas. During this period the Bo-Kaap was suffering from overcrowding and dilapidated buildings which led to the area being proclaimed a slum area during the Slum Clearance initiative of 1934.

South Africa received legislative independence with the Statute of Westminster in 1931.

Around 1945, at the time of the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, light industrial activity expanded which allowed more women into the workforce while many Africans migrated to Cape Town which led to influx control measures.

The Nationalist Government, which introduced formal apartheid, came to power in 1948. The proclamation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 led to the forced removal of about 150 000 mostly Coloured and African Capetonians between 1960 and 1980 to new townships on the Cape Flats. The Separate Amenities Act of 1953 assisted in realising the redevelopment scheme planned for Cape Town.

This led to the Defiance campaign and social uprising. It was during this time that ID Du Plessis became Commissioner of Coloured Affairs and was instrumental in influencing the prime minister to declare the Western Cape a "Coloured Labour Preference Area" in 1954.

During 1957, the Land Tenure Advisory Board (Group Areas Board) declared the first Group Areas leading to formal apartheid planning and forcing relocations

under the management of the Department of Community Development specifically created for this purpose in 1961.

Actions by the people such as the 1960 Anti-Pass march from Langa Old Flats, where the police killed 4 people, became widespread. But the forced relocation process continued until the 1980's despite resistance from many pressure groups, communities (and other countries).

The student uprising, against poor education for Black people and the compulsory introduction of Afrikaans, in the form of a march from Langa High School through Mendi Square occurred in 1976 with a child being shot by police.

Local authorities were created in townships and received a form of "puppet" self-governance in 1982, which was widely opposed by the people and resulted in mass actions, anti-apartheid demonstrations and pro-democracy marches through mobilization of a renewed Defiance Campaign.

After the abolition of the Pass Laws in 1986, which had prevented women from rural areas joining the working men in Langa, the conditions in the hostels deteriorated due to congestion and poverty.

During the days leading up to South Africa's first democratic election in 1994, many apartheid laws including the Group Areas Act, Land Act and the Population Registration Act were repealed as part of the political negotiation process between the African National Congress and the National Party.

The South African National Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) was established with the NHRA Act 25 of 1999 to manage the national estate, which refers to "...those heritage resources of South Africa which are of cultural significance or other special value for the present community and for future generations must be considered part of the national estate and fall within the sphere of operations of heritage resources authorities" (NHRA, 1999:12). In accordance with a three-tier system, based on levels of significance, national level functions include the monitoring, co-ordination and management of the national estate and "Grade I" resources by SAHRA. "Grade II" heritage resources are managed by the Provincial Heritage Resources Agency (PHRA), which in the case of the Western Cape is

Heritage Western Cape (HWC). 'Grade III' heritage resources of local significance should be managed by the local Municipal authority. However, since no local authority has yet been deemed competent to manage such, HWC presently fulfil this function within the Cape Province as well.

This Act and its established agencies such as SAHRA and the provincial heritage authorities replaced the National Monuments Council in 2000 which was in place since 1969. The Historical Monuments Commission fulfilled this role from 1934 to 1969 though Cape Town has been deemed competent to manage its conservation areas. All the national monuments which were identified under the old system of conservation automatically became provincial heritage resources with the promulgation of the new Act.

In principle, the Act can be triggered in three ways in development: first, by way of age. Should a building be older than 60 years it triggers a form of blanket temporary protection under Section 34 of the Act requiring an application to the provincial authority. Second, Section 38 is triggered requiring an application when certain development activities are proposed an impact assessment can be required. The third instance which may trigger the Act is in terms of Section 31 with reference to identified heritage areas in terms of town planning schemes.

A proposed re-development of Langa hostels referred to at the beginning of Chapter One, therefore triggered a Section 38 application in accordance with the NHRA as explained, and a full Heritage Impact Assessment was required. Such a study was undertaken by O'Donoghue in 2013 and was submitted to SAHRA with a provisional approval granted in 2013 requiring further studies and information.

This study is however not concerned with that HIA but with the initial surveys conducted in order to establish the significance of the Langa environs by the authorities which resulted in the "Grade I" heritage status nomination in 2004.

Although the story of Langa spans almost 90 years, starting in 1925 (officially in 1927), the process of re-scripting and acting out, meaning identifying and articulating, the cultural heritage of among other, migrant workers and their descendants' who arrived by train from rural areas such as Transkei and Ciskei in

the Eastern Cape only formally began in 2000. It was this commissioned survey which led to the nomination of various sites in Langa including four hostel types as “Grade I” national sites by SAHRA.² Although a Langa Heritage Museum does exist in the old Pass Office and Court on the corner of Washington Street and Lerotholi Avenue in Langa, it is poorly articulated and provides little meaningful information on the lives of migrant labour history or of Langa cultural life itself.

In stark contrast to the Langa Heritage Museum, the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum in Lwandle³ (located between the Strand and Somerset West towns 40 km from Cape Town along the N2), was established and opened on 1 May 2000 as “a site of conscience” and “as a place of remembrance” with special focus on the lived experience of migrant labourers. (see Murray and Witz, 2013:51).⁴ The Hector Peterson Memorial Library forms part of the visitors’ tour of Lwandle. The museum includes “Hostel 33” which is a completely restored migrant labourer living unit providing the visitor an idea of the conditions in which the workers had to live. This museum is also actively involved in various community projects such as oral history interpretation, arts initiatives and teacher guidance programs.

I will now trace the development history of Langa with specific reference to the various development phases and social housing typologies such as the hostels and barracks in the section to follow.

Development History of the Hostels

“The Structure and Form of Metropolitan Cape Town: Its origins, Influences and

2 Phaphamani Heritage Research Consultants were commissioned by SAHRA in 2000 to research, identify and establish the heritage significance(s) of Langa.

3 Lwandle Township was established in 1958 and declared a location and “native” village to accommodate migrant African men in single-sex hostel-type rooms, working mainly in the fruit, canning and construction industries in the Helderberg region. Lwandle is a Xhosa word meaning Sea. (Institute for Justice and Reconciliation and the Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum, 2008:27).

4 Murray, Noëleen and Leslie Witz, 2013. “Camp Lwandle: Rehabilitating a Migrant Labour Hostel at the seaside,” *Social dynamics: A journal of African studies*, 39:1, and p51-74.

Performance”, Working paper No 42 for The Urban Problems Research Unit & The Urban Foundation (Western Cape) by Dewar D, Watson, Bassios and N.Dewar (1990) assisted by Fabio Todeschini, was relied on in tracing the planning policy which led to the construction of the Langa hostels.

Langa, situated along the N2 about 11 kilometers east of Cape Town, was established under the Native (Urban) Areas Act no 21 of 1923 to provide much needed labour in Cape Town. It is the oldest surviving township in South Africa which was planned for “native” administrative control, a model which was replicated throughout the country during the apartheid years 25 years later.

In May 1926 an article appeared in the *Architect Builder & Engineer Magazine* which is worth quoting in full as it provides a good overview of what was planned as well as details of intended living conditions of the first Langa hostels:

Provision is being made for the housing of four thousand natives at “Langa.” This new native location occupies a site with an area of approximately 400 morgen and has its own railway station on the Cape Flats line. The site takes up part of the Uitvlugt Forest which is intersected with hard roads giving easy access from the High road.

Two thousand single men are to be accommodated in four “V” shaped buildings surrounding a central kitchen and four wash houses. Progress has advanced so far that one complete set of barracks are nearing completion. Each of the four “V” shaped building blocks are being built with brick covered with corrugated asbestos roofing.

Each block is divided into twenty-five rooms giving comfortable housing conditions to a maximum of twenty natives in each room. Removable bunks are fitted in cubicle fashion and all bed parts can be easily removed for cleansing purposes. An open central fire place is built in the centre of each room with a connecting flue passing up through the roof. All the buildings are well ventilated and of vermin proof finish. Between the “V” shaped blocks and the central kitchen and eating hall are four wash houses, one each opposite either block. The kitchen is planned so that a native may

either buy his meals or have them cooked by a member of his own tribe. For the sleeping accommodation, use of bath rooms (or wash-houses) and kitchen a native pays 2s.6d per week. The married quarters are not so far advanced but these will consist of two-roomed cottages with garden space. Churches, schools and a recreation ground are all included in the final plan estimated to cost about £130.000.

This money will be well spent as it provides quarters for natives to live under clean and healthy conditions where personal supervision can be maintained by a resident superintendent. It is intended that each living room will be evacuated, thoroughly cleaned and disinfected at the end of every third week without any additional charge to the occupants. In the event of a more frequent cleaning being necessary the occupants have to pay the additional cost (*Architect Builder & Engineer*, 1926:25).

Langa Township is named after “amaHlubi chief Langalibalele” (Langa Museum Information, 2013) of “Nguni Royal descent” (SAHRA, 2004:4). “Langalibalele,” is “isiZulu for the sun shines or the sun is hot”. “Langa,” meaning “sun” is an abbreviation of his name. It is claimed that he was involved in South Africa’s first treason trial and found guilty of murder, treason and rebellion for which he was exiled to the Cape Colony from KwaZulu Natal (which was then under British governance) and banished to Robben Island in 1874 for life. One year later in 1875 he was released from Robben Island and sent to Oude Molen on the Uitvlugt reserve (see Fig.4) (Ndabeni-Langa area) for his remaining incarceration where he died 12 years later. The trial is regarded to have been unjust as he was not allowed counsel and it was conducted in accordance with indigenous people’s law under the influence of those in power. It is further claimed that when he died in 1889 “he was buried in KwaZulu Natal’s Drakensberg area where his grave, kept secret by the amaHlubi for over 60 years.....has been visited by one of his most illustrious blood descendants, Nelson Mandela” (Langa Museum Information, 2013).

The state accepted the need to construct housing for the poor by local authorities with the promulgation of the Housing Act No 35 of 1920. This, in combination with contemporary planning ideas from abroad, based on the principle of separating residential, commercial and industrial zones, while creating Garden City and neighbourhood areas, soon led to the realisation of the first major town planning concepts by a local authority in the history of South Africa (Le Grange, 1985, quoted by Dewar, Watson and Bassios, 1990: 41).

These new residential planning ideas were adopted locally as a result of the potential to solve critical local problems such as health issues due to high densities, and “that of the growing demand on the part of the white population for the residential segregation of the coloured and African population” (Le Grange, 1985, quoted by Dewar, Watson and Bassios, 1990: 41).

The new health and planning legislation ideas were therefore replicated on a large scale throughout South African cities. This meant the removal of people based on racially defined profiles and resulted in mostly coloured and black people being moved to sites on the periphery of the urban edge. These developments, according to Dewar, Watson and Bassios, (1990) were conceived and planned “entirely by a public authority”.

The very first such new development was conceived on a site called Uitvlugt Native Location, which later became known as Ndabeni (see Fig.4). “It was laid out on a grid pattern and originally consisted of 615 lean-to huts and 5 dormitories. By the middle of 1901 this area contained a population of some 7000 people” (Saunders,1984, quoted by Dewar, Watson and Bassios, 1990:42). It was, according to them, the first low income settlement of people on the Cape Flats. The Native Location Act No 40 of 1902 was promulgated to formalise the Uitvlugt (Ndabeni) development which served as a model for later urban African legislation”(Le Grange, 1985, quoted by Dewar, Watson and Bassios, 1990, 42).

Since 1918, most residential developments in the Cape were based on the Howard model of Garden Cities after a Cape Town councillor visited Letchworth in England and met Ebenezer Howard. The Union Government’s Housing Committee

(the Central Housing Board) and the Cape Town City Council accepted the idea as a means of solving the city's housing problems (Le Grange, 1985:7).

"The Cape Flats, with its flat, easily developable land, and relative proximity to the older spines of the city, provided an obvious area for expansion. Thus Maitland Garden Village was developed for coloured municipal employees in 1919, Pinelands garden city was developed for white occupation in 1922, and Langa (see Fig.3) for African people shortly thereafter" (Dewar, Watson and Bassios, 1990:42).

Although these developments were based closely on the Howard model in most respects: surrounded by open belts, situated outside the urban edge, inward focused onto local commercial facilities, the concept failed to materialise properly since there was no industrial component and little commercial opportunity. Howard's concept of self-contained neighbourhoods could not work because people had to continue to travel to shops and jobs in town. An intrinsic part of the Howard model was a socialistic philosophy. This could not be realised here since land was either private or owned by the state - in the case of the working class townships. It was clearly not Howard's intention that these Garden Cities should be occupied by single class income groups as it happened in South Africa (Dewar, Watson and Bassios, 1990:45).

The history of the construction phases and description of the various hostels which follow, relies primarily on research done by CM Elias undertaken in 1983 at the University of Stellenbosch Research Unit for Sociology of Development.

In 1924, the Langa railway siding was completed while an experiment was underway to see if the "natives" could build the accommodation required themselves. The experiment was a failure according to Superintendent Cook as there were too few skilled masons among the "community".

As a consequence, call for tenders went out in 1925 to build the first 84 dormitories consisting of 21 blocks to house 2 016 men between 1925 and 1931.

These dormitories ⁵ were the (single storey) Single Quarters (Main) Barracks ⁶ in Langa, located between Bhunga Avenue and Jungle Walk (see Fig's.5, 6 & 12 for location and Fig's 1 & 13 for building). The Barracks were constructed with plastered and painted clay bricks and pitched asbestos roofing with no ceilings. Each dormitory had a combustion stove and were fitted with two lights. Measuring 26- by 24 foot, they accommodated double tier concrete bunks for 24 men each. According to a government report of 1938, this figure exceeded the public health and safety regulations by fourteen men per dormitory.

Ablution blocks were built as four separate buildings. Alongside the Barracks a mess served as an eating house (Elias, 1983:13).

During the following year in 1926, (single storey) Special Quarters were erected between Bhunga and Harlem Avenues (see Fig.6 for location and Fig.15 for building). Consisting of 8 blocks containing 16 rooms each, this provided 128 single rooms and 36 double rooms. A further 6 blocks with 6 rooms to accommodate single men and 50 double rooms for single women were built serving 200 men and 100 women in total. The women's rooms, next to Harlem Avenue opposite the hospital, built also in 1926, were known as the (single storey) Spinster Quarters. (see Fig.6 for location and Fig.14 for building). These rooms were built with plastered and painted clay bricks, pitched asbestos roofing with no ceiling and electricity. Separate ablutions consisting of 5 blocks with communal toilets, showers and wash houses served all the residents (Elias, 1983:13).

An administration building, market hall, superintendent's accommodation as well as residential facilities for officials formed part of the first 1925 phase of the development.

During 1926, the second development phase commenced, consisting of a hospital, police station, four bakeries, four butcheries, six general dealer shops, ten tea rooms, stores, workshops and stables.

5 Dormitories are large rooms which serve as sleeping quarters for a number of people.

6 Barracks are permanent military style "dormitories". The original dormitories in Langa were referred to as Barracks due to the design (see Cook, 2007:64-69), and probably also due to the regimented military type discipline with which the older men and elected "headman" ruled over the young men (see Field,2007:26). This type of discipline was also employed in the rural villages as a mechanism to control (see Hammond-Took,1975:80; Gordon,1989:41).

In 1927, the (single storey) North Barracks (see Fig.6 for location and Fig.16 for building) were erected to accommodate 840 single men. These buildings were similar to the Main Barracks.

The first 300 (single storey) Married Quarters (see Fig.6 for location) were built in 1928 on either side of Washington Avenue. These were 2- and 3- roomed “family” houses built with concrete to reduce cost. A communal tap was shared by four houses. Each house was built with an outside toilet. This development phase occupied the area between Bhunga and Mendi Avenues.

In 1932 the third development phase, referred to as (single storey) *Bongweni* (“Precious”), (see Fig.7 for location) was constructed. This development occurred between Mendi and Jungle Walk and comprised of 48 2-roomed and 16 3-roomed additional houses for married couples.

During this time government housing was provided for teachers in Jungle Walk; and further 160 houses were erected in Washington Street opposite *Bongweni* called (single storey) *Thembeni* (“Trust”) (see Fig.7 for location) in 1934. These were built on the same principle as those built in *Bongweni* and consisted of 2- and 3- roomed houses with a fuel shed and outside toilets. In the same year a sports ground was built as a job creation effort by council to relief unemployment in Langa (Elias, 1983: 14).

The fourth and fifth development phases, built between 1935 and 1940 were regarded as luxury married quarters since they all had electricity, vegetable gardens at the back and flower gardens in the front.

The sixth and seventh developments phases took place with 60 additional (2-, 3- and 4-roomed) houses for married couples being built followed by 36 units in 1936 in Washington Street opposite the High School. These small roomed houses were referred to as (single storey) *Bulawayo* (“To Kill”) (see Fig.7 for location) due to the high rent.

In 1940 and 1941, another 204 houses were built consisting of 3 rooms each. They were all designed with a sink in the kitchen, own waterborne toilets, electricity (which had to be paid separate from the rental), fuel store and built-in

food cupboard. These units were referred to as (single storey) *Bubana* (“people would die paying the rent”) (Elias, 1983: 16).

The (four storey) “Old Flats” (see Fig.7 for location and Fig.18 for building) were built on the far eastern end of Washington Street between 1944 and 1948. These single quarters buildings accommodated 1 296 men in the first, second and third floors with the ground floors being utility rooms. Two men occupied each room furnished with a bed, locker and table. Communal ablutions and kitchens are located in the centre of each floor with hot and cold water supplied. The flats were firmly constructed using clay bricks, cement passages, wood-block flooring, concrete stairs, asbestos pitched roof with ceilings and electricity (Elias, 1983: 17).

According to Elias, “between 1944 and 1957 eight hundred and fifty small hostels were built to accommodate a further thirteen thousand six hundred single men. This area of the development became known as the (single storey) Zones (see Fig.8 for location and Fig.17 for buildings), these units have since been converted to family housing” (Elias, 1983: 17).

