

Renaissance and Revenants in an Emerging Global City

Discourses of Heritage and Urban Design in Cape Town's District One and District Six,
2002–2014.

by

Christian Ernten

April 2017

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of Cape Town, in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in African Studies

Supervisor: Associate Professor Nick Shepherd

April 2017

Declaration

I, Christian Ernten, declare that Renaissance and Revenants in an Emerging Global city, Discourses of Heritage and Urban Design in Cape Town's District One and District Six, 2002–2014, is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references. I authorise the University to reproduce for the purpose of research either the whole or any portion of the contents in any manner whatsoever.

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Abstract

Renaissance and Revenants in an Emerging Global City:

Discourses of Heritage and Urban Design in Cape Town's District One and District Six, 2002–2014

by Christian ErNSTEN

On 10 January 2014, the *New York Times* placed Cape Town at the top of its list of the “52 places to go in 2014”. The hopeful rhetoric of the city as ultimate holiday destination, African creative metropolis, prime global-events location and city of freedom indicates powerful cultural discourses at work. Looking at how Cape Town is simultaneously reinvented and haunted, this thesis poses a set of questions regarding the discourses associated with the reinvention of the city, on the one hand, and the city's unresolved pasts, on the other. Situated at the convergence of two fields, urban studies and heritage studies, it sets out to investigate the workings of heritage and urban-design discourses in the city of Cape Town over the period 2002–2014. It describes the unfolding of these discourses, and discusses the organisational process of both the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the 2014 World Design Capital in relation to the exhumation of human remains at District One and the restitution of land at District Six.

Using as its methodology a combination of embedded ethnographic research, qualitative in-depth interviews, desktop and archival research, and a form of embodied research, this thesis points to a historical hinge upon which heritage and urban-design discourses in the city shift. Through discourse analysis, it examines what this discursive shift entails, and how it takes place. It points to “moments of poignancy” in the construction of Cape Town's recent urban transformation. As such, this study offers a series of insights into the links between colonial modernity and the origins of contemporary heritage and urban-design discourses in Cape Town. It examines the function of official discourse concerning the design of the city, as well as the sudden eruptions of public dissent that disturb this official discourse. The central argument of this thesis is that through an in-depth understanding of the shifts, transformations and internal workings of the discourses of heritage and urban design a critique can be made of the way contemporary Cape Town has been repositioned in relation to the city's past, present and future.

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Abbreviations

ACC	African Centre for Cities
ACO	Archaeological Contract Office
ANC	African National Congress
CCID	Central Cape Town Improvement District
CCT	Creative Cape Town
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CMP	Conservation Management Plan
CoCT	City of Cape Town
CPUT	Cape Peninsula University of Technology
CRM	Cultural Resource Management
CSRF	Cultural Sites and Resources Forum
CTP	Cape Town Partnership
D6BRT	District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust
D6M	District Six Museum
D6RG	District Six Reference Group
DA	Democratic Alliance
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
GIPCA	Gordon Institute of Performing Arts
HIA	Heritage Impact Assessment
HOPSAHC	Hands Off Prestwich Street Ad-Hoc Committee
HRS	Heritage Resources Section of the City of Cape Town
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act
NMC	National Monuments Council
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
PGWC	Provincial Government of the Western Cape
POPP	Project on Public Past
PPPC	Prestwich Place Project Committee
RESUNACT	Research Unit for the Archaeology of Cape Town
SAFA	South African Football Association
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Association
SFRG	Special Focus Reference Group
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TRUP	Two Rivers Urban Park
UCT	University of Cape Town
UCU	Urban Conservation Unit of the City of Cape Town
UDF	United Democratic Front
UWC	University of the Western Cape
VOC	Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie)
WAC	World Archaeological Congress
WDC	World Design Capital

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Introduction: Discourses of Heritage and Urban Design in Cape Town

“[A] specter is always a revenant [. . .], it begins by coming back.”
(Derrida, 2006: xix-11).

Renaissance and revenants

On 10 January 2014, the *New York Times* placed Cape Town at the top of its list of the “52 places to go in 2014”. “Witness a city in transformation, glimpse exotic animals, explore the past and enjoy the beach before the crowds,” wrote journalist Sarah Khan of the city. “Cape Town is reinventing itself, and the world is invited to its renaissance.” Making reference to the recent passing of Nelson Mandela, she continued: “[It is] a place to meditate on freedom and the creative life that followed” (Khan, 2014a). Twenty years of post-apartheid urban transformation have certainly engendered a very different Cape Town. Boutique shops like *I Love My Laundry*, *Haas Design Collective*, *Los Muertos Motorcycles*, *House of Machines*, *Loading Bay* and *Latitude 33* are only a few example of the fashionable re-birth of the inner-city, according to the *New York Times*. “I can go have a great coffee, eat healthy food, buy clothes I want to wear, drink good spirits,” a Capetonian is quoted as saying (Khan, 2014b). Many of us who live in Cape Town will recognise from our everyday lives that dwelling in Cape Town involves a series of disjunctive urban experiences. Indeed, as recorded by the *New York Times*, Cape Town’s inner-city, Atlantic seaboard and southern suburbs are nestled by an overwhelming natural beauty that includes white sandy beaches, blue oceans and the iconic Table Mountain. Yet this grand image finds its contrast in scenes of bare life in Cape Town’s poverty-stricken townships. Here, community life is burdened with historical injustice that has turned into social injustice. As a result, different and opposing ideas, practices, dreams, languages, traditions and, consequently, identities and cultures constantly disrupt the city’s present. In this context, the hopeful rhetoric of the city as ultimate holiday destination, African creative metropolis, prime global-events location and city of freedom indicates powerful cultural discourses at work. If the city is truly re-inventing itself, then what is at stake in this process?

This thesis is situated at the confluence of two fields: urban studies and heritage studies. It sets out to investigate the workings of heritage and urban-design discourses in the city of Cape Town over the period 2002–2014. I am especially interested in these discourses in relation to issues of historical justice, identity and memory. My study concerns Cape Town as it has emerged as a global city. The leading question is: How can the contemporary urban moment in Cape Town be characterised? The central argument of this study is that through an in-depth understanding of the shifts, transformation and internal workings of the discourses of heritage and urban design a critique can be made of the repositioning of contemporary Cape Town in relation to the city’s past, present and future. Two key words provide a point of entry to my thesis, and become axes around which to organise my argument. The first, which is explicit in the *New York Times* article, is the notion of urban “renaissance”. The second is the notion of “revenants”.

Scholarly use of the term urban “renaissance” is part of a global phenomenon that involves the celebration of a post-industrial transformation of the city. In urban studies, the term is

often used in the same discursive frame as words like urban renewal (Glaeser, 2011), creative city (Landry, 1995) and cultural industries (Florida, 2002). It implies a re-birth of the city, and a subsequent focus on future time, resulting from urban-redevelopment strategies that attract the middle classes back to the inner-city (Stead and Hoppenbrouwer, 2004). Journalist Jane Jacobs's book *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) is the seminal text in this area of urban studies. In it, Jacobs develops the idea of an authentic urban village. Loretta Lees, an influential human geographer, explains this idea as a vision driven by a "form of liberal romanticism and a belief" in "the connections between diversity, vitality and urban space". She writes that possibly "the most visible manifestation of visions of urban renaissance" is gentrification (Lees, 2003: 614; Lees et al., 2010; 2008). Along with other scholars (Lang, 1982; Smith and Williams, 1986; Ley, 1994; Smith, 1996; Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Freeman, 2006), Lees indicates that increasing property value, partly as the result of globalisation, leads to the displacement of lower-income city dwellers and businesses.

In *Naked City* (2010), sociologist Sharon Zukin argues that Jacobs, while raising the alarm against state power, failed to understand the influence of the cultural capital of gentrifiers (Zukin, 2010: 18). In response to this failure, Zukin reinvokes a discussion on what French social theorist Henri Lefebvre has termed "the right to the city" (Zukin, 2010: xii and 221). Followed by urbanists Mike Davis and Michael Sorkin, Zukin spearheads a critique of cultural capitalism and consumerism in relation to the reinvention of the city (Zukin, 1995; Davis, 2006; Sorkin, 1992; Zukin, 1982). Geographer David Harvey redirects Zukin's argument towards a critique of the neoliberal city.¹ He explains Lefebvre's idea as the human right of city dwellers to play a central role in the decisions that produce their urban space (Harvey, 2008). As such, he, as well as others (Purcell, 2003; Marcuse, 2009), makes a plea for a focus on issues of social justice in the context of urban change (Harvey, 2009).

A seminal critique of South Africa's urbanism in relation to issues of social and historical justice is architect Hilton Judin and writer Ivan Vladislavic's edited volume *Blank: Architecture, Apartheid and After* (1998). One of the contributors, Jennifer Robinson, writes of a vastly compromised negotiation taking place in South Africa between unconscious and conscious selves, evidenced, for in example, in dreams that inspire hopes for the transformation of the South African city (Robinson, 1998: 168). A number of urbanists in South Africa have written critically about gentrification (Dewar, 2004; Pirie, 2007; Lemanski, 2007; Visser and Kotze, 2008; McDonald, 2009). Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall, two scholars working within the field of African cultural studies, extended Robinson's idea to use the unconscious as a lens for reading urban processes (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004). In *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis* (2008), Mbembe and Nuttall focused attention on urban imaginaries as vital aspects of the processes of urban renewal and transformation (Mbembe, 2004; Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004; 2008). Aligned with this idea, *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City* (2007), edited by Martin Hall, Noeleen Murray and Nick Shepherd, unravels South African cities as sites of memory and

¹ Neoliberalism is defined by Harvey as "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey, 2005: 2).

desire, and spaces of power, privilege, identity and difference (Murray et al., 2007). The debates surrounding urban renaissance inform one axis of this study.

The second key term of this thesis concerns the notion of “revenants”. The scholarly discussion of revenants in the city draws on a concept provided by French poststructuralist thinker Jacques Derrida: the concept of “hauntology”, a linguistic blending of “haunting” and “ontology”. According to Derrida’s 1993 book *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, the term refers to the disjunctiveness of being-in-the-world that comes as a result of the figure of the ghost. A ghost is an absent present. Its revenant (or spectre) returns to, but never arrives at, the present. Thus, according to Derrida, a spectral moment is a moment that does not belong to time in the sense of a “past present, actual present: ‘now’, [and] future present”. As the epigraph suggests, a ghost always begins by coming back (Derrida, 2006: 11). Cultural geographer John Wylie understands Derrida’s argument to mean that we do not have a thorough understanding of time and place if we rely on the idea of a linear history. The revenant “not only displaces place and self through the freight of ghostly memories; it works to displace the present from itself” (Wylie, 2007: 172; Maddern and Adey, 2008). In a similar vein, scholar Svetlana Boym argues that we live in an “off-modern moment” that is not determined solely by “the forward march of technology or of endless growth” (Boym, 2010: 7; 2001). Which is to say: We have to reconsider time, how to do history, and how to deal with the past. In this play of time, the revenant is that which we have repressed or disavowed, and that which now haunts us.

Derrida is particularly concerned with the question of historical justice. He understands the spectre, in its haunting of the present, to be something from the past that one must reckon with (Derrida, 2006: xix-xx). Derrida is not speaking of literal ghosts, according to Ester Peeren, a scholar in literary studies. Rather, the spectre is a metaphor for otherness and the way otherness disturbs the present. Peeren writes that Derrida urges us “to treat the metaphorical ghosts of our society (immigrants, foreigners, victims of historical injustices like colonialism and slavery[])] in a way that respects their otherness” (Peeren, 2010: 107; 2014; Blanco and Peeren, 2013). In the aftermath of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa, historian Heidi Grunebaum investigates how “the spectre of the untold” offers an opportunity for the socially engaged imagination “to avow the potentialities of what may have been” (Grunebaum, 2006: 198). Aligned with this idea, archaeologist Nick Shepherd has written about the actual dead returning to Cape Town’s Prestwich Street. Shepherd understands these literal revenants as a challenge—a challenge to reflect on disavowed pasts and “the unfinished business of social transformation” in South Africa (Shepherd, 2013b: 239). The ghosts of Prestwich Street have also figured, in the writing of other scholars in the field, as an “archive-without-writing” that “allow[s] for the unthinking of the normative, bringing together the living and the dead, bodies and spaces” (Sarmiento, 2015:117; Jonker, 2005a; 2005b). Thus, in heritage studies, the revenant is the literal or metaphorical recapitulation of the past in the present, as well as the confrontation with fragments of histories that have been disavowed.

Poignant city

Looking at how Cape Town is reinvented and haunted at the same time, I am interested in its deep materiality. In correspondence with the central argument of this thesis, I pose a set of questions regarding the discourses associated with the reinvention of the city, and regarding the city's pasts. Firstly, I ask: What were the moments in Cape Town's past when the city's heritage and urban design became poignant? As a stepping-stone here, I borrow a concept from film curator Mark-Paul Meyer, who speaks of "moments of poignancy". Referencing Roland Barthes, Meyer explains that these are "fleeting moments that affect you", as well as "moments which bring the spectator face-to-face with a distant past, moments which place him as it were in a time machine, leaving his own here-and-now behind him" (Meyer, 1997: 51). Poignancy is related to Barthes' term "punctum" (Barthes, 2000). In photography, the punctum is the point of clarity in an image that captures your attention (Edwards, 2001; Shepherd, 2003b; 2015b). Similarly, I want to highlight those instances in which official discourses become contested and, as a result of struggle and conflict, visible. I trace the genealogy of official or top-down design and heritage discourse in the Cape, as well as the moments or movements that are at odds with or embarrass this official discourse (Coetzee, 1988; Hall, 2000; Murray et al., 2007). Highlighting the counter-discourses, I point to the recurrent patterns and moments in which design is made visible.

Secondly, I'm interested in what has conditioned Cape Town's urban reinvention. I point to two recent global events in this city: namely, the 2010 International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) World Cup and the 2014 World Design Capital. I investigate the ways in which the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the 2014 World Design Capital events conditioned Cape Town's urban transformation. By "conditioning" I mean the ways in which these two global events provided vehicles for the projection of ambitions, and functioned as sources of ideas and images in terms of urban transformation of Cape Town. I trace the discourses that structured the city's transformation in the context of these soccer and design events—the discursive formations that informed, and continue to inform, practice. French philosopher Michel Foucault writes in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972) that there is a "system of dispersion" underlying each discursive statement (Foucault, 1972: 25-26). The challenge is to understand the rules that subtend an apparent disunity of objects, forms, concepts, and theoretical options (Foucault, 1972). In response to this challenge, I want to show that an essential part of inhabiting any discourse is that the discourse becomes opaque: one becomes blinded to its defects and limitations.

Against this backdrop, I examine the discourse of the Provincial Government of the Western Cape (PGWC)'s Department of Special Initiatives and that of the Cape Town Partnership (CTP), a private-public partnership between the City of Cape Town and property owners. I understand these organisations to be the main agents in the city's transformation. I show how their dominant discourse is coopted, in much the same way that the city in general is coopted by neoliberal capital, in Harvey's reading (Harvey, 2008; 2009). As such, I analyse what a discourse does for the city dweller, and what it does not do or what it disallows.

Thirdly, I'm interested in how global discourses on the city have had an impact on urban-design praxis in Cape Town. To this end, I consider how the discourses on the city that emerged during the preoperational and organisational processes of the FIFA World Cup and

the World Design Capital impact local theory and practice in Cape Town. This enquiry spans the time period from 2002, when South Africa won the bid for the 2010 World Cup, until 2014, when Cape Town was promoted as the World Design Capital. Praxis is a recurrent area of interest within philosophy that can be traced back to Plato and Aristotle (Arendt, 1958; Bowler, 2008). I rely on Paulo Freire's definition of praxis as reflecting and acting upon the world in order to transform it (Freire, 2000: 51). I also find Zygmunt Bauman's take on this term helpful. He refers to praxis as the human way of being-in-the-world: "a continuous and unending structuring activity" used to overcome the "opposition between the spiritual and the real, thought and matter, mind and body" (Bauman, 1999: 43). Aligned with these definitions, I understand praxis to be an approach guided by a discourse—that is, the kinds of ideas and practices that emerge from that discourse. I am interested in how global discourses on the city were negotiated locally, and how they produced a set of counter-discourses. Along these lines, I examine the work of the University of Cape Town's African Centre for Cities (ACC). The work of the ACC has been key in translating the global imaginaries of the city into a local developmental agenda. I show how the breaking down of its discourse offers a diagnostic moment, a mirror image. As such, I paint a picture of how these foundational global events in Cape Town (the World Cup and the World Design Capital) impact local ways of working and thinking.

In order to come to a deep understanding of the discursive mechanisms at work in the city's re-invention, I focus on two specific areas in Cape Town: District One and District Six. These inner-city quarters are crucial for understanding the contemporary moment in this city. More concretely, I explore first the contemporary heritage significance of District Six, a site from which a community of 60,000 Coloured and black² inhabitants were forcibly removed, and their houses destroyed, according to apartheid's Group Areas Act of 1950. In response to a fourth question—What is the heritage of the ruins of District Six?—I describe how a local community museum, the District Six Museum, along with another important urban player, tackles the challenge of naming the heritage of District Six outside the logic of Cape Town as a global city (Bennett et al., 2008; Layne, 2008; Bennett and Julius, 2008; Beyers, 2008; Soudien, 2006; Esau, 2005; Rassool, 2007b; 2006). In relation to this city-quarter's ruins, I think through subaltern "regimes of care" (Shepherd, 2013b), which involve the experiences, relations, memories and dreams of the many who were forcibly removed. Moreover, I attempt to make sense of the messy intricacies that currently make up the District Six restitution process.

Then, focusing on District One, I explore the heritage meaning of the 1,540 anonymous dead who have been exhumed from this quarter since 2003. These individuals, buried in an unofficial graveyard without any identifying markers, formed part of the colonial underclass: slaves, free blacks, artisans, fishermen, sailors, maids, washerwomen, and their children,

² "Black" and "Coloured" are racial designations introduced under apartheid. "Coloured" denotes an amalgamation of *mestizo* identities with descendants of Khoikhoi groups, people imported from the Dutch colonies, and others; "black" refers to those South Africans who are currently designated as black/African, including the Xhosas, the Zulus and the Venda. "Black" and "Coloured" have remained widely used categories in post-apartheid South Africa. And, although I consider notions of race bankrupt as analytical instruments, it is the general usage of these designations in the present context of South Africa that has led me to introduce them into this dissertation, and use them throughout.

executed criminals, suicide deaths, paupers and the unidentified victims of shipwrecks (Hart 2003b). As a fifth question, I ask: What is the heritage of the dead of District One? In response, I tell a story about the heritage significance of the dead of District One after they resurfaced during construction work in post-apartheid Cape Town. I discuss the heritage of the human remains uncovered in this area through the overlapping narratives of property values, gentrification and adventurous self-stylising, on the one hand, and the unresolved histories of slavery and colonialism, on the other. I point to how disjunctive these narratives are, and to how disjunctive space can be. I think through a linear history of District One and, with it, the idea of the return and of the revenant. Moreover, I contemplate the notion of deep time and its traces in the contemporary city, especially in relation to counter discourses (Jonker, 2005a; 2005b; Shepherd, 2007a; 2013b; Ralphs, 2008b; 2008a; Finnegan et al., 2011; Grunebaum, 2007).

Finally, in an attempt to construct a history of the continuing effects of coloniality and globalisation in Cape Town—or, in other words, to describe the “unseen” characteristics of these processes (Mignolo, 2011c: 179)—I conceive of District One and District Six beyond the dominant urban-design and heritage discourses that frame them. My sixth question is: What does a decolonial reading of District One and District Six look like? I attempt to understand—through photography, among other things—how the materiality of the ruined landscape of Cape Town offers ways of experiencing degraded personhoods: those of both the past and the present. I understand decoloniality in terms of theorists Madina Tlostanova and Walter Mignolo: namely, as the “decolonization of knowledge and being by epistemically and affectively de-linking from the imperial/colonial organization of society” (Tlostanova and Mignolo, 2009: 132). I think through images gathered from scenes in Districts One and Six, while sketching out what it means to bear witness to the traumas of racial slavery and apartheid’s forced removals in contemporary Cape Town. Overall, I show that we do not just live in cities, and we do not just conceptualise cities in functional terms. I show how every city is imagined through discourses, and how those discourses condition our thinking and our praxis in relation to what it means to dwell in a city.

Global and local imaginaries

As outlined above, the *New York Times* heralds Cape Town as an emerging global city. Yet the Cape, with its strategic location on a peninsula between the Atlantic and Indian oceans, has deep roots in the transnational history of people, culture and business, dating back to the early days of colonialism (Hofmeyr, 2007; Worden, 2012). What kind of newness am I discussing here? My interest is in urban globality’s coming-into-being in the context of what Harvey, as well as others (Sassen, 1994; 2002; Castells, 1996; 2000; McDonald, 2009), has described as neoliberal urbanisation “gone global”. Harvey observes that, since the 1990s, in a world of consumerism, tourism, and culture- and knowledge-based industries, the city itself has become a global commodity (Harvey, 2008: 29). Competitive globalisation between cities, with Cape Town occupying a secondary position as a result of its position in the global south (Gibb, 2007), leads to the standardisation and homogenisation of urban life (Lemanski, 2007; Zukin, 2012). Yet the emergent nature of the city also means a state of transition: coming out of a difficult past and moving towards an uncertain future. It means a city full of questions regarding the global and the local, as well as past and future time.

Many scholars have noted that dwelling in the Cape is not a uniform experience (Worden et al., 1997; 1998; Bickford-Smith, 1999; Worden and Van Heijningen, 1996). In fact, the experience of this city as a “global” and “modern” place is constantly disrupted (Watson, 2008; Field et al., 2007; Murray et al., 2007). In terms of this interplay or collision between global imaginaries and local identities and memories, I want to suggest that Cape Town’s District One and District Six are exemplary. They are exemplary first of all because they resonate with Cape Town’s deep and unresolved histories of slavery, colonialism and apartheid. The stories of these districts begin in the seventeenth century—specifically, in 1652—with the arrival of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape. The afterlife of this arrival—including the subsequent struggles of the Khoikhoi,³ of those brought to the colony as slaves, and of those removed during apartheid—plays out on a daily basis in the contemporary city (Shepherd, 2013b). A linear timeline of the events surrounding these two districts locates them on the edges of the old colonial grid-city. Before the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and the Dutch East India Company, these lands belonged to the Khoikhoi. In its 19th-century expansion, the city of Cape Town forced its way onto the formal and informal burial grounds that lay northwest of the city, and eastward onto the freehold slave-holding farm Zonnebloem (“sunflower”). The burial grounds and farmlands were subsequently subdivided and sold as real estate. Districts One and Six were formed (Ross, 1983; Jeppie and Soudien, 1990b; Hall et al., 1994; Bank, 1994; Worden et al., 1998; Hall, 2001; Rassool and Prosalendis, 2001; Weeder, 2006; Shepherd and Ernssten, 2007).