The new Pass Office and Court were built in the early 1960’s. The control of the “Dompas” system was until this time administered from the administration building which was built in 1925.

More Single Quarters referred to as the (double storey) “New Flats” (see Fig.9 for location and Fig.20 for building) were built during the 1970’s at the same time when the new station and the (three storey) Railway Flats were constructed (see Fig.9 for location and Fig.19 for building). The “New Flats” were built to replace the temporary reception depot huts.

During the 1980’s the single residential housing between the N2 and the new flats were built, referred to as the Jo Slovo informal settlement.

Between 1990 and 2005 the “Hostels to Homes” project took place during which portions of the “New Flats” were extended and converted into family units. Between 2008 and 2009 the N2 Gateway residential development took place providing higher density housing.

This history brings us up to date with the new hostels development referred to in the newspaper article quoted in the introduction chapter and which is about to be commenced.

Of the various housing and hostel types referred to during this section, the hostels of particular concern to this study as a result of its high SAHRA grading are the:

Single Quarters (Main) Barracks, (single storey) built in 1925, SAHRA “Grade I” status. Located on a north-south axis with the station in Lerotholi Avenue, between Bhunga Street to the west and Mendi Street to the east, south of the Civic core of Langa. The built fabric have undergone major external and internal additions and alterations as they were turned into family units. (see Fig.12 for location and Fig.13 for building).

Special Quarters, (single storey) built in 1926, SAHRA “Grade I” status. Located between Harlem Avenue to the west and Bhunga Avenue to the east, west of the Civic core of Langa. The built fabric have undergone some internal alterations. (see Fig.12 for location and Fig.15 for bulding).

Spinster Quarters, (single storey) built in 1926, SAHRA “Grade I” status. Location between Harlem Avenue to the west and Bhunga Avenue to the east, immediately north of the Special Quarters opposite the hospital. The built fabric reasonably intact with few alterations realised (see Fig.12 for location and Fig.14 for building).

North Barracks, (single storey) built in 1927, SAHRA “Grade I” status. Located in Bennie Street opposite the hospital on the north-west edge of Langa. The built fabric is reasonably intact although major internal alterations were effected to accommodate family units. (see Fig.12 for location and Fig.16 for building).

In the following chapter I am briefly going to reconstruct the process followed by the authorities during the determination of heritage significances in Langa which resulted in the nomination of the “Grade I” heritage sites by SAHRA.

CHAPTER THREE: Langa's Official Heritage Identification Process

The Process Followed in the Determination of Significance by the Authorities

During 1999, the same year in which the South African National Heritage Resources Act 25 was promulgated, a letter from the then National Monuments Council (since 2000 known as SAHRA) was written to the City of Town with the heading: "The identification of sites of significance in historically disadvantaged areas". The letter of response from the City of Cape Town is quoted in full since it outlines a proposed process forward:

Thank you for your letter regarding the identification of culturally significant sites in Langa, and I regret the delay in replying. There is no survey of cultural significance in Langa and the Urban Conservation Unit, like your Regional Office, recognizes the need for such a survey, to prevent the loss of cultural sites that may be regretted in the future. I suggest that you meet with [name omitted] of my Urban Conservation Unit to discuss a way forward. A number of people with expertise in oral history, and other related skills, have indicated a willingness to participate in such a project, which they view as a means of extending heritage management into new arenas. I recommend that as a first step we discuss a preliminary methodology for the identification and mapping of sites, and subsequently, set up a meeting with such a panel of experts to further design and implement a process (CCT, 1999).

Subsequently in the Langa Heritage Study Report to the Planning and Environment Portfolio Committee of the City of Cape Town dated 14 August 2001, approval for the formulation of policy for the project regarding the identification of Langa heritage and work procedure was requested. The same report also refers to an earlier report submitted to the Planning Committee of the former City of Cape

Town in March of 1999 regarding the “proposed identification and commemoration of sites of cultural/ historical significance... particularly in zones of poverty” for which approval was granted. The 2001 report provides a budget necessary to hold workshops in Langa, remunerate facilitators and consultants such as an Oral historian. The aims of the study were outlined as follows:

Identify and assess the significant heritage sites and buildings within Langa; Document the history and the development of Langa; Record the life styles of Langa residents under various legislation, giving remembrance to the history of previously disadvantaged people; Collect oral recordings from residents of significant events in Langa (CCT, 2001:4).

The report goes further by providing a list of proposed projects which included the renovation of existing historic buildings such as the 1925 “Pass Office,” upgrade tourist marketing material and facilities, and insert monuments in strategic places to commemorate historic events. Reference is made to a public participation process to achieve the following:

Inform the broad community about the study; gain the support of representatives of community forums and political parties for the study; encourage full participation of interested community members of historic site identification, assessment of methods of commemoration; record oral histories of historic events from selected people within the community; understand and document the issues raised by the community members and forum representatives; promote initiatives that may arise from the study such as the formation of a heritage trail led by informed community guides (CCT, 2001:3).

The themes identified for the study included:

“Acculturation process [the need to assess the degree to which traditional cultural practices have survived in the life pattern and material form of the present day township]; political events which included non-violent and violent

events; these events around the liberation struggle are a major focus of community interest; Cultural expressions within very limited opportunities, such as development of jazz music and art; Account of the migrant working class life, of regulation and control by Authorities; Identification of the important leaders and personalities of Langa; Personal accounts by community members on the above-mentioned themes” (CCT, 2001:3).

SAHRA appointed a heritage consultant to manage the Langa Heritage Research Project ¹ who acquired the services of Sean Field to do a pilot oral history project which started in October 2001.² An historian was also appointed to research and construct a history of Langa during this time.

A heritage report was produced in 2002 in which it is stated that due to the fact that the communities are not yet familiar with the activities of SAHRA, caused them to be skeptical regarding participation. A further problem pointed out refers to internal political struggles which divided the people on issues (Phaphamani Heritage Report, 2002:1).

With regards the funding of the project, which was a grant from SAHRA'S National Heritage Resources Fund, Phaphamani commented that it was insufficient to “realise” the project intentions to its fullest extent in terms of soliciting sufficient information since the fieldwork had to be terminated prematurely which “almost strangled the project” (Phaphamani Report, 2002:1).

According to the report, the collection of oral history formed the basis of the study; a brief history is provided while specifically making mention of the diverse histories of Langa due to the fact that there were people from “Zimbabwe, Malawi, Swaziland, Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and descendants of slaves and the Eastern Cape” (Fuku quoted by Field, 2001) (Phaphamani Report, 2002:2).

1 Phaphamani Heritage Research Consultants under directorship of Vuyani Booie were commissioned for this purpose.

2 Field, S, 2002. This was the same report produced for the Phaphamani Heritage research Project.

According to a Dr Guma³ however, who was born in Ndabeni, the people were mostly from the Eastern Cape, “some came here because they followed their leaders who were incarcerated on Robben Island” (Phaphamani Report, 2002:2).

The 2002 report reflects on the cultural significance which was “determined by the narratives and testimonies that flow[ed] from those diverse histories of Langa” (Phaphamani Report, 2002:7). It goes further saying that:

In this context social value is about collective attachment to places that embody meanings important to a community. These places are usually community owned or publicly accessible or in some other ways “appropriated” into people’s lives (Chris Johnston, What is social value?, 1992). The oral testimonies about places of cultural significance in Langa are widely conceived of as having an essential component of character, identity and spirit. The oral history research has taught us to understand the fundamental factor about the sense of place as a “centre of meaning constructed by experience” (Phaphamani Report, 2002:3).

Heritage sites are described in the Phaphamani report as “any place [which] tends to demonstrate the value that the place has to the community and that includes the social, historical, aesthetic, scientific, spiritual or religious importance of the place for the present, past or future generations.” The report describes the “assessing criteria” which were used to determine the significances of places referring to their ability to demonstrate the nature and degree of importance (Phaphamani Report, 2002:7).

The hostel sites were described as sites containing social and historical values and their degree of significance was articulated as exceptional with a recommended grading of “Grade I” national sites in the report.

The meaning and description of the listed sites which follows will be analysed in the next section in order to avoid repetition.

3 Dr Guma was born in Ndabeni and participated in the Field oral history project in 2001/2. Guma was later to be a Council member of HWC for six years and chaired it for three.

Other sites identified which is classified in the same category of “Grade I” significance as some of the hostels are: the Pass Office (Washington Street), Sobukwe Square (Taxi rank), and Mendi Square commemoration (between the Pass Office and Guga Sithebe, Washington Street).

Other Langa sites of significance identified by the report and their respective proposed grading are: the Pass House: (47 Jungle Walk, home of Annie Silinga, an anti-pass law activist) “ungraded”, Bhunga Square: “Grade II”, Ntsikane Commemoration: “Grade II”, Fingo Celebrations: “Grade II”, St Cyprians School: “ungraded”, Initiation place: “Grade II”, Cemetery: “Grade II”, Langa Police station: “Grade II”, The Methodist church: “Grade III” and Guga Sithebe art centre: “Grade II”.

The Phaphamani Heritage Report concluded that through the use of oral testimonies, valuable information had been gathered on the cultural landscape of Langa while peoples’ memories were placed into perspective and made to be understood. “Places of cultural significance and places with social value have been identified, and qualitative output has been made by residents of Langa. These places are widely conceived of as having an essential component of character, identity and spirit; hence one sees attachments to these places” (Phaphamani Report, 2002:25)

The oral histories referred to, which were conducted by Sean Field during 2001/2, focused on the following themes: General life history and migration; family background/ home-life; community and places; schooling; employment; marriage and children; Langa Sites; typical houses; Bhunga Freedom Square; barracks and beerhall; administration offices; migrancy: Huts, dipping tank and route; market hall, economic activities and Maranga; initiation sites and or traditional practices; Kulani school, stadium and various other issues; old schools and churches; Robert Sobukwe and the Langa march; 1980’s to the present (Field, 2002:33-45).

Finally, the report ends by articulating its suggestions as follows:

This report does suggest recommendations to inform the development of a cultural heritage framework based on these perceived places of social value or places of cultural significance. The report has comprehensively and critically made suggestions and recommendations about which places may be conserved according to the levels of significance and ways in which those places should be conserved (Phaphamani Report, 2002:26).

During the same period that the SAHRA survey was underway, CCT and the Heritage Management Branch with its specialist internal advisory community committee, in addition to a specialist consultant at the University of Cape Town's Centre for Popular Memory completed a heritage survey of Langa. Apart from being more extensive than the Phaphamani report, its approach, criteria and conclusions are aligned with that of the SAHRA commissioned Phaphamani report of 2002. When SAHRA's regional office compiled the formal submission to SAHRA Council in 2004, for "Grade I" nomination of Langa's heritage resources, information from both these studies were used.

On 7 December 2004, SAHRA wrote to the City of Cape Town to inform them of the "formal change in status of properties in the Western Cape. It continues that Langa, District Six and the Bo-Kaap are graded as "Grade I" heritage and are to be investigated for declaration as a national heritage site (SAHRA, 2004).

The following section will now look at the official version of the statement of cultural significance as compiled by SAHRA's regional office (in co-ordination with CCT) in their nomination for "Grade I" status of the township of Langa which was submitted to the SAHRA Council in 2004.

Analysis of SAHRA'S Statement of Significance

The Statement of Significance begins by outlining the broader socio-political context within which the township of Langa was established and refers to the

impact of early twentieth century and apartheid regimes and their exclusionary measures which prevented free movement of black people in the urban environment. This was made possible through segregationist laws which “ensured that even the heritage recording was dictated by racial ideology, which in most cases resulted in the history of whole communities remaining un-reflected” (Submission to SAHRA Council, 2004:1).

This comment in the submission to SAHRA council is not correct, as the administrative action of identification of heritage was not prevented by law. The failure of such action was thus an administrative failure and not as a consequence of any law at the time.

The statement continues reminding us that the township of Langa is a typical case of such formal black townships which was born out of numerous forced removals under apartheid laws. “It further serves as a physical manifestation of the process of urbanization in South Africa. Like many other black townships, Langa epitomizes the story of so many urban black townships in South Africa” (Submission to SAHRA Council, 2004:1).

It needs to be pointed out that urbanization at the time (and still today) was not unique to the South African context and therefore this aspect in itself is of low heritage significance anywhere in the world being such a common phenomenon. The forced removals component is indeed significant in the specific context of Langa and elsewhere in South Africa’s urbanization process.

The submission refers to Langa’s symbolic value which “transcends the boundaries of a physical and tangible place,” which demonstrates various categories of heritage resources. It demonstrates the historical containment of black urban dwellers through a “controlled environment where restrictions, atrocities, injustices, suffering and victimization was the order of the day” through “cleverly engineered planning techniques and practices to control” the residents.

The introduction ends by saying that Langa “bears testimony to this and the scars of the labourer society remain visible for all to observe” (Submission, 2004: 2).

If it is true, that Langa’s symbolic value “transcends the boundaries of the physical and tangible place”, why the need to preserve the “cleverly engineered

planning techniques and practices to control” through conserving the very structures which imposed the conditions? The last sentence suggests that by preserving the buildings which “bears testimony” to the “scars of the labourer society” which according to the submission, should “remain visible for all to observe” is problematic for two reasons: first, one of the many uses of heritage is to assist in healing scars, not to proliferate it. Second: for whom precisely must the scars “remain visible for all to observe” and why? Further to this observation, if the testimony to migrant labour scars was so important to the SAHRA Submission of 2004, then why were only two residents of hostels interviewed in 2002 during the Sean Field oral history project among twenty Langa residents interviewed?

The core motivation in the submission is clearly based on a socio-political trajectory and its negative effects on the people of Langa. The fact that it is the oldest “native” township in the Western Cape, if not in South Africa, and as many others have been redeveloped to create better living conditions possibly adds some weight to the argument for conservation management in some form. However, surely this should not be implemented in a way which could cause stagnation in the process of developing modern cosmopolitan identities among the communities of Langa and surely also not hold back proper housing development.

The submission argues heritage significance on the basis of “a process of remembering our past of suffering and oppression, keeping in view an image of what we do not want to repeat, and paying tribute to the endurance of residents of Langa” (Submission, 2004:7).

I can only induce from this that it was the intention to preserve hostels so that the people must be confronted with their trying past as a means of not forgetting on a daily basis.

Four reasons for conservation in Langa are offered as adopted from the Davies (2002:3) submission in the submission to SAHRA Council (2004:8): a means to provide “black residents access to their roots, a process that has been officially neglected for such a long time;” that it “provides a means to take constructive

possession of the past through developing recognition and understanding” affirming diversity in South Africa; it will also build and consolidate identity and confidence in the black population which will underpin economic and social development; and, finally, the submission states that “establishing a ‘Heritage Area’ will preserve the conditions under which people lived in the past, and is also an important resource for social historical education” (Submission, 2004: 8).

On the other hand, Davies also made the counter argument that since these structures were erected with “minimum living conditions and facilities” for “powerless working class people, and represented an era of oppression” and “may be seen to be representative of the repression of the black underclass, these areas should be eradicated or at least improved and refurbished as part of a new and fairer society” (Davies, 2001:3). Davies continues by stating “people with different values may take very different stances on the questions that are involved. The final assessment on these issues will have to be made by the local community, which is currently being consulted” (Submission, 2004:8).⁴

It is interesting to note that even Davies, not unlike the authorities, refers to Langa as though it is a singular homogeneous community.

The argument in the submission to the SAHRA Council for conservation concludes by pointing out that it is not enough to preserve rural villages of indigenous tribes, since black and coloured people have been urbanised for centuries in South Africa, and that it is not only “an historical resource but enables future generations to reach across the social divisions to encourage and attain social understanding and reconciliation” (Submission, 2004:4).

According to the grading nomination to SAHRA council “the significance of Langa is focused around three themes”:

4 Davies’ reference to the local community being currently consulted refers to the survey of Identification of Cultural Heritage Sites in Langa undertaken by Phaphamani Heritage Research Consultants in 2001/2002 for SAHRA as well as the CCT survey of this period of which the Sean Field oral history project formed a part of.

- it is a site representative of the repressive system imposed on urban, black South Africans
- It is a site of special meaning to the community in their quest to create a living environment
- It is a site of significance in the fight for the freedom in South Africa (Submission, 2004:8)

The submission breaks down heritage resources in terms of tangible and intangible. Tangible heritage resources, it is argued, “map the history of urban racial segregation, migration labour and apartheid. They commemorate the atrocities suffered by the community in the struggle for liberation, honour cultural traditions and pay tribute to the sporting, music, intellectual and political contributions of the community to the City of Cape Town and South Africa in general” (Submission, 2004:8).

Under the category of tangible heritage the themes are broken down into:

1. Characteristics of colonial and apartheid planning with the following sites listed: Old Location - railway siding (1924-1928); Bongweni and Thembeni - additional married quarters built between Mendi & Jungle walk (1932-1934); Fifth, Sixth & Seventh Developments - 2- to 4- roomed married units (1935-1940); Greater Langa - Old and New Flats and the Zones (1944-1957), (Submission to SAHRA Council, 2004:8-13).

2. Popular Memory: In the submission reference is made to the role that the streets played in “formalised sport” activities such as cricket and soccer; Lerotholi Avenue having been used for courting; streets having been the scene of residents being chased by police during pass raids; the role the streets played in the resistance politics particularly in the 60’s and in 1976 with reference to various marches (Submission, 2004:14).

3. Important named Streets: Moshesh St. - founder of Sotho nation; Rubusana St. - after Rev. Dr Walter Rubusana, author & founder member of SANNC now ANC; Ndabeni St. - commemorating forced removals from Ndabeni to Langa; Livingston and Moffat Streets - former British missionaries; Washington St. - after

Booker Taliaferro Washington, born slave in 1856 in Franklin County USA; Virginia & Harlem Streets - after the black American “Renaissance & Ghetto”; and, lastly, Merriman (John Xavier Merriman 1841-1926) and Jabavu (John Tengo Jabavu 1859-1921) streets - named after liberal politicians (Submission, 2004:14).

4. Important Squares listed: Makana Square - after Makana who led the Ndlambe people who attacked Grahamstown in 1819. Makana was captured and drowned while trying to escape from Robben Island. He became a symbol of resistance against foreign domination; Mendi Square - commemorates the drowning of about six hundred black South African soldiers off the coast of France during WWI.

6. Bhunga Square - political heart of Langa from where recruitment and mobilization of the people took place. First used by Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe in addressing the people (Submission, 2004:19).

5. The Pass Office and Court - “Dompas” system was managed here with residents having to proof birth or employment in Cape Town to live here. (Submission, 2004:16).

Under the category of intangible heritage, traditional festivals are listed:

1. Moshoeshoe day, also known as (Moshoeshoe Memorial Feast) - recognized the incorporation into the British Empire in 1868 and the founding of the Basothu nation by Moshoeshoe. (festivals took place between 1947 to 1966 when Basothuland received independence), (Submission, 2004:19).

2. Mfengu (Amhlabi) Memorial Day - commemoration of “Fingo emancipation day” from the Xhosa and to renew oaths taken by Fingo ancestors in 1835 who pledged their loyalty to the British government to educate their children and be loyal to the missionaries (celebrated between 1943 to 1950), (Submission, 2004:20).

3. Ntsikana Day celebration - formed in 1944 in possible reaction against the Fingo Association to promote a different loyalty than Christian. Ntsikana, son of Ngqikds, is regarded by many Xhosa people to be their patron Saint (Submission, 2004:20).

Of all the identified heritage sites the following were nominated in the submission to be graded by SAHRA under the three main themes or “criteria” mentioned at the beginning of the section.

First, under the theme “government control and oppression”, Township Streets: all Streets between Bitterhout and Jungle Walk as well as Ndabeni and Bennie Streets; The married Special Quarters and single Spinster Quarters (social and historic value); Main Barracks (social and historic value); North Barracks (social and historic value); administration Block; Migrant Passage of former Dipping Huts and the Migrant Passage of Lerotholi Avenue were listed (Submission, 2004:21).

Second, under the theme “creating a living environment”, Langa Market Hall; Maragana Open area; Mendi Square; Initiating site; Khulani School site; Langa High School; St Cyprians School site; St Louis and Tembani. St Francis Catholic Church; St Cyprians Anglican Church; Universal Congregational Church; Wesleyan Church; Baptist Union of South Africa Church; South African Black Mission Field Church; Order of Ethiopia Church; AME Church; Presbyterian Churches and the Dutch Reformed Church; the Cemetery north of Bhunga Ave; and the Sports stadium in Bitterhout Street were listed (Submission, 2004:21).

Third, under the theme of the “liberation struggle”, the Bhunga square; the Main Barracks beer hall; Mendi Square and Robert Sobukwe Square Traffic Island were listed (Submission, 2004:21-22).

The nomination for “Grade I” status of the Township of Langa to SAHRA Council ended with the following recommendation:

One can deduce the significance of Langa from the above brief historical background. For Langa is not only the first formal black Township in Cape Town, it is also filled with migration labour history, the freedom struggle history and its internal planning reflects the evolution of thought in local planning during the various different political milestones reflected in the housing crisis currently experienced within the area. But mostly, Langa reflects a spirit by a community who is taking charge in developing and uplifting their area; an example being the establishment of the

Environmental Centre. Langa has a background of great interest and what it takes to build a better future. Hence, the recommendation for it to be nominated as a national site so that the previously ignored heritage of Langa can be celebrated and appreciated by all. This is to set the record straight and to let it be known and become part of Cape Town's diverse and rich history (Submission to SAHRA Council, 2004:23).

Review of Criteria used and the Values involved

Before I discuss these terms in relation to the report, it may be useful to briefly look at their dictionary definition to ensure clarity of meaning. "Criteria" (plural) or "criterion" (singular) are described by the Oxford dictionary as "a principle or standard by which something may be judged or decided." In the context of a heritage identification and assessment process, the criteria established seem to be a critical component with huge implications on outcome, especially when dealing with what communities value. Various aspects around this issue will be discussed in chapter four and five.

The Oxford dictionary definition of "values" are principles or standards of behavior; or one's judgment of what is important". In the context of a heritage assessment these two terms, criteria and values in combination forms the funnel to determine significance. And significance is defined by the Oxford dictionary as "the quality of being worthy of attention; importance".

The Nara Document on Authenticity recognizes that "judgments about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgments of values and authenticity within fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong" (Nara, 1994:47).

The Burra Charter goes further, defining various types of values and it places a greater emphasis on a relativistic approach referred to as value-based or critical

conservation approach allowing more appropriate responses to significance based on national and local rather than international opinion (Burra, 1999:12).

In South African heritage management, these concepts are implicitly recognised in the 1999 NHR Act in the processes of assessment of cultural significance which is defined as “historical, architectural, aesthetic, environmental, social or technical/ scientific value or significance”: Section 3 (3) of the Act reads:

“a place or object is to be considered part of the national estate if it has cultural significance or other special value because of”:

- (a) its importance in the community, or pattern of South Africa’s history;
 - (b) its possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of South Africa’s natural or cultural heritage;
 - (c) its potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of South Africa’s natural or cultural heritage;
 - (d) its importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a particular class of South Africa’s natural or cultural places or objects;
 - (e) its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group;
 - (f) its importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period;
 - (g) its strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons;
 - (h) its strong or special association with the life or work of a person, group or organization of importance in the history of South Africa; and
 - (i) sites of significance related to the history of slavery in South Africa
- (NHR Act, 1999:Section 3 (3)).

The Act provides a system of management which includes the grading of the extent or degree of significance of heritage resources. In brief, it provides for “Grade I” heritage resources “with qualities so exceptional that they are of special national significance”; “Grade II” heritage resources “which, although forming part of the national estate, can be considered to have special qualities which make them significant within the context of a region”; and “Grade III” resources which are

“other resources worthy of conservation” which refer to local significance as opposed to national or regional (NHR Act, 1999:Section 7 (1)).

So, the “themes,” which were constructed by the authorities, meaning the state instruments (Cape Town City Council and SAHRA), informed the criteria which were used to establish values by which the articulation and assessment of significance was determined. In other words, “government control and oppression”; “creating a living environment” and the “liberation struggle” were the criteria used to inform the values by which significances was determined by CCT and SAHRA.

A review of the Sean Field oral histories, which was undertaken as part of the heritage identification process to establish values and significances, understandably reflects responses with socio-political issues being of primary concern at the time. Being the very first opportunity for the residents of Langa to have had their voices heard and documented with their interests in mind, one can sense the anger and frustration in many of the respondent’s interviews. Stories of inhumane treatment, pass controls, forced removals, humiliation, lack of privacy and space and general hardship are common themes. An abstract from one of the interviewees, Mr C Mama, who participated in the 2001/2 oral history project articulates general conditions in the hostels as follows:

At the flats it is single-beds also... when your wife who has come up from Transkei through illness having to go to hospital, you would take a blanket just to cover your bed area just for that privacy. It is not really privacy but you can take off your clothes and put on fresh ones without anyone seeing you. And this is the only way you could survive that you know. And can you imagine sleeping in the same bed with your wife there and being the envy of thirty people around you? It doesn’t work does it? I mean really, maybe I should not talk like that because immediately I speak about such humiliation, it change my feelings, I get emotional. It makes me want to go to politics because those were politics anyway. I mean this is how we were treated here, we were not even treated as third or fourth class citizens, we were treated like animals.

That's why I feel strongly that we should write this history down and our children, never forget this is how we were treated" (Mama in Field, 2002:9).

This response and values expressed was very typical of most of the interviews during the 2001/2 oral history survey which was meant to inform criteria to establish what the people find significant in Langa and which, it is contended, informed the Phaphamani report. However, if we go back to the first section of this chapter and re-read the Phaphamani heritage report on values, it states that "in this context social value is about collective attachment to places that embody meanings *important to a community*" (emphasis added).

In the same section the Phaphamani report referred to Cultural Significance as "any place [which] tends to describe the value that the place has *to the community* and that includes the social, historical, aesthetic, scientific, spiritual or religious importance of the place for the present, past or future generations" (emphasis added). The report describes these as "assessing criteria" which was used to determine significances in the Langa heritage landscape.

The problem faced with here is, with reference to Harries 2010, Mason 2006, Hobsbawm 1983 et al, to what extent can we confidently say that the values on which the criteria were based to identify significance during the official heritage surveys in Langa, was relevant. Indeed, it is clear that the questions posed to the "community" during the oral history project referred to, had to cover such a wide range of topics that they were not very helpful in determining values related to the built environment. This fact was confirmed during a review of the transcripts of the oral history records undertaken by Sean Field in 2002. In these transcripts, *Beyond the walls: Sites and Stories in Langa* of 2002, only two hostel residents' interviews were captured. These and contemporary interviews undertaken during this study will be discussed and compared for meaning in Chapter Four.

Further to this, to what extent should the rural experience play a role in establishing values of the migrant labour communities of the hostels. It is easy to argue that the community is by-and-large a new generation who are modern,

cosmopolitan and urbanised, however, it is questionable to what degree the rural experience informs underlying values in present-day Langa.

As Field points out “Langa provides a plethora of examples such as homes, schools and churches where significant political or cultural events occurred. But the ‘will to remember’ in working-class communities is shaped by contestations created by the scarcity of housing, jobs and basic infrastructure. These contestations are exacerbated by an under-funded heritage sector and competing views about what should be publicly represented and for whose benefit. The politics of memory and representation are therefore not merely about empirical reproduction, but involve “debate over the production of pasts” (Field quoting Witz, 2003:7). Field says that during his pilot oral history study in Langa during 2002 he utilised “various conceptual tools” such as Nora’s “sites of memory, to explore ways of moving beyond binaries in ways that will help to integrate heritage conservation practices in people’s lives. In part, this requires validating the connections (and disconnections) between people and the sites of memory located within, between and around them. In part, it is an incomplete process of conceptual thinking about practices” (Field, Meyer and Swanson, 2007:33).

It is this last point raised by Field in his paper “Sites of memory in Langa” in *Imagining the City: Memories and Cultures in Cape Town*, referred to above, that is of particular concern in this study. Further to this, did enough “debate over the production of pasts” occur during the state-led determination of heritage values and significances in Langa?

As part of the official heritage survey a Langa Heritage Reference Group was established which consisted of “community leaders and elders from Langa, and officials from the development facilitation Unit and Heritage Resources section of the City of Cape Town City Council” (Field, 2007:34). The establishment of a “Heritage Reference Group” by CCT to assist in identifying the significances in Langa, led to limited layered meanings (thinning of content) and in effect could be seen as a top-down form of Authorised Heritage Discourse being acted out.

If heritage is “...that part of the past that we select in the present for contemporary purposes, whether these be for economic or cultural (including

political and social factors) and choose to bequeath to a future, whatever posterity may choose to do with it" (Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, 2007"35), then how we go about determining what is selected in the present becomes a critical matter.

For this very reason it was important to establish what was meant by the use of the term "community", because throughout all the official documents, surveys and recordings reference are made to a single community. It became clear to me that the residents of Langa were perceived by the authorities as a homogeneous "community" with a single culture, value system and sense of what is significant.

As a way of trying to establish how representative this 'Heritage Reference Group' referred to was, I interviewed Sean Field who undertook oral histories among twenty members of the broader Langa communities during 2002 as part of the official study at the time. Field suggests that "insufficient representation with regards to the migrant hostel dwellers took place" (Field, Interview, 2014). In fact, among twenty interviewees at the time, only two residents from hostels were interviewed by Field in 2002. Mr H Mahamba, who was born in 1937 in Mbogotwana and who was a Langa hostel resident for 47 years. The only other hostel interviewee was, Mr S Mxolose who was born in 1965 in Guguletu and resident in Langa for 34 years at the time.

During this research project, undertaken in 2013, fifteen residents of Langa were interviewed of whom nine are hostel dwellers. These interviews will be discussed and compared at some length in Chapter Four.

Field further commented that he believes that "a certain bias towards house dwellers as opposed to hostel dwellers was present" (Field, Interview, 2014). Field's observations and comments, supported by the oral history recordings referred to, certainly suggests that certain assumptions could have been made and that a level of "top-down" decision making may have been acted out during the 2001/2 heritage identification process by the authorities. If this was not the case, surely much broader opinion among the various hostel residents

would have been elicited to have arrived at the high “Grade I” level of significance. Or, are we to believe that an interested and affected party process to determine heritage values among the various resident hostel communities, which consists of many hostel types and thousands of people, can be determined by interviewing two people?

Further to this, with reference to the SAHRA Submission of 2004 and the earlier Phaphamani Report of 2002, the oral history recordings by Field were regarded as the authoritative document used to determine heritage values and significances. If this is indeed the case, then it must be pointed out that the process was fundamentally flawed as not enough opinions were gathered to make any reasonable assignment of heritage values in Langa other than a bias one.

To be certain if the Langa residents could ever be described as a homogeneous society resembling a “community”, as is the case in the SAHRA and CCT documentation and reports, and as a means of triangulating facts, I looked further back in time to establish if any other research could confirm or contradict this notion. Confirmation was indeed discovered in earlier research which proves that Langa was never a singular “community” as implied in the reports.

These divisions, also observed by Field within the broader communities of Langa, were noted by the anthropologist Monica Wilson and Archie Mafeje who undertook the first in-depth study on social group identity in 1950’s and 1960’s within Langa. “ They found that there were divisions between migrant (*amagoduka*: ‘those who go home’), the semi-urbanised (*iibari*: ‘uncouth countrymen’), and also the townspeople. The last were also apparently divided according to age, job, education and gender into the disreputable, uneducated, manual labourers (*ikhaba*), the artisans and petty bourgeois (*amatopi*), and the professionals and highly educated (*ooscuse-me*)” (Bickford-Smith and van Heyningen, 1999: 134). It was estimated that around thirty percent of the Langa population were regarded as townspeople. Recent oral evidence apparently shows that a degree of migrancy occurred between the townspeople and migrant workers.

Further to this issue, Ashworth also argues that “the first question to be posed of all heritage creation and management is not: ‘What have we got?’ but: ‘What do we want to do?’”(Ashworth, 2007:71). If the argument is accepted that “goals determine content rather than vice versa”, the establishment of the goals, in my opinion, is the most important part of the process which requires extensive research prior to determination of such. To determine the goals establishes the criteria which will be used to identify significances. In the case of Langa, I suggest that this process was not thought through properly.

If we consider for the moment, Langa and its diverse communities within the broader South African context and heritage making process, it provides an official backdrop against which values and significances of Langa were determined.

Within South African pluralised heritage discourse, Ashworth identifies three main policy options to serve as national narrative: “The heritage of resistance to apartheid” to “replace, accommodate or coexist with the previously dominant heritage narrative” (Ashworth, 2007:201).

The first option of replacing would alienate or disinherit minority groups such as the coloured, Malay, Indian and white population (Ashworth, 2007:201).

The second option of accommodating would mean to not replace or ignore, but to “modify” or re-script existing past heritage into the new dominant narrative. Examples of this in use would be the national anthem, national flag and on the sports field the protea emblem having joined the springbok emblem on the national team jersey. Another example which Ashworth refers to, would be the renaming of the “Day of the Vow” (in place since 16 December 1838) to Reconciliation Day.

Ashworth noted that during the apartheid era, black African heritage was not “discarded or excluded” although expressed as “tribal vernacular” (Ashworth, 2007:201-204), which ironically is still acted out in this manner for the tourist market after twenty years of democracy. In this regard, Witz criticised this practice of township tourism by referring to the notion of “essentialised Africa” due to naïve routes and selective presentations of primitive township life. “As the inhabitants of the township have been cast in their assigned (traditional?) roles, and their homes,

schools constructed in the townships of the Western Cape have taken their place on the beaten track of international tourism as living museums to 'township life' (Witz, 2007:274 comment on Grassroute Tours 2000).

The third option according to Ashworth would be the coexistence by "adding the new to a largely un-reconstructed old in a 'parallel heritage model'". The problem with this model is that parallel narratives often contradict and in my opinion would not serve our constitutional aims to create societal coherence.

Of importance in this study has been to determine tendencies with regard to what the people of Langa regard as significant today in order to establish the level of involvement among the communities during the determination and assignment process of values and significances by the authorities a decade ago.

For this reason, the next chapter explores present-day values and significances of the community of Langa with specific reference to the hostel experience and the buildings themselves. This is done after having solicited evidence through one-on-one interviews with hostel residents in 2013 which enables a comparison with values expressed in the "authorised" survey undertaken prior to the 2004 SAHRA Council Submission in which Langa was nominated as a "Grade I" heritage site. This also enables an assessment with regards to the extent the significances determined a decade apart may differ or correlate with each other as a different method of enquiry was followed.

CHAPTER FOUR: Determining the Hostel Communities of Langa's Values and Significances

Exclusions

The official national and regional heritage bodies of SAHRA and HWC are not included in interviews since their opinions are recorded in records of decision and reports which have already been referred to; and the arguments of academics as expressed in papers and other publications on various aspects relevant to this study are referenced and therefore also do not form part of the interview groups either. With regards the heritage practitioners who were involved, their reports are used to obtain the necessary information on values, significance and recommended grading. The only exception was made with regards to the 2002 Sean Field oral history interviews as these formed the basis of determining values and significances for the reports and resultant SAHRA Submission of 2004. Field was therefore interviewed for this study to ascertain his personal observations and experience during his oral history research undertaken in Langa.