A second set of reasons regarding District One and District Six’s importance for an understanding of Cape Town involves the fact that these areas have been the slums of the garden city, the neighbourhoods of the creolised working classes in the 19th-century colonial city and of the communities impacted by apartheid’s Group Area Act in the 20th century. During the 1960s and 1970s, Coloured and black residents were removed by force to the townships of the city; most of their houses were destroyed as part of a slum-clearance programme. From the 1980s onwards—most notably through the work of the Hands Off District Six campaign and later the District Six Museum—District Six became the site of community activism and of a counter-discourse rooted in historical justice and land restitution. Furthermore, in the post-apartheid city, particularly during preparations for the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the 2014 World Design Capital events, both districts became dreamscapes for Cape Town’s city planners. Located on the edge of the city centre, they were understood as sites of opportunity. As such, they were transformed: rapid gentrification and new forms of spatial exclusion ensued (Jeppie and Soudien, 1990a; Soudien, 1990; Bickford-Smith, 1999; Rassool, 2001; 2013; Murray et al., 2007; McDonald, 2009; Coetzer, 2013). The 2010 World Cup speaks to District One in certain ways, while the 2014 World Design Capital speaks to District Six in certain other ways. It is possible to say that the 2014 World Design Capital in Cape Town was an inevitable consequence of the 2010 FIFA World Cup as it manifested in this host city.

Preparations for the 2010 FIFA World Cup in Cape Town began immediately after South Africa declared its interest at the end of 2002 (SAFA, 2004). The narrative of South Africa’s

³ Khoikhoi or Khoekhoen is the name that the herding people of the Cape used for themselves. Khoisan or Khoesaaan is a term used by linguists to designate the click-consonant languages of southern Africa.

bid brought together a discourse of South African renaissance and “a time to come”, propelled by then-President of the Republic of South Africa Thabo Mbeki, and a discourse of reconciliation and the rainbow nation (Peeters, 2004). The drivers of the World Cup’s organisation in Cape Town were the Provincial Government of the Western Cape (PGWC)’s Department of Special Initiatives and the Cape Town Partnership (CTP). These entities not only managed the organisational process surrounding World Cup events in the city, including the construction of the new Cape Town Stadium in an area adjacent to District One. They were also involved in the envisioning and urban-policy-making that accompanied this process. The World Cup was actively projected as an instrument that would heal a perceived disconnect among Capetonians of different ethnicities, and between Cape Town and other cities around the world (Platzky, 2010). Concurrent with the World Cup preparations in Cape Town, a public debate erupted in 2003 when human remains were found at Prestwich Street in District One, during construction work for a luxury apartment block that would contribute to the further gentrification of the area. The Hands Off Prestwich Street Ad-Hoc Committee (HOPSAHC) in particular petitioned for construction work to be halted, on the grounds that the uncovered bones belonged to their ancestors. After a public-consultation process coordinated by the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), the statutory organisation established under the new National Heritage Resources Act (No. 25 of 1999), the bones were stored in an ossuary at the newly built Prestwich Memorial. This facility was strategically located on the “fan walk” leading to the new World Cup stadium (Shepherd, 2013b). It was also in 2003 that the District Six Museum kicked off its Hands On District Six campaign and as such became a key agent in the District Six land-restitution process. In 2006, District Six was provisionally declared a national site (Bennett et al., 2008).

Simultaneously, the Provincial Government of the Western Cape and the Cape Town Partnership promoted Cape Town’s cultural industries as part of the legacy of the World Cup (PGWC, 2007). The CTP launched the Creative Cape Town programme in 2006. This programme identified the so-called East City, an area that included a part of District Six, for its creative potential. The World Design Capital event was proposed as an instrument for accelerating urban and creative development in this area (DI, 2010). Cape Town’s bid for the 2014 World Design Capital event was officially announced in February 2010. The bid story, initiated in the context of the World Cup, prolonged the imagination of Cape Town’s transformation into a global city. In 2011, the CTP and the Province, in partnership with the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), launched the Fringe, a so-called “innovation hub” in the East City part of District Six. The Fringe project brought together the different ambitions of these three partners ahead of the 2014 World Design Capital (Carter, 2011). Partly as a result of public debate led by the District Six Museum, the project was terminated before the global event took place. The museum protested against District Six being situated on the fringe and claimed that it had already functioned for years as an inclusive space (Bennett et al., 2013).

In 2013, 40 Khoikhoi activists occupied a newly built District Six apartment complex. The activists criticised the restitution process at District Six and appealed to the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples adopted by the United Nations in 2007. In the same year, the City of Cape Town decided to take over the organisation of the World Design Capital from the Cape Town Partnership, since it saw an opportunity to use the event as a way to involve the city’s communities in co-creating design solutions for the problems in their

neighbourhoods (CT, 2013). The event in 2014 did indeed promote design as a strategic tool for community members to use to improve their city, while also being involved as citizens. The City's slogan changed from "A City that Works for You" to "Making Progress Possible. Together" (Lewis, 2014). This "new" strategy for urban transformation resonates with two traditions in South Africa that need further unpacking: heritage production and urban design. Taking a closer look at the contemporary moment in Cape Town, in an attempt to understand thinking and practice in Cape Town, involves digging out the roots of the discourses of heritage and urban design in South Africa.

The production of heritage and history

Modern notions of heritage were first articulated in South Africa in the 1920s, in the context of South Africa's aspirations as an "emergent settler state" and its relationship with the British empire as metropole. Shepherd describes how, in the decades following the National Party victory of the 1948 whites-only election, heritage became defined against the backdrop of the development of Afrikaner cultural history (Shepherd, 2008: 119-121). Heritage discourse in current-day South Africa is dominated by the discourse of cultural resource management (CRM), which finds its origins in the disciplines of archaeology and planning/architecture in the United States in the 1970s. CRM is closely associated with the official discourse of reconciliation and the rainbow society in South Africa. The National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) of 1999 reconceptualised heritage around "notions of redress and the explicit recognition of previously marginalized narratives and categories" (Shepherd, 2008: 121). An early figure in the promotion of CRM in South Africa is Hilary J Deacon, a professor of archaeology at the University of Stellenbosch. Deacon wrote in 1988 that "the services of archaeological trained cultural resource managers are going to be necessary to assess impact, initiate surveys, carry out recovery excavation and implement conservation and education programmes" (Deacon, 1988: 3). More recently, Harriet Deacon, Sephai Mngqolo and Sandra Prosalendis have written strategy papers for CRM institutions in South Africa (Deacon et al., 2003), and other papers focused on intangible heritage (Deacon et al., 2004). In 1989, Martin Hall, professor of archaeology at University of Cape Town, wrote about "[c]ontract archaeology in South Africa", more or less the South African variant of CRM, describing it as an exciting new commercial concept (Hall, 1989). Another key figure is Janette Deacon, who served as a member of the National Monuments Council in 1993, as a member of the writing team for the new NHRA of 1999, as chairperson of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA)'s exhumation-permit committee, and as a council member of SAHRA. Deacon has been a frequent writer on CRM and the opportunities for archaeology in South Africa (Deacon, 1993b; 1993a). An important moment for the heritage management of the urban environment was the Urban Conservation Symposium in Johannesburg in 1990. The preface of the edited volume emerging out of this symposium, written by architects Derek and Vivienne Japha, reads that conservation "must shed its present sectarian and culturally chauvinistic overtones; and this cannot be done as long as [it] remains divorced from broader problems of planning and development" (Japha and Japha, 1990: vi).

In terms of the critique of heritage discourse, two moments stand out in the reassessment of the production of South African history after apartheid: the University of Witwatersrand

(Wits)'s History Workshop of 1992, entitled "Myths, Monuments and Museums: New Premises" (Wits, 1992), and University of the Western Cape (UWC)'s 1996 conference entitled "On the Future of the Past: the Production of History in Changing South Africa". The role of the scholar, the discipline, the function of historical production, and the meaning of historical artefacts in the new nation were central to these debates. In response, UWC-based scholars called for a greater involvement of historians in the transformation of the heritage sector (UWC, 1996). Historians Gary Minkley, Ciraj Rassool and Leslie Witz laid the groundwork for a critical discourse regarding the production of historical knowledge (Witz and Rassool, 1992; Minkley et al., 1996). They describe, among other things, how in contemporary South African public history marginally researched groups become agents in their own history-making (Witz et al., 1999). The efforts of these historians eventually resulted in the Project on Public Past (POPP). Witz writes that the production of history "takes history beyond the writing of the academy and recognizes that there are many producers, at various sites, who utilize different historical methodologies to process a range of pasts" (Witz, 2003b: 7). These "multiple places of historical knowledge" are at odds with how, in new or reborn nations, "the past is aligned with the present, so that the nation appears to be [the] pre-determined outcome of a history usually seen as having begun in a 'deep time' of 'long ago'" (Witz, 2003b: 7, 10).

Historians Martin Legassick and Ciraj Rassool ask questions about the ethics of exhumation and the nature of scientific research conducted on the indigenous body under colonial conditions. According to them, the failure of tackling these sensitive questions "derives from a perpetuation of the idea that the bones and skulls of Khoisan people in the twentieth century are natural history fossils, referred to as relics" (Legassick and Rassool, 2000: 2). Hall and Pia Bombardella, both actively involved in the University of Cape Town-based Research Unit for the Archaeology of Cape Town (RESUNACT), which has contributed to a critical discourse regarding the disciplinary production of history and heritage, write about the production of heritage at sites or destinations like the GrandWest and Gold Reef City casinos. They are of the opinion that that these entertainment complexes are South Africa's new public spaces (Hall and Bombardella, 2005; 2007). Art historian Annie Coombes explores visual and material manifestations of post-apartheid public histories and argues that these manifestations inform definitions of community as well as of nation (Coombes, 2003). Archaeologist Lynn Meskell formulates a critique of multiculturalism in relation to heritage management in South Africa. She suggests that building new levels of trust among stakeholders is "a long and deliberative process" (Meskell, 2005b: 77). Elsewhere, Meskell and archaeologist Collette Scheermeyer point out that, while heritage in South Africa is intended to reconcile the nation, it is "often more about national performance than [about] social justice and restitution" (Meskell and Scheermeyer, 2008: 154). With regard to the discipline of archaeology in South Africa, Meskell argues that archaeologists should enter public debate and see their practice as part of a process of transformation (Meskell, 2007). In addition, she takes seriously the relationship between natural and cultural heritage, and the continuing dominance of the discourse of natural conservation (Meskell, 2005a; 2011). Philosopher Daniel Herwitz writes that, like politics, heritage-making in post-apartheid South Africa is characterised by a distinctive style of improvisation (Herwitz, 2012).

Other critical reviews of the practice of heritage management in South Africa focus on the involvement of the disciplines of archaeology and architecture. Before the transition to

democracy in South Africa, Hall had addressed the prevalence of colonial ideologies in the formation of archaeological research projects (Hall, 1984; 1990). Later, Hall focused attention on the relationship between memory and archaeology (Hall, 1998). Aligned with this perspective, Shepherd argued that the experience of colonialism was a key formative context for the discipline as a whole (Shepherd, 1998). In various publications, Shepherd has discussed power relations in South Africa and the types of knowledge that archaeology has produced. He points to the emergence of an archaeological discourse that centred on concepts like accountability, professionalism and a managerial ethos. In short, CRM discourse has placed heritage in the service of development (Shepherd, 2002b; 2002c; 2002a; 2003a; 2003b; 2008; 2013b). Shepherd has addressed the involvement of archaeologists in heritage management from an ethical point of view (Shepherd, 2007a; 2015c), introducing subaltern epistemologies into the debate (Shepherd, 2013a). The timeline of the discourse of urban design is fairly similar to that of heritage discourse. The critique is less developed, however.

Designing South Africa's cities

Urban design is part of the discipline of urban planning, which has been majorly influenced by the modernist tradition, or the “international style”, that arrived in South Africa in the 1920s. Architect Nicolas Coetzer points to the trope of the gateway and the aesthetics of order that originate in the urban-planning ideals of modernist Ebenezer Howard’s Garden City, and that are carried onwards to the post-apartheid city. Coetzer explains that the perception at the time was that architecture would heal social ills (Coetzer, 2013). Relatedly, urban-design discourse centres on key themes such as modernisation and the management of urbanisation and urban space. Alan Mabin, a scholar in planning, writes how visions for modernisation or urbanisation are often articulated in response to a perceived urban crisis (Mabin, 1998: 269). Architect Noeleen Murray describes how, during the years of the apartheid state (1948–1994), modernist architecture and urban planning worked in the service of Afrikaner nationalism and the racist and segregationist ideals of the National Party (Murray, 2007: 51). Elsewhere, Murray, in collaboration with Hall and Shepherd, points to the linked history of urban design and forced removals (Murray et al., 2007). In her writing about Roelof Uytenbogaardt, Murray describes how, under the influence of this architect, design consciousness in the spatial disciplines in South Africa was typically understood within the framework of “humanism”. As such, culture and identity became essentialised, domesticated and translated into spatial forms, “freeing the designer from messy contact with points of contestation or tension within the built environment they envisioned under apartheid” (Murray, 2010: 157). Importantly, late modernists and urbanists who produced work during apartheid and through the transition to democracy—such as, for example, Vivienne and Derek Japha, David Dewar, and Julian Cooke—are still celebrated by the discipline in post-apartheid South Africa. Murray speaks of “the continuous tradition of modern design prevalent to this day” (Murray, 2010: 155).

Post-1994, the discourse of urban design was articulated by scholars who formed part of development studies—or of its local variant, post-apartheid studies—with its focus on solving urban problems. Political scientist Mark Swilling writes about a series of urban service organisations that emerged around 1985—most notably, Planact—and promoted the idea of a “conversational city”. This concept was inspired by “Marxist urban sociology,

welfarist community development, development theory, technocratic participatory-planning ideas [. . .] and anti-apartheid discourse” (Swilling, 1998: 287). More recently, Swilling has argued that “sustainability thinking” in relation to Cape Town should encapsulate a “sense of the city”—that is, an understanding that urban development is restricted by natural resources (Davison and Swilling, 2010). Based on empirical analysis of “primary material flows”, he and Eve Annecke sketch out elsewhere the “micro-dynamics” of Cape Town’s transition to a more sustainable socio-ecological regime (Swilling and Annecke, 2012). As an approach to African cities, Abdoumalik Simone asks, “[I]n what ways are segregation, disjunction and fragmentation also something[?]” In response, he suggests that we consider “where African urban residents are going, pursuing their own objectives within their own time frames” (Simone, 1998: 186-187). Influenced by Henri Lefebvre, Simone is an urbanist trained in social psychology. He introduces the idea of “people as infrastructure”. In an article by the same name, but also in earlier works (Simone, 2004a; Simone and Abhouhane, 2005), he points out that African cities consist of “incessantly flexible mobile, and provisional intersections of residents” who engage in “complex combinations of objects, spaces, persons, and practices” (Simone, 2004b: 407-408). One of the clearest contemporary voices in the post-apartheid discourse on urban design is urban scholar Edgar Pieterse. Pieterse argues that in order to achieve a balanced understanding, construction and reproduction of future South African cities one has to address locality, identity, freedom, diversity and security in tandem with one another (Pieterse, 2008b). The only way to do this, according to Pieterse, is by figuring out how to reinstate empathy between the imagination and the everyday (Pieterse, 2004). In more recent works, Pieterse has proposed the trope of disaster and invited us to think about the necessity of sustainable development (Pieterse, 2010c). Finally, in a recent edited volume entitled *Rogue Urbanism: Emergent African Cities* (2013), Simone and Pieterse state their wish to articulate a knowledge agenda that focuses on macro-trend data and perspectives, using insights about the novelty of contemporary urban life as it comes into being (Pieterse and Simone, 2013).

Importantly, the dominant versions of heritage discourse and urban-design discourse show remarkably strong similarities. Together, they invite the question of how colonial modernity—the conquest that involved the capture and transformation of knowledge-of-the-world and being-in-the-world (Shepherd, 2016)—still determines heritage and urban practice in Cape Town as an emerging global city. In relation to this question, Mignolo offers a useful point of orientation through his concept of global designs. By “global design” he means the process by which ideological frameworks of global capital interest, as they are communicated through discourse, bear down on the local. He describes how these discursive frameworks are driven by “a will to control and to homogenize”, how they operate in a top-down fashion, imposed and modernist (Mignolo, 2000b: 723). I would argue that apartheid was a global design, since it functioned as “a blueprint of a future and ideal society projected from a single point of view” (Mignolo, 2000b: 744; 2000a: 21). Dissecting Cape Town’s contemporary moment, I trace the unfolding of the discourses of the city in an attempt to understand what happens when a global design makes itself felt locally. I will explain why I see the discourses of heritage and urban design in Cape Town as instruments of global design. Naturally, my reading of contemporary Cape Town is affected by the location from which I think and write. Therefore, in the next section I lay out my research process and methodology, starting with an autobiographical note.

Research process and methods

In 2013, I relocated from the Netherlands to South Africa. Directing an urban practice in Amsterdam, I edited books, organised events and designed exhibitions focused on cities in the Netherlands and elsewhere. Moreover, from 2006 until 2010, I worked as an editor at *Volume* magazine, a quarterly on cities founded by architect Rem Koolhaas. During this same period, I wrote as a journalist for Italian design magazines such as *Domus* and *Abitare*. I contributed to the International Architecture Biennale held in Venice in 2008 and in Rotterdam in 2009. As editor-in-chief, I coordinated the collaborative processes involved in making a city guide about the capital of Lebanon, Beirut (Ernsten, 2009), and about Amsterdam, the Dutch capital (Ernsten, 2011). Also as editor-in-chief, I translated the oeuvre of the urban designer Gert Urhahn into a monograph titled *The Spontaneous City* (2010). Finally, from 2008 to 2012, I co-curated the Detroit Unreal Estate Agency, a research project in the American city of Detroit (Barlow, 2009). These experience and others were my entry point into the world of global urban studies and constituted my first encounter with global discourses on the city.

Coming from this world of practice, I started a PhD in Cape Town. Since I was interested in a global north/south comparison, the challenge was to inhabit a world of discourse and practice and write critically about it at the same time. Given my understanding of the geopolitics of knowledge (Mignolo, 2002), I found it particularly productive to ask a set of questions about cities when located in the global south—in other words, when located “at the receiving end of globalization” (Mignolo, 2011c: 184), or in a place that experienced coloniality and that still suffers from the consequences of the colonial wound (the historical injustice that remains formative for and recurrent in everyday life) (Mignolo, 2011c; Bagues, 2010). As such, I decided to come to Cape Town to study the discourses surrounding the city. I had visited Cape Town as a student and a tourist, and now I lived there as a researcher. Based on my experiences, I deliberately position this study within the uncertain context of a twofold challenge: on the one hand, the continuing effects of neoliberal globalisation on issues such as citizenship, identity and ethics (Appadurai, 1996; Bauman, 2000; Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001a) and, on the other hand, the increasing demands for radical academic reconfiguration with regard to the global south (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004; Mudimbe, 1994; 1988; Shepherd, 2002b; 2015c; Haber, 2012; Mignolo, 2011b).

I intend to give what Clifford Geertz referred to as a “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) of unfolding urban discourses in Cape Town, from 2002 until 2014. Within this date range, I discuss the organisational processes of both the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the 2014 World Design Capital in relation to the exhumation of human remains at District One and the restitution of land at District Six. I point to a pivot, a historical hinge, upon which the discourses surrounding the city shift. Through discourse analysis, a method defined by a wide range of scholars (Coulthard, 1977; Brown and Yule., 1983; Pople, 1998; Barker and Galasinski, 2001), I examine how this discursive shift takes place. The influential Critical Discourse Analysis group, formed by Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, James Paul Gee and others, investigates discourse from the point of view of how linguistic practice and social practice constitute each other (Gee, 1999; Titscher et al., 2000; Wodak, 2013). Fairclough speaks of the “codification of discourse” that is the result of globalisation (Fairclough, 1989:

204-207; 1995). In this thesis, I achieve my analysis through a multi-stranded research methodology.

One of my strategies was a form of embedded ethnographic research: I worked as an intern with organisations involved in the fields of heritage and urban design in Cape Town. My intention was to inhabit a world of discourse and practice through these internships. I was interested in the day-to-day business of these organisations; I wanted to understand without judgement. Being involved in practical organisational processes as part of this research strategy proved a humbling experience. In the second half of 2013, I worked as a researcher at the Provincial Government of the Western Cape's Deputy Director General's office on a baseline study forecasting the legacy of the 2014 World Design Capital (WDC). This research project brought me right into the heart of WDC preparations, since the Deputy Director General, Laurine Platzky, was a government representative on the board of the WDC's implementation agency. I took part in preparatory meetings and, as such, had first-hand experience of the debates, the ambitions and the criticisms surrounding the event. I felt the dynamism, the enthusiasm and the excitement as well as the frustration and the anger. I also came to understand something of the functioning of a government institution in Cape Town. Through the baseline study, I developed a thorough understanding of the government policy associated with this event as well as of the network of individuals (working in politics, policy, academia, civil society and business) involved. Finally, since Platzky functioned previously as the Western Cape coordinator of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, working with her also gave me an opportunity to access key documents and discussions.

In the same period, I engaged with the city through the framework of "Land", a public event hosted by the Gordon Institute of Performing Arts (GIPCA) in Cape Town. I worked as programme assistant to choreographer Jay Pather, director of GIPCA. The year 2013 marked the centennial commemoration of the infamous South African Native Land Act of 1913. This piece of legislation formalised the material inscription of colonisation, decreeing that only 13% of South African territory could be legally owned by "natives" (UCT, 2013). GIPCA's "Land" project—a response to this centennial—consisted of a four-day event, including a programme of performance and visual art and a series of public lectures held in Cape Town. The programme was designed to address issues of ownership, historical trauma, restitution and art in the city. The performances, lectures and exhibitions took place in various city spaces that bore historical significance and embodied contemporary contestations: its opening and closing public debates, for example, were held at District One and District Six respectively. I used "Land" as a way to get involved in a critical debate about the heritage of these city sites and as a way to understand how they function as public spaces.

Partly as a result of these internships, I was able to conduct qualitative in-depth interviews with the key actors in my study. These interviews entailed lengthy sit-down conversations. As a researcher, I asked the interviewees pre-prepared questions and follow-up questions. The interviews involved probing, as a way to invite interviewees to give rich answers, and afford me as much clarity on the topic as possible (Rubin and Rubin, 2012; Morris, 2015). With regard to Cape Town as an emerging global city, I held interviews with Laurine Platzky and with Mayoral Committee member for Economic, Environment and Spatial Planning Garreth Bloor; I spoke with former Cape Town Partnership (CTP) CEO Andrew Boraine and with his colleagues Jodi Allemeier and Andrew Fleming. I also interviewed former City of

Cape Town manager for Arts and Culture Zayd Minty, World Design Capital director Richard Perez, and Jenni Kruger, who was the World Design Capital programme manager. I spoke with Ayleen Reesberg, the head of the World Design Capital project and the CEO of Cape Town Design NPC. Moreover, I interviewed Mugendi M'Rithaa, professor at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology, and Johannes Cronje, dean at the same school. I spoke with professor Edgar Pieterse of the African Centre for Cities (ACC) and with Ralph Borland, who worked with the ACC as a postdoctoral student. I held an interview with the director of the Sustainability Institute, professor Mark Swilling, and with the director of the social-innovation MBA programme at the University of Cape Town, Francois Bonnici. I spoke with Erica Elk of the Cape Craft and Design Institute and with Dustin Kramer of the Social Justice Coalition. With regard to District Six especially, I interviewed Bonita Bennett, director of the District Six Museum, and also Chrischene Julius, who works as a collection manager at the museum. In addition, I spoke to artist Andrew Putter, who ran the Harrington Heart project, as well as to the CTP's ethnographer, Evan Blake. With regard to District One, I held an interview with Fagmee Jacobs of the Environmental and Heritage Management branch of the City of Cape Town and with Mark Truss of the Green Point/Orange Kloof City Improvement District. In conversations with David Donde, owner of Truth Coffee, Jay Pather of GIPCA, and architect Lucien Le Grange, I spoke about both city quarters. Besides these interviews, a series of informal conversations also informed this study: namely, my conversations with project manager of Styleprops (Pty) Ltd André van der Merwe, archaeologist Antonia Malan, and historian and District Six Museum trustee Ciraj Rasool.