Since the main interest here lies in exploring tendencies in layers of cultural meaning within the Langa communities in terms of the personal, public, unofficial, "community" values, the two interview groups are "community-based". Evidence obtained from the "community" interviews are used to compare with the official evaluations allowing analysis of findings to arrive at a conclusion on the concerns raised in the introduction being: to establish whether conservation is an appropriate response in an environment of material, economic and social needs and if so to what extent? Also of interest, is whether the communities agree with the evaluation of significance ascribed to the hostels? Do they understand and agree with the way "their" heritage has been articulated?

On this issue, both the Phaphamani Heritage Report (2002) and Mamphela Ramphele's research on life in the migrant labour hostels (1993:139) pointed out various problematics which affected outcome during their respective research.

The Phaphamani report suggested “due to the fact that the “community” were not yet familiar with the activities of SAHRA caused them to be skeptical regarding participation” (2002:1). A further problematic also pointed out in the same report, referred to internal political struggles which divided the people on issues. Similar power relations was also discovered by Ramphele who noted that: “those not chosen [to participate in her research] were bitter, and in one area where the local chairperson of the women’s committee was overlooked, used her influence to put a spanner in the works, resulting in a much lower response rate than had been expected” (Ramphele, 1993:139). In some hostels the response rate was as low as 1%. The residents blamed the Hostel Dwellers Association, which had strong political associations, for poor organization and problems involving some executive members. Talk of campaigning by local town committees against the HDA led to threads of violence against the research team which had to withdraw on occasion (Ramphele, 1993:140).

It is for these reasons that this survey deliberately used no political, ideological or official heritage jargon in order to achieve its aims in finding out what the people of Langa really value about the hostels, if anything at all.

In the next stage of this study, I have engaged various communities within Langa with questions to seek their opinion on the hostels in order to ascertain the values, inherent and associative, which they attach to the various migrant labour hostels.

Values and Significances within the Langa communities

Introducing the interviewees:

1. Individuals of Langa Communities’ Heritage Bodies/ Organizations interviewed:
A sample group of six individuals who are or were involved in such bodies or cultural projects were selected. There were two persons who served on the original Langa Heritage Foundation and another who represents the Langa

Museum, a past representative of the Hostels Committee, one Trade Unionist and a cultural worker who have been actively involved in community projects. The two people from this group interviewed who participated in the oral history project by Sean Field in 2001/2 both served on the Langa Heritage Foundation.

The reason for not engaging the Heritage Bodies and Organizations more directly or extensively on a “official basis,” but rather to focus on individuals, was that I realised during reviewing reports such as those referred to, and early exploratory interviews, that such bodies are to a large extent part of the “establishment” or state-led heritage management institutions with particular personal or political goals and aims, and therefore ideologically driven which detracts from what this research project was trying to achieve.

Names and biographical information about the interviewees in group 1:

This summarises the first eight background questions referred to under the research methodology section in Chapter One. Transcripts enclosed under Annexures p119-133.

Kqwevela, Knox, born: 1939 in Langa - Resident in a house in Langa. Occupation: Retired, worked for Truworths. Married with children. Served on Langa Heritage Foundation. Participated in the Sean Field Oral history survey in 2001/2 (interviewed on 02.12.2013).

Malusi, Mlungisi, born: 1945 in Retreat - Resident in “Old Flats” Langa for 35 years (1972-2007) years. Now lives in new units. Married with children. Occupation: Retired, worked for Golden Arrow as bus driver. Served on Hostels Committee (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Maqwaca, Alfred, born: 1970 in Langa - Resident in a house in Langa. Single with children. Occupation: Volunteer at Langa Museum (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Nolutshungu, Themba, born in Langa - Langa Heritage Foundation (present chair). Occupation: Cultural worker with Langa Heritage Foundation. Participated in the Langa Reference Group established by CCT. (interviewed on 10.01.2014).

Ntsomi, Theo, born: 1967 in Eastern Cape - Khayelitsha resident for 17 years, lived for 10 years in Langa. Married with 2 children. Occupation: Trade Unionist (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Soha, Velile, born: 1957 in Langa - Resident in a house in Washington Ave. Single with 2 children. Occupation: Self-employed cultural practitioner/ artist (interviewed on 04.09.2013).

2. Langa Communities/ Residents interviewed:

A sample group of nine residents, all of whom reside in one of the various hostels, were interviewed. No more than two participants from one type of hostel were interviewed in order to gain a broad spectrum of opinions which would be representative of most of the hostel types and circumstances.

Names and biographical information about the interviewees in group 2.

This summarises the first eight background questions referred to under the research methodology section in Chapter One. Transcripts enclosed under Annexures p119-133.

Limba, Phuthuma, born: 1980's in Eastern Cape - Hostel resident in North Barracks. Widow with 3 children. Occupation: Manage own restaurant at Main Barracks (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Makhala, Joe, born: 1970's in Eastern Cape - Hostels resident in Railway Hostels for 15 years, lived in "Old Flats" for 20 years. Married with children. Occupation: Works for Unitrans (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Malefane, Thabo, born: 1960 in Langa - Hostels resident in Special Quarters for 8 years. Single with 3 children. Occupation: Unemployed machine operator (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Mnukwa, Makaya, born: 1944 in Eastern Cape - Hostels resident in "Old Flats" for 39 years, previously lived in the Zones for 11 years. Widower with 4 children. Occupation: Retired, worked at UCT library (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Mnyamtse, Doreen, born: 1956 in Eastern Cape - Hostels resident in North Barracks. Single with 3 children. Occupation: Domestic worker in Vredehoek (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Mqikela, Lulamile, born: 1966 in Fish Hoek - Khayelitsha resident who works in Langa. Married with children. Occupation: Housing delivery and facilitation (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Ndaba, Albert, born: 1961 in KwaZulu Natal - Hostels resident in Special Quarters for 30 years. Married with 3 children. Occupation: Unemployed seaman (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Ndlela, Pindi, born: 1976 in Eastern Cape - Hostels resident in Main Barracks for 25 years. Single with children. Occupation: Unemployed security guard (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Nyati, Xolisa, born: 1950's in Eastern Cape - Hostels resident in Main Barracks for 9 years. Single with 1 child. Occupation: Unemployed (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

To refer to the Langa "community" in the singular as a homogeneous society which shares the same values would be misleading. No less than eleven different religious denominations are active in Langa with as many church buildings present. This does not take into account less formal or traditional religious

practices which may exist. Other forms of pluralisation also exist beyond formal structures of definition such as those referred to by Wilson and Mafeje in the previous chapter. Ramphele also observed similar divisions which clearly indicate that Langa is made up of various communities with different values and class distinctions.

Ramphele, also pointed out the divide between the permanent residents living in the married quarters and the migrant labourers of the hostels. Special names were created among the residents to refer to the various “types” of residents having to live within the engineered system. *Amakhaya* for instance referred to “home” people who come from a place near your own. Many migrant labourers who refused mentoring¹ (to save money for annual visits home) or control, surrendered to alcoholism or to other bad habits and social behavior due to the lack of contact with their rural base and the family, became known as *amarusha* (lost to Xhosa customs). Among these men there were those who became *be tshiphle* (completely lost to the city) (Ramphele,1993:58).

From this I presume that some residents of Langa regarded the rural value system as something to uphold as opposed to the values to be found in the urban environment of the city which were seen as negative. As Kqwevela pointed out: “ I used to go to the hostels as a child to find out information on cultural things”, and “youngsters did not roam around because we were family units”. “You were kept disciplined. I miss the discipline which used to be present” (Kqwevela, interview, 02.12.2013).

During my engagement with the different communities, it became evident that the social structure of Langa changed much over the years with many “newcomers”, as expressed by a resident in the special Quarters:

“In the old days it was like a big family, everyone knew each other. I knew who

1 Mentoring was a system of guidance whereby the older senior men would advise the younger men from the rural areas on how to engage with the urban life responsibly. They would for instance be taught how to save money to be able to go home at the end of the year for annual visits. (Ramphele,1993).

lived behind every 'door',² not like today" (Ndaba, interview 12.09.2013).

In attempting to establish what the residents value about Langa in general the following responses are summarised: "friendship; togetherness; shared experiences; close to everything; near transport; sport; music; good sense of orientation; can see Table Mountain; binds everything together such as ancestors; family and friends; provides identity; sense of belonging; Washington Street".

Which hostel/ barracks building do you like and why?. Herewith some responses received:

"The Barracks and Old Flats" (Kqwevela, interview, 2013).

"The Barracks for me, because of the open courtyard space. And, it will be easy to make bigger" (Limba, interview, 2013).

"Old Flats, affordable, one room for one person" (Makhala, interview, 2013).

"None especially, all the same to me" Malefane, interview, 2013).

"Washington Street, old history" (Malusi, interview, 2013)

"The Zones to Mendi Street is home for me, I can talk to the ancestors. You feel at home because your people know you here" (Maqwaca, interview 12.09.2013).

"Old Flats, they are strong" (Mnukwa, interview, 2013).

"New flats, it's clean and safe" (MNyamtse, interview, 2013).

"The history of the place, it provides identity" (Mqikela, interview, 2013).

"Special Quarters, because it accommodates the family" (Ndaba, interview, 2013).

"Barracks, because of its history of the origins of Langa" (Ndlela, interview, 2013).

"The hostels because it is part of the development history of the country" (Nolutshungu, interview, 2014).

"Old Flats, all the political history" (Ntsomi, interview, 2013).

2 A "door", is a symbolic invention which the people living in the various hostels created to establish some sense of home and which separates private from public space. Behind each "door" there are a varying number of units" (Ramphela, 1993:23). "The notion of the 'door' in this setting could also be seen as a desperate measure by the residents to create a boundary between the foreign and the domestic worlds" (Van Gennep, 1960:20).

“The new flats, enough space, kitchen, toilet and so on” (Nyati, interview, 2013).
 “Old Flats, lots of family history memories there. Also the Makana square, Beer hall and the Civi hall” (Soha, interview, 2013).

Some interviewees referred to Langa as *KwaLanga*, *Kwa* being Xhosa for ‘belong’, as opposed to *E’Khayelitsha*, ‘E’ meaning there. This is a clear indication of a sense of belonging and pride of place which exists among some residents.

With regard to my concern whether the residents of Langa feel that the process followed during the determination of significances was adequate, with particular reference to community involvement, the feedback received was that not enough people participated. This sentiment was among others conveyed by a resident who participated in the Sean Field oral history project (during which 20 people were interviewed of whom 2 were hostel residents) and who served on the “Langa Heritage Reference Group”, which later became the Langa Heritage Forum. It was clear that this applied to both that and the study. “We were called together in the hall, but too few people participated” (Kgwevela, interview, 02.12.2013).

Focusing on the hostel’s significance specifically, it was established that half of the interviewees felt that the buildings were somewhat special for associative reasons such as: personal meaning and identity through family histories and memories as expressed. On the questions: what do these buildings mean to you? Are they special? The following are some of the responses received:

“It reminds me of the migrant workers who lived here. They are bit special” (Kgwevela, interview, 02.12.2013).

“Remind me of my father who worked here. No, not special” (Limba, interview, 2013).

“No, not anymore, falling apart. No special meaning” (Makhala, interview, 2013).

“Just a place to stay. Not special” (Malefane, interview 12.09.2013).

“Old history, 1960’s shooting here. Yes, the Old Flats is special” (Malusi, 12.09.2013)

“My uncle lived in the hostels and I grew up with children from the hostels. Telling us what life was like for migrant workers in those days. Yes, they are special” (Magwaca, interview 12.09.2013).

“Yes, they are safe” (Mnukwa, interview, 2013).

“No, too old” (Mnyamtse, interview 12.09.2013).

“Accommodated the migrant labour single males. Families were not allowed access to their fathers. No, not special, only family memories” (Mgikela, interview, 12.09.2013).

“No, not anymore. Too small” (Ndaba, interview, 2013).

“Its home. Yes, that is special” (Ndlela, interview, 2013).

“Yes, they are special, lots of memories” (Nolutshungu, interview, 2014).

“They will always remind me of the bad old days. No, not special” (Ntsomi, interview, 12.09.2013).

“No meaning. Not special” (Nyati, interview 12.09.2013).

“Related to people coming from the homelands, Transkei and Ciskei. Also, extended family lived there. Yes, the Old flats is special” (Soha, interview 04.09.2013)

In terms of intrinsic architectural value of the building fabric itself, two participants’ responses summarises the general opinions received:

“Safe, no cold, no fires, built stronger” (Malusi, interview 12.09.2013). Malusi have been living in the new units since 2007 after having lived in the “Old Flats” for 35 years.

Another resident commented that they are “strong, safe, secure, wind tight” (Mnukwa, Interview 12.09.2013).

These architectural qualities have not been observed before: in fact, Julian Cook, who undertook some work on the hostels in the past states: “Hostels are an unusual topic for a journal of architecture. They are a negative element in the urban landscape and without architectural quality” (Cook, 2007:64).

Contrary to this, the quality of materials used and the strength of the old hostel structures (certainly basic architectural values)³ were specifically pointed out to me as aspects highly valued by most interviewees. These qualities were constantly compared with the new flats, built during the past decade or so which, according to them, are inferior in this respect. This is indeed a negative commentary on contemporary low cost housing building standards.

With regards to aesthetic values, on the question whether the buildings are nice to look at, eleven out of fifteen residents replied “no”. I have to agree with the majority of the residents interviewed, not having observed any aspect which could be regarded as aesthetically pleasing or vaguely interesting about the hostel buildings. The only exception is perhaps the “Old Flats” which poses a sense of scale, rhythm and presence with landmark qualities. However, these qualities are overpowered by the lack of utility and ability to accommodate. Eight of the interviewees did indicate that they like the “Old Flats”.

Most residents interviewed had some idea of the historic and identity value of the hostels in relation to migrant labour history with many references to family members who used to live in the hostels in the old days. Some interviewees also referred to political violence during the apartheid era.

On the question posed whether the hostels/ barracks buildings may be demolished to build new structures, six respondents out of fifteen responded “no”. However, of these six, one suggested that the “Old Flats” should remain; another that one should be retained as a museum; another that all the flats should be turned into 2- and 3- roomed units; another that they should be renovated and improved; another that as long as there is a place to stay while they build new buildings and yet another was concerned about losing the safety.

3 Vitruvius (born 80-70 BC died after 15BC), Roman architect and engineer wrote the first treatise on good architecture in a multi-volume book *De Architectura*. He referred to three fundamental principles that all good architecture should poses: *Firmitas* (Durability) - it should stand up robustly; *Utilitas* (Utility) - it should be useful and function well for the people using it; and *Venustatis* (Beauty) - it should delight people and lift their spirits.

The residents' reference to the hostels vary from calling them *eMaholoweni* (Xhosa for hollow place/ hall); *Amaholo* (Hostels); *Kwa Maxhaseni* (people from the Eastern Cape) to just calling them hostels or by the name of the particular hostel, ie. North Barracks, Old Flats, etc.

It was evident that the majority of residents interviewed would not object to the demolition of most of the hostels as long as the people have the security of a home while new improved structures are being built. Nine out of fifteen residents indicated this tendency. Another aspect which was articulated in no uncertain terms was that the residents will not be satisfied with poor quality materials and the lack of space and privacy.

The sentiments expressed with regard to which hostel building the residents prefer and want to see conserved or restored, were mostly related to their own hostel. These responses could merely be as a result of familiarity linked with the security of what they know and have experience of. However, the Old hostels, which are ungraded, were mentioned and praised more than any other structures in Langa by the interviewees. Specific mention was made to its strength of materials used and quality construction which is wind tight, waterproof and safe.

Regarding the residents' social lived experience of the hostels, many memories were shared. On the question: what is your experience of these buildings? The following are some of the answers received:

“Just a place to stay really” (Nyati, interview, 2013).

“Despite the conditions, the men made the best of it, they were happy. They would slaughter a cow in the new year and share with us. Invokes personal memories. I remember going over there to sell hobs” (Nolutshungu, interview 09.01.2014).

“Extended family from home utilised them because the family houses were small. Memories of family living there. *Amasoka*, not married people lived there” (Soha, interview 04.09.2013).

“I lived here for 35 years, lots of history here for me” (Malusi, interview 12.09.2013).

“Stayed with my uncle who was not registered here, had to sleep under the bed due to little space. Don’t go there anymore. Depressing, I don’t want to live in the past. Also reminds me of how badly African people were treated in the apartheid system” (Ntsomi, interview, 12.09.2013).

“Reminds me of my father who used to live here” (Limba, interview 12.09.2013).

“To me it reminds me of the divorce between my mother and father” (Mgikela, interview 12.09.2013).

“Our fathers stayed here. Mother came to visit for three weeks” (Ndlela, interview 12.09.2013).

“My uncles lived there. Grew up together with the children from the hostels. Also, they tell us something about what life was like for migrant workers” (Maqwaca, interview, 2013).

“No special meaning for me” Makhala, interview, 2013).

“It was just a place for bachelors” (Malefane, interview, 2013).

“Just a place to stay. No water inside, too little space with a shared toilet” (Mnyamtse, interview, 2013).

“Yes, it’s the migrant labour history. Youngsters did not roam around” (Kqwevela, interview, 2013).

“Lived in the Old Flats for 30 years. They are safe, secure and wind tight. Strong” (Mnukwa, interview, 2013).

“Our fathers lived in them” (Ndaba, 2013).

In summary of the communities values determined in this study, I discovered associative values, intrinsic architectural values, historic values and social values through lived experiences. This is somewhat contrary to the official assessment which referred mostly to socio-political and historic values with reference to the hostels.

By way of comparing the values expressed during the Field oral history project in 2002 with the tendencies of values expressed during the 2013 study discussed above, herewith an extract from the transcripts of the two hostel residents interviewed by Field during the oral history recordings. Although they were not specific about the issues this study is concerned with regarding heritage values of the hostels in particular, they do provide a sense of living conditions and life-style in the hostels:

“There were contrasting conditions between the hostels in the Zones and the main barracks. This interviewee described the hostels in the Zones in the following way”:

Mr S. Mxolose (Cllr.), born 1965 in Guguletu, 34 years of age at the time of the interview:

For instance the zones, it was just a house with rooms and we shared the dining room. We shared everything, even the rooms, in the rooms there were 3 beds, those beds were owned by men and of course men grew to families. So we used to stay like that. The hostel that still resembles those is zone 1, it is still like the ones we used to stay in and they are still staying in the same condition that we used to (Mxolose, interviewed by Field, 2002).

“Whereas the Main barracks were”:

Wow! It was worse, it was far better in the zones. Even there for instance the homeboys stay together. Like my people were 74, 78, 80 and 84, we knew those people were coming from our area. But the conditions were worse than those cause you stay in one big hall. There was bed up, there was bed below. The situation was worse because there was no form of privacy. Even though there was no privacy in that other place at least there was homes. Here everyone is staying in that big hall. For instance, my father he got a bed and I

used to sleep just in front of his bed because that's where I slept with my brothers. It was better in the zones the toilets were inside, now I have to go some distance to the communal block toilets and the showers on the other side. Cooking was done outside, then they were using three-legged pots, these blacklegged pots and they were cooking outside (Mxolose, interviewed by Field, 2002).

Mr H Mahamba, born 1937 in Mbogotwana, 47 years old at the time of the interview:

"The flats were described in the following manner":

OK, in the new flats, first of all...there's 16 people in the hostel. They elect one man and they can call that man *sibanda*. If someone done something wrong, he will call the meeting and first of all we sit together... every time someone have to clean the room at such and such a time and plus the toilet and all that, so if he do not do that I'm going to call the meeting. A charge will be so much, also controlling of noise, no noise after 10pm all those kinds of things (Mahamba, interviewed by Field, 2002).

These two transcripts extracts are typical of the type of interviews on oral histories which were conducted during 2002 by Sean Field. It is however evident that the interviewees gave little or no indication that they value or regard the hostel buildings in any positive way. The Field oral history report nevertheless, recommended that: "The site identifications of the Heritage Reference Group are confirmed"; "the identified sites need to be protected and conserved" and that the identified sites are of profound significance to the community, especially older generations" (Field, 2002:31). The need for further research was also identified and recommended in the report.

With the next chapter I will present my argument in favor of value-based or critical conservation management as opposed to building-as-a-document or historical/

stylistic preservation approaches in Langa with specific reference to the social housing typologies. This will be argued on the basis of the values, criteria and significances perceived by the “establishment” (state-led heritage management institutions) counter-posed to those of the communities (residents of Langa, interested and affected parties and heritage practitioner arguments in literature) as determined in this study undertaken in 2013.

In order to establish an orientation and familiarise the reader with the complex hybrid context of the postcolonial context South Africa finds itself in, I will begin by referring to expert opinion and academic arguments on the subject of social housing as heritage and heritage management in general.

CHAPTER FIVE: Debating Heritage Values and Significances.

Davies posed critical questions in a paper entitled *Black Heritage in South Africa: Issues and Dilemmas* by asking “why would blacks, emerging from an experience of oppression wish to conserve fabric [such as the Langa hostels] that illustrates and symbolizes their past lack of control and humiliation?” He further points out “the fact that these areas were the products of outsider repression and exploitation, produces a whole series of difficult questions on the appropriateness of designating these areas” (Davies, 2001:7). Davies’ concerns were raised during the same year in which the official Langa heritage survey was conducted. It should be noted that his input was claimed to be incorporated in the SAHRA submission.

These concerns raised by Davies are being echoed in international heritage discourse through a renewed interest in “working class peoples” heritage which has been significantly neglected within heritage research and practice (Shackel, Smith and Campbell, 2001:291).

The problematic is compounded further by Laurajane Smith’s observation “that traditional accounts of heritage are framed by the Authorized Heritage Discourse or AHD” (Smith, 2006:87). In brief, what Smith means by the AHD is best explained in her own words: “Heritage is not a *thing* with defined meanings and values, but an ‘inherently political and discordant’ practice that performs the cultural ‘work’ of the present. It can be utilised by different intent-groups and individuals for different purposes and with varying degrees of hegemony and legitimacy” (Smith, 2006:11).

In other words, in the same way that so called “official histories” are written to suit particular ideological purposes, heritage creation or invention can serve similar purposes in legitimizing agency in terms of identity, politics and power relations in any given context including vulnerable communities such as Langa.

Shackel makes the case that “professional discourse, heavily influenced by Western European understandings of heritage and by cultural and class experiences of heritage professionals and cultural elite, defines heritage as

material, grand, 'good,' aesthetically pleasing and monumental" (Shackel, Smith and Campbell, 2011:291). The AHD undermines subaltern heritage placing it in a 'special category' separate from 'normal' heritage. This also has consequences and effects regarding legitimacy which influences perceptions about heritage and "...deny the cultural and historical legitimacy and agency of these groups, including working class people, whose cultural, social and historical experiences fall outside the conceptual frameworks validated by the AHD" (Shackel, Smith and Campbell, 2011:291).

Logan and Smith states in the foreword of *Heritage, Labour and the Working Classes* (2011) "It is time to look again at the contestation that inevitably surrounds the identification and evaluation of heritage and to find new ways to elucidate the many layers of meaning that heritage places and intangible cultural expressions have acquired". They also point out that:

It is time, too, to recognize more fully that heritage protection does not depend on top-down interventions by governments or the expert actions of heritage industry professionals, but must involve local communities and communities of interest. It is imperative that the values and practices of communities, together with traditional management systems, are fully understood, respected, encouraged and accommodated in management plans and policy documents if heritage resources are to be sustained into the future. Communities need to have a sense of 'ownership' of their heritage; this reaffirms their worth as a community, their ways of going about things, their 'culture' (Smith, Shackel and Campbell, 2011:xv).

Russo and Linkon refer to "lived experiences of working class people", which according to them require special attention and "critical engagement", since "it provides a site for conversation and opportunities for collaboration" with a variety of cultural collaborators including working class people (Russo and Linkon, 2005: 14-15). An example of such a bottom-up collaboration locally is the Lwandle migrant labour museum (see Murray and Witz, 2013). Although they recorded

difficulties during the process of community participation, the project was a success in the end.

Without critical engagements by communities on issues of heritage, it is clear that only the officially constructed national narratives will prevail causing a superficial thinning of content and leading to what Samuel (1994) referred to as “commercial misrepresentation that dishonestly stands in for a real history” instead of being “a theatre of memory where active, complex and nuanced representations of working class life have contemporary resonance” (quoted in Smith, Shackel and Campbell, 2011:3); (see also Witz, 2011).

This argument is taken further by Smith et al: “...most attempts at public or community inclusion into heritage programmes are inevitably expressed in assimilatory terms, in that excluded community groups become ‘invited’ to ‘learn’, ‘share’ or become ‘educated’ about authorized heritage values and meanings” (Smith, Shackel and Campbell, 2011:44).

Successful and unsuccessful heritage projects in which community participation played a major role in southern Africa are discussed by Chirikure, Manyanga et al in a paper “Unfulfilled Promises? Heritage management and community participation at some of Africa’s cultural sites” (2010). Having reviewed various heritage sites on the African continent, they have come to similar conclusions as I have in this study. Their findings are that: “it is a mistake to view community participation as a homogeneous practice. This is because at any given site the local situation is very different, which implies that the needs are different”. It is also found that: “...there is a need for active research programmes by heritage managers to generate information for management as well as for empowering local communities”. It is further suggested that “the local situation should determine the nature of participation and/or levels of engagement needed” and that “one cannot be prescriptive”. Chirikure concludes that “in southern Africa it is equally important to recognise that given the land disputes, involvement with a heritage site might not have anything to do with historical links but rather modern-day political dynamics” and that the process of including communities in decisions regarding heritage resources “still remain unfulfilled and at best experimental”

(Chirikure, Manyanga, Ndoro and Pwiti, 2010:30 - 41) The tendencies ascertained in this study seems to reflect the sentiments as expressed by Chirikure et al.

As the concept of heritage is socially constructed, it is necessary to acknowledge its diverse and changing nature Smith points out: “On the one level heritage is about the promotion of a consensus version of history by state-sanctioned cultural institutions and elites to regulate cultural and social tensions in the present. On the other hand, heritage may also be a resource that is used to challenge and redefine received values and identities by a range of subaltern groups”. (Smith, 2011:4).

A further observation in this regard is made by Gibson and Pendlebury in *Valuing Historic Environments*, in that heritage is not universal or static: “heritage is socially constructed has been a truism in much academic debate and has been increasingly acknowledged in practice arenas” (2009:181). It should also be noted that the Getty Conservation Institute has “asserted the idea that the notion of heritage is universal, but is articulated in culturally specific ways” (Avrami and Mason, 2000). English Heritage has also accepted the idea of fluid values about heritage and acknowledges that some relate to “culturally-specific conditioning” (English Heritage, 2008).

These observations are particularly valid within the South African environment but does not further the debate on how we should go about resolving the issue, as Shepherd points out: “the notion of heritage offers a language through which to discuss contested issues of culture”, it however “hovers uneasily in the space between the individual consciousness and the collective, between the idiosyncratic and what is held in common” (Shepherd, 2008:117); and he goes further asking what heritage language is involved and what is meant by it. In other words, what should be regarded as conservation-worthy heritage and how should it be decided?

The “use and articulation of heritage values (often called ‘cultural significance’)” is critical in a conservation effort since its assessment drives decision making according to Randall Mason (Avrami, Mason and de la Torre, 2000:5). Even though values are regarded extremely important in “understanding and planning

for heritage conservation, there is little knowledge about how, pragmatically, the whole range of heritage values can be assessed in the context of planning and decision making” (Avrami, Mason and de la Torre, 2000:5).

Mason suggests that the methodology of assessment of heritage values is inherently full of difficulties. This is as a result of the wide variety of values such as cultural, economic, political, aesthetic etc. which often compete. Furthermore, Mason explains that “values change over time and are strongly shaped by contextual factors (such as social forces, economic opportunities, and cultural trends)”. “All models for values-based conservation include a step in which the significance of the site or building in question is established.¹ Too often, experts determine significance on the basis of a limited number of established criteria” (Avrami, Mason and de la Torre, 2005:5).

Research in the field of values-based methodology is ongoing, such as work done by Setha Low, who reviewed methods in anthropology to assess socio-cultural values in a paper “Anthropological-Ethnographic Methods for the Assessment of Cultural Values in Heritage Conservation” (2002) in which the Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures referred to as the REAP Methodology is explained. Briefly this method consists of physical traces mapping; behavioral mapping; transect walks; individual interviews; expert interviews; impromptu group interviews; focus groups; participant observation; historical and archival documents and analysis (Avrami, et al, 2005:37).

This proposed method allows the triangulation of information through overlaying the various forms of information which provides multi-layered meanings. This method uses the Economic and Heritage Conservation meeting report (GCI 1999) which is intended to be complementary to the Parallel Economic values assessment (Avrami, et al, 2005:48).

With the inception of the South African National Heritage Act 1999, a new management system of identifying and grading heritage resources came into being.

1 The main steps offered by Mason are: 1. Identification and Description; 2. Assessment and Analysis and 3. Response with various work packages described under each heading (see Avrami, Mason and de la Torre, 2005:6).

This system allows for and anticipates a greater public participation in the valuing of significance and expecting more depth in its articulation. The preamble of the Act state “This legislation aims to promote good management of the national estate, and to enable and encourage communities to nurture and conserve their legacy so that it may be bequeathed to future generation” (NHR Act 1999, Preamble).

The Act goes further by suggesting heritage as a means of addressing past inequities and points out that it is a means of celebrating our achievements while deepening our understanding of society.

In general, however, law does not determine the outcomes of contradictions like these and the practical implementation of governance reveal these difficulties in determining communities heritage values as opposed to those of the “experts” and officials. Similar problems are experienced in other countries as well, as the Byker case study revealed:

Malpass, in *Social Housing as Heritage: The Case of the Byker, Newcastle upon Tyne*, considers the potential impact of the formal listing of a modern social housing scheme designed by Ralph Erskine in 1968-75 (Malpass in Gibson, Pendlebury, 2009:179-200). They explore through interviews with various stakeholders including residents and a heritage practitioner’s opinions to determine how Byker ² is valued. “In particular if people do consider Byker as somewhere unique and special, what does this mean?” and “Does the recognition of the estate as special through statutory listing in any way capture how the estate is valued?” Although the official listing cited the significance as being architectural and historic of nature, a self-conscious identity of “kinship and friendship,” associated with the origins of the old part of the original estate prevailed as most significant.

Malpass, in his paper “Who’s Housing Heritage?” (quoted King, 2006 in Gibson

2 Byker is a well-known social housing development in Newcastle upon Tyne in England, which is internationally recognised by architects for specifically its community-led architectural design redevelopment approach, implemented in 1968 - 75 when accomplished architect Ralph Erskine received the commission. It’s design and construction was unique and special Precisely because of the community driven approach followed. However, perceptions of the estate as perceived by residents and other communities and experts are very different.

and Pendlebury, 2009:201-213), by saying that “houses are actually much more complicated and multi-dimensional. As a result there are different ways of attaching and measuring value in houses”. He continues saying that these values include “aesthetics, location, utility, asset worth and sentimental attachment. A home is an address which conveys a lot about the occupants’ social and economic status, provides shelter, a store for possessions, an arena for social interaction and sometimes a site of economic activity”. According to Malpass a home “that is valued is one that provide a degree of security and privacy for family life”.

Malpass point out that John Turner in *Freedom to Build* (1972) referred to “housing as a verb: dwelling needs to be recognised as an activity as well as a structure, and it is reasonable to suggest that what people value is the extent to which their house enables them to make a home in it (or of it)”. Malpass also refers to the Byker estate by saying “it is an irony that the replacement buildings are now listed” (Malpass in Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009:202).

Malpass argues that all housing should be seen as heritage and not as heritage housing. In the context of social housing he presents pertinent reasons why this should be so: “a focus on housing as heritage misses most of what is important about housing” and “that all housing is a form of heritage to be valued and cherished for the indefinite future, and therefore, flexibility and utility must take priority” and “that it is possible to protect neighborhoods and at the same time allow people to live in homes that respond to changing needs and preferences”. Malpass also suggests that “the listing of buildings elevates the importance of design and physical structure over the cultural processes and achievements of which they are a reflection” (Malpass in Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009:213).

It is against these arguments and case background that I question the effectiveness of the process which was followed by the authorities in the determination of significance of the township of Langa and more specifically that of the social housing types of the migrant labour hostels.

If we consider the complex history of Langa, fraught with imposed and “invented heritage”, combined with the multi-cultural nature and non-homogeneous

“pluralised”³ communities present, it is surprising that SAHRA’s process of determining values and significances was so narrow. This led to premature definitions in establishing criteria since mere lip service was paid to critical aspects such as acculturation (the process of cultural change and psychological change that results from the meeting between cultures). Premature top-down assumptions and a lack of in-depth research may have been responsible for the deficit of content which resulted in the simplified criteria: “It is a site representative of the repressive system imposed on urban, black South Africans; It is a site of special meaning to the community in their quest to create a living environment, and It is a site of significance in the fight for the freedom in South Africa” (Submission to SAHRA Council, 2004:8).

The tendency in opinions in this study have indicated a much more complex scenario with multi-layered cultural experiences which cannot possibly be defined in the three official “themes” established by the authorities (CCT and SAHRA). In fact, only three participants made any reference to socio-political issues and they are all in one way or another affiliated to the “establishment”. The majority of participants in this study were concerned with materiality in terms of improved utilitarian accommodation, safety and security. This is contradicted by the official version of values and significances established as articulated through the SAHRA Submission in 2004.

Since migrant labour history and experience is central to the determination of significances in Langa, one would have imagined that the place, or places from where the residents migrated from would have been included in the study to assist in establishing values. This would have assisted in determining to what extent traditional values from “home” survived in the migration process among other informants. Limited “community” engagement took place, as mentioned by some

3 Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge in *Pluralising Pasts*, 2007, makes the point that: “heritage is big business. From museums and the preservation of old buildings to broader questions of community and identity, heritage is now a political issue”. Various models of dealing with plural societies are explained such as: assimilatory, integrationist or single-core models; the pillar model; salad bowl/ rainbow or mosaic model (such as South Africa); melting pot models and Core+models (Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, 2007).

of the interviewees which means that a shallow record of personal accounts was obtained. This fact was confirmed by Sean Field who conducted the oral histories during 2002. Further to this, he also indicated that a certain bias towards house dwellers were present which led to limited information being obtained from the various hostel residents.

It would be reasonable to suggest that there may have been a degree of enthusiasm to implement the new Act, which at the time was regarded by some to be a solution to socio-economic problems in previously disadvantaged communities. Utopian promise of economic upliftment was the vision through heritage tourism - which was part of the national plan. However, it is clear that too great an expectation was created by this vision that heritage was going to solve the economic backlog in impoverished communities.

In this regard, Ciraj Rassool remarked in a paper "The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstruction of History in South Africa": "while heritage projects continue to serve up new discourses of the heroic leader, who delivered the nation from apartheid's evil, of the 'rainbow nation,' where culture is framed largely in primordial terms, and of reconciliation, South Africa's 'special offering' to the world, almost every sphere of heritage production has seen complexity, controversy and contestation" (Rassool, 2000:1). Rassool also points out that certain projects have begun to go beyond the "dominant narrations" by "contesting the constitutive elements of the nation" such as the cultural politics of tourism and memorialization (Rassool, 2000:1) (see also Murray and Witz 2013; Witz 2011 and Murray; and Shepherd 2007).