Alongside the embedded ethnographic research and the interviews, I conducted desktop and archival research. Most of the policy documents surrounding the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the 2014 World Design Capital are available online. In addition, the City of Cape Town and the Provincial Government of the Western Cape published their strategic plans and research reports regarding the urban development of the city online. A copy of Cape Town's bid book for the 2014 World Design Capital was available through the University of Cape Town's Hiddingh Hall library. As part of my research, I attended a large number of the programmes offered as part of the World Design Capital event. I joined several of the co-design workshops that were held as part of the City of Cape Town's 111 Wards project. I also regularly visited both the "Future Foreshore" and the "Cape Town: A City Desired" exhibitions in the City Hall. From 31 March to 4 April 2014, I attended the 14th International Winelands Conference, which was entitled "Innovation for the Urban Age". With regard to heritage of District One and District Six, I consulted the archive of the Heritage Management branch of the City of Cape Town and the UCT's Special Collection Division, as well as the archive of the South African Heritage Resources Agency. I looked for heritage assessments, media clippings, archaeological reports and old maps. With the help of Dr Antonia Malan, I managed to access unpublished reports concerning District Six written by UCT's Historical Archaeology Research Group. Finally, I also consulted the online database of the Archaeological Contract Office, where the group publishes its site reports, heritage assessments and other studies.

In addition, I have developed a form of embodied research for understanding discourses of the city. What is an embodied way to understand how discourse determines urban dwelling? I want to suggest the practice of walking as such a method. This practice allows for emotioning—in others words, it allows the affect, the senses and the imagination to enter

the equation when one moves through city spaces (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2014; Knudsen and Stage, 2015). Walter Benjamin described the walker as the “flâneur” (Eiland and McLaughlin, 1990), while Michel de Certeau described the walker as the “voyeur”, who “affirms, suspects, tries out, transgresses, respects, etc., the trajectories it ‘speaks’” (De Certeau, 1988: 99). My understanding of the practice of walking comes by way of anthropologist Tim Ingold, who is interested in how our imaginative field and our physical environment run into each other. He posits that only through bodily engagement do we know the world we dwell in. Through the process of walking, we understand ourselves in relation to our environment. Referencing Mary Carruthers, Ingold argues that as we walk our experience of the landscape becomes “figmented”, and that it is through these imaginary frames that we understand our environment (Ingold, 2010: 17).

Inspired by the work on walking done by authors such as Rebecca Solnit (Solnit, 2001) and Robert Macfarlane (Macfarlane, 2013), but also by the work on landscape done by Chris Tilley (Tilley, 1997) and Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks (Pearson and Shanks, 2001), and inspired especially by the fiction writing of W G Sebald (Sebald, 2002; Sebald, 2001), I walked and researched District One and District Six simultaneously, and I also walked other parts of Cape Town and parts of Table Mountain. As a method, walking constituted an attempt to navigate ways of dwelling in the city, to sail in and out of urban discourses as they played themselves out. As such, it also allowed for the formation other narratives about the deep histories of these places. As part of this methodology of embodied research, I collaborated with three photographers—Sara G F de Gouveia, Dirk-Jan Visser, and Barry Christianson—whom I invited on different occasions to walk with me. They followed my guidance to some extent, but they also captured their own points of attention and interest. Referring to work on visual research by Anna Grimshaw (Grimshaw, 2005), visual historian Patricia Hayes (Hartmann et al., 2001; Liebenberg and Hayes, 2010) and Elizabeth Edwards and Matt Mead (Edwards and Mead, 2013), but also to contributions on photography and ruins by Þóra Pétursdóttir and Bjørnar Olsen (Pétursdóttir and Olsen, 2014), Paul Mullins (Mullins, 2014) and Krysta Ryzewski (Ryzewski, 2014), I used photographs of District One and District Six as a means of stepping in- and outside of frames. Sometimes the image worked as a reminder of a moment of insight or revelation during a walk; sometimes it worked as a frame that enabled a close reading of a particular detail. In other moments, the photo added a layer of representation and, as such, made me aware of the politics of my own engagement.

Finally, I would like to note that, during the course of writing this thesis, I spent time as a visiting PhD researcher at the Amsterdam School of Cultural Analysis at the University of Amsterdam and at the Conservation Department at the University of Gothenburg. I have publicly presented chapters at, among other venues, the Geography Department of the University of the Western Cape, the Conference for Historical Archaeology in Theory in Sheffield in 2015, and the Department of Sustainable Heritage Management at the University of Aarhus. I benefited greatly from the debate, commentary and criticism generating in these various forums. Parts of some of the chapters in this thesis have been published in *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* (Ernsten, 2014; Ernsten, 2015) and in the Oxford University Press publication *Contemporary Archaeology and the City: Creativity, Ruination, and Political Action* (Ernsten, forthcoming).

Summary of chapters

In addition to this introduction, my thesis is made up of six chapters and a conclusion. In Chapter One, entitled “Moments of Poignancy: A Genealogy of Urban Design and Heritage”, I map some of the important colonial inscriptions of Cape Town. I speak of poignant moments, or features that are deeply embedded in the city’s everyday life and struggles. I suggest that the fort, the garden, the grid, the slum, the ruin and the cemetery are six such moments/features. I describe how they condition the city’s transformation, how they provide vehicles for the ideas, images and praxis that enforce colonial modernity. Finally, I suggest that these poignant moments are the backdrop against which Cape Town presented itself as the host city of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the 2014 World Design Capital. Consequently, this first chapter further develops the methodological and theoretical implications of this thesis project as a whole.

In Chapter Two, entitled “The Dead of District One: A History of Exhumation”, I describe the heritage-management process surrounding the unearthing of human remains at District One’s Prestwich Street. I make the argument that contact archaeologists handled the uncovered human remains in the spirit of “business as usual”. Critiquing cultural resource management discourse, I render a historical timeline of the exhumations. I discuss in detail the timeline of events taking place in the aftermath of the unearthing of the dead of Prestwich Street. Regarding their relocation to the Prestwich ossuary, I characterise heritage management at District One in relation to the annihilation of a local history.

Chapter Three, “Rebirth of a City: Global Events in Cape Town”, explores how the FIFA World Cup and the World Design Capital events feed into the disjunctive experience of time in Cape Town. I demonstrate, via a timeline, how a set of contemporary global discourses around soccer and design come to rest in a very particular local context, as well as the effects that these discourses have. I argue that these discourses transform Cape Town into a global city oriented towards the future. I also argue, though, that they contribute to a state of amnesia. I address how this amnesia reinforces the imprint of colonial modernity on the landscape of the Cape, with its associated historical and contemporary violence, and its effect on cultural production, identities and agency. Cultural amnesia silences particular memories and forecloses certain emotional or material forms of restitution and reconciliation. It renders the injustices and the unrelenting violence of Cape Town’s outskirts invisible.

Chapter Four, entitled “Post-apartheid Utopias and Dystopias: The Praxis of the Future in Cape Town”, is concerned with the shaping, the framing and the fashioning of the discourse on urban futures. I outline the multiple sources and diverse elements that feed into this discourse: specifically, metropolitan theory and local experience. Focusing on the praxis of the African Centre for Cities at UCT, I argue that there is a convergence between the language of crisis and the vision that comes across in policy and futurist scenario-building. In addition, I address how this discourse on urban practice takes the form of utopian dreams, or a desire for rupture and newness. I point to how, as a result of these dreams, apartheid modernities are recapitulated in the post-apartheid city.

Chapter Five, “The Ruins of District Six: A History of Restitution”, gives an account of the praxis of the District Six Museum in relation to the restitution and redevelopment of District

Six. I argue that, from 2003 onwards, the museum's counter-practice followed a script of realising a utopia of racial harmony and equity. This approach constituted a post-apartheid utopia of District Six that carried dreams of imagined pasts and imagined futures. I also argue that the dream that the museum projected mirrored the unfulfilled promises of the new South Africa. Finally, I make the argument that, from 2006, as the museum engaged with forms of heritage and urban governmentality, its long-held tradition of knowing the District Six landscape was co-opted.

The last chapter, Chapter Six, is entitled "The Percolation of Truth: A Visual Essay of District One and District Six". Here, I argue that, twenty years into democracy, we can think about how the materiality of the shattered landscapes of District One and District Six present ways of connecting with degraded personhoods, in the past and the present. Through a series of images, I explore the multiple afterlives of ruined buildings and ruined livelihood as new beginnings. I discuss the violence of disciplinary practice, and gesture towards new modes of enunciation.

Lastly, in the Conclusion, I discuss how an understanding of the moments of poignancy in the city of Cape Town, allows for a tilted yet more compassionate understanding of the city. I also think through the meaning of the city's contemporary moment and discuss the relevance of this study for other former colonial cities.

1. Moments of Poignancy: A Genealogy of Urban Design and Heritage

“Far from dressing up a plain reality with layers of metaphor, the [hunter-gatherers’] imagination, songs, stories and designs serve to conduct the attention of performers *into* the world, deeper and deeper, as one proceeds from outward appearances to an ever more intense poetic involvement.” (Ingold, 2000: 56)

What if?

In this chapter, I offer a series of insights into the links between colonial modernity (Shepherd, 2016), on the one hand, and the origins of contemporary discourses of urban design and heritage in Cape Town, on the other. I discuss the function of official discourses concerning the design of the city as well as the sudden eruptions that disturb these constructs. I point to the recurrent patterns and moments in which design is made plain or left unspoken. I trace the genealogy of official or “top-down” design and heritage discourses along with the moments or movements that are at odds with or embarrass this official discourse. Earlier attempts at writing about the spatial tropes of Cape Town and their contestations drew attention to the dream topography, the hidden transcripts and the desire-lines of the Cape landscape (Coetzee, 1988; Hall, 2000; Murray et al., 2007). In response, I suggest here that a modern history is inscribed in space and time with words and then with brick and mortar, and then uncovered from a site with a trowel. After their uncovering, a site’s artefacts are collected in archives, and there they form the basis for a continuation of historical and stylistic narratives. Indeed, my point here is that the official inscribed history is performative and repetitive. It transcribes a foundation for the city’s future and for its inhabitants’ behaviour. Importantly, this transcription forms part of an official discourse of landscape, linked to the appreciation of history and design in colonial times. I’m interested in this chapter to come to a different, counter-discursive understanding of style and story-telling with regard to time and place in Cape Town. What might have been a relatively simple exercise in mapping layers of spatial influence and style in the city now becomes a complex challenge. Instead of pointing to the Khoikhoi, the Dutch, the British—the nationalist and the post-apartheid design layers—I intend to unearth those layers of the city’s design that are most relevant for an understanding of its past. The leading question of this chapter is: What were the moments and spaces in Cape Town’s past in which the official design of the city became poignant? By “poignant moments” I mean those instances in which the official design shows its true face—in which one is confronted by the deep lineages of the discourse (Meyer, 1997: 51).

As a point of departure for this design history of Cape Town, I wish to turn to three theoretical concepts for guidance on writing against a colonial archive. I use these concepts with the aim of producing a constructive understanding of a messy set of fragments, agencies, tropes, counter-discourses and memories. In “Ruin Memory” (2013), Nick Shepherd presents the concept of a history of fragments of the city—a history of bits and pieces, a history based on the counter-archive of subalternised voices and bodies. Instead of indulging the desire for a convincing and coherent narrative, this approach offers a work of collage, using “traces, fragments, fugitive materialities, embodied experience, bodies of

memory and the performativity of the past/present” (Shepherd, 2013b: 242). Shepherd suggests a way of thinking about the material presence of the dead in the city and the ways in which it conditions the present moment. As such, he offers a methodology for an “off-modern” imagination of the landscape of the Cape, a contemporary detour from modern memories into a different way of grasping pasts. Literary scholar Svetlana Boym claims the off-modern project to be “a performance-in-progress, a rehearsal of possible forms and common places [. . .] it explores interstices, disjunctures and gaps in the present in order to co-create the future” (Boym, 2010: 3). Boym is in favour of asking the question “What if?” more often.

Aligned with Shepherd and Boym, I would ask: What if Cape Town’s dead could speak? Interestingly, anthropologist Tim Ingold proposes something of a methodology for answering this question. Hunters and gatherers, the focus of his scholarly career, follow in the footsteps of their dead ancestors as a way to generate memories of them. Accordingly, Ingold argues that knowing the world is the result not of a construct of the mind but of a bodily engagement. He writes that “the forms which people build, whether in the imagination or on the ground, arise within the current of their involved activity” (Ingold, 2000: 60, 186-189). In other words, only because we dwell in the world can we think the thoughts we do. Ingold’s concept of dwelling provokes a wide range of potential strategies for engaging with the design of Cape Town. I would like to focus on the performative act of following in the footsteps of Cape Town’s dead. In this chapter, I map the ancestors on *and* off the grid as a rehearsal for a different sort of history writing. As such, I attempt to construct a speculative archive. I zoom in on the design history of six spatial moments of contemporary Cape Town: namely, the fort, the garden, the grid, the slum, the ruin, and the cemetery. These are features of an aspirational future of this city. My aim in this chapter is to set the stage for a discussion of Cape Town’s contemporary urban transformation.

Fort: Fearing the future

As a first footstep, I quote, following literary scholar Hedley Twidle, a dramatic scene from Dan Sleigh’s novel *Eilande* (2002).

“One red dawn, ten or twelve years before the Dutchman started building this place, Autshumao became leader of the Goringhaicona. He walked across the dunes to the sea as if he’d never known the dead or the living behind him. He was covered in blood, robbed, humiliated, as he walked in the half-dawn from the smouldering stubble of burnt grass beside a vleij, under the bitter smoke of charred matting and cattle hides, followed by five children, five women and two old men. Behind them in the smoking rubble were their dead, ahead was the sea.” (Sleigh, 2004: 3)

Autshumao in Sleigh’s historical novel understood the benefits that the arrival of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) could bring him. Twidle, who is interested in a kind of off-modern reading of the colonial archive, calls Autshumao the Khoikhoi captain “who guarded, then traded, then manipulated the colonial missives and messages” (Twidle, 2013: 132, 151). The colonial inscription of the landscape of the Cape, as well as the dominant historical narrative surrounding it, begins with the arrival of the ship of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652. As Sleigh’s

novel illustrates, the Cape was no empty land. Yet the men of the VOC had a rather warped idea of the place. Their idea of Africa “was replete with legends of cannibals and one-footed creatures”, writes archaeologist Martin Hall (Hall, 2007: 288). The local Khoikhoi society, made up by the Gorachouqua and the Goringhaicona groups, was aware of the explorers and traders from Europe long before the Dutch arrived (Worden et al., 1998). The Dutch called the Goringhaicona, who lived in the vicinity of the coast, “Strandlopers”. Autshumao was their leader. Historians who have studied van Riebeeck’s journal, a central part of the colonial archive, conclude that the VOC settlement intersected with one of the Khoikhoi’s seasonal herding routes, which led to regular contact (Worden et al., 1998: 16). Yet the Company, often considered the world’s first multinational, ordered only a fort and a fruit-and-vegetable garden to be built. It had no real interest in the Goringhaicona or the Gorachouqua (Worden et al., 1998: 17). The Dutch commanders, like Europeans elsewhere in the “New World”, believed in their right to rule. Their authority was effected through ceremonial practices—enactments of possession that stemmed from the everyday gestures and laws of the European states (Seed, 1995: 2-7).

The Castle of Good Hope replaced the company’s first makeshift fort in 1699, and the new structure is closely associated with both the VOC’s conquest and its growing military authority (Barker, 2003; Malan, 2012: 3). Interestingly, all the buildings of the Cape settlement were strictly managed and controlled in order to facilitate the VOC’s monopoly. Moreover, “[i]ts residents were [. . .] firmly under the control of the Company,” write historians Nigel Worden, Elizabeth Van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith. They point to a vision of the orderly hamlet at the African frontier that the commanders were trying to engineer (Worden, 1996: 33; Worden et al., 1998). The settlements of the Khoikhoi were characterised and categorised in relation to these early colonial buildings. Nick Shepherd and Noeleen Murray speak of “the first trope in South African space-making, the idea of the ‘primitive’, ‘indigenous’ or vernacular” (Shepherd and Murray, 2007: 2). Influenced by James C Scott, archaeologist Martin Hall argues that in the context of this neat official picture the Khoikhoi woman Krotoa represents a counter-memory or a hidden voice. The VOC’s journal gives an account of how van Riebeeck relied on Krotoa for regular supplies of meat. Indeed, Krotoa acted as a go-between for the Dutch and the Goringhaicona. Her role as translator gave her authority and, baptised as a Christian, she became the first Khoikhoi to be buried in the new castle. Novelist Karel Schoeman points to the biographies of another six Khoikhoi: namely, Doman, Sousa, Oudasoa, Ngonnermoa, Sara, and Dorha. All were individuals who familiarised themselves with a foreign culture and a changing reality. Their everyday misbehaviour challenged the official authority.

Hall concludes that these Khoikhoi’s performance unsettles the racial stereotype. They suggest that the need for “a repetitive insistence on the superiority of European civilization [. . .] represents the nervousness among colonizers of the potential for failure in the outrageous enterprise of conquering the world” (Hall, 2000: 16-17, 97-124; Schoeman, 2009). Aligned with this view, Schoeman suggests that the most potent images of the first 154 years of European presence at the Cape relate to issues of “shelter, enclosure, keeping together, shutting out, protecting, defending, establishing presence and ensuring [the VOC’s] survival”. Dutch rule amounted to continuous and desperate improvisation. While mapping and claiming the Cape peninsula with names such as Liesbeek, Bosheuvel, Houtbaai, Tygerberg and Bergrivier, the Dutch anxiously awaited further interaction with the

Khoi (Schoeman, 1998: 34-35). Against this backdrop, Sleigh presents Autshumao as a somewhat ambiguous character. Autshumao negotiates the presence of the fort and the customs of the Europeans, and regularly outsmarts van Riebeeck. I propose that Sleigh tilts the colonial archive here, by turning the fort into a structure that performs the desperation of the Dutch. More importantly, the novelist makes us think about the paths, the routes and the sites that held significance beyond the fort. In so doing, he draws our attention to the frontiers of the colonial archive.

A deeper discursive exploration of the workings of the archive is offered by J M Coetzee in his seminal work *White Writings* (1988). The renowned writer addresses the Cape settlement as a garden or place for refreshment in relation to notions of time. In the next section, I explore the garden as a second feature of Cape Town's urban design.

Garden: Dreaming history

The VOC's focus on a fort and a garden "was to provide the basis for Cape Town's later physical layout and the key symbols of its early function" (Worden et al., 1998: 17). The Amsterdam gardener Hendrik Boom, who came to Cape Town with van Riebeeck's ship, helped establish what was to become the Company's Garden west of the fort (Murray, 2001: 26). As such, a myth of origin became physically constituted. Coetzee takes a first step in unpacking this myth. He explains that, while the Atlantic colonial exploration became "a voyage in the future of man", "the Cape, by contrast, belonged not to the New World but to the farthest extremity of the Old". Crudely put, "the future promised by the Cape seemed to be less of the perfection of man in a recovered innocence than of the degeneration of man into brute" (Coetzee, 1988: 1-3). Instead of being imagined as a New Amsterdam, early Cape Town figured as a counter-image to Renaissance civilisation, a place of degeneration for the white colonist. This constituted the first discursive theme in the discourse of the Cape, according to Coetzee (Coetzee, 1988). As such, a garden myth with a racial undertone became embedded in the genre of the pastoral in South Africa. Coetzee writes that the calm stability of the gardens or of the freeburgher farms offered an idealised and utopian moment between "the wilderness of lawless nature and the wilderness of the new cities" (Coetzee, 1988: 1-3). It was a moment outside of history. This myth proved influential in social histories and accounts of how the establishment of farm households extended the frontier of the VOC settlement into the Liesbeek valley and beyond.

Archaeologist Antonia Malan explains that there was a "general Eurasian flavour to all ordinary freeburgher house layouts and their contents", which houses were inhabited by whites, free blacks and slaved inhabitants (Malan, 1998: 66). The thatched and gabled manor houses with their "whitewashed walls, sash windows, inner shutters, floor of flagstones or broad yellow planks and exposed beams [. . .] preserve memories of the seventeenth-century Netherlands" (Schoeman, 1998: 36). "The farms marked out neatly rectangular blocks", in a further mapping and naming of the landscape that would become "the basis of suburban expansion in the nineteenth century" (Worden et al., 1998: 20; Malan, 2012). A second spatial trope—the Cape Dutch style—resonates with the garden myth. The Cape Dutch style signifies VOC rule at the Cape and is also a strong feature of South African architectural heritage (Shepherd and Murray, 2007: 2-4). In fact, architect

Nicolas Coetzer traces the appreciation and preservation of this style back to the process of engineering a common white heritage after the Anglo-Boer wars (1879–1915), since the style and its heritage were open to mutual claims by the British and the Afrikaner alike (Coetzer, 2013: 21). Hall and Schoeman point to the deeper complexities at work beneath the relative stability of the freeburghers' lives in their Cape Dutch mansions. In 1658, the first two ships with 228 slaves arrived, and many ships followed. Indeed, freeburgher life was based on the intensive use of slave labour. Slave owners at farms like Groot Constantia, Rustenburg and Vergelegen, as well as other members of the colonial elite, "were scared to the point of paranoia about the possibility of rebellion against their domination" (Schoeman, 1998: 35). At the same time, Hall highlights the inadequacy of archaeology in tracing acts of resistance (Hall, 1992; Hall, 1994; Hall, 1993). The violent undercurrent of the garden utopia appears hard to tap into.

The resurfacing in 1991 of the remains of Flora, a slave woman at the Vergelegen farm, and the contestations surrounding her reburial and its representation are perhaps an entry point for a reading that goes against the grain of the colonial archive (Malan and Worden, 2011: 405). What if we try give a voice to Flora as an ancestor? Writing about free black women, Malan raises the issue of solidarity: Did these women liberate other slaves like Flora? (Malan, 1998). Schoeman focuses attention on the presence of slave lodges on the Cape Dutch farms (Schoeman, 1998). Where did slaves like Flora run off to once they had escaped from these lodges? Did they find shelter with the Khoikhoi? How to apprehend a slave's time at the Cape? This exercise is speculative and inevitably feels strange, especially coming from the perspective of a contemporary white Dutch male. I would like to suggest, though, that Flora's remains, previously buried under the tiled floor of the slave lodge, challenge the historical value and validity of official records of Cape farms, such as household inventories, maps, charts, plans, panoramas, tax returns and census sheets. Her spectral presence raises the question: How can Cape Dutch life be understood if not in relation to historical slavery?

Coetzee remarks how the time of the freeburghers' farm was "an exemplary age when the garden myth became actualized in history". As such, the Cape Dutch style points to the robust silences, the disavowed violences, embedded in this colonial archive (Shepherd, 2013b). It points to the construction of colonial time and racial categories. Cape Town's garden narrative is a simulacrum, a narrative in its own right (Baudrillard, 1994), and it is also a motive for dreaming up a landscape of the future—a future that is blind to the colour black (Coetzee, 1988: 4-6). Coetzee's concept of a "dream topography" is illustrative of the powerful attraction of this narrative. He concludes that the Cape has a spatial reality, and a spatial history, in which language, consciousness and landscape exist above all in poetic relation to one another (Coetzee, 1988: 4-6). The Cape's colonial archive, I propose, has a strong fictional dimension. I have described how the garden narrative of the Cape is highly seductive and how it alludes to an aspirational timeless zone. Next, I would like to argue that this dreaming up of exemplary places is also closely associated with the imposition of a strict topography on the city. In the following section I explore a third feature of the city's genealogy: the grid.

Grid: Performing empire

A representation of orderly colonial authority was established via the military geometry of the city's grid arrangement. These regular city blocks were replicated in the Company's Garden. Worden, Van Heyningen and Bickford-Smith describe how "[m]ountain streams were channelled into watercourses alongside the Company gardens, down the main 'Heerengracht' (currently named Adderley Street) and around the parade into the sea, in an imitation of the Dutch urban canals", and out of nostalgia for the high culture of Amsterdam and the Hague. The outer limits of the city were marked by street names like Buitengracht, Buitenkant and Buitensingel ("Buiten" in Dutch means outside) (Worden et al., 1998: 40; Hall, 2006). Hall argues that through naming a nascent culture of public spaces, ascribed value and intensified authority was established. Moreover, VOC or Batavian regulations (after the Dutch invented them in present-day Jakarta) applied to the Cape. Their clauses sought to regulate everything from the use of carriages and parasols, to men's and women's clothing, to "the number of slaves permitted in a retinue". The grid of streets is, according to Hall, a system of space that coded power against the backdrop of the wild and threatening landscape of Table Mountain and Africa (Hall, 2006: 193-194). He writes:

This system of spaces in turn served to articulate expected public behaviour, strongly directed by status and gender [. . .] Behind this landscape, enabling and enforcing its imprint, was the violence of colonization and the direct imposition of physical compulsion. (Hall, 2006: 195-196)

The grid represented a spatial, cultural and sensorial system that enabled the grooming of the colonial city. Public presence in the official city was regulated not only for the living but also for the dead. Citizens of Cape Town—Christians, freeburghers or whites—would be buried within the city's limits. The unregistered others found their final resting place in the informal burial places situated mostly on the other side of Buitengracht Street.

From 1795, British rule slowly perfected the formal aspects of society by means of ornaments, rituals and regulations. The rules of colonial society, its ideas and styles, became connected with an industrialising England. Worden, Van Heyningen and Bickford-Smith describe this process as a substantial transformation:

For reformist British residents this project of rebuilding the city acquired great symbolic significance, for what they envisaged was a town in which "the old Dutch city was to be reincarnated as the city of rational British commerce". (Worden et al., 1998: 168)

Aligned with this view, Hall makes the following point, with reference to James Ford's 1899 artwork *Holiday in Cape Town*:

The future was imagined as overwhelmingly neo-gothic, its people clothed in contemporary styles: tight-waisted, high-collared dresses, sailor suits and buttoned boots. This future was also one of triumph for British colonialism. (Hall, 2006: 197)

Empire is the spatial trope for this period, according to Murray and Shepherd (Shepherd and Murray, 2007: 2-4; Murray, 2010). With their Victorian buildings, botanical gardens, monuments, Anglican churches, schools and public buildings, the British systemically reinforced the colonial geometry of power-coding.

Indeed, this colonial geometry constructed social spaces in which citizenship was rehearsed, performed and copied, while the public behaviour of others was disabled and discredited (Murray, 2010: 52; Coetzer, 2013: 74). Yet these constructed colonial spaces proved difficult to control. Historians Andrew Bank and Robert Ross describe the way urban slaves actively protested through physical escape and organised attacks on the property of the city's elite (Bank, 1994; Ross, 1983). Hall speaks in this context of "desire lines"—purposeful violations of the carefully coded space (Bank, 1994; Ross, 1983; Hall, 2007). After the abolition of slavery in 1834, counter-practices took on a different, perhaps more ironic, character. Denis-Constant Martin, for example, describes Cape Town's so-called "Coon Carnival", which was initiated by Cape Slaves in the 19th century and is revived each year by the contemporary Coloured community in the city. A contested figure, the "coon" embodies community-building, a break with convention, and an association with overseas cultures. The festival, also known as the Tweede Nuwe Jaar (Second New Year) or the Kaapse Klopse festival, represents a moment of ridiculing and challenging power and order. On several occasions, the carnival has literally resulted in riots (Martin, 2000). In other words, the intensification of the grid seems to have produced its own counter-archive. These disruptive social practices have historically challenged constructed imperial places, codes, fashions and public order through alternative bodily performances, and a celebration of identities and the dead. Obviously these eruptions have also strengthened the feeling of discomfort among members of the colonial elite. The elite's response, which I introduce in the following section, is rooted in recurrent fears of degeneration. The fourth feature of the genealogy, then, is the slum.

Slum: Locating contamination

Fear of protests, revolutions and violence incited by the urban poor prompted the public-health debates that took place around 1900. In addition to the nationalist sentiments that coursed through them, these debates also gave rise to racial anxieties. Worden, Van Heyningen and Bickford-Smith describe how British middle-class citizens were alerted to problems of poverty in their midst. "Poverty", they write, "destroyed basic family life and opened the way to crime and degradation" (Worden et al., 1998: 218-225). Maynard Swanson terms this ideology "the sanitation syndrome". He observes:

[E]quating black urban settlement, labour and living conditions with threats to public health and security became fixed in the official mind, buttressed a desire to achieve positive social controls, and confirmed or rationalized white race prejudice with a popular imagery of medical menace. (Swanson, 1977: 410)

In Cape Town, this "syndrome" led to a municipal and media focus on the impoverished suburban quarters close to the harbour, bordering the colonial grid. District One (around Chiappini Street and Rose Street), District Two (on the slopes of Signal Hill) and District Six (on the slopes of Table Mountain and Devil's Peak) were increasingly discussed in terms of

the influential public-health and sanitation discourse circulating at the time, and were subjected to new building regulations and bylaws (Worden et al., 1998: 218-225; Coetzer, 2013: 4).

The cosmopolitan communities of these suburban districts, which were mostly inhabited by European immigrants and mixed-race descendants of Cape slaves, were considered to be slum hotspots. Their buildings were standing in the way of “progress”. Discourse on the architecture and the inhabitants of these slums “became a key founding layer in the construction of apartheid”, writes Coetzer. The garden-city ideal was a design scheme based on the medieval English village. It was intended to “induce inhabitants to become their better selves, to duly perform assigned roles on the perfect stage-set of a happily settled community” (Coetzer, 2013: 81). As such, it inspired South African architects to design the first racially segregated housing projects: notably, Ndabeni, Langa, Pinelands and Maitland. Coetzer describes how, through a series of professional and media representations, the idea of racial segregation was expanded to include the threatening, contaminated presence of urban slum dwellers. Visual otherness, which was seen as undermining British rule, encompassed both the presence of black people and residual Cape Dutch urban structures. It could be found in “the expedient use of ‘ugly’ materials, the re-used flotsam of capitalism, or in the recurring material signifiers of pre-settler ‘Africa’—the [. . .] off-cuts and off-casts of industrial waste, or, mud and thatch” (Coetzer, 2013: 116-118).

A rising interest in heritage coincides and is intertwined with an increasingly functionalist approach to the design of the built environment. Shepherd and Murray argue that the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 meant the beginnings of the tropes of nationalism and apartheid. Echoing Swanson, Susan Parnell points to the metaphor of sanitation that was invoked to justify early efforts to segregate the city (Parnell, 1993). Indeed, in this period, government’s growing power to control and preserve a particular spatial and cultural order was established via an expansion of urban and heritage legislation (Shepherd and Murray, 2007: 4). Within twenty-five years, eight new heritage acts were conceived: the 1911 Bushman Relics Protection Act, which would transform Bushmen into living prehistory; the 1913 Natives Land Act, which determined that only certain areas of the Union of South Africa (amounting to 13% of its total land mass) could be owned by “natives”; the 1919 Public Health Act and the 1920 Housing Act, which provided for the adoption of international planning principles on overcrowding, housing funding and slum removal; the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act, which provided a solution to the perceived problem of disease among Africans living in white urban areas, in the form of territorial segregation; the 1923 National and Historical Monuments Act, which extended legislative protection to monuments, built structures and areas of land with a distinctive character, and which also established the Historical Monuments Commission; the 1934 Slums Act, which expanded the government’s options for slum clearance; the 1934 Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiquities act, which further asserted heritage as the exclusive domain of archaeologists and prehistorians (Shepherd, 2008; Parnell, 1993).

I argue that these acts provided a modern technology of time and place that dissociated official Cape Town from its suburban districts. In other words, they presented a language, incubated in the disciplines of architecture and archaeology, that coded power into a

landscape and into people's bodies. In addition, this language would enable slum clearance and racial segregation in the city's near-future. In response, protest against these increasingly sophisticated forms of exclusion became more and more organised. Worden, Van Heyningen and Bickford-Smith make mention of so-called "cemetery riots" at the end of the 19th century. The British legislator decided, for public-health reasons, to close Cape Town's run-down burial grounds. Yet the Muslim community (as well as the Dutch community, incidentally) was unwilling to abandon its traditional practices, and so protested the closure. The community challenged the official stipulations for treating human bodies. In the first decades of the 20th century, emancipatory organisations such as the African People's Organisation and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union produced a more institutional version of resistance (Worden et al., 1998: 211). Spontaneous outbursts that challenged the discriminatory spatial and heritage politics of Cape Town are the fragments that make up Cape Town's ruined counter-archive. Indeed, the ruin is Cape Town's fifth feature, which I introduce in the next section. I describe how Afrikaner nationalism flourished in the soils of English imperialism, with its technologies of time and place.

Ruin: Engineering apartheid

The 1948 whites-only election, won by the National Party, gave rise to an increasingly combative and heritage-conscious municipality in Cape Town. The 1952 Van Riebeeck Tercentenary took place at the recently reclaimed foreshore, the new gateway to Africa. The festival involved a historical re-enactment of unprecedented proportions, and offered a window into Cape Town's near future. It portrayed van Riebeeck as the single founding father and as a symbol of white rule. Moreover, it modelled Cape Town as the founding city of a white nation. A procession through the city's streets told how dark Africa had benefited from Western civilization (Bickford-Smith, 1999: 164). Shepherd describes how the tercentenary tied notions of landscape to conceptions of heritage. From the field of scientific endeavour, heritage was transported to the sacred landscape of Afrikaner political mythology (Shepherd, 2008: 120). Leslie Witz and Ciraj Rassool argue that the festival asserted political control over non-whites in a period of emerging resistance. They point to a more militant ANC and to the Non-European Unity Movement that mocked the tercentenary and called it a Festival of Hate (Witz, 2003a; Rassool and Witz, 1993). The festival juxtaposed the performance of civilisation—the industrial and scientific might of the white settler society that started with van Riebeeck—with a presentation of the primitive—a Bantu pavilion and a display of the South West African Bushman. According to Rassool and Witz, the juxtaposition functioned to legitimise the implementation of the 1950 Group Areas Act and frame it as an evolutionary inevitability (Rassool and Witz, 1993: 449-450). The design of history and the history of design are here evidently parallel processes. The tercentenary not only enabled policies of forced removals; it also projected a particularly strong longing for the future onto the city.

Through the racialised legislation of the National Party and the assertive new mode of town-planning that accompanied it, non-white people's movement in urban space was administrated and controlled, and the apartheid city came into existence. In fact, social engineering in the Cape took on a particular form: it attempted to construct a region with only whites and Coloureds, and no permanent African population. It was aiming for the

physical realisation of the pastoral dream-topography of the Cape. Racially mixed suburbs such as District One and District Six were declared White Group Areas through the 1950 Group Areas Act, but individual families living in other suburbs were also targeted. The Bo Kaap was declared a Malay Group Area (Robins, 2000). “Legal” Africans were removed from mixed communities to live in Langa, Nyanga or Gugulethu, while migrant workers were housed in hostels (Fullard, 2000: 16). Cape Town would become a city “marked by a pattern of separation of land uses, urban elements, races and income groups”, writes Pieterse (Murray, 2010: 108). Shepherd and Murray point to the township as the most significant trope of apartheid-era space (Shepherd and Murray, 2007: 6).

Furthermore, they describe how one of the key features of the apartheid state was the appropriation of forms of international architectural modernism to express the modernity of the state (Shepherd and Murray, 2007: 5). Traffic circulation became another key spatial trope. The opening in 1959 of De Waal Drive and the Table Bay Boulevard was followed by the 1968 opening of Eastern Boulevard and the development of the foreshore, including the 1970s Civic Centre building, the intimidating Herzog Boulevard, and the iconic Western Bypass (today’s N1), which penetrated far into the city’s outlying streets, communities and vistas (Bickford-Smith, 1999: 152). These violent high-modernist interventions were officially accorded by the 1969 National Monuments Act, which formalised the influence of Afrikaner folk historians, architects and town planners on conceptions of heritage. Shepherd points to the highly selective sphere in which notions of heritage operated (Shepherd, 2008: 121). These urban projects would have been impossible without the technocratic approach that allowed for property destruction in the wake of forced removals. The apartheid state consciously targeted communities and buildings that did not sit well with its vision of white settler history and future society. I argue that its heritage and spatial-design politics were deliberate and sophisticated acts of urban ruination or “urbicide” (Herscher, 2006). Forced removals, policies of influx control, the migrant labour system, the Immorality Act—the apartheid state used a variety of technologies that it implemented in a fragmented, staggered manner, to minimise the risk of resistance. As such, the apartheid state effectively extended and intensified the original colonial spatial inscription on the city and its inhabitants. Its devastating legacies are impossible to ignore. Urban ruins, spatial fragmentation, memories of terror, and dysfunctional communities are the undercurrents of contemporary Cape Town (Robins, 2007: 28). As the foreshore area became a “dehumanised cityscape”, and the literal ruin of District Six became a spatial monument to social engineering, the townships of the Cape Flats became sites of black resistance (Bickford-Smith, 1999: 159).

Indeed, the demise of the apartheid state was predicated on growing mass street protests and community action. Along with the African National Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement and the United Democratic Front organised marches as well as demonstrations, consumer and school boycotts, work stay-aways, street barricades and the stoning and petrol bombing of vehicles, properties and persons (Fullard, 2000: 26; Hall, 1985). These acts provoked a different imagination of places and persons, and constituted a counter-discourse of the Cape. The demonstrations of the 1980s used segregated spaces and bodies to disrupt colonial technologies and eventually retreat from apartheid policies (Bickford-Smith, 1999: 214). The performativity of the politics of the streets became an important tool for the reconstruction of space, identity and citizenship. More recently, District Six’s protest

organisations—and especially the Hands Off District Six campaign—developed a strategy of counter-discourse that involved oral histories and stories of community protest and celebration (Jeppie and Soudien, 1990a; Soudien, 1990; Rassool, 2001). Through the District Six Foundation and Museum, the memories of racial slavery, forced removals and other historical injustices became part of the future of the post-apartheid city. Now the ancestors, along with places of sacred significance and sites of memory, could be actively curated. A leap beyond the colonial discourse of the Cape landscape seemed possible.

Cemetery: Designing gateways

In post-apartheid Cape Town, where issues of restitution and reconciliation have become a central part of the official discourse, disassociation from the colonial archive remains a key challenge. In this section I argue that the cemetery is the sixth feature of this city's genealogy. Jean and John Comaroff argue that the wild backdrop of Table Mountain still functions as a signifier. Just after the millennium, the city was threatened by a fire of apocalyptic proportions on Table Mountain, which is both an iconic feature of national heritage and part of the Cape Floral Region world heritage site. The fire was supposedly started as "a result of invasive alien plants that burn more readily and fiercely than do native flora" (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001b: 235). Fear of this "alien" vegetation and the apocalyptic destruction it was causing generated a great deal of media hype and public outrage. Dissecting these events, the Comaroffs proposed that we understand the anxiety about foreign fauna at this national heritage site as part of a set of deep-seated questions about place, identity and belonging in the post-apartheid Cape (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001b).

The multicultural ideal of the "rainbow nation", which was widely promoted by the ANC, was one response to these questions. For the post-apartheid period, then, the dominant spatial trope is that of national unity (Shepherd and Murray, 2007: 7). This ideal is focused on laying the past to rest and finding new ways into a unified future. With it come managed entry points into the heritage and spatiality of the colonial past. On the whole, heritage since 1994 has been reconceptualised around notions of redress. The adoption of a heritage-management discourse has enabled recognition of previously marginalised narratives and categories of heritage. However, the National Heritage Council Act of 1999 positioned heritage primarily within a framework of socio-economic development (Shepherd, 2008: 121). Heritage projects at the Victoria and Albert (V&A) Waterfront (Worden, 1996; Worden and Van Heijningen, 1996) and at the GrandWest Casino and Century City (Hall and Bombardella, 2005; Hall and Bombardella, 2007) are case studies of "heritage tourism in the context of globalization, (hyper-)modernity and the construction of post-apartheid identities" (Shepherd, 2008: 122).

Coetzer focuses attention on the N2 Gateway project. This housing scheme was intended to transform shacks into neat cottages along the N2 highway, also known as the Settlers Way, which leads from the airport to the inner city. Part of the beautification process involved forced evictions and relocation (Newton, 2011). Coetzer argues that the project "illustrates [. . .] the aesthetics of order that played out in the imperial Cape Town and their longevity in post-apartheid Cape Town" (Coetzer, 2013: 219-220). In other words, it illustrates the power

of the colonial archive in the post-apartheid present. Interestingly, recent urban-renewal projects in the former District One and District Six have produced counter-memories and disturbances to the colonial archive. Taking place within the context of global events such as the FIFA World Cup and the World Design Capital, these contributions to Cape Town's gentrification have led time and again to the unearthing of forgotten or silenced pasts of racial slavery and forced removals. The memories of these suburbs feed into every moment of the city's genealogy. Nevertheless, they are not (yet) officially recognised as significant national heritage. The contestations concerning the unearthing of the informal slave-burial ground at District One's Prestwich Street function as a palimpsest of the post-apartheid urban dilemma (Shepherd, 2008: 122). The management of this heritage—specifically, the prioritising of business and development interests over public and communal concerns—points to Cape Town's status as an emerging global capital. In fact, the resurfacing of these human remains challenges the trope of national unity and alerts us to the failures of urban transformation. Making reference to Mike Davis, social anthropologist Steven Robins refers to post-apartheid Cape Town as "Fortress LA at the tip of Africa" (Robins, 2007: 32). A new economic reality causes a proliferation of gated communities in the historically white inner city and southern suburbs, while the black and Coloured townships remain no-go zones (Robins, 2007).

As a counter-point to the World Design Capital, an increasingly fierce set of counter-practices has emerged, addressing the long overdue issues of historical and social injustice. In contemporary Cape Town, the ghosts of the past are literally turned into what Robins coined in the *Cape Times* the city's "Great Stink". Targeting the Western Cape province, sanitation-policy activists flung human faeces at Western Cape Premier Helen Zille's convoy, at the N2 highway, on the steps of the Western Cape Legislature, in Cape Town International Airport, and at the Bellville Civic Centre. Robins writes that, "[b]ecause of the spatial legacies of apartheid urban planning, these activists had to make their point about poor sanitation in informal settlements by transporting the smell of the slums on the urban periphery to the sanitised city centre and seat of state power" (Robins, 2013a). I suggest here that the wish to bury the past only reinforces the violence of the colonial archive of the city. Moreover, this wish perpetuates the same mode of storytelling about this city, with its same colonial features. As an alternative, I think that we should follow Autshumao in manipulating, bending and ironising colonial messages.

Following the ancestors

In this chapter I have tried to map some of the important colonial inscriptions of Cape Town. I have addressed poignant moments or features that are visible, contested, and deeply invested in the everyday life of Cape Town and its struggles. I have suggested that the fort, the garden, the grid, the slum, the ruin, and the cemetery are six such moments. They condition the city's urban transformation, because they provide a vehicle for ideas, images, and the praxis of colonial and postcolonial power. Indeed, these poignant moments are the backdrop against which Cape Town presented itself as World Design Capital in 2014. I have shown how acts of top-down spatial coding demarcate and inscribe a coloniality of time and place. I have addressed the myth or the dream of the Cape landscape and how it gave content to the colonial archive. Historical narratives, as well as citizenship, public space and

public performance, are engineered in opposition to the unruly, savage, unsanitised—or simply “black”—outside world. I have pointed to the inherent violence incubated through the disciplines of architecture and archaeology, and embedded in spatial and heritage legislation. Moreover, I have indicated the ways in which this epistemological violence has affected non-white persons, bodies, communities, practices, imaginations and memories. Following the ancestors, I have tried to approach the question: What is Cape Town’s future, beyond colonial time and place? I have suggested that we try tracing the counter-voices, -discourses and -practices of the ancestors of the city. These are acts of translation, play, irony, destruction, obstruction and memorialisation. I develop these ideas in more detail in later chapters.

2. The Dead of District One: A History of Exhumation

Coffee and skeletons

I want to start this chapter by referring to an entry from my personal archive, drawn from my time in District One, Cape Town. This entry concerns Cape Town's contemporary coffee culture, and takes as its point of departure the origin of Truth Coffee Roasters. In November 2014, I interviewed David Donde. Donde, the founder of Truth, is a self-proclaimed thaumaturgist ("performer of miracles"). According to Truth's website, he distils "what is good". He is "the guy behind Truth", blending coffee beans in order to bring the dead back to life (Truth, 2014).



Figure 1: Truth Coffee logo, 2010 (Image: Andrea Brennen).

During our interview, I asked Donde about the origins of Truth. The story he told begins in 2006, with a café in the Prestwich Memorial on Somerset Road:

[In 2006,] De Waterkant was still an area very much in transformation. People questioned our intent to go into the area—and while we were working cellphones got stolen. It was really dodgy.

It was an area without maturation. It was also an area without too much political backward-and-forwarding. Although that area, District One, historically was mixed-used [*sic*] and then became predominantly Muslim-used [*sic*], it started slipping back to mixed just through natural gentrification . . . Property values changing, older people needing to move out because they couldn't afford the rates—all the usual factors.

The opportunity came up for [the Prestwich Ossuary] space. It was a cool space and heritage allowed us to open quite a conceptual store. [. . .]

The space [. . .] was relatively cheap because we only had to rent a small, useable space, and the rest was shared space. So we didn't have to pay for it. From that point of view, it was pretty cost-effective. It also did forge our name to some extent because of the history of the space.

We picked up a lot of unfair criticism for going into that space, where people felt we were building upon slavery and various other things. But I think that was general ignorance: [it came from] not knowing that the graveyard was the whole of District One, not the place that we happen to be on. I think from that point of view it was pretty ethical.

[The name] Truth was picked more for coffee reasons [. . .]. It was about the distillation of what is good. However, a big brand of [our] coffee is the “Resurrection” blend, which was unashamedly chosen for that neighbourhood. (Donde, 2014)

This narrative raises a number of questions. For example: What is an area “without maturation” that slips back to mixed-use through natural gentrification? To what truth or resurrection is this entrepreneur referring? As its early logo, Truth Café used a skull with a capital T coming out of its eyes and mouth. What sits behind this conceptual playfulness? From which dead, and which graveyard, did Donde draw his inspiration? What is the meaning of the proximity of these human remains? In order to investigate these questions, I give an account in this chapter of urban renewal and disavowed pasts in District One.