If we consider the limited notions of heritage values and significances determined by the establishment in 2001/2 as defined in the SAHRA Submission in 2004, it is evident that a narrowing of meaning to serve the "popular" socio-political narrative of the day was implemented as a strategy in heritage identification and management; and that the identification of heritage was too authoritative or, even, invented.

Further to this, if we compare my findings described in Chapter Four, which also include architectural (quality of material and strength of structure) and

associative lived awareness as referenced by interviewees of traditional rural links, it becomes clear that the heritage identification process which took place in Langa in 2001/2 was less than ideal and appears to have been choreographed to suit the tourism industry as “negative heritage” at the long term expense of the community who are now unwittingly encouraged to maintain a static identity acting out their impoverished role and “primitive performance” (see Meskell, 2012:28-29). Meskell built a strong case against the notion of naturalising culture and diversity through commercialization and branding which are “far from harmless or uplifting”, warning against the troubling consequences (Meskell, 2012:28).

In this regard, Smith and Waterton is outspoken about this in saying: “the naturalised conservation ethic is thus both technocratic and top-down, designed to deal primarily with a nationally-based understanding of heritage and the past, and draws explicitly on the rights of future generations as a commonsense principle”. (Smith and Waterton, 2012:27). Smith makes the implicit point that: “Heritage management, conservation, preservation and restoration are not just objective technical procedures, they are themselves part of the subjective heritage performance in which meaning is re/ created and maintained” (Smith, 2006:88).

Significances obtained and observed from the residents regarding the Langa hostels include:

The intrinsic significance of the fabric dates to the early origins of the place, and clearly illustrates an historical period in the evolution of Langa. Good security, the quality of materials and strength of the structures are highly valued by all the interviewees.

The associational significance can be described as being highly significant in terms of association with a social group.

Social events and activities and values in terms of public memory and the role played by the residents in the process leading to democracy.

The contextual significance can be described as historical in terms of visual spatial landmarks and contributes to the understanding of the growth and understanding of the township.

Further to this, the convenient location of the Township of Langa is highly valued by all the residents due to its proximity to Cape Town and Epping Industria for work and easy access to transport facilities to anywhere in the Cape Peninsula.

There exists no plausible explanation for significance of the hostel buildings in Langa to be of national "Grade I" significance. If we had to compare this grading to other SAHRA acknowledged national "Grade I" status sites such as District Six and the Bo-Kaap, a lack of consistency seems to be present.

With regards the grading by SAHRA, it is my opinion that all the hostels should be downgraded based on the intrinsic, associational and contextual significances as described by the communities during the determination of tendencies in this study.

CHAPTER Six: Conclusion

This case study, in which tendencies were determined, was initiated by asking some critical questions about heritage and its meaning within the context of communities in material need, in relation to authorised assignation of significance with particular reference to the Langa hostels. During the research, archival documents were examined to ascertain criteria used and the process followed in order to reconstruct the official heritage-making process which led to the “Grade I” status by SAHRA in 2004.

Published literature on community and working class heritage was surveyed to establish firm theoretical ground with particular reference to the process of determining values and significances. This showed that subaltern heritages such as working class heritage has been largely neglected or, worse, being choreographed to fit into an “Authorised Heritage Discourse” (see Smith, 2006), such as national narratives.

Recently, a more critical approach referred to as “critical heritage studies” (Harrison, 2010) argued for the “broadening of heritage analysis” since it needs to be understood “that heritage ‘does’ things in society” (Smith, Shackel and Campbell, 2011) this means:

It requires embracing the dissonant and not simply acknowledging the multiplicity of values and cultural meanings that heritage places and practices may have, but also understanding their wider social consequences and ideological significances (Smith and Shackel, 2011:4).

It is in the light of these arguments that I realised the value of seeking out the very contestations in a context as it presents opportunities for new meanings to be revealed allowing more constructive heritage-articulation which goes beyond superficially constructed dominant narratives.

These observations guided me to conduct interviews with a number of communities in Langa on a one-on-one basis to ascertain what they value and find significant regarding one class of artifacts identified earlier as heritage, the hostels.

Two ideas emerged:

One - the majority of interviewees referred to memories of lived experiences or to those of extended family having resided in the various hostels;

Two - a few expressed the wish to see the rehabilitation (renovation & improvement) as opposed to demolition.

However, the opinions of the second group were by far in the minority with most residents being concerned primarily with security, privacy, safety and better utilitarian use. The lack of space, shared ablutions and need for maintenance weaved a common thread of complaints.

After conducting my interviews with members of the hostel communities, I was under the impression that sentiments must have shifted from residents regarding the hostel buildings with a high degree of value and significance assigned to them during the official survey undertaken a decade ago. However, during my interview with Sean Field and after reading his oral history transcripts from 2002, it became clear that my findings in the 2013 survey, which focused on the hostels and its residents, contradict the earlier survey with regards the high significance assigned to the buildings. Because the interviews done a decade ago were bias towards the house dwellers, few opinions were obtained from the hostel dwellers themselves, which resulted in the incorrect perception created in the SAHRA 2004 Submission which suggests that the residents regard the hostels with a high level of significance.

Through a series of interviews with residents, it became clear that an attenuation of content took place during the official process of determining significances in the Langa communities in 2001/2. This was probably as a result of a lack of proper “community” engagement, as concerns were expressed in this regard in the 2002 Phaphamani heritage report and by some of my interviewees in 2013. Sean Field

also confirmed that a certain bias towards house dwellers were present during the process. One of my interviewees, Nolutshungu, expressly stated: “the councilors praise people who live in houses” (Nolutshungu, interview, 2014). These comments clearly indicates a tendency which cannot be ignored in the overall analysis as it could only have contributed to an incorrect reading of values and significances within the Langa communities.

The method employed, seems to have produced indifferent results with regards to what the communities find important and value most about the hostel buildings. The “strength of the materials” (structural firmness), security, protection against the elements, recalling memories of family members and kinship, as well as a traditional sense of discipline due to togetherness, and linkages to rural traditions which were present in the past in the Langa hostels, surfaced as the most significant qualities associated with the hostels during this study.

This is somewhat contrary to the dominant reference in the official surveys which refer almost solely to the hostels as political space, a place of struggle and of government control and oppression. These values may well also be present, and in my opinion are, but are certainly not all encompassing as expressed in the SAHRA submission of 2004.

This research project indicates tendencies which either shows that the communities of Langa’s sentiments have shifted over the past decade for reasons unbeknown (since the interviews by Field) from being predominantly socio-politically charged to a greater focus on immediate concerns of security, materiality and improved utility today. Alternatively, the 2001/2 surveys were too broad in its emphasis and not specific enough to establish the communities’ values regarding the built environment, thus enabling SAHRA’s and CCT’s apparent “top-down” determination of criteria of significance. A further possibility could be the method of enquiry used which produced indifferent results.

This would explain why the values on which the criteria were based to determine significance during the official process in 2001/2 differ from those expressed in this 2013 tendency survey. However, the findings may also indicate the possibility that the way in which the criteria were established in the first

instance was indeed based on premature establishment of significance prior to in-depth knowledge of the communities' values. Should this be the case, which the evidence in this study seems to indicate, then I am of the opinion that a level of "top-down" decision making did take place during the determination process.

The core problematic which needs to be resolved in determining heritage values and significances in communities such as Langa rests in the appropriate methodological approach as well as less political involvement by the authorities in the actual process of determination of significance. Independent practitioners should be engaged in this task (which includes the participation process of the communities) without authority interference. In fact, when dealing with vulnerable communities and potentially contested situations, it is my opinion that more than one multi-disciplinary team should be appointed independently to ascertain the communities' values and significances in order to have a measure of quality control and to establish a means of comparison.

In conclusion I would like to briefly revisit my original concerns at the inception of the project to ascertain to what extent these can be answered.

The community engagement leading up to the 2004 SAHRA submission was not ideal. The process followed should have included other layers of meaning less important to the grand politically motivated themes which were prematurely established in my opinion. The residents do not regard the hostel buildings as such particularly special or important. Associative references, memories of family lived experiences, political history and links to rural culture, can be articulated and memorialized through other means. The architectural significances which the residents have pointed out about the hostels were the strength of materials, safety and firmness of structure which are architectural principles which new structures could provide. Subtle nuances and symbolism such as the notion of the "door" can also find expression through new architecture.

Regarding my concern as to whether social housing could be regarded as heritage, I would postulate that all housing which accommodates the needs of its residents and continues to allow its future occupants to make a home in it, may be

regarded as heritage. In the case of the Langa hostels, this notion is clearly not present, or put differently, not exposed in this 2013 study.

Ramphele came to a similar conclusion in her earlier research suggesting that: “they are neither acknowledged as legitimate extensions of the working environment, nor defined as domestic space accessible to the families of those living there” (Ramphele, 1993:4).

The core issues explored here are to what extent conservation of the built form should play a role in communities and environments such as Langa, if at all; whether built form conservation is called for in the midst of pressing social needs; and most importantly, whether it is heritage at all. Questions such as: whose values and what significance is at stake in conservation efforts in Langa and to what degree were the articulated significances influenced by the residents or controlled by the establishment to suit the national narrative?

These questions were explored by tracing the criteria used and process followed during the identification and determination of the significance(s) of the hostels by SAHRA; and then, a decade later a reconstruction of the process through archival material and relevant documentation, together with resident interviews, indicated that the process was conceived to conform to an official narrative, reflecting critical assumptions made about values on which criteria were grounded in order to determine significances. The assumptions that were made and bias that were observed seems to indicate that a fundamentally top-down approach, influencing meaning and the reading of the heritage of Langa was present.

The problematic identified, is political and methodological of nature. Criteria were prematurely established without an in-depth knowledge of the various communities' values present in Langa which resulted in a deficiency of heritage content to suit an established template. The mere reference to Langa as though it is a singular “community” and the observation that a certain level of bias towards one “community” took place during the official survey, seems to indicate at least

two levels of a top-down approach to suit pre-determined ideas about heritage in Langa.

What is argued here is not whether heritage management should play a role in the communities of Langa, or whether heritage significances exist or not, but rather how the significances should be determined to deliver layered meanings. Also, to what extent a preservation approach of treating buildings-as-documents (as opposed to a critical approach which considers peoples' values and what they find significant) should be adopted, is in question.

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Interviews

1. Individuals of Langa Communities' Heritage Bodies/ Organizations

Kqwevela, Knox, born: 1939 in Langa - Resident in a house in Langa. Occupation: Retired, worked for Truworths. Married with children. Served on Langa Heritage Foundation. Participated in the Sean Field Oral history survey in 2001/2 (interviewed on 02.12.2013).

Malusi, Mlungisi, born: 1945 in Retreat - Resident in "Old Flats" Langa for 35 years (1972-2007) years. Now lives in new units. Married with children. Occupation: Retired, worked for Golden Arrow as bus driver. Served on Hostels Committee (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Maqwaca, Alfred, born: 1970 in Langa - Resident in a house in Langa. Single with children. Occupation: Volunteer at Langa Museum (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Nolutshungu, Themba, born in Langa - Langa Heritage Foundation (present chair). Occupation: Cultural worker with Langa Heritage Foundation. Participated in the Langa Reference Group established by CCT. (interviewed on 10.01.2014).

Ntsomi, Theo, born: 1967 in Eastern Cape - Khayelitsha resident for 17 years, lived for 10 years in Langa. Married with 2 children. Occupation: Trade Unionist (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Soha, Velile, born: 1957 in Langa - Resident in a house in Washington Ave. Single with 2 children. Occupation: Self-employed cultural practitioner/ artist (interviewed on 04.09.2013).

2. Langa Communities/ Hostel Residents

Limba, Phuthuma, born: 1980's in Eastern Cape - Hostel resident in North Barracks. Widow with 3 children. Occupation: Manage own restaurant at Main Barracks (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Makhala, Joe, born: 1970's in Eastern Cape - Hostels resident in Railway Hostels for 15 years, lived in "Old Flats" for 20 years. Married with children. Occupation: Works for Unitrans (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Malefane, Thabo, born: 1960 in Langa - Hostels resident in Special Quarters for 8 years. Single with 3 children. Occupation: Unemployed machine operator (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Mnukwa, Makaya, born: 1944 in Eastern Cape - Hostels resident in "Old Flats" for 39 years, previously lived in the Zones for 11 years. Widower with 4 children. Occupation: Retired, worked at UCT library (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Mnyamtse, Doreen, born: 1956 in Eastern Cape - Hostels resident in North Barracks. Single with 3 children. Occupation: Domestic worker in Vredehoek (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Mqikela, Lulamile, born: 1966 in Fish Hoek - Khayelitsha resident who works in Langa. Married with children. Occupation: Housing delivery and facilitation (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Ndaba, Albert, born: 1961 in KwaZulu Natal - Hostels resident in Special Quarters for 30 years. Married with 3 children. Occupation: Unemployed seaman (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Ndlela, Pindi, born: 1976 in Eastern Cape - Hostels resident in Main Barracks for 25 years. Single with children. Occupation: Unemployed security guard (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

Nyati, Xolisa, born: 1950's in Eastern Cape - Hostels resident in Main Barracks for 9 years. Single with 1 child. Occupation: Unemployed (interviewed on 12.09.2013).

3. Oral History Facilitator

Field, Sean, 2014, Interview about his oral history research in Langa during 2002.

Past director of the Centre for Popular memory (2001-2012); is senior lecturer at the Faculty of Humanities: Department of Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town.

Interpreter/ Facilitator

Velile Soha, assisted with the community interviews. He is a visual artist who was born in 1957 in Langa and still resides there. Medium: Printmaking. Subject matter: "Convergence of the lives and worlds of township residents with those of rural communities".

Annexures

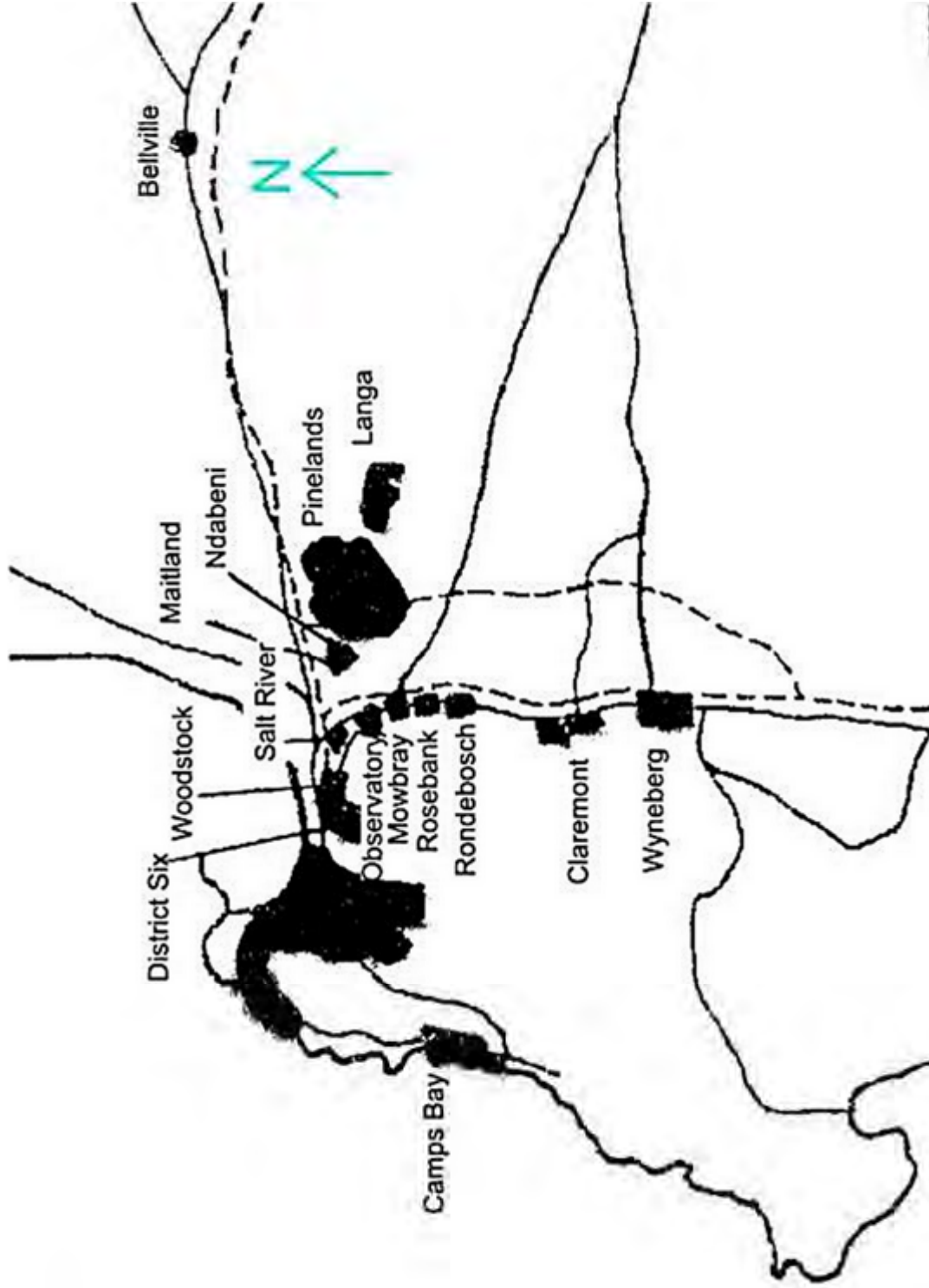


Fig.3 Urban Development of Cape Town, (Surveyor General, c.1920).

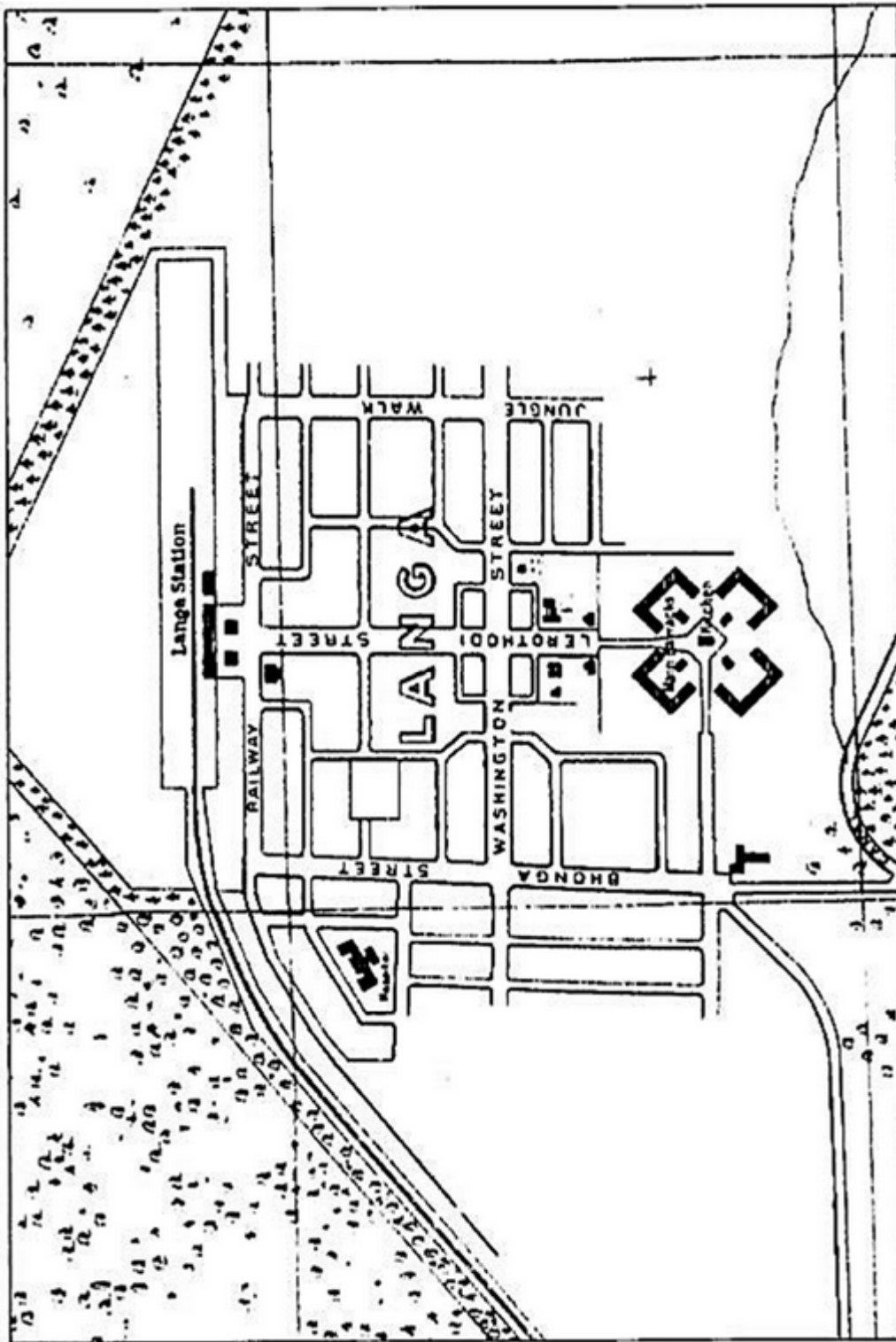


Fig.5 Original site development plan of Langa, (Surveyor General, c 1925).

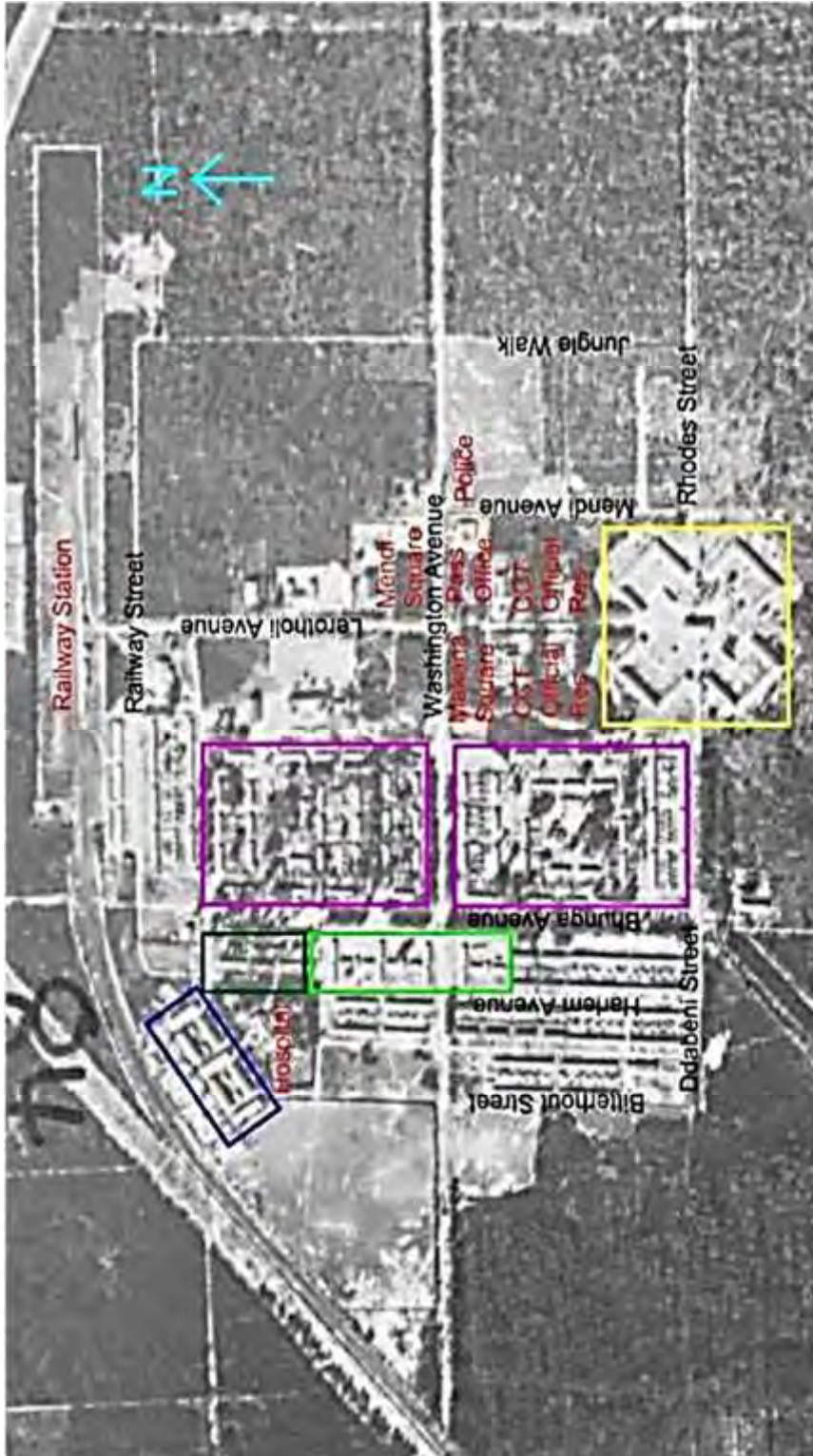


Fig.6 Aerial photograph of Langa showing the first development phase: Single Quarters (Main) Barracks (1925) SAHRA "Grade I" indicated with yellow square ; Special Quarters (1926) SAHRA "Grade I" indicated with light green rectangle and Spinster Quarters (1926) SAHRA "Grade I" indicated in dark green rectangle. Administration facilities, superintendent's accommodation and CCT official residences formed part of this first phase which is indicated with red labels. Hospital and Police station, labeled in red, together with bakeries, shops, general dealer, tea rooms, workshops and stables. The North Barracks (1927), SAHRA "Grade I" indicated in blue rectangle was now erected. The first 300 Married Quarters (1928) were constructed on either side of Washington Street, indicated in purple rectangles. (Department of Land and Rural Affairs: Chief Directorate National Spatial Information, Detail of 126/38 Strip 84 No. 11582, c 1938).



Fig.7 Aerial photograph indicating phase three, four, five, six and seven development of Langa: *Bongweni* housing (1932), marked with yellow rectangle, between Mendi Avenue and Jungle Walk on the north side of Washington Street was constructed with accommodation for teachers also provided in Jungle Walk during this time. *Thembeni* housing (1934) was built opposite *Bongweni* to the south of Washington Street between Mendi and Jungle walk. Phase four and five saw more luxury houses for married couples being built opposite the Langa High School in Washington Street, marked with purple rectangle, named Bulawayo (1936). Between 1940 and 1941 phases six and seven saw *Bubana* housing being erected opposite this development. Between 1944 and 1948, the "Old Flats", see blue square, were built on the eastern end of Washington Street. (Department of Land and Rural Affairs: Chief Directorate national Geo Spatial Information. Detail from photograph 335/ 53 Strip 6 No.6051, c 1953).



Fig.8 Figure ground of Langa built form indicating the “Zones” with red circles. These were built between 1944 and 1957 as eight hundred and fifty small single storey hostels which have been converted into family units since. (CCT, Built Form of Langa, April 1997).



Fig.9 Aerial photograph showing the single quarters referred to as the “New Flats”, see green square, were constructed during 1970’s at the same time that the Railway Flats, see yellow rectangle, were built and station upgraded. (Google earth, 2013).

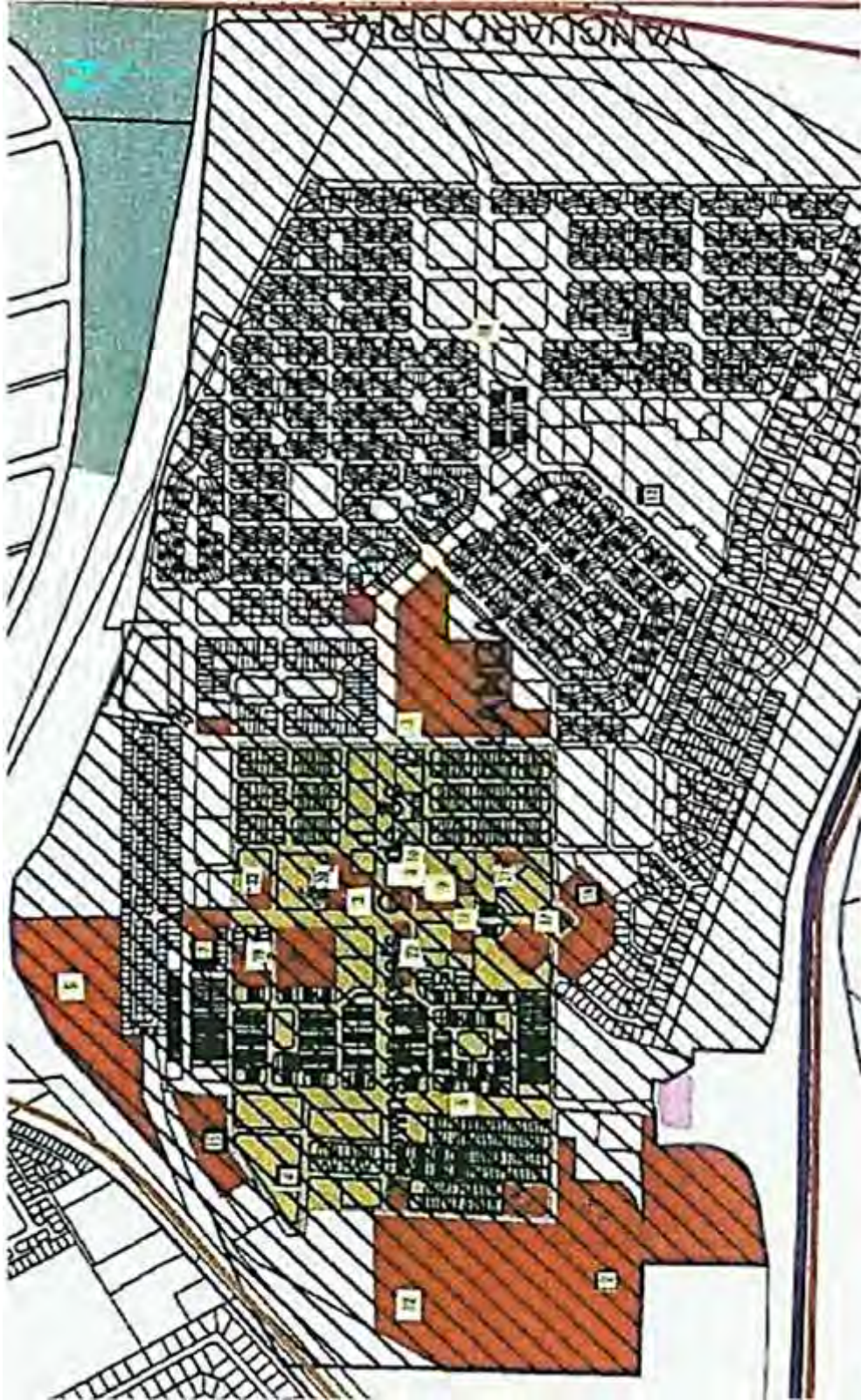


Fig.10 Langa Heritage Grading Map showing the identified "Grade I" heritage area with black diagonal lines. Red indicates CCT Heritage inventory, Yellow: Historic Township Streets. (COCT, 2011).



Fig.11 Nominated Heritage sites and classification of significance in accordance with the criteria used by SAHRA in 2004. (CCT, 2004).



Fig.12 Aerial photograph identifying the SAHRA "Grade I" hostels: Red square - Single Quarters (Main Barracks (1925); Large orange rectangle - Special Quarters (1926) and the Spinsters Quarters (1926) indicated with small orange rectangle; Yellow rectangle - The North Barracks (1927). (Google earth, 2013).



Fig.13 The 1925 Single Quarters (Main) Barracks, SAHRA "Grade I", (R.Smith, 2013)



Fig.14 The 1926 Spinster Quarters, SAHRA "Grade I", (R.Smith, 2013)



Fig.15 The 1926 Special Quarters, SAHRA "Grade I", (R.Smith, 2013)



Fig.16 The 1927 North Barracks, SAHRA "Grade I", (R.Smith, 2013)



Fig.17 The 1944 "Zones", SAHRA "Ungraded", (R.Smith, 2013)



Fig.18 The 1944 “Old Flats” SAHRA “Ungraded”, (R.Smith, 2013)



Fig.19 The 1970 Railway Flats,
SAHRA “Ungraded”, (R.Smith, 2013)



Fig.20 The 1970 “New Flats”,
SAHRA “Ungraded”, (R.Smith, 2013)

Interview Group 1: Individuals of Langa Communities' Heritage Bodies/ Organizations

1. Name *Kqwevela, Knox* Date *2013.12.02*
Langa Heritage Foundation
2. Place of Birth? *Langa, 1939*
3. Where do you live now and for how long? *Langa*
4. Where did you live before and for how long?
5. Are you married and have children? *Yes*
6. Where do you work? *Retired - worked for Truworths*
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or lived in? *House*
8. Do you know other people in the hostels? *Yes, friends*
9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? *Yes*
 If YES - What makes them special? *Migrant labour history*
 If NO - Why are they not special? *—*
10. What do these buildings mean to you? *Family visits & Discipline*
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience with them? *Used to go there to find cultural information.*
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings? *Not particularly*
13. Are these buildings nice to look at? *No*
14. Do you enjoy living in them? *Never lived in them.*
15. What do the people call these buildings? *Emlaholweni (Hollow place/hall)*
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? *No*
 If YES - What should they build in its place? *—*
 If No - What should they do with these buildings? *Must be renovated*
17. Which hostel/ barrack building do you like if any and why? *Main Barracks & Old Flats
 Lots of history*
18. Which is your favourite place or street or building or object in Langa that you think is special and must be protected and why?

General notes: Called together in a hall, but not enough people participated

Interview Group 2: Langa Communities Hostel Residents

1. Name *Limba, Phuthuma* Date *2013.09.12*
2. Place of Birth? *Eastern Cape, 1980's*
3. Where do you live now and for how long? *North Barracks*
4. Where did you live before and for how long? *Eastern Cape, since birth*
5. Are you married and have children? *Was married, 3 children*
6. Where do you work? *Widow
Restaurant at Barracks*
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or lived in? *Barracks*
8. Do you know other people in the hostels? *Yes*
9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? *No*
- If YES - What makes them special? *—*
- If NO - Why are they not special? *Too old*
10. What do these buildings mean to you? *Remind me of my father who worked here*
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience with them? *My father stayed here. Remember family visits.*
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings? *Yes, but the buildings needs to be improved - more space.*
13. Are these buildings nice to look at? *No*
14. Do you enjoy living in them? *Yes*
15. What do the people call these buildings? *Kwa Maxhaseni*
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? *Yes, Provided there is a place to stay white building.*
- If YES - What should they build in its place? *Yes*
- If No - What should they do with these buildings? *—*
17. Which hostel/ barrack building do you like if any and why? *Main Barracks - The open courtyard & it will be easy to make bigger.*
18. Which is your favourite place or street or building or object in Langa that you think is special and must be protected and why?

General Notes: Close to everything - good sense of orientation.