District One, like District Six, was the result of the 19th-century expansion of the city of Cape Town. As the city grew in a northwesterly direction, it claimed lands that were previously sites of both the formal and informal early colonial burial grounds. The creolised working-class communities of the city came to live here. Like District Six, District One is an inner-city quarter that was heavily impacted by the 1950 Group Areas Act (No. 41). Drafted by the apartheid government, the Act declared District One a whites-only area. Coloured and black residents were subsequently removed. In this chapter, I explore a story that starts in 2003, when construction work for a luxurious apartment block on Prestwich Street was halted after human remains were discovered. I sketch the scene of one of the largest unearthings of human remains in South Africa, thinking through the heritage significance of the 1,540 dead who were exhumed after their discovery at the construction site. To do so, I consult the overlapping narratives of property values, gentrification and adventurous self-stylising in the context of the 2010 FIFA World Cup preparations, on the one hand, and the unresolved histories of slavery and colonialism, on the other. I point out how disjunctive these narratives are, and how disjunctive space in Cape Town is.

The unknown at Prestwich Street

In 2001, Mr Ari Efstathiou obtained a city block in District One. The block was bounded by Prestwich Street, Napier Street and Schiebe Street. Efstathouli planned to build an upmarket residential and retail complex, close to the fashionable De Waterkant area. The city block consisted of 1960s light-industrial buildings, including a bakery and a nightclub (Green and Murray, 2010; Finnegan et al., 2011). Efstathiou established a legal entity, Styleprops (Pty) Ltd, to manage the development. Property consultant André van der Merwe was appointed project manager. Van der Merwe worked with University of Cape Town-trained architect Michael Philippides. Philippides was in charge of obtaining the necessary demolition permits and plan approvals. Shortly before the submission of the building plans for the site, he

reported back to van der Merwe concerning his visit to the City Council. With regard to the urban-conservation aspects of this block, Philippides wrote to van der Merwe:

The buildings are all of Grade 3 classification, which means that they have no architectural heritage, but do contribute to the character of the neighbourhood. The block is also not in a conservation area. I went through the plans with [City official Chris Snelling] and he is happy with the proposal. (Phillippides, 2001)

On 18 November 2002, the building plans were formally submitted to the City of Cape Town for approval. In April 2003, Styleprops' application for the demolition of buildings at the premises was approved (Mallie, 2003). Less than a month after the demolition had started, on 16 May 2003, work was halted when demolition workers uncovered human bones. Following the stipulations laid out by the new National Heritage Resources Act (No. 25 of 1999), Efstathiou notified the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) of the discovery. A few months later, archaeologists claimed that this city block would "yield over 1 000 skeletons" and, as such, would constitute "the largest number of skeletons ever recovered from a single burial ground in South Africa" (Weeder, 2006: 49).

The development-driven story continues with van der Merwe's enlistment of the services of the Archaeological Contract Office (ACO), based at the University of Cape Town (UCT) at the time. In an early attempt to give significance to the site, the ACO's Tim Hart wrote to van der Merwe on 3 June 2003:

I have done a little homework and established that the area is an unmarked burial ground that lay immediately west of the VOC formal cemetery. It was used by people during the VOC times [who] were not affiliated to [Dutch Reformed] church Christianity—i.e. slaves, moslems, Chinese, any foreign sailor, etc. (Hart, 2003b)

In a meeting held at SAHRA's office, attended by van der Merwe and SAHRA officials, Hart stated that the individual families of the deceased buried at Prestwich Street could not be traced at present, since "too much time ha[d] passed since the burials took place here". He added that "this had been a cemetery that had long since become inactive and had also since been developed" (SAHRA, 2003c). In the exhumation-permit application, Hart wrote that the burial ground "was lost from popular memory more than 150 years ago" (Hart, 2003d).

One of the conditions on which the exhumation permit (No. 80/03/06/001/51) was granted concerned the organisation of a public-consultation procedure, as specified by the NHRA's regulations. Strikingly, ACO archaeologists were contracted to organise the public process. Hart and his colleague David Halkett liaised with historical-archaeologist Dr Antonia Malan. Following her appointment, Malan contacted the press and organised public forums, according to the so-called "60-day public consultation period". This period started on 9 June 2003 (CSRF, 2003b). In an email update dated 20 June 2003, Malan wrote:

So far, about 60 individuals have been exhumed, plus a further 32 "burials" which are merely groups of loose bones. Unlike last week's finds, in this area more adults are buried in coffins. Occasionally, two people are buried together. Body positions are

variable, as well as lying on their backs some lie on their sides and some on their backs. One individual was found with an earthenware pot lid underneath its hand and a lead disc over one eye. (CSRF, 2003a)

Early on in the period of public consultation, a sizeable group of people approached Malan with comments regarding the site. Reverend Michael Weeder was among them. He proposed organising a memorial service. Hanief Haider, who was forcibly removed from Green Point in 1978, is reported to have said that he had memories of skeletons that dated back to the 1960s. James Eckley of the Trauma Centre for Survivors of Violence and Torture was of the opinion that the burial site should remain where it was and be developed into a national heritage site (Malan, 2003: 10). These individuals voiced their concerns in a way quite different to that of the archaeologists involved. They were emotionally troubled as a result of the unearthing and used a discourse of bereavement. They invoked memories and spoke of possible ways of mourning. These early responses complicated Hart's claim that the site held no claim on public memory.

In the two months following the discovery, the script for the burial place at Prestwich Street was still fairly straightforward. A media report from the time sums it up: "[T]he delicate balancing act is to derive maximum cultural heritage potential out of the area while keeping delays to a minimum. [. . .] [The work has to be carried out professionally, carefully and as quickly as possible]" (SIA, 2003). By 22 June, the ACO team had already excavated "hundreds of individuals" from the 1,200 m² site. The team indicated that the skeletons were most likely a cross-section that consisted of colonial Cape Town's underclass: slaves, free blacks, Khoikhoi, artisans, labourers, fishermen, sailors, maids, washerwomen, executed criminals, suicide deaths and the identified victims of shipwrecks (Hart, 2003b: 11). The public-consultation process became a field of contestation. The different discourses concerning the ways in which the dead are dealt with have been written about at length (Shepherd, 2007a; 2013a; 2015c; Shepherd and Ernsten, 2007). Here, I am interested in the counter-discourse that emerged during three public meetings, held between 29 July and 29 August 2003.

A number of people in attendance at these meetings were angry at the use of terms like "accidental discovery" and "unknown burial ground". Zuleigh Worth said, "I went to school at Prestwich Primary School. We grew up with haunted places; we lived on haunted ground. We knew there were burials there." Joe Marx claimed that "[the] bones are not unknown, they're known. These people were descendants of people in the Cape." Faizal Brown said, "We need to come to terms [with] what happened to those people—our ancestors." Reverend Weeder said, "Unknown to whom? If we're living in a colonial context, who's going to know where the poor are burying their poor? It will be known to the underclasses of Cape Town and not necessarily to the colonial administration. I want us to be clear about who owns the knowing" (CSRF, 2003c). Much indignation was directed at the heritage managers and the archaeological contractors, and at the fact that the exhumation of human remains had already started (Malan, 2003: 12). For example, Yvette Abrahams said, "Is this a public participation process or a rubber-stamping exercise?" Getrude Fester added that "the whole process is back to front". An unnamed member of the public stated that, "[w]hen a grave site is discovered, you find out who was buried there. You can't just remove 30%!" (CSRF, 2003c). Rob (from the Haven Night Shelter) asked, "Why are white people [. . .] scratching our bones? This is sacrilege." Someone else said, "Only scientists are going to benefit from

picking over these bones [. . .]. And who is yet again the subject of such investigation?" Zenzile Khoisan shouted, "[T]hese archaeologists—all they wanted to do is to dust off the bones and check them out with their scientific tests and then put them in the cupboard. [. . .] Stop robbing graves—stop robbing graves." Joe Marx added, "Close the hole!" (CSRF, 2003c).

Malan described the atmosphere at the first meeting, held on 29 July, as marked by a "general feeling of dissatisfaction, disquiet and disrespect" (Malan, 2003). On 30 July 2003, SAHRA decided to suspend the exhumations and postpone the decision-making deadline to August 31, in order to permit wider public consultation. (The original six-week period had come to an end.) I argue that the dissatisfied commentators were referring to a form of systemic historical wrongdoing that had surfaced with the remains at Prestwich Street. Referring to the burials as "unknown" implies a denial of what political scientist Anthony Bogues calls "historical trauma". Bogues writes that "racial slavery was the original trauma; antiblack racism becomes the frame for the repetition of the wound" (Bogues, 2010: 44).

Quoting Malan, the *Mail & Guardian* reported on 21 August 2003 that the heritage of Prestwich Street "is a test case and will have implications for other cities" (Roelf, 2003). The question, according to Malan, was, "[H]ow do you deal with a site that involves human remains in a city renewal context?" (Roelf, 2003). Some members of the public felt that "the developer can't wait for ever [*sic*]" and that "many people would get outrage[d] if you stop commercial development in that area completely" (CSRF, 2003d). J Z Matthews wrote in the *Cape Argus* that, "given that the bulk of the properties in that Green Point precinct once held the city's dead, the idea that the digging should stop and the property be enshrined as some form of 'memorial to the undiscovered' is laughable" (Matthews, 2003). The fault lines of the public process revealed a division between the forces of memories, which held an anti-exhumation position, and the forces of urban renewal, which held a pro-development position.

The utterings of public dissatisfaction did not constitute a moment of rupture, however. Then-CEO of SAHRA Pumla Madiba said of the last public-consultation meeting:

There was a lot of emotion on the 29th, a lot of anger. I remember speaking to somebody who said: "I'm thinking from here" [indicating her heart]. And I'm saying that there are other levels of thinking. (SAHRA, 2003a)

The CEO described public participation as a process of "bringing people into some [stewardship] for developing responsibility". Crucially, Madiba moved the focus from the past to the future. She said:

I think we are moving slowly away from the culture of mass meetings and rallies. We are getting into dealing with issues head-on. [. . .] SAHRA has a responsibility to take a decision so that life continues on the 1st of September. (SAHRA, 2003a)

In a press release dated 2 September 2003, SAHRA stated that it had decided to resume archaeological work (Deacon, 2004). Ten days after this decision was taken, the newly formed Hands Off Prestwich Street Ad Hoc Committee appealed against the resumption of

exhumation (Weeder, 2003). During the appeal meeting, which took place at the site, Weeder noted that Prestwich Street had always been referred to as a “ghost town by those who grew up in the area in the 1950s and 1960s, as they were told by their parents that the site had previously been used as a burial site” (SAHRA, 2003b). SAHRA rejected the Ad Hoc Committee’s appeal. The letter written by the Appeals Committee stressed the need for a cleansing ceremony, “to facilitate healing and reconciliation”, and the creation of a burial ground, “to memorialise [. . .] and establish a pilgrimage for all South Africans” (SAHRA, 2003d). In December 2003, Weeder’s committee (now renamed the Prestwich Place Project Committee) appealed to the Arts and Culture Minister—the last legal step it was able to take. On 20 July 2004, the Minister ruled against the appeal, rendering it a failure. He supported the recommendation that the City of Cape Town, in consultation with SAHRA, construct a suitable memorial park or garden at an appropriate site in Green Point, “where the Prestwich Street remains [could] be interred”, together with “any other further findings of skeletal remains.” Moreover, “such a park could become the focus of the community’s memory and learning about the past” (Jordan, 2004).

Realigning the past

The conceptualisation of what was to be called the Prestwich Memorial started in 2004. It was focused on a triangular piece of publicly owned land that sat at the corner of Buitengracht Street and Somerset Road, about 150 metres from Prestwich Street. The choice of this site is described by Laurine Platzky, Deputy General of the Department of the Premier of Western Cape, as “an opportunity”, given the construction of the Cape Town Stadium and the “fan walk” ahead of the 2010 FIFA World Cup (Platzky, 2013). Fagmee Jacobs, head of the City of Cape Town’s Environmental and Heritage Management branch, which is responsible for the memorial, explained that the site was a “thoroughfare”, chosen because of “availability” and because of the adjacent St Andrew Presbyterian Church, which played an important role in the emancipation of slaves in the Cape (Jacobs, 2014).

Mark Truss, director of the Green Point City Improvement District (CID), describes the choice of location for the ossuary in more detail:

St Andrew’s square was an old public space area. It was run down. It had very little grass. It was just unkept. We approached the City at the time and we said: why can we not take over the park? [. . .] There is very little green space in the area. Simultaneously, [. . .] a developer uncovered human remains while doing site development. [. . .]

We approached [SAHRA] and said: “You’re now almost 13 months undecided [about] what to do with these human remains. We have this park, which is St Andrew’s square. Why don’t we turn this into a garden of remembrance?”

[. . .] They mooted the idea and then went further; and they said: “Fine.” The City picked up on it, and said: “[. . .] Great idea. Let’s do it.” And through that interaction Prestwich Memorial was then built. (Truss, 2014)

As such, the conceptualisation of the ossuary has to be understood within the context of the beautification of District One. The architect contracted to design the building was Lucien Le Grange, who is also a District Six trustee. He explains the project's design: "The work has to do with the question: how does one reclaim some presence and say there were others in the history of the city[?]" (Le Grange, 2014).

In light of these remarks by Truss and Le Grange, I suggest that the location and the design of the memorial permit a certain realignment of the past at District One with a desired future. In fact, Le Grange's design resonates with the ambition of the Green Point CID. It was Le Grange who first used the word "gateway" to describe the ossuary's location (between the old city and District One):

It is a term we use as urban planner[s]. [I]t was a portal. It was something through which you entered. It was a threshold. It is in that sense that I used it [. . .]. Buitengracht and Somerset Road: that junction is a place where you enter Green Point, the Atlantic side of the city. It is only in terms of that. A simple notion of entry and threshold, a building for the dead could mark that entrance. (Le Grange, 2014)

Louise Green and Noeleen Murray suggest that the inscription of a gateway on a city space expresses the desire for a "non-homogeneous space" (Green and Murray, 2008: 5). Moreover, the notion that the Cape is a gateway to Africa is deeply rooted in colonial history. After the end of apartheid, this notion regained prominence in the context of the experiential economy of the "rainbow" society (Worden, 1996; Hall and Bombardella, 2005; Bickford-Smith, 2009; Coetzer, 2013).

The ossuary's primary construction material was Malmesbury shale stone, excavated at the V&A Waterfront (Green and Murray, 2010: 102). Le Grange comments:

The concept [. . .] was to try and make a series of walls as a way to [create] place [for the] storage of the skeletal remains of those communities. [. . .] The [inspiration for the building] came from looking at the old historic maps and the walls of the cemeteries, [since] people would be buried on the edges. (Le Grange, 2014)

Referring to maps and walls, or to the grid and its boundaries, the architect reinserts colonial spatial inscriptions. Interestingly, the architect describes Moravian mission stations—closely associated with the colonisation of the Khoikhoi (Coetzee, 1982: 8)—as a source of inspiration. The mission station, according to him, is "a building that you go into [. . .] with humility" (Grange, 2014). He explains further:

Before that I did a lot of work with the Moravian mission settlements and it [was] here where I came across that notion. You bent down [because] the gate is small. You've got to be humble. (Le Grange, 2014)

As Green and Murray point out, the building that resulted from this vision is hard to distinguish from the rest of gentrifying District One (Green and Murray, 2010: 103).

The ossuary functions as a “gateway” that leads to memory, yet it offers a highly disciplined passage of entry. Le Grange comments:

You go through this low door and then it goes down into the ground. It goes down, like it is almost entering into that palimpsest with lights that come from the top. (Le Grange, 2014)

This “disciplining” is part of the renewal of District One. In a sense, the dead of District One are stored in order to seal off a series of unruly historical alternatives. To paraphrase Achille Mbembe, they prevent the stirring of disorder within the city’s neoliberal present (Mbembe, 2002: 22).

In much the same way, District Six Museum director Bonita Bennett characterises the engagement between the District Six Museum and the City concerning the ossuary exhibition as follows:

We developed a narrative and we would bring it back to the community and say this is what we believe in. Part of the story was: who are these people possibly buried in the Prestwich Ossuary having been exhumed a few blocks away? [. . .] We [. . .] developed a story of the struggle for Prestwich. We told it, I think, in a very gentle way. The City was very uncomfortable in talking about the compromise and so on. If it wasn't a partnership we would have done it much more critically, but we tried to take the emotion out of it. (Bennett, 2014)

Nevertheless, the City eventually changed its course and decided to design the exhibition itself. Bennett comments:

I'm still in shock that, while we were tasked with doing that, apparently we took too long, and the City printed and installed an alternative narrative.
[. . .] You won't know unless you know how the remains got into that space.
(Bennett, 2014)

The District Six Museum and the Prestwich Place Project Committee were dismissed as partners, and the City designed the exhibition itself. Historian and psychologist Eelco Runia writes that “[b]y burying the dead we create not our future, but our past” (Runia, 2014). Instead of rupture, the design of the ossuary and its exhibition facilitated the creative invention of entirely new pasts. Indeed, the City closed off pathways to the deep pasts of District One when it articulated heritage in relation to a discourse of urban design instead of in relation to a discourse of post-apartheid historical justice and restitution. Opportunities for a different relationship with the ancestors of District One were negated. This focus on newness crept into bureaucratic processes and disciplinary practices (Pieterse, 2013). Here, then, I want to halt and refer to another entry from my personal archive.

Exhumation Inc.

The second entry is a printed Excel sheet dated May 2013, listing the dead uncovered in District One. These were the remains of the ancestors who had found a new place of rest at

the Prestwich Ossuary. The document constitutes a so-called “box audit”: a description of the contents of 1,540 boxes by the Environment and Heritage Resource Management Branch of the City of Cape Town. The list mentions 419 boxes containing “bone fragments”, dug up in 2003 at the Portsworld Ridge site of the current V&A Waterfront. It also mentions the “groups, individuals, shaft fill” and “general [human remains]” that were exhumed at the block bounded by Prestwich Street, Alfred Street, Schiebe Street and West Street in 2004, and subsequently collected in 1,098 boxes. 13 more boxes containing unknown items taken from the site are currently being held at the University of Cape Town (UCT). Moreover, according to the list, “individual & group [remains]” were unearthed at 29 Chiappini Street in District One in 2004 and stored in two boxes. In 2005, “bone fragments” that together filled two boxes were removed from holes at 11 Buitengracht Street. On 5 March 2006, more “bone fragments” were exhumed near Napier Street and Prestwich Street. In July 2006, during the construction of the Prestwich Memorial itself, bone fragments were uncovered. Between April and August 2007, bone fragments were discovered at the site of the Cape Town Stadium (then under construction), which is also located in District One. In 2010, the remains of one dead individual were found at Chiappini Street. A record dated 12 April 2012 mentions a “skeleton collected by [the South African Police Service]” at the corner of Prestwich Street and Napier Street. One box also contained skeletal fragments extracted from an unknown site in Cape Town (CoCT, 2013).

An unsettling summary: a total of 1,540 boxes hold all the dead excavated in District One since 2003. The dead are anonymous: their graves had neither markers nor tombstones, and their boxes are coded with abstract archaeological indicators. These are the dead whom Truth Coffee’s David Donde refers to when he speaks about truth, resurrection and coffee. I wonder how, in a post-apartheid context, one can explain the existence under one roof of 1,540 boxes containing nameless corpses and a coffee shop that calls itself Truth? What is the “truth” of these dead? The timeline regarding District One’s Prestwich Street involves the development trajectory of a 1,200 m² site that is interrupted by the so-called discovery of unidentified human remains. From the beginning, the resurfacing of these remains was framed as a novelty that had occurred in an area without conservation status. It was truly unexpected, somewhat unpleasant and quite eerie. I would like to suggest that the re-emergence of the dead is in fact a familiar feature of District One.

The unearthing at Prestwich Street was not the first encounter with the nameless dead in District One. In fact, in the first decade after apartheid ended, city-makers regularly stumbled upon the remains of those who had lived in the colonial city. Importantly, archaeologists acted time and again as intermediaries. Therefore, as a second point of departure in this chapter, I explore the exhumations that took place in District One before 2003. The uncovering of graves was a “fairly common occurrence” during the expansion of the city, according to the ACO’s Tim Hart, and was often the “result of laying services or construction work” (Hart, 2003c: 7). Cristobal Gnecco and Adriana Schmidt Dias have pointed to an intimate relationship between archaeology and development worldwide. Influenced by Cultural Resources Management discourse, heritage legislation has aimed to prevent the materiality of the past being lost during development. Contract archaeologists provide professional heritage services, such as impact assessments (Gnecco and Dias Schmidt, 2015). As such, the ACO was involved in the majority of the exhumations that occurred in District One between 1994 and 2014.

Together with the wider Green Point area, District One was known for many years as a burial site. According to Hart, however, the archaeological community assumed in 2003 that the remains had been disinterred and re-established in a cemetery in Maitland (a northern suburb of Cape Town). I argue that the community could have concluded that this was not the case as early as 1994, five years before the new post-apartheid heritage legislation was implemented (Hart, 2003c: 7). In September 1994, writes archaeologist Heather Apollonio, a “relatively intact burial ground at Cobern Street [in District One]” was discovered, well beyond the boundaries of any historical graveyard. The resulting archaeological work (executed by the ACO) was framed by Apollonio as “a rescue operation” (Apollonio, 1998). 121 individuals in total were “rescued”. Based on archival and historical data, researchers at the UCT’s Department of Anatomy and Cell Biology and Faculty of Health Sciences concluded that the burial ground dated back to the 18th century. The grounds had been allocated for use by slaves and free blacks. To archaeologists, the site presented the perfect opportunity for understanding “the biology of these people” (Ledger et al., 2000; Cox, 1999). Indeed, besides the pro-development/anti-exhumation divide, the role of science became another fault line in the Prestwich Street controversy. The situation raised questions regarding how, and for whom, scientific knowledge is produced.

Archaeological contractors often worked in close collaboration with institutional researchers, such as human-biologist Dr Alan Morris of UCT’s Faculty of Health Sciences and his students. Shepherd has pointed to an important aspect of CRM discourse: namely, that it allows archaeology to present itself as a science (Shepherd, 2013a). For these academics, the unearthing of burials was considered a rare scientific opportunity (Sealy et al., 1993). As such, archaeologists used isotopic-analysis techniques to trace “changes in diet and place of residency” (Cox and Sealy, 1997). After the discovery at Cobern Street, there were several other findings that involved contract archaeologists. In 1995, the ACO investigated the Victoria Junction site on Somerset Road, a few hundred meters from Cobern Street. The archaeologists reported what they understood then to be the leftovers of exhumations from the former South African Missionary Society graveyard and the English cemetery. They wrote that “many of the burials were in [v]aults” that “had been broken open from the top and the bones removed”. They described the exhumation as “extremely casual in that body parts were found strewn throughout the fill”. In addition, “entire bodies had been missed—especially those that had not been in vaults” (ACO, 1996b: 4). Were these remains really the consequence of a messy past exhumation, or had they in fact been buried beyond the confines of the official burial place?

Reporting on five test excavations that took place on behalf of the Newport Property Group in 1996, at a site comprising a portion of the old burial ground of the South African Missionary Society (the so-called “I&J site”), the ACO described finding “fragments of wood, coffin handles and a few small human bones (tarsals, phalanges)”, as well as the “bones of domestic animals, [and] ceramics and glass relating to the late 19th/early 20th centuries” (ACO, 1996b: 6). In December 1999, the year the new heritage law was passed, the South African police noticed a human skull lying beside a fence that surrounded the site of the Marina residential development, which was commissioned by the V&A Waterfront company. The ACO was contracted to exhume the site. They were scheduled to start working immediately in order to minimise delays with respect to construction. According to the ACO,

V&A representatives suggested that “bodies [. . .] be placed in individual containers and re-interred on the site in some form of crypt” once they had been analysed (Halkett, 2000: 3).