Interview Group 2: Langa Communities Hostel Residents

1. Name *Makhala, Joe* Date *2013.07.12*
2. Place of Birth? *Eastern Cape*
3. Where do you live now and for how long? *Old Railway hostels, 15 yrs.*
4. Where did you live before and for how long? *Old Flats, 20 yrs.*
5. Are you married and have children? *Yes*
6. Where do you work? *Unitrans*
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or lived in? *Railway hostels & Old Flats*
8. Do you know other people in the hostels? *Yes*
9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? *No*
- If YES - What makes them special? *—*
- If NO - Why are they not special? *Falling apart, bad plumbing*
10. What do these buildings mean to you? *No special meaning.
Old Flats yes*
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience with them? *History, lived there.*
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings? *Not the Railway flats - Old Flats
yes*
13. Are these buildings nice to look at? *No, not anymore*
14. Do you enjoy living in them? *No*
15. What do the people call these buildings? *Khwesi hostel*
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? *Yes, but not the Old Flats
historically important.*
- If YES - What should they build in its place? *Better housing*
- If No - What should they do with these buildings?
17. Which hostel/ barrack building do you like if any and why? *Old Flats - historically
Affordable - one room for one person. important. Stable.*
18. Which is your favourite place or street or building or object in Langa that you think is special and must be protected and why?

Interview Group 2: Langa Communities Hostel Residents

1. Name *Malefane, Thabo* Date *2013.09.12*
2. Place of Birth? *Langa, 1960*
3. Where do you live now and for how long? *Special Quarters, 8yrs*
4. Where did you live before and for how long? *63 Brighton Street*
5. Are you married and have children? *Not married. Yes 3 children*
6. Where do you work? *Unemployed - machine operator.*
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or lived in? *Special Quarters*
8. Do you know other people in the hostels? *Yes*
9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? *No*
- If YES - What makes them special? *—*
- If NO - Why are they not special? *Bad living conditions*
10. What do these buildings mean to you? *No meaning*
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience with them? *A place for bachelors*
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings? *No*
13. Are these buildings nice to look at? *No*
14. Do you enjoy living in them? *No*
15. What do the people call these buildings? *Special Quarters*
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? *Yes*
- If YES - What should they build in its place? *— Demolish, build better houses*
- If No - What should they do with these buildings?
17. Which hostel/ barrack building do you like if any and why? *None especially - all the same to me.*
18. Which is your favourite place or street or building or object in Langa that you think is special and must be protected and why?

*Langa -
General Notes: Togetherness - binds everything
ancestors, family & friends*

Interview Group 1: Individuals of Langa Communities' Heritage Bodies/ Organizations

1. Name *Malusi, Mlungisi* Date *2013.09.12*
Hostels Committee
2. Place of Birth? *Retreat, 1945*
3. Where do you live now and for how long? *New units, few yrs.*
4. Where did you live before and for how long? *Old Flats 1972-2002*
30 yrs.
5. Are you married and have children? *Yes*
6. Where do you work? *Worked for Golden Arrow - Retired*
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or lived in? *Old Flats, Block C*
No 46.
8. Do you know other people in the hostels? *Yes*
9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? *Yes*
- If YES - What makes them special? *Old history, 1960's Shooting Lane*
Bullet holes still visible.
- If NO - Why are they not special?
10. What do these buildings mean to you? *Build for migrant workers - 2 bed*
for 2 bachelors
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience with them? *Lived here*
historically significant.
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings? *Yes, strong, safe, no cold,*
no fires.
13. Are these buildings nice to look at? *Yes, but need to be renovated.*
14. Do you enjoy living in them? *Yes, but privacy is a problem.*
15. What do the people call these buildings? *Old Flats.*
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? *No*
- If YES - What should they build in its place? *—*
- If No - What should they do with these buildings? *Should be renovated. Turn*
single rooms into double rooms.
17. Which hostel/ barrack building do you like if any and why? *Old Flats - Safer,*
build strong.
18. Which is your favourite place or street or building or object in Langa that you think is special and must be protected and why? *Washington Street*
History of 1960's shooting
etc.

Interview Group 1: Individuals of Langa Communities' Heritage Bodies/ Organizations

1. Name *Magwaca, Alfred* Date *2013-09-12*
 2. Place of Birth? *Langa, 1970* *Volunteer - Langa Museum*
3. Where do you live now and for how long? *Langa in house since birth*
4. Where did you live before and for how long? *—*
5. Are you married and have children? *Single with children*
6. Where do you work? *Volunteer at Langa Museum*
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or lived in? *None - in house*
8. Do you know other people in the hostels? *Yes*
9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? *Yes*
 If YES - What makes them special? *Telling us what life was like for migrant workers in those days.*
 If NO - Why are they not special? *—*
10. What do these buildings mean to you? *My heritage - my uncles lived there. Grew up with children from the hostels.*
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience with them? *were build for migrant workers - know the history well.*
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings? *Yes*
13. Are these buildings nice to look at? *Yes*
14. Do ~~you~~ ^{they} enjoy living in them? *No*
15. What do the people call these buildings? *Amaholo "Hall"*
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? *Yes, not all.*
 If YES - What should they build in its place? *Should keep one block as living museum.*
 If No - What should they do with these buildings? *—*
17. Which hostel/ barrack building do you like if any and why? *Old Flats - view of Langa*
18. Which is your favourite place or street or building or object in Langa that you think is special and must be protected and why? *Mandi Ave - grew up in it, tells me who I am and where I come from. Zones to Mandi Street is home for me. Can talk to the ancestors - you feel at home because your people know you here.*

Interview Group 2: Langa Communities Hostel Residents

1. Name *Mnukwa, Makaya* Date *2013-09-12*
2. Place of Birth? *Eastern Cape, 1944*
3. Where do you live now and for how long? *Old Flats, Block F No 45*
39 yrs since 1974
4. Where did you live before and for how long? *Zones, 11 yrs*
5. Are you married and have children? *Widow, 4 children.*
6. Where do you work? *Retired. used to work at UCT*
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or lived in? *Old Flats*
8. Do you know other people in the hostels? *Yes*
9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? *Yes*
- If YES - What makes them special? *Safe, secure, strong & wind tight.*
- If NO - Why are they not special? *—*
10. What do these buildings mean to you?
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience with them? *Live in them*
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings? *Yes*
13. Are these buildings nice to look at? *Yes, but they need to be painted and improved.*
14. Do you enjoy living in them? *It's OK.*
15. What do the people call these buildings? *Old Flats*
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? *No*
- If YES - What should they build in its place? *—*
- If No - What should they do with these buildings? *Will lose safety*
17. Which hostel/ barrack building do you like if any and why? *Old Flats, strong materials - New buildings leak, poor workmanship.*
18. Which is your favourite place or street or building or object in Langa that you think is special and must be protected and why? *Near to Cape Town for shopping*

Interview Group 2: Langa Communities Hostel Residents

1. Name *Mnyamtse, Poreen* Date *2013-09-12*
2. Place of Birth? *Eastern Cape, 1956*
3. Where do you live now and for how long? *North Barracks No 5*
4. Where did you live before and for how long? *Zone 5 No 56*
5. Are you married and have children? *Single, 3 children*
6. Where do you work? *Vredehoek - Domestic worker*
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or lived in? *North Barracks*
8. Do you know other people in the hostels? *Yes*
9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? *No*
- If YES - What makes them special? *—*
- If NO - Why are they not special? *Too old, No water inside, too little space, share toilets.*
10. What do these buildings mean to you? *Just a place to stay. Nothing special.*
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience with them? *Hostels for single people - grand fathers used to live here.*
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings? *No*
13. Are these buildings nice to look at? *No*
14. Do you enjoy living in them? *No*
15. What do the people call these buildings? *North Barracks*
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? *Yes*
- If YES - What should they build in its place? *Better places to live in.*
- If No - What should they do with these buildings? *—*
17. Which hostel/ barrack building do you like if any and why? *New Flats - clean, not in corner, dangerous here. Not safe here - crashes public stolen cars here.*
18. Which is your favourite place or street or building or object in Langa that you think is special and must be protected and why? *Washington Street - beautiful Main Road, like Adderley Street in C.T. Table mountain view.*
- General Note: Shopping centre is missing*

Interview Group 1: Individuals of Langa Communities' Heritage Bodies/ Organizations

1. Name *Mqikela, Lulamile* Date *2013-09-12*
2. Place of Birth? *Fishhoek, 1966* *Housing Delivery & Facilitation*
3. Where do you live now and for how long? *Khayelitsha, 16 yrs*
4. Where did you live before and for how long? *Guguletu*
5. Are you married and have children? *Yes with children*
6. Where do you work? *Self employed - Housing delivery & Facilitation.*
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or lived in? *No. live in house in Khayelitsha*
8. Do you know other people in the hostels? *Yes*
9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? *No*
- If YES - What makes them special? *—*
- If NO - Why are they not special? *Bad memories*
10. What do these buildings mean to you? *Divorce between mother & father. Father lived in New Flats.*
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience with them? *Accommodating the migrant labourers. Single males. Families no access. Bad dtg.*
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings? *No, because of their history.*
13. Are these buildings nice to look at? *No*
14. Do you enjoy living in them? *No, not at all.*
15. What do the people call these buildings? *Hostels*
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? *Yes*
- If YES - What should they build in its place? *Improved accommodation*
- If No - What should they do with these buildings? *—*
17. Which hostel/ barrack building do you like if any and why? *New flats, just because I know them. Experienced it through family.*
18. Which is your favourite place or street or building or object in Langa that you think is special and must be protected and why? *The historical aspect. Provides identity.*

Interview Group 2: Langa Communities Hostel Residents

1. Name *Ndaba, Albert* Date *2013-09-12*
2. Place of Birth? *Kwa Zulu Natal, Bergville, 1961*
3. Where do you live now and for how long? *Special Quarters, Langa No 83.
30 yrs.*
4. Where did you live before and for how long? *Rubusana No 36, Langa*
5. Are you married and have children? *Yes, 3 children & 3 grand children.*
6. Where do you work? *Unemployed. Was seaman before.*
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or lived in? *Special Quarters*
8. Do you know other people in the hostels? *Yes*
9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? *No*
- If YES - What makes them special? *—*
- If NO - Why are they not special?
10. What do these buildings mean to you? *Our fore fathers lived in them.*
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience with them? *I lived here
30 yrs and my father & mother before.*
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings? *Not anymore. Too small
sharing toilets.*
13. Are these buildings nice to look at? *No*
14. Do you enjoy living in them? *No*
15. What do the people call these buildings? *Amahala (Hostels)*
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? *Yes*
- If YES - What should they build in its place? *better buildings*
- If No - What should they do with these buildings? *—*
17. Which hostel/ barrack building do you like if any and why? *Special Quarters, because
it accommodates one family.*
18. Which is your favourite place or street or building or object in Langa that you think is special and
must be protected and why?

*General Notes: Transport easy. Used to
be like a big family. Everyone
used to know each other.*

Interview Group 2: Langa Communities Hostel Residents

1. Name *Ndlela, Pindi* Date *2013-09-12*
2. Place of Birth? *Eastern Cape, 1976*
3. Where do you live now and for how long? *Main Barracks, 25 yrs*
4. Where did you live before and for how long? *Eastern Cape, since birth*
5. Are you married and have children? *Not married. Have children*
6. Where do you work? *Not working*
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or lived in? *Main Barracks*
8. Do you know other people in the hostels?
9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? *Yes*
 If YES - What makes them special? *Sentimental value*
 If NO - Why are they not special?
10. What do these buildings mean to you? *Its home*
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience with them? *Build for workers. Our fathers stayed here. Mothers came to visit*
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings? *Yes ~~every~~ 3 weeks*
13. Are these buildings nice to look at? *No, state deteriorating*
14. Do you enjoy living in them? *Yes*
15. What do the people call these buildings? *Kwa Maxhaseni (people from the Eastern Cape)*
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? *No*
 If YES - What should they build in its place? *—*
 If No - What should they do with these buildings? *Revamp them.*
17. Which hostel/ barrack building do you like if any and why? *Main Barracks. Used to it.*
18. Which is your favourite place or street or building or object in Langa that you think is special and must be protected and why? *Main Barracks because of its history, has authenticity in terms of origin of hogan. Respect the family heritage - bond.*

Interview Group 1: Individuals of Langa Communities' Heritage Bodies/ Organizations

1. Name *Nolutsungu, Themba* Date *2014-01-10*
 2. Place of Birth? *Langa* *Langa Heritage Foundation*
Past chair
3. Where do you live now and for how long? *Langa*
4. Where did you live before and for how long?
5. Are you married and have children? *Yes*
6. Where do you work? *Cultural worker with Langa Heritage Foundation.*
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or lived in? *No.*
8. Do you know other people in the hostels? *Yes*
9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? *Yes*
- If YES - What makes them special? *Peoples' history - development history of country.*
- If NO - Why are they not special? *—*
10. What do these buildings mean to you? *Invokes memories. Means a lot on a personal level. Lived near used to go over & sell beets.*
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience with them? *They slaughtered a cow in next year and share with us. Sent for errands to uncles who lived there.*
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings? *Yes.*
13. Are these buildings nice to look at? *No, not aesthetically nice*
14. Do you enjoy living in them? *Despite the conditions, they made the best of it. Happy.*
15. What do the people call these buildings? *Ibalo (halls)*
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? *EMaholweni (they live in hostels)*
No.
- If YES - What should they build in its place? *—*
- If No - What should they do with these buildings? *One unit per block to be retained & renovated.*
17. Which hostel/ barrack building do you like if any and why? *All of them.*
18. Which is your favourite place or street or building or object in Langa that you think is special and must be protected and why? *Hostels*

General Note: *Councillors praise people who live in houses.*

Interview Group 1: Individuals of Langa Communities' Heritage Bodies/ Organizations

1. Name *Ntsoni, Theo* Date *2013.09.12*
2. Place of Birth? *Eastern Cape, 1967*
3. Where do you live now and for how long? *Drift Sands, next to Khayelitsha
17 yrs.*
4. Where did you live before and for how long? *Langa, 10 yrs*
5. Are you married and have children? *Yes, married with 2 children*
6. Where do you work? *Trade Unionist in Bellville.*
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or lived in? *New Flats before*
8. Do you know other people in the hostels? *Yes*
9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? *No*
- If YES - What makes them special? *—*
- If NO - Why are they not special? *Depressing, I don't want to live
in the past*
10. What do these buildings mean to you? *Reminds me of how bad African
people were treated because of apartheid system*
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience with them? *Stayed with
uncle. Not registered here. Had to sleep under bed table due to no
space.*
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings? *No, don't go there anymore.
They will always remind me of the bad days.*
13. Are these buildings nice to look at? *No.*
14. Do you enjoy living in them? *—*
15. What do the people call these buildings? *Mabulo (Halls)*
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? *Yes*
- If YES - What should they build in its place? *Paper houses*
- If No - What should they do with these buildings? *—*
17. Which hostel/ barrack building do you like if any and why? *Old Flats - political
history. 1960, Pass Month.*
18. Which is your favourite place or street or building or object in Langa that you think is special and
must be protected and why? *The people. Sense of humor
Friendship. Shared human
values & experiences.*

Interview Group 2: Langa Communities Hostel Residents

1. Name *Nyati, Xelisa* Date *2013.09.12*
2. Place of Birth? *Tsomo, Eastern Cape*
3. Where do you live now and for how long? *Main Barracks, 9 yrs*
4. Where did you live before and for how long? *Eastern Cape*
5. Are you married and have children? *Not married. One child*
6. Where do you work? *Unemployed*
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or lived in? *Main Barracks no 15*
8. Do you know other people in the hostels? *Yes*
9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? *No*
- If YES - What makes them special? *—*
- If NO - Why are they not special? *Nothing nice about them.*
10. What do these buildings mean to you? *It is just a place to stay*
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience with them? *For the police before and later their families care*
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings? *No. Not satisfied. Need to be renovated.*
13. Are these buildings nice to look at? *No. Inside not nice.*
14. Do you enjoy living in them? *No.*
15. What do the people call these buildings? *Hostels*
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? *Yes*
- If YES - What should they build in its place? *Better places*
- If No - What should they do with these buildings? *—*
17. Which hostel/ barrack building do you like if any and why? *New flats - enough space, kitchen, toilet, etc.*
18. Which is your favourite place or street or building or object in Langa that you think is special and must be protected and why? *Sport, music*
- General note: Transport good, taxi, train*

Interview Group 1: Individuals of Langa Communities' Heritage Bodies/ Organizations

1. Name *Saha, Velile* Date *2013-09-04*
2. Place of Birth? *Bennie St. Langa, 1957* *Artist*
3. Where do you live now and for how long? *No 43 Washington St., 50 yrs.*
4. Where did you live before and for how long? *Bennie Street.*
5. Are you married and have children? *Not married - 2 children*
6. Where do you work? *From home - artist*
7. In which hostel/ barracks building do you live or lived in? *None*
8. Do you know other people in the hostels? *Yes*
9. Do you think that these hostel buildings are special? *Old Flats*
- If YES - What makes them special? *Related to people from homeland's.
Good materials used.*
- If NO - Why are they not special? *Other flats + hostel may be demolished*
10. What do these buildings mean to you? *Extended families utilised them because houses were small. Memories of family living there.*
11. What do you know about these buildings and what is your experience with them?
Amasaka - Not married people lived there.
12. Do you enjoy being in or around these buildings? *Yes but some are not in a good condition.*
13. Are these buildings nice to look at? *Not nice, but interesting buildings*
14. Do you enjoy living in them? *Half of the people I think enjoy living in the hostels.*
15. What do the people call these buildings? *Amabolo*
16. May these buildings be demolished to build better housing? *No, not the Old Flats.*
- If YES - What should they build in its place? *—*
- If No - What should they do with these buildings? *Restore + improve Old Flats*
17. Which hostel/ barrack building do you like if any and why? *Old Flats - family memories + good materials used.*
18. Which is your favourite place or street or building or object in Langa that you think is special and must be protected and why? *Makana Square - named after chief Makana.
Marayana Open area - worth, entertain.
Barracks, Beer hall for socialising.
Civi Hall + Leratholi Ave*