69 individuals—buried between 1750 and 1850, according to archaeologists—were disinterred, of which only 8 had been buried in coffins. David Halkett of the ACO wrote that some of the bodies had been “wrapped in material prior to burial (as evidenced by the numerous pins that have been recovered)” while others had been “buried wearing clothing (as evidenced by the numerous buttons recovered)”. The archaeologist mentioned that some individuals were neither wrapped nor dressed, and that two individuals had been buried face-down or on their sides. Like at Cobern Street, the development-site burial place was deemed “a pauper’s burial ground, perhaps even a burial ground for slaves” (Halkett, 2000: 15).

Thus, by the time the remains were unearthed at Prestwich Street in May 2003, contractors had already exhumed 191 individual graves at District One. It is most likely that all of them had belonged to slaves and/or paupers in the colonial city. In a report, Halkett speculated that, in addition to these graves, other bones had possibly been discarded or else purposefully left unreported (Halkett, 2000: 17). The number of resurfaced dead was impressive, but the notion of a slave burial place northwest of the old city did not lead to a re-assessment of existing conservation regulations. Nor did it lead to a discussion concerning the politics of human-remains exhumation in the post-apartheid city. Since the passing of the Disused Cemeteries Appropriation Act (No. 26) in 1906, which enabled the clearing of disused cemeteries, archaeologists tended to conclude with respect to District One burial grounds that “the quality of [the] disinterment of remains that took place [. . .] was highly variable” (Hart, 2003c: 8). In a sense, then, these contractors approached the findings at Prestwich Street in 2003 as simply “business as usual”.

Lack of love

Unsurprisingly, an archaeological project focused on expanding scientific knowledge of the colonial past was viewed with dismay by those who claimed the human remains of Prestwich Street as their ancestors. The uncovering of these burial grounds in 2003 could have been an opportunity for epistemological reset, or, at the very least, for reflection on the city’s deep histories, its embedded injustices and traumas, from a non-imperial perspective.

Unfortunately, the opposite turned out to be the case. Public critique of the archaeological project was not a boost for the confidence of the archaeologists involved. In an email to the developer, Hart expressed his surprise, concern and discomfort with the new situation. He wrote that measures to increase security at the site, as well as a fast-response security arrangement with police, might be necessary, as a result of what were “proving to be very undesirable circumstances”. At the same time, the archaeologist claimed that his team remained committed to the project “despite yesterday’s meeting (racial slurs and accusations of dishonesty and grave robbers)” (Hart, 2003a). Hart also wrote:

I want to visibly demonstrate [. . .] the despicable way in which the people have been buried and allow them to judge whether this is a place of rest or a place of uncomfortable disarray. (My personal opinion is that the site as it is [is] undignified,

and [that] the remains are deserving [. . .] [of] greater dignity and [I] would like to demonstrate this. We will video the procedure so that we cannot be accused of staging this. (Hart, 2003a)

In response to the critique, then, the archaeologist did not question the course of the project. One might ask, for example, whether he and his team had the moral right to exhume. Instead of practising in ways that might relieve him of his imperial burden as an archaeologist, he worried for his personal safety. He did not consider the ethics related to the subfield of indigenous archaeology, as reflected in the World Archaeological Congress Code of Ethics of 1991 and in the Vermillion Accord on Human Remains, adopted in 1989 (WAC, 2015). Nor did he consider a key publication by South African historians Martin Legassick and Ciraj Rassool (Legassick and Rassool, 2000) regarding the treatment of indigenous human remains in South Africa. To quote Frantz Fanon, he neither sought nor listened to “what had been silenced” (Wanzer, 2015: 653).

What does this silence mean in the Cape Town context? Some of the comments orbiting the public process help give an idea. Regina Isaacs wrote in an email:

Many citizens of Cape Town from all walks of life claim those remains as their own precisely because we don't know who they were and what their cultural or religious affiliations were. (Isaacs, 2003)

During the second public-consultation meeting, Henny van Wyk said:

Today I speak as a Khoisan person . . . [. . .] [T]he discovery of this particular site is historical. As you know Khoisan people, especially in Cape Town, even at this point of time [are] a very fragmented people. Even after ten years of democracy there has been polarisation taking place. (CSRF, 2003d)

At this same meeting, Reverend Weeder commented:

Many of us of slave descent cannot say: “Here's my birth certificate.” We are part of the great unwashed of Cape Town. The black people—we rush into town on the taxis and we need to rush out of town. At the time—many decades ago—we lived and loved and labored here. Nothing [reminds us of that history] [. . .] and so leave [the site] as a memorial to Mr. Gonzalez that lived there, Mrs. De Smidt that lived there. The poor of the area—the fishermen, the domestic workers, the people that swept the streets here. Memorialise that. Leave the bones there. (SAHRA, 2003a)

Like Bogue, I suggest that these accounts point to silences that were the result of colonial violence: the horrors of slavery and the near-genocide of the indigenous people of the Cape, and the repackaging of both during apartheid.

Author Junot Diaz refers to this kind of violence as the recapitulation of “the rape culture of the European colonization of the New World” (Moya, 2012). According to Diaz, this rape culture stands in the way of real intimacy and/or a feeling of completeness on the part of both the individual and the collective. The silence of District One is as much literal as it is

epistemological. It is an apparent inability to know and to name. Raising a similar point, Shepherd reiterates Derrida's term "hauntology". The comments from the public above point to the District's disavowed terms and "absent presences" (Shepherd, 2013b: 241). Failing to bear witness to the consequences of colonial rape culture, to the memories of racial slavery and apartheid's forced removals, limits the chances of overcoming the legacy of colonial violence and finding what Diaz refers to as "decolonial love" (Moya, 2012).

The term "decolonial love" originates in feminism and in Latin American studies. It is associated with the work of Chela Sandoval (Sandoval, 2000), Nelson Maldonado Torres (Maldonado Torres, 2008) and Walter Dignolo. Dignolo describes decoloniality as, among other things, "the energy that does not allow the operation of the logic of coloniality nor believes the fairy tales of the rhetoric of modernity" (Dignolo, 2011a: 46). Referring to Guevara and Fanon, Sandoval speaks of love as "a 'rupturing' in one's everyday world that permits crossing over to another" (Sandoval, 2000: 139). Nelson Maldonado-Torres writes that the decolonial praxis of love generates epistemologies and politics aimed at a "transmodern" world—a world "in which many worlds fit"—rather than a modern/colonial "death-world" (Maldonado-Torres, 2011: 15, 18; Gräbner, 2014). It is "reparation as transformation", argues Yomaira C Figueroa (Figueroa, 2015). I appreciate Sandoval's image of the rupturing of everyday life, which leads, like a passage, to the discovery of decolonial intimacy. The processes that led to the establishment of the ossuary, with its disciplined passage of entry, cannot be characterised in quite the same way.

Historical recapitulation

Visiting the memorial today, one learns that the building was conceived of as "a gateway of memory into the Prestwich Ossuary" (Visser, 2014). Its partners, according to the ossuary display boards, include SAHRA, the District Six Museum, the Prestwich Place Project Committee and Heritage Western Cape (Visser, 2014). An exhibition and a memorial leaflet published by the City of Cape Town provide summaries of the ossuary's background. In the form of a neat narrative, the pamphlet provides a short history of the graveyards at District One. It mentions the establishment of the 1755 Soldaaten Kerkhof ("military graveyard"), the Dutch Reformed Church graveyard founded in 1776, and the Muslim graveyard founded in 1805 (during Dutch occupation). During British occupation, many graveyards were established, according to the authors of the pamphlet. These include the Anglican and Scottish Church graveyards (1832), the Lutheran Church graveyard (1833), and the Catholic and Ebenezer Church burial places (1840). According to the pamphlet:

All the while informal burial took place outside the confines of these "formal" burial grounds particularly of individuals who died without means [. . .] These included slaves, ex-slaves, Khoenkhoen workers, itinerant sailors and paupers. (CoCT)

The City goes on to quote traveller and merchant Robert Semple. Walking on Signal Hill along the Green Point coastline in 1805, Semple observed:

Whilst I was giving my friend a description of these batteries [. . .] he interrupted me rather earnestly, with "What are these small stones, some of them dark and others

white, which shine in the moon light, and seem not to have been set there by chance?" They were not indeed, Charles I said. "Tread lightly, tread lightly, my friend, we now approach a region sacred to silence and deep repose. These black and white stones are memorials of the dead—and the neglected dead. Yonder is the slaves' burying ground." (CoCT)

By an act of historical replication, or recapitulation, this story of a colonial settler's surprise at the presence of buried slaves is reinserted into the official narrative of District One. Runia suggests parallel processes as an analytical instrument when interpreting such historical enactment (Runia, 2004). Thinking through the issue of historical recapitulation, I am interested in the weight of the colonial archive, its associated heritages and spatial discourses, as well as in the lack of transformation surrounding disciplinary practices. According to Svetlana Boym, in "cities in transition the porosity is particularly visible; it turns the whole city into an experimental art exhibit, a place of continuous improvisation" (Boym, 2001). To what extent can we understand the building of the ossuary and the exhibition inside it as an act of improvisation and historical replication?

Architect Le Grange explains how he was caught by surprise when the City announced its ambitions for the ossuary ahead of the 2010 FIFA World Cup:

Maybe we were naïve of the devious ways of the City of Cape Town, but [the ossuary] was promoted as part of the walk to the stadium. I never saw it like that before, but it was. But it was. It had to become this tourist thing. It had nothing to do with the history of people. (Le Grange, 2014)

The ossuary ended up being strategically located. It was a gateway to the fan walk, which stretched from the city centre to the Cape Town Stadium. Local traditions, such as the 5 December Emancipation Day Walk, which pays tribute to the emancipation of Cape slaves, had to be adjusted in light of the upcoming World Cup. In an interview, the District Six Museum's Bennett, the organiser of the walk, explained the impact of preparations for the World Cup:

We keep the format similar but we vary the route. We have done the ossuary in different ways. This one year we didn't get permission in a very clear way. It was because on the fourth of December there was some official ceremony related to the World Cup. FIFA's requirement was that for ten days before, or say seven days or five days and five days after, you could not have any major events in the city in terms of security. (Bennett, 2014)

As I understand it, the World Cup provided a kind of "dramaturgy" of the global experience of Cape Town (Derrida, 2006: 125), and this dramaturgy in turn provided the creative space for a light-hearted reimagining and realignment of District One's pasts. Developer Efstathiou hired an advertising agency to write his project out of the haunted history of Prestwich Street. As such, The Rockwell, a luxury apartment building built on the contested Prestwich site, was conceived of in relation to "the beginning of a new era—a time of industry. It was the industrial revolution. And with this era came the music, the freedom of spirit and the romanticism" (Dogon and Gavrill, 2005). Here, the historical point of reference is the Harlem

Renaissance, with its jazz revolution. Ironically, this invented history for the space becomes a rival to Truth's thaumaturgical narrative.

In the neoliberal city, a locality is characterised by either its resources or its liabilities. Accordingly, a Prestwich Memorial team, made up of City officials, the Cape Town Heritage Trust, SAHRA and the Green Point City Improvement District (CID), eventually leased out the ossuary to the Green Point CID, lead by Truss. Truss comments:

The difficulty at the time was, once it was completed, what were they going to do with it? You have now reinterred the remains, but what are you going to do with the facility? You need an activity. We stepped in and said, "Let's create a coffee shop." (Truss, 2014)

The CID considered David Donde and Truth to be suitable tenants (GPOKCID, 2014; Jacobs, 2014). I suggest that Donde, as entrepreneur, encapsulates the playfulness and the forgetfulness of the neoliberal city. The dramaturgy of the World Cup sanctioned a lack of accountability to history and social justice. As a result, Donde could position himself as a thaumaturgist, or "one who brings the dead back to life". The Truth website, in 2013, read:

You've heard about District Six and more recently about District 9, but how about District One? This was the part of old Cape Town that now forms much of Green Point and the Waterfront. During the 1700s and 1800s much of District One was used as an extensive burial ground of unmarked graves for what some historians have called a colonial underclass that included slaves, servants, sailors, indigenous Khoikhoi, African labourers, Muslims and free blacks.

[S]ince it became the birth place of Truth Coffee Roasting, a growing number of Cape Town locals, tourists and coffee aficionados have unwittingly been lured to this undercover burial ground. And been given a taste of how good slavery can be . . . (To artisan coffee of course, in this case!). (Truth, 2013)

The "violence and pain" associated with the site's histories (Henri, 2008) are discarded, or, in Truth's narrative, playfully repackaged.

I argue that the Prestwich Ossuary, The Rockwell and Truth are in fact attempts (deliberate or unconscious) to convert the colonial wounds of District One into marketing opportunities. In the lead-up to yet another global event—the 2014 World Design Capital—the province started exploring the regeneration of the "Prestwich Precinct" (PGWC, 2011). Truth opened a second outlet right on the doorstep of the District Six Museum, and plans were made for the construction of a rooftop vegetable garden at the ossuary and for a city walk leading from the slave lodge to the site (TEL, 2012). In an attempt to move away from the neoliberal formulas that govern urban gardening, and that distil truth into a cup of coffee (Shepherd, 2013b: 237), I am interested in decolonial readings of District One, and in Mignolo's "points of de-linking" (Mignolo, 2011a: 63). What are the paths that lead us to a subaltern perception of this burial landscape?

The idea of the return

In previous writings on the subject, the re-interment of the bodies in the Prestwich ossuary has been criticised for attempting to bring closure to an unruly past, and for domesticating the political energy of the dead with respect to the contemporary city (Grunebaum, 2007; Green and Murray, 2008; 2010). I am interested in precisely this unruly quality of the Prestwich dead: how might they dissolve the linear historical narrative of place?

In recent years, certain scholars have responded to this epistemological challenge. Following the work of Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks in *Theatre/Archaeology* (2001), Jonker and Till propose coming to a new understanding of space—specifically, how people experience space—through the juxtaposition and interpretation of “the historical and the contemporary, the political and the poetic, the factual and the fictional, the discursive and the sensual” (Jonker and Till, 2009: 306-307). As such, they connect the relocation of the dead of Prestwich, and its aftermath, to the increasingly violent conflict over housing and service delivery that plagues the communities in Cape Town’s outskirts. Picking up on this idea, I want to think here about space and the idea of return, of the revenant.

Reverend Michael Weeder spent part of his youth in Amsterdam Street in District One. His family was forcibly removed from the area in the 1960s. He wrote in June 2003:

Standing at the site of the burial ground between mounds of sand, watching as a half-uncovered skeleton was further exposed by the hands of an archaeology student, I became aware of a mixture of sadness and anger at what had been done to communities over time, best symbolized in the present-day bureaucracy’s refuge in the term “unknown graves”. All of us standing on the site on that day would find ourselves divided by our response to the remains of the Prestwich dead. (Weeder, 2006: 6)

Writing, “[A]ll of us standing on this site . . . would find ourselves divided”, Weeder connects the fate of the resurfaced bones with the fractured experience of dwelling in Cape Town. He describes the resulting emotions as anger and sadness. The words used by ACO archaeologist Tim Hart contrast quite strikingly with Weeder’s. In his comments to van der Merwe and SAHRA, Hart used terms like “unmarked” and “not affiliated” and, according to him, too much time had passed since the burials took place to render them relevant to contemporary Capetonians. The archaeologist did not specify what it meant to be unaffiliated with or buried outside the walls of the former colonial city. Nor did he explain why “too much time” had passed for anyone to claim that the graves contained the remains of his or her ancestors. What remains implicit and what is codified here? Who was the ACO rescuing, and why? The answers to these questions caused controversy.

Hart’s commentary in relation to the return of the dead of District One alerts us, firstly, to the consequences of the relationship between archaeological contract work and property development. Secondly, it lays bare the functioning of archaeological discourse with regard to the exhumation of human burials. Archaeological discourse, which is effectively CRM discourse, disconnected the dead of District One from a deep history of dwelling-in-the-city. The human remains did not play a significant role in public discussions concerning the ethics of urban transformation. Instead, the colonial wounds of District One became an integrated

part of a playful marketing strategy. As such, they were disavowed and annihilated, along with the possibility of decolonial love. I want to suggest that the resurfacing of these human remains draws attention to how modern conceptions of the dead lead to our estrangement from the state of not-being and, in particular, to the dehumanisation of the ancestors of the colonised other (Maldonado-Torres, 2007: 257-258). That, in short, is my understanding of the heritage of District One.

In this chapter, I reflected on the sudden and dramatic re-emergence of the dead of Prestwich Street, which had a ripple effect on the entire country (Weeder, 2006: 49). Scholars have invoked the trope of the South African frontier in relation to the disinterment of these bones and their (contested) afterlife (Ralphs, 2008b; Jonker and Till, 2009). Shepherd proposes understanding Prestwich Street as an opportunity to face the hidden pasts and the unfinished business of contemporary Cape Town (Shepherd, 2013b). He understands the events of District One as a “point of fracture” for this project (Shepherd, 2007a: 14; 2007b; 2015c; Shepherd and Ernssten, 2007).

Echoing Shepherd, I would like to think about following the ancestors of District One. In this chapter, I showed how the agency of the dead lets one understand how urban discourses operate at the Cape. The resurfacing of these ancestors helps one consider what it means to live in the city and during post-apartheid urban renewal. I argued that the agency of the Prestwich dead hinges on their exposure of the internal workings of discourse, and the associated disciplinary practices through which we experience Cape Town and its heritage. This story ended ambiguously. I discussed how, following the storage of the District One dead, the gaze on Cape Town was redirected towards its future. I explored how their re-interment foreclosed a series of discussions regarding the reconciliation of past events with the present in Cape Town. In the chapter that follows, I begin by discussing what characterises contemporary Cape Town.

3. The Rebirth of a City: Global Events in Cape Town

Perceiving freedom

On 6 November 2014, artist Michael Elion installed an art piece on the Sea Point promenade, a mere stone's throw away from the new Cape Town stadium. The installation, part of the 2014 World Design Capital programme, was entitled *Perceiving Freedom*. It consisted of a pair of giant spectacles (made out 1.2 tons of stainless steel) facing Robben Island, where Nelson Mandela spent 18 of his 27 years of imprisonment. The sunglasses, co-financed by Ray-Ban, were, according to the artist, a tribute to the late Mandela, who died on 5 December 2013. The art piece was accompanied by a plaque that included a picture of Mandela wearing sunglasses. Elion is quoted as saying that the piece "links us to the mind of a man whose incredible capacity to transcend enduring physical hardship, with unwavering mental fortitude and dignity, transformed the consciousness of an entire country and left a giant and lasting legacy to the world" (van der Merwe, 2014).

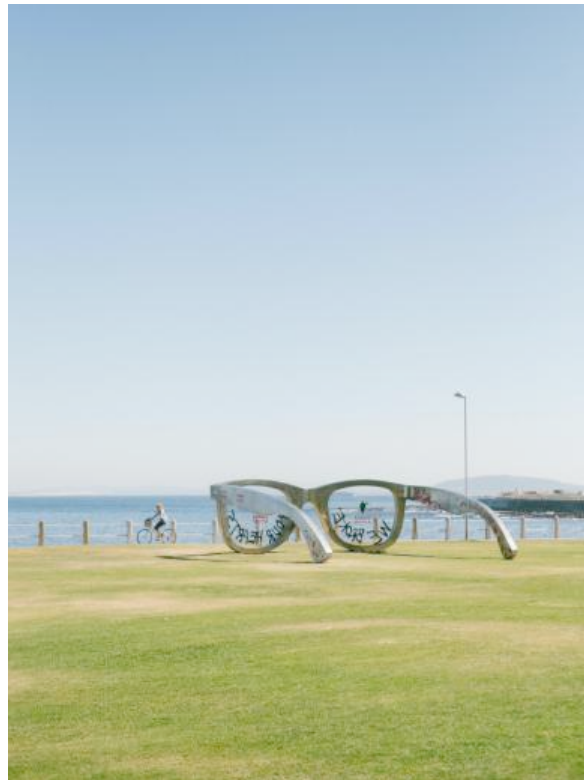


Figure 2: Tokolos-Stencils intervention on Michael Elion art piece, Sea Point, 2014 (Image: tokolosstencils.tumblr.com).

A number of commentators publicly expressed their disgust at the art piece. I will mention just a few of them here: Duane Jethro kicked off the public debate, describing the piece on the online platform *Africa Is a Country* as a "pathetic appropriation of commemoration as cover for a commercial promotion" (Jethro, 2014a); Rebecca Hodes, in the *Daily Maverick*, called it "corporate vandalism" (Hodes, 2014); artist Gerald Machona, in a Facebook post, asked, "Like most public sculptures in Cape Town, is this not just another monument to white privilege?" (O'Toole, 2014). On the night of 17 November, a group called the Tokolos-

Stencils Collective “graffiti bombed” the art piece. Phrases such as “We broke your hearts”, “Myopic art” and “Remember Marikana” (referencing the Marikana massacre at the Lonmin mine on 16 August 2012) were spray-painted on the steel sunglasses. The anonymous group wrote on their Tumblr page that they had intervened “in white supremacist corporatist art”.

Furthermore, they wrote:

Myopic art leads to and is a reflection of a myopic society. But on the master’s sunglasses, there is always space to broaden our vision so that we can all see the bigger picture. (Tokolos-Stencils, 2014)

When artist Hermann Niebuhr wrote on Facebook, “Tell that charlatan Michael Elion that we’re sending a Jo’burg street fighter [artist] Stephen Hobbs down to settle this”, Elion expressed fear for his life and laid charges for the incitement of violence. Commenting on the graffiti art, he said that “[h]ealthy debate [wa]s welcome, but this [wa]s inexcusable” (Sosibo, 2014; Joseph, 2014).

The response to *Perceiving Freedom* is a striking example of how heritage functions in Cape Town. The controversy points to the disjunctive experience of dwelling in this city, which combines a splendorous lifestyle amid breath-taking beaches and mountain vistas with the bare life of historical injustice (transformed into social injustice) that is embedded in the bleak townships. In this chapter, I think through the linkages between notions of corporatist art, commercial promotion, white supremacy, corporate vandalism, white privilege and the discourses of heritage and urban design. I am interested in how global events such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the World Design Capital bear down on local histories and memories of the city. I track the official discourses that were strengthened by these events, and I consider how they contributed to the *Perceiving Freedom* controversy, as well as how they contribute to the disjunctive urban experience of the city. I ask: In what ways did the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the 2014 World Design Capital events condition Cape Town’s urban transformation? In discussing the discourses surrounding the city, I want to think about the energies and impulses that stand against these prevalent discourses. I want to understand where it is that these discourses break down, and what emerges in their place.

Tracking urban discourse

Tracing the origins of the discourses that have contributed to the urban transformation of Cape Town, I am looking for conceptual tools, points of entry or hooks into forms of public policy and engagement, and into the language of policy makers and city planners, especially in relation to the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the 2014 World Design Capital. Aligned with anthropologist Shaheed Tayob, I understand these events in Cape Town in the context of what Jean and John Comaroff describe as the culture of neoliberalism (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001a). With South Africa increasingly susceptible to the demands of global capital, foreign investment, and nation-building, these two mega events evoked “millennial hopes for a better future” (Tayob, 2012). In this chapter I discuss, among other things, the roles of two key governmental actors: namely, the Cape Town Partnership and the Western Cape Provincial Department of Strategic Initiatives. (The latter is also known as the Western

Cape Province Department of the Premier.) These organisations, more than any others, determine urban policy and practice in Cape Town. I use the commentary of some of the key professionals involved to guide my chapter, focusing on the intellectual projects they represent. In doing so, my interest is in providing an account of the complex “stylizing” of city spaces and heritage, as well as of the various leakages, slippages, dissonances and silences associated with this process (Mbembe, 2002: 273).

I discuss the imagery projected on the city against the backdrop of earlier work on globalisation and Cape Town’s urban development. An extensive bibliographic overview of scholarly research from 1990 until 2004 on this city has been published by urban geographer Gordon Pirie in a 2005 issue of *Urban Forum* (Pirie, 2005). A number of authors have critiqued what political scientist David McDonald refers to as Cape Town’s “world city syndrome” (McDonald, 2009; Rogerson, 2004; 2005; Sihlongonyane, 2004; van der Merwe, 2004; Beavon, 2006; Marks, 2005). With regard to the 2010 football World Cup, a great number of scholars have written about the event’s cultural and developmental effects in South Africa (Desai and Vahed, 2010; Koonyaditse, 2010; Dubin, 2011; Cottle, 2011; Manzo, 2012). While some scholars argued, ahead of the event, that long-term and broad-based development goals should be the focus for planning the World Cup in South Africa (Cornelissen and Swart, 2006), others found that events like the World Cup are unlikely to lead to poverty alleviation in the city (Pillay and Bass, 2008; Pillay et al., 2009). Using the 2010 World Cup as a case study, geographers and urbanists Malte Steinbrink, Christoph Haferburg and Astrid Ley drew attention to the socio-spatial consequences of the World Cup for renewal processes in cities in the global south (Steinbrink et al., 2011). Historian Peter Alegi and sociologist Chris Bolsmann wrote about the hidden histories of soccer and new citizenship in South Africa (Alegi, 2006; Alegi and Bolsmann, 2010; Bolsmann, 2012). Focusing especially on the vuvuzela, heritage-studies scholars Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Duane Jethro discussed issues of “Africaness” (Jethro, 2014b; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011). Zooming in on Cape Town specifically, others discussed this place as an emerging global city in the context of the World Cup (Alegi, 2008; Bob and Swart, 2009; Newton, 2009; Schoonbee, 2010; Booyens, 2012; Ferreira and Boshoff, 2014). Yet I wish to begin with a short sketch of an intellectual moment that predates the post-apartheid praxis of the city. In order to give context to the events determining Cape Town’s post-apartheid urban transformation, I highlight a few aspects of the period leading up to the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990.

Talking apartheid out of existence

The student politics and community struggles of the 1980s were an experiential moment for many who are currently in leading urban-policy positions (Swilling, 1998). Activist networks such as the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the United Democratic Front (UDF), Planact, and the Surplus People Project, as well as others, produced people, ideas and practices for the transformation of the post-apartheid city. NUSAS was a liberal student movement that supported non-racialism and non-sexism, which brought the movement into conflict with the apartheid regime. The UDF, a coalition of 400 civic, church, student, worker and other organisations, was one of the most important anti-apartheid organisations of the 1980s. Planact was a voluntary association of professionals who came together to assist

community organisations in proposing and advocating for alternative development plans to those of the apartheid regime. The Surplus People Project was founded in 1980 in the Western Cape as a response to the forced removals of Crossroads. In 1985, the Surplus People Project reconstituted itself as the National Committee against Forced Removals.

Mark Swilling, Laurine Platzky and Andrew Borraine, three individuals I interviewed for this chapter, were key member of these anti-apartheid organisations. During the period of preparation for the 2010 FIFA World and the 2014 World Design Capital, Swilling, Platzky and Borraine also became leading figures in Cape Town's contemporary transformation. Swilling is currently director of the Sustainability Institute and author of the Western Cape Human Settlements Strategy. He was also, initially, a World Design Capital curator. Before the end of apartheid, Swilling was one of the co-founders of Planact (Royston et al., 2009). Laurine Platzky is the deputy director general of the Western Cape Government, and in this capacity she was a member of the Steering Committee for the World Design Capital. Previously, Platzky was the provincial coordinator of the FIFA World Cup in Cape Town. During the 1980s, Platzky was the national coordinator of the Surplus People Project and of the National Committee against Removals (Platzky and Walker, 1985). Until 2013, Andrew Borraine was the CEO of the Cape Town Partnership, and as such was one of the initiators of the World Design Capital bid. Before the release of Mandela, Borraine was the president of NUSAS, the treasurer of the Western Cape UDF, and a member of the UDF National Executive Committee (Kessel, 1995).

Reflecting on his experiences during the days of student politics and community struggles, Swilling has described a methodology of "doing by learning" (Swilling, 1998: 297). In my interview with Platzky, she illustrated what this might entail:

Some of us [who] grew up in [that] era managed to put together some big picture thinking and identify actions that could be maybe moved beyond that and then take it into another era and communicate it. (Platzky, 2013)

Also in an interview with me, Swilling commented:

Effectiveness, clarity of thinking, low transaction costs in getting stuff done [. . .], the vision of the possibility that you can transform the city into a liveable inclusive space that avoids the dead hand of suburbia or chaotic decline of African city neglect or just kind of wasteful Monte Casino bling. (Swilling, 2013)

Elsewhere, the political scientist has described the significance of his experiences in the Democratic Movement as follows:

There was a critical mass of us who believed that intellectuals could connect with the development and thinking of communities. I have tried to explain to my students how a Soweto civic meeting on a Sunday was such a cleansing experience: people talked about their lives in very clear ways—as ordinary people becoming aware through dialogue. Development cannot be understood [by intellectuals] without [this sort of interaction] . . . [We] were in a dialogical revolution—we talked apartheid out of existence.

We used the power of relational processes . . . [There was] no space for subjectivity, complexity in the analysis . . . [We] had no language to understand this stuff we used to talk about (now it is called “transdisciplinary thinking”). We used to pay quite a lot of attention to it—painful discussions—would very fastidiously make sure that there [was] a mix of people in the teams [. . .]

All knowledge is driven by questions—every question is from a context. [The] questions that drove us emanated from communities—this drove a small group of people who is still in the urban context—this is very, very rare: [it was a] unique moment . . . When we went into negotiations that was the beginning of the end—different questions. (Royston et al., 2009: 14)

Swilling has also spoken of “a conversational revolution” and “a glorious experiment in participatory governance” (Swilling, 1998: 291, 297). The discourse is striking: urban transformation as a “cleansing experience” during which people “talk about their lives” and create “relational processes”. Community and dialogue become tropes that signify a method of producing knowledge that moves away from the practices linked to the apartheid era.

During the transition to democracy, local governments in South Africa needed to shift their priorities towards servicing the whole of the city (instead of only the white suburbs). In terms of envisioning this process, the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber was an important organisation. The Chamber consisted of working-group meetings of civic organisations and local bureaucrats in Johannesburg that proposed a national urban agenda. They promoted the idea of a “compact integrated city”. Contrary to a sprawling city, a compact city is understood to be an administrative entity that makes efficient use of its resources (Schuster, 1995). The organisation (founded in 1991) functioned, according to urbanists Mirjam van Donk and Edgar Pieterse, as a laboratory for ideas of a new, non-racial system of urban development. Its research focus concerned the integration of tax bases, electrification, infrastructure, water and sewage systems, and housing. According to Van Donk and Pieterse, the Chamber “had a direct and significant impact on policy coordination and analysis pertaining to [the] metropolitan government”. The researchers describe how members of Planact played central roles in the Chamber and in the 1993 Local Government Negotiating Forum, which paved the way for local urban transformation. In the case of Cape Town, the Chamber’s influence was felt in that it orchestrated a re-allocation of capital and maintenance to that third of the Cape Town municipality that had not received any “appreciable capital infrastructure expenditure in 50 years” (CTP, 2009: 7; Van Donk and Pieterse, 2006: 111-113 and 128; Swilling, 1998).

The political experience of the 1980s may not have produced a definite rupture in the discourse on South African cities, but I do think the method of conversation that arose from it provided a temporary subversion of the dominant discourse of urban design. Why temporary? As early as 1998, Swilling wrote how the post-apartheid 1994 government was “a leadership [. . .] which feared what could not be predicted and distrusted what could not be controlled” (Swilling, 1998: 297). The poorer townships presented the electoral base for the ANC, and the vision of an integrated city would negate the township as an electoral entity. Fairly soon after the ending of apartheid, familiar partnerships in the townships and

in the city centre and familiar ways of working were re-established—“[t]he beginning of the end”, to use Swilling’s term. Accordingly, Swilling asked, “How can the urban social movements be revived?” (Swilling, 1998: 298). My argument is that the “doing by learning” moment in the eighties can be understood as a glimmer of resistance against the dominant way of managing cities. Building on this argument, I discuss the praxis of the Cape Town Partnership and the Western Cape Provincial Department of Strategic Initiatives in relation to the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the 2014 World Design Capital events in Cape Town.

Business as usual

Andrew Boraine had worked for Planact and, as such, he became involved in the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber. Subsequently, in 1997, he became City Manager in Cape Town. In his capacity as an executive official, Boraine had to manage a new set of urban responsibilities. During this period, he observed the “deterioration” of the CBD. In his autobiographical narrative, he uses the trope of crisis:

I was City Manager at the time. I [had] to deliver services to the black townships for the first time and listened to the business community [in the city centre] saying: “Listen, My God, what’s happening—where are our services?” [I had to] balance those requirements.

There was a capital flight from the traditional Cape Town CBD, including to the Waterfront. The CBD was faced with [many] urban management problems—issues of safety and security. People would literally not move out of their buildings once they were in. They would not go out for lunchtime. There was no business generated in the restaurants. The restaurants were leaving. Basically 25% of the office space was not let and about 25% of ground floor retail was not let. That is a crisis. That is a dying CBD. (Boraine, 2013)

In response, a partnership between business, property owners and the City of Cape Town was founded in 1999 by David Jack, a former Cape Town City planner and former chief executive of the Victoria and Albert (V&A) Waterfront (a luxury shopping and tourist destination in Cape Town’s harbour precinct). The aim of the Cape Town Partnership, as it became known, was to “save a once vibrant city centre”. Looking back, in 2009, the Partnership described its early mission against the following dramatic backdrop:

Streets that had once attracted crowds of shoppers and families that simply wanted to relax, from vibrant communities like District Six and further afield, were now descending into a morass of crime and grime. Tenants and retailers were packing up their goods and heading for greener pastures, either in the newly fashionable Waterfront development, or to business nodes such as Claremont in the southern suburbs or the new Century City in Milnerton. Homeless people, drawn by dreams and desperation, bedded down on its streets and under its flyovers. [. . .] Many workers and shoppers who ventured into the city were likely to be mugged or worse. There was an underbelly of crime, muggings, vehicle break-ins and burglaries, plus environmental degradation. (CTP, 2009: 3)

Property consultant Wendy Hartshorne is quoted saying:

In those days, the Grand Parade had a scaffold tower with two policemen looking at everybody with binoculars and advising people on who was being mugged and where the drama was[.] At the peak of this episode, the Grand Parade was somewhere you would have expected to be in downtown Beirut. Everybody had abandoned the city hall, you were being mugged left, right and centre. (CTP, 2009: 11)

United by a shared sense of disaster, City officials, property developers and rate-payers, as well as consultants, decided to steer the Partnership towards a kind of a public-private collaboration, which was perceived as having been a successful formula in the United States and the United Kingdom. In an interview with me, Borraine explained:

In 1998 the City got together with the South African Property Owners Association as well as the Chamber of Commerce as well as the Cape Town Heritage Trust and the other bodies like that. To do some renovation from an architectural heritage point of view [and] to say: "Let's find a way to turn this situation around." We looked at a number of models. Two we picked at the time: one was the Coventry City Centre partnership in the UK. [In Coventry] they were faced with very similar things because they built a big ring road around their CBD, which killed the CBD and put all the business in the suburbs. We looked at the UK model for the partnership and then at the North American model for the business improvement district or, as we called them, city improvement districts. We decided on a hybrid version: both a partnership and a city improvement district. We set up the partnership in July 1999 and the partnership then canvassed the property owners and set up the (Central Cape Town Improvement District) CCDI in November 2000.

The partnership route offered us a way of getting the private sector to invest in the CBD, so we didn't have to use public resources, which were needed for the black townships. This really was the balancing act, which we had to do. (Borraine, 2013)

Co-founder of the Cape Town Partnership and property developer Colin Bird offered his view:

It was the only time I knew of where business actually got together to do something about a situation they saw was deteriorating to a point where it would never be redeemable if nothing else was done. It was totally apolitical. There was a lot of disbelief about the potential, but no one was trying to earn money or get votes. It was being done for the right reasons and that's why it worked. (CTP, 2009: 11-12)

Architect Rafael Marks has remarked somewhat cynically of this period that "things got so bad in the centre that business leaders and local government [. . .] got together to form the Cape Town (Central Partnership) [and] tax themselves voluntarily in order to maintain, improve and control parts of the city centre" (Marks, 2005: 228). It is interesting to observe how the intervention of the partnership is portrayed as a kind of heroic, altruistic act through the evocation of a discourse of crisis. As the previous chapter suggested, this

discourse is all too familiar to the Cape, as are its so-called “apolitical solutions”. Who was perceived to be contributing to “the drama”, and who was on the receiving end of the desired improvement and security measures? My argument is that the partnership did not initiate a dialogic, community-based process, which might have led to “a cleansing experience” in the spirit of 1980s political intervention, and that it also did not strive to convert Cape Town into a compact, integrated city. Instead, the partnership evoked a particular tradition within local governance—one that was essentially about looking to the global north for solutions.

For example, a historical overview of the first ten years of the partnership highlighted urban interventions in Cape Town in the 1970s and 1980s that were informed by case studies in Australia and the United States (CTP, 2009: 5-6). CEO David Jack praised the expertise of the professionals in the city at the time. He celebrated their achievements for the city centre and noted their strategic policy-move away from freeways and vehicle accessibility in the inner-city, and towards initiatives like the pedestrianisation of St George’s Mall and the founding of the Cape Town Heritage Trust (CTP, 2009: 5-6). The first point I want to make is that a pre-1994 tradition of looking to the urban-design metropolises in Europe and the United States has proved formative for the post-apartheid transformation in the inner-city as well. In other words: based on the institutional memory surrounding urban design, contemporary city managers looked to the global north when constructing their urban futures. My second point is that the discursive momentum of fundamental openness and conversation about an integrated city, as proposed by the Democratic Movement of the 1980s and embodied in the Soweto civic meetings highlighted by Swilling, had by this stage already come to an end. I believe that it is in this context that one has to understand the events leading up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the 2014 World Design Capital. Below I discuss the imagery projected on the city through the World Cup’s “bid book”, a piece of documentation that preceded the event. It presents an official discourse that makes links with policy and strategy papers, and generates a particular imaginative framework with regard to heritage and urban design.

A time to come

On 15 March 2001, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) decided that the new principle of a FIFA World Cup continental rotation should start with Africa. 1 December 2002 was the deadline for declaring interest in organising the 2010 FIFA World Cup. Six associations declared their interest: South Africa, Morocco, Libya, Egypt, Nigeria, and Tunisia. The South African bid was constructed against the post-1994 fantasy of the rainbow nation. With the aim of strengthening the South African bid for the tournament, incumbent president of the Republic of South Africa Thabo Mbeki wrote the following in the bid book:

We want, on behalf of the continent, to stage an event that will send ripples of confidence from the Cape to Cairo—an event that will create social and economic opportunities throughout Africa. We want to ensure that, one day, historians will reflect upon the 2010 World Cup as a moment when Africa stood tall and resolutely

turned the tide on centuries of poverty and conflict. We want to show that Africa's time has come. (SAFA, 2004)

There are a few points of interest in Mbeki's wording. It is possible, for example, to discern the theme of South Africa's rebirth. Yet the discursive connection with Cairo evokes the ideology of British imperialist Cecil John Rhodes (1853–1902) and his colonial imagery, motifs and legends of an empire reaching from the Cape colony to Egypt (Alegi, 2010; Jethro, 2014b). Mbeki's letter also calls for a redirection of the imagination towards the future, towards a time to come. Irvin Khoza and Danny Jordaan, Chairman and CEO of the SA 2010 World Cup bid, wrote:

On 27 April 2004 we celebrate 10 years of our new found freedom and democracy. This celebration is a long march from darkness and despair to hope for a bright future. The award of the 2010 FIFA World Cup to South Africa will be the greatest gift to the people of our country and our continent. A gift for all those who are struggling for peace, democracy and dignity anywhere in the world. (SAFA, 2004: 3 and 11)

Khoza and Jordaan evoke the title of Mandela's autobiography *A Long Walk to Freedom* (1994) to illustrate South Africa's potential. Referencing the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the 1996 African Cup of Nations, the 1999 All African Games, and the 2003 Cricket World Cup, the bid book reads:

South Africans have risen to this task. South Africa has a proven track record in meeting with major challenges as a nation. We have overcome the challenges of apartheid in sports and society. We have hosted many international events successfully as united democracy. That is our nature. (SAFA, 2004: 1-4)

And, elsewhere:

Since 1994 optimism has become a national trait. Where the popular mood in many other countries around the globe often leans towards apathy and cynicism, South Africans remain excited and enthused. Some might suggest we are naïve and innocent, but this is a country that asks "Why not?" rather than "Why?", a country that is quick to rally beneath the standard of a noble cause. (SAFA, 2004: 1-4)

The FIFA Inspection Group was impressed by South Africa's presentation, and wrote:

If the World Cup is granted to South Africa, it will generate significant unity among the different ethnic groups that were separated socially, culturally and in sports for years. [. . .] Despite questions about security in the country, the legacy compared to the investment needed will be a great contribution to the country. (Peeters, 2004: 8)

In these narratives, the World Cup is projected both as a reward for the good work of reconciliation (the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings took place from 1996 to 1998) and as a way of repairing the remaining divides in the country. Yet, crucially, the bid book opened with Mbeki's reference to the African Renaissance vision, an idea that dates back to his "I Am an African" speech, delivered to the Constitutional Assembly of South

Africa on 8 May 1996 (Mamdani, 1998; Vale and Maseko, 1998; Ajulu, 2001; Bongmba, 2004). His call for “a time to come” shifted the gaze in South Africa towards the future and, in the bid book specifically, evoked the contested imperial imaginary of the Cape, only now in relation to rebirth and resurrection.

On 15 May 2004, the president of FIFA, Joseph (“Sepp”) Blatter, announced that South Africa would indeed host the 2010 Soccer World Cup (SAHistory, 2004). Since my research concerns Cape Town, I turn now to how this host city dealt with the challenges of envisioning this event. Aligned with the SAFA bid book, the Provincial Government of the Western Cape and the City of Cape Town co-wrote their plan for the World Cup in 2006 (Platzky, 2011). Like other official material documenting the virtues of the World Cup, the document, entitled “2010 Football World Cup: Strategic Plan for the Provincial Government of the Western Cape and the City of Cape Town”, highlighted how the event would reconnect Cape Town to other places on the globe. The plan read:

Cape Town is set to become the dramatic backdrop to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. With its spectacular beauty, its long history and its diverse cultures, Cape Town will play host to the family of nations celebrating the best of football in the first World Cup to be played in Africa. (PGWC, 2007)

Jumping forward to the year of the FIFA World Cup, I want to focus attention on how Cape Town is portrayed in the City’s official evaluation of the event. Platzky, head of the Cape Town 2010 unit, described the football event as follows:

Unlike other world cities [that] grew organically from the merging of expanding villages into a metropolitan area, over the past 50 years Cape Town’s growth has been deliberately confined or ghettoized. Since the 1960s communities have been forcibly moved, away from the centres of economic activity and social access—out of the city centre, away from leafy suburbs, far from the pounding surf, and barred from the richness of theatre, prevented from economic engagement at all but the most basic level. [. . .]

This separation is the anti-thesis of the integrated and sustainable development we now seek. Yet we are starting with serious cumulative disadvantages, forged deliberately over time.

Cape Town has been connected to the rest of the world for a long time—from the early days of global trade controlled by the Dutch East India Company (VOC), with imported slave labour helping to build the early economy, with land dispossession and colonial wars fought on our shores. More recently our port city endured the Coloured and White Labour Preference Policy, which ensured that black people were relegated to the most menial jobs or removed to the Eastern Cape. Our people have been separated mentally, physically and economically for generations. (Platzky, 2010: 13)

The World Cup is projected here as an instrument for mending a perceived disconnect between Cape Town and other world cities, and among Capetonians of different ethnicities.

McDonald has written that world cities are world cities because they are capitalist cities. He adds that, as of 1996, Cape Town, with its specific social, political and economical characteristics, can be recognised as a neoliberal city (McDonald, 2009: 67-99). A neoliberal city might have a progressive façade in terms of its policies and institutions, according to McDonald, but when examined more closely it is possible to discern the fundamentally unequal and unsustainable ways in which it operates. As such, he argued that “going global” is “anything but a panacea for positive change” (McDonald, 2009: 14). Accordingly, I argue that hosting the World Cup enabled an articulation of Cape Town’s transformation in the context of neoliberal globalisation. I understand neoliberalism as a form of what Mignolo terms “global design”. Interestingly, like apartheid, neoliberalism is top-down, imposed and modernist. Explaining how this blueprint of a future society works, Mignolo indicates that global designs are made up of an abstract and universal logic. Other examples of this logic are Christianity, liberalism or socialism (Mignolo, 2000b: 744; 2000a: 21). Confronting the remnants of apartheid through the organisation of a World Cup, planners wanted to design their way out of one global design (apartheid) by using another (neoliberalism). The story of how the new Cape Town soccer stadium ended up in Green Point is exemplary of this paradoxical wish and its materialisation.

The bid book originally proposed the Newlands stadium as its main event site, yet City and Province officials decided to promote a site in Athlone, a working-class suburb, for its developmental potential. In 2005, FIFA identified Green Point as the preferred location for a new stadium. They argued that the city “was seriously underselling its potential by placing its event infrastructure in Newlands or Athlone” (PGWC, 2007). An article published on 12 January 2007 in the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper under the title “Green Point Gamble” described the complex interplay between local and national politicians and FIFA representatives that led to Green Point being chosen as the location for the new stadium. The newspaper quoted Platzky as saying, “During this visit [in 2005], the FIFA delegation indicated that they were not willing to consider Athlone—but that they were surprised that Green Point (was not) the site for the semi-final—as it was the prime location to profile South Africa and the African continent through the world’s biggest football event” (M&G, 2007). In 2010, Peter Alegi as well as journalists Karen Schoonbee and Stefaan Brummer examined the decision-making process and pointed to how FIFA’s interests effectively became the African National Congress (ANC)’s interests, and finally also the Democratic Alliance (DA)’s interests (Alegi, 2008; Schoonbee, 2010).

Platzky indicated that the decision-making process surrounding the location of the stadium led immediately to controversy:

The difficulty with making a decision around the stadium was that every vested interest came up. Racial interests, [Green Point home owners who] said: “Not in my backyard.” [. . .]

People said things like: “Soccer is a black game; it should be in the black areas.” Actually, it is a multi-purpose stadium. One of the reasons why we hosted the World Cup was to bring unity to the country, to make it a non-racial sport. Rugby has become more black, and soccer has become more white, or more mixed at least. (Platzky, 2013)

Ultimately, she explained the choice for the Green Point site as follows:

It was mostly about accessibility. [Green Point] may not be the most central place, physically, but there are the railway lines, the roads and the fact is that there is already infrastructure around there so it's close to the Waterfront, the hotels. If you build it miles out of there 25 years later you still wouldn't have coffee shops and hotels because of the kind of space it was built in. We didn't have money like Barcelona to [regenerate] the whole city, which is what they did for their Olympics. (Platzky, 2013)

Interestingly, Platzky affirmed McDonald's thesis that Cape Town's city centre, as a result of its spatial legacy of apartheid (or, in other words, "its relatively recent history of class and race segregation"), made it the ideal site for hosting the global event (McDonald, 2009: 48). The memories of the grim colonial and apartheid histories connected to Green Point, which is historically also known as White Sands and District One (the location of the town gallows and of informal burials and forced removals), never became part of the debate. In fact, Platzky suggested elsewhere that foregrounding the apartheid city in Cape Town in discussions involving the World Cup and the location of the stadium was a form of parochialism:

But not only the handful of naysayers on the fringes of the Common that gave Cape Town a parochial "visdorp" [Afrikaans for fishermen's village] image, but also those who argued from their enclosed, isolated enclaves across the city, bound by the physical and emotional separations of the past, that the stadium should have been built where "the fans are" [. . .] are now quite hard to find. (Platzky, 2010: 14)

I would argue the opposite: the sentiments that Platzky describes as parochial are in fact rooted in deeply felt historical experiences. They are feelings related to what Mignolo calls a "politics of knowledge which is both ingrained in the body and in local histories", feelings that automatically locate black and white bodies in places corresponding to the so-called "third" and "first" world, respectively (Mignolo, 2013: 132). The official descriptions of the stadium as "the most glorious icon that compliments [*sic*] Table Mountain", a building with the potential to reverse negativity in the city, and "a tribute to those [who] could see beyond the apartheid blinkers" are illustrative of a disjunctive experience of the city. Statements like "We are now capable of realizing our full potential" are an account of a visionary gaze at play (Platzky, 2010: 15-16), but they also seem to intentionally overlook the longevity of that other legacy—that of the apartheid city. I argue that such statements underscore a discursive tendency to move further away from the ambitions of conversational revolution and the image of the compact city. The city that realises its "full potential" can be contrasted with the actual/real city of housing, sanitation and service-delivery protests.

The imaginary of official discourse speaks of a move towards a time to come, effectively embracing the culture of global neoliberalism. Practically, this imaginary translated into a debate about the "legacy" of the World Cup. A legacy is a gift of property after death, or something handed down from the past. In the context of the World Cup, the legacy was not

about looking back but rather imagined as a desired future. The FIFA promoted this form of legacy, and Cape Town's officials articulated it. To put it more concretely, the strategic plan had two key sources of inspiration. Firstly, it presented Japan as "a high level case study" and referenced historian Ian Buruma, who suggested that the 1964 Olympic games offered Japan a chance to rejoin the international community. Buruma wrote that "[t]here is no doubt that the 1964 Olympic games [were] the catalyst for catapulting Japan from the doldrums of a vanquished and defeated state in 1945 to [a] world economic force and today's greatest repository of wealth" (PGWC, 2007: 23). Secondly, the plan referenced another scholarly work in relation to the World Cup's legacy for Cape Town: a 2004 article by the Austrian Japanologist Wolfram Manzenreiter. Manzenreiter suggested that "for sport to be a world of commodity" "it should have a strong appeal to cultural industries" (Manzenreiter, 2004). This perspective offered a unique opportunity for the Western Cape, according to the authors of the plan. Indeed, they wrote that "planning for how our event can be used to stimulate the cultural industries of the region and leave a legacy for all is underway" (PGWC, 2007: 23).

Thus, in line with Tayob's earlier point, when city and provincial officials envisioned the afterlife of the World Cup the hope of a brighter global economic future for Cape Town was central to their imagination. I argue that this discursive shift towards future time (which finds its focus in legacy-based thinking) is key to understanding how the World Cup conditioned urban transformation in Cape Town. Going forward into the future meant, in practice, dealing with a disjunctive and chaotic neoliberal present. The answer was a policy focus on culture and creativity. In the section below, I explain how this cultural turn became part of official praxis in preparation for the 2010 World Cup event.

Old and new global designs

In 2003, at the start of Boraine's tenure as CEO of the Cape Town Partnership, the focus shifted from safety and cleaning to heritage and creative industry. In an interview with me, Boraine commented:

I was not just interested in the crime and grime, the safety and security. It is not really in my background. As a historian I have always been interested in [the] heritage of cities. [. . .] We had an East City conference in 2004. It was the first time we started talking about socio-economic development as opposed to property development. It started broadening slightly. We targeted the East City, which people had written off because it was the shabbiest part of town. I thought, let's deliberately target that. (Boraine, 2013)

Influenced by the ethos and practice of Danish architect Jan Gehl, the Partnership focused on cultural programming in the city in the run up to the 2010 World Cup. Gehl worked in the tradition of sociologist Jane Jacobs and promoted a Copenhagen-type urban experience, which entailed taking the "human dimension" (cyclists or pedestrians) as the starting point for an urban analysis (Gehl, 2010; 2001). In the interview, Boraine explained:

[Gehl] is not interested in buildings; he is interested in how you design the space between buildings for people and a focus on the role of public space and life between building and a pedestrian-friendly environment and public transport environment as opposed to private motor vehicles. We thought that this was a very different vision [to] restoring the car-based system. Let's think beyond that. It's not just about parking for cars; it's about getting rid of cars. (Boraine, 2013)

Even though Boraine framed the pedestrian perspective as a kind of newness, I would argue that it is possible to discern parallels between the earlier interventions at St George's Mall in the 1980s and the contemporary Danish inspiration for the city. The Partnership built on these earlier institutional experiences.

In 2006, the Partnership launched Creative Cape Town. The programme, which was financed by the City and the Province, had as its key aim "to facilitate dynamic partnerships in the central city [. . .] to make the central city into a leading centre for knowledge, innovation, creativity and culture in Africa and the South" (CCT, 2013). The Partnership proposed to divide the city into cultural precincts inspired by the creative-cities ideas of Charles Landry and Richard Florida (Minty, 2013; Landry, 1995; Florida, 2002). This initiative was intellectually indebted to the national "Cultural Industries Growth Strategy" of the Department of Arts and Culture in 1998, which in turn was directly inspired by Great Britain's Creative Industry Task Force's "Creative Industry Mapping Document" (1998). The central focus of the strategy concerned the idea that "a country's competitive advantage would be based on its human capital, creativity, innovation, and knowledge" (DAC, 1998; Elk, 2013). A creative-city mapping exercise in Cape Town in 2008 identified the potential of the East City, and in 2010 the Cape Town Partnership drew up a proposal for the East City Design Initiative (2010). In this document, the World Design Capital was mentioned as a developmental tool.

Zayd Minty, who previously worked at the District Six Museum, was the director of the Creative Cape Town programme. Boraine introduced Minty in an interview, and explained the cultural turn in the inner-city:

Zayd Minty, who is an old mate of mine from the 1980s, was very influential there. He was always saying: there is a link between culture and urban development, because development is about people. It's not just about buildings and infrastructure and money. [. . .] People express themselves culturally. They express their identity. We combined the focus on public spaces with cultural activities in public spaces, getting people back to the city through activities. We started running programmes, cultural activities. We started focusing for the first time on the heritage and the memory and identity components of the city. Whose names are on the street? Whose names are not on the street? Whose images are there on the statues? Who were traditionally excluded? [. . .] That's when we started walking tours. (Boraine, 2013)

The emphasis on culture and creativity came in the form of a discourse of urban rediscovery, which incorporated notions of identity, memory and heritage into the contract of development. Instead of a focus on the fragmentation resulting from apartheid, the focus on

future time engendered by the World Cup allowed for the projection of images of unity. Cape Town's inner-city set the stage for a desired image of reconciliation for the city as a whole (including its townships). As Platzky described in an interview:

What we had during the World Cup was more of a flow, all these different elements flowing into the river.

[The World Cup was] an opportunity to bring people together across all the demographics that apartheid separated. It's an opportunity to upgrade our infrastructure, to organise ourselves better and to deliver on something that the world takes notice of and then that attracts people to come and visit here and to come invest here and trade here. (Platzky, 2013)

In addition, the World Cup allowed for an image of a unified society in Cape Town that was celebrated publicly and televised globally. The *Cape Ability* (2011) publication reported that the event inspired Capetonians to use their city in new ways (Platzky, 2011). Yet the World Cup experience was based on a carefully managed and zoned reality in the inner-city. It did not necessarily represent the urban experience of the rest of Cape Town. Platzky remarked:

There is a potential for a lot more just easy-going stuff and that is why these things like the [housing and sanitation] protests upset everybody so much. (Platzky, 2011)

This last fragment in many ways shows the true face of the discourse: its focus on dreamy urban worlds, with their "easy-going stuff". The service-delivery protesters presented a disturbing counter-image, disrupting the discursive tranquility surrounding the inner-city and the hegemony of the global design circumscribing neoliberal Cape Town. I will explore this disruption in more depth in the next chapter.

It is important to observe how flexible the official discourse is. In the *Cape Ability* publication, the authors address Cape Town's sprawling, fragmented and divided character, writing that "it will take more than a soccer tournament to overcome the structural fragmentation [. . .] which apartheid planners designed." Whereas previously apartheid references were considered parochial, now they are back as a way of celebrating the World Cup's impact on the host city. Furthermore, the publication reveals that the dominant "business as usual" attitude meant little had changed in the inherited apartheid geography. Yet "bringing crowds of people onto the streets in the Fan Walk and Fan Fest brought home the benefits of urban design to increase social mixing and maximize conviviality" (Platzky, 2011: 1 and 4). Indeed, in evaluating the World Cup event, the publication laid out a new vision:

What we know is that cities that work are sustainable ones which prioritize people—their engagement with the city and their connection with and ease of access to jobs, services, education and cultural and leisure activities. [. . .] And design is at the heart of all of these; using design thinking and processes will assure a sustainable future. (Platzky, 2011: 132)

Urban design, design thinking, sustainable futures and their benefits are new key terms of the dominant discourse on the city. The words are attractive, but what is their function in the discourse?

What I am suggesting is that an urban-design discourse originating in the global north results in self-conscious forms of practice in Cape Town. The gaze elsewhere (to ideological centres in the US, Germany, and so on) is prominent here. I think it is worth noting that during Cape Town's early neoliberal phase (prior to the World Cup) the focus in the city was still very much on how to correct the past. This focus came with a heritage discourse that worked closely with disciplines such as archaeology and history. A shift takes place around the time of the FIFA World Cup bid that accelerates a kind of "rebirth" thinking. It entails the rise of an urban-design discourse that works well with architecture, arts and other creative disciplines in the neoliberal city. Importantly, this urban-design discourse appears quite modernist in that it operates in relation to big visions and, as it does so, reaffirms the principles of a global design already in place—namely, apartheid. In the rest of this chapter, I touch on the bid for the World Design Capital and its aftermath, and explore a kind of fetishisation of urban-design discourse on the part of those involved in the organisation of the World Design Capital in Cape Town.

"Separated by apartheid; reconnected by design"

The World Design Capital is a bi-annual event driven by the International Council of Societies of Industrial Design (ICSID). The first WDC was held in 2008 in the Italian city of Torino (WDC, 2013b). Cape Town's WDC 2014 bid was officially announced in February 2010. Two academics at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT)—David Boonzaier, a medical biological engineer, and Johannes Cronje, professor and dean in the Faculty of Informatics and Design—played key roles in accelerating the Cape Town bid. Cronje explained it as follows:

The main thrust of it was that Cape Town was actually already a design city and it wasn't just because we were hosting the Design Indaba and that we had a lot of design businesses in the Cape. [It was also] because there was an attitude of designerly living happening in the Cape, which was not evident in the other cities in South Africa. (Cronje, 2013a)

Even though Boonzaier and Cronje probably have in mind hipsters, trendy apartments and cafés with good coffee, one could also read this attitude of "designerly living" in the Cape as a mode of inventing new forms of colonial dwellings. To this extent, it resembles the colonial designs of the garden, the farm, the garden city and the apartheid city that were once inscribed on the Cape. In trying to convince City officials of the feasibility of the bid, Cronje used the following argument:

And I said, Actually, remember next year will be the 2010 World Cup and when that's over what's the next thing we're going to dream about. That sort of swayed the scale. (Cronje, 2013a)

As with Platzky, I think one can find in Cronje's wording a hint of the true face of the discourse surrounding the city. The case for the 2014 World Design Capital is the case of the neoliberal dream city. The idea of Cape Town "as a key design centre in both South Africa and the wider African continent" proved successful. The Cape Town Partnership "drove" the bid and aimed to position Cape Town as a centre for design and innovation, while self-consciously recognising that apartheid had left "a legacy of 'bad' design that is manifested in a spatially, socially and racially divided city" (DI, 2010). In July 2011, Cape Town was shortlisted, and in October 2011 the city won the bid, becoming the designated World Design Capital for 2014 (WDC, 2013a). An early slogan of the event is illustrative of the thinking at the heart of the WDC bid:

Separated by apartheid; reconnected by design. (Ernsten, 2012)

The Cape Town WDC bid book is as celebratory in its tone as the SAFA World Cup bid book. It reads as an interesting discursive balancing act that positions design as both the former problem and the present solution. The apartheid system, for example, is said to have inaugurated "an era of designed inequality and control". Yet, "[w]hen South Africa became a democracy in 1994, Cape Town began the process of reconstructing and reconnecting a City that had been physically, socially, economically, culturally and emotionally divided for many decades." As such, the ultimate goal today is "to achieve a sustainable, innovative, inclusive and more livable African city" through design (Carter, 2011: 2). In making its case, the bid book invokes the euphoria of the World Cup experience. It makes statements like this:

In recent years the City has increasingly been successful in harnessing a new energy from its diversity of cultures to create a friendly and hospitable community spirit. It has also succeeded in re-energizing its Central City over the past ten years, and is once again becoming a "City for all" as demonstrated during the 2010 FIFA World Cup™. (Carter, 2011: 25)

And also this:

Following years of "inwards thinking" encouraged by apartheid, over the past two decades Cape Town has begun to "open" outwards. Shops and cafes and galleries at street level spill out onto sidewalks. Pedestrian-prioritized routes with bicycle tracks are taking shape on roads previously dominated by cars. (Carter, 2011: 256)

Reading through from the book, one would think that the World Cup miraculously cured South African design of its historic and social ills. The language is self-conscious yet bluntly ambitious at the same time. The official brochure of the Cape Town World Design Capital announced the following: "For Cape Town, design is the enabler through which we can reimagine our city, solve its problems and improve the lives of its citizens" (WDC, 2013c: 228).

The WDC bid is largely informed by the persistent imagining of Cape Town's urban transformation as generated by the 2010 World Cup. Negating the critical discussions that took place around the issue, it celebrates, for example, the location of the Green Point stadium:

The iconic image of central Cape Town set against Table Mountain has itself been “repositioned” since the construction of the new Cape Town stadium. Instead of the old view of the mountain seen across Table Bay with the Central City in tiny proportions at its feet, the new “look” shows the vibrancy of the area. (Carter, 2011: 23)

Identifying the neighbourhoods “that capture the flavor of the City’s edge, [its] authentic design”, the book highlights, among other neighbourhoods, District One or De Waterkant and District Six, which it refers to as the East City. Of De Waterkant, the bid book says:

Drawing comparisons from cultural and artistic villages across the globe, De Waterkant embraces individuality, in both the revived architecture and the vibrancy of its residents, making it reminiscent of London’s Soho and New York’s Greenwich Village. (Carter, 2011: 226)

According to the authors, although the East City for many years represented “the grittier side of Cape Town’s Central City with a large number of abandoned office spaces, government buildings and industrial warehousing, this area has over the past decade seen a slow but steady growth in the number of creative industries that have moved in to take advantage of its lower rentals and large floor space available” (Carter, 2011: 224-231). There is a certain forgetfulness about this urban-design discourse. The contestations of the past are transformed into design challenges and opportunities. And, as a result, issues of past time are pushed towards a speculative future time—towards the beyond. The initiative that established “the Fringe” as Cape Town’s so-called “innovation hub” is the best example of this shift towards a future time.

The Cape Town Partnership, in collaboration with CPUT, formally launched the Fringe in 2011 in District Six (or, depending on your definitions of its borders, adjacent to it) (Minty, 2013). The District Six area—associated with the histories of colonial slavery, apartheid forced removals and post-apartheid land-restitution struggles—was described by the Partnership as “a wasteland since the removal of District Six families”. It would now be turned “into a mixed-use area with space for academics, designers’ offices and laboratories”. Conscious of the difficult histories of this area, the bid team wrote that the Fringe development would be “a link between the restoration of District Six to its historic claimants and [the] redevelopment of the area as a residential area, albeit painstakingly slowly and beset with political challenges” (Carter, 2011: 236).

The process leading up to the World Design Capital bid was driven by a coalition between the Cape Town Partnership, CPUT and the Province. For each of these parties, the Fringe encapsulated a future ambition. For the Partnership, it was a way of developing the East City. For CPUT it became a platform for promoting the idea of a design park in the East City. The Province, meanwhile, was interested in supporting the crafts and creative industry. Interestingly, and confirming McDonald’s earlier point on the positive façade of the neoliberal city, even though the urban-design discourse now incorporated issues of identity, heritage and culture, it disallowed a real engagement with the heritage of District Six.

Irony of design

On 4 March 2013, the District Six Museum submitted its commentary on the draft framework for the Fringe (Bennett, 2014). The Museum wrote:

District Six Museum has had an uncomfortable relationship with the idea and the objectives of the development of the East City precinct since the rather random shift and then powerful marketing of this part of the City as the Fringe Innovation District.

The dominant trajectory of most development in the city seems to be towards gentrification and marginalization underpinned by an extremely unequal society—a legacy of Apartheid laws of dispossession. The Fringe development appears to be travelling in a similar trajectory by the marginalization of the important role that the District Six Museum has played as an innovative and inclusive space for curators, designers, expressive artists and edgy experimentation when few were prepared to risk this level of collaboration and public participation.

The idea to define this part of District Six as the Fringe, and to include the CPUT campus and not the area of return, smacks of Apartheid thinking: a Bantustan approach to the mapping of spaces. (Bennett et al., 2013)

After months of fierce criticism, the Cape Town Partnership wrote the following on its website on 5 December 2013:

The aggressive branding and promotion of a “future vision” for the area, and the defining of a loose grouping of organisations and micro-enterprises as a “district”, also attracted criticism [. . .]

2013, when some of these complexities really started coming to the fore, has been an opportunity for honest reflection. (CTP, 2013)

The criticism concerned, among other things, the position of the Fringe in relation to the restitution of District Six land to claimants who were forcibly removed, but also in relation to the work of the District Six Museum. Cronje explained in an interview:

There are a couple of really strange things that happened with the District Six thing. The District Six Museum was not really looked at in relation to the design park. But the District Six Trust had to be consulted; they may have some claim on a part of the land. (Cronje, 2013a)

Yet it was not only a heritage perspective that tilted the view on the Fringe. The creative-industry vision for the East City did not develop as envisioned. A lot of entrepreneurs decided to set up their businesses in the Lower Woodstock area, just south of central Cape Town. Woodstock became a hub; the Fringe did not. Minty commented on the creative-industry mapping in the East City:

I think there were a couple of mistakes made in certain studies. The wrong studies were done. Things didn't work out right. It is very easy to see in hindsight but at the time things were working out fine. [. . .] The key problem was that we were putting a business case together and the consultants we chose were wrong. A whole lot of things were wrong with this project: too quick, we didn't have enough time, the brief was unclear, the partners weren't completely on board, etc., etc." (Minty, 2013)

In 2012, Minty assumed the position of City Manager of Arts and Culture. In 2013, Andrew Borraine resigned as CEO of the Partnership. In the same year, the City of Cape Town took over the organisation of the World Design Capital from the Cape Town Partnership, which contributed to a complicated relation between the City and the Partnership (CTP, 2009; Minty, 2013). Mayor Patricia de Lille moved the focus of the WDC away from the East City and towards what has been called the 111-Ward project, an initiative geared towards "improving the quality of life and social experience of all [Cape Town] residents" (CT, 2013). After ending the Fringe initiative, the Partnership wrote of the East City:

The focus now shifts away from place marketing and branding, and we are prioritising the broadening and deepening of relationships with all people who have a stake in the future of the area. (CTP, 2013)

My analysis of the events taking place at District Six is that even though the spatial focus of the City with regard to the World Design Capital changed the temporal focus remained the same: namely, the future. Moreover, I want to argue that, as a result of this confrontation with heritage discourse, the urban-design discourse became more detailed and more refined. CPUT professor Mugendi M'Rithaa explained the methodology underlying the 111-Ward project:

Participatory design, or co-design or co-creation, is basically about changing the mind-set of residents of the city from being passive consumers of services to becoming co-creators and co-producers of their own quality of life and becoming active citizens. It means we have to respect and tap into the knowledge that people already have.

If you unlock the creative potential of people to become problem-solvers in their own right they become less reliant on systems and [there is] less of the victim mentality which we have seen unfortunately in this country. (M'Rithaa, 2013)

Thus, in a new future scenario, Cape Town's communities co-create design solutions for their own problems. In fact, they become *responsible* for solving their own problems. The directorship of the organisation that replaced the Partnership as the driver of the World Design Capital was strongly influenced by social-innovation strategy, as taught at the University of Cape Town's Graduate School for Business. The director of UCT's social-innovation MBA programme, Francois Bonnici, commented on the World Design Capital in an interview:

Social innovation deals with the management complexity and thinking about systemic effects and operating within systems. [. . .]

It's about the change of root causes, the flows of resources and capital, shifts in institutions, power bases, and authorities. Institutions are changed by the people in it, not necessarily by the policies. (Bonnici, 2013)

In line with my central argument, I think co-creation and social innovation are the new tropes dominating urban-design discourses on the city. This language is attractive, but much like the earlier version of the discourse it is derived from the global north. This discourse does not critically engage with the deep histories of apartheid and colonialism. What would it mean to really engage with the histories that subtend the housing and sanitation protests? Part of the function of the tropes of co-creation and social innovation is to obscure—or “disavow”—the kinds of historical and structural inequalities that underlie the protests (Derrida, 2006: 58). In doing so, these tropes shift responsibility for the root causes of poverty onto the poor. Cronje, whose position on the WDC underwent a dramatic shift, said this:

Ironically it is the same thing, isn't it? [W]e are now using the same strategies [as] the apartheid architects [. . .].

I think it's got to do with the rhetoric. We use these words and listen to the words and not necessarily to the underlying meaning of those words. We're saying we're connecting lives, rebuilding communities and we're designing solutions for that. Whether we design solutions to keep communities apart or whether we design solutions to connect communities: we're setting an agenda and we then use words. And if you use other words then you are regarded as evil, weak or stupid. We got this new dream for us and if you were to stand up and say that actually the World Design Capital is really bad you are regarded as a heretic. How dare you say that! (Cronje, 2013a)

Interestingly, Cronje implicitly references apartheid's racially informed spatial-planning and forced-removal strategies. His quote is key to understanding how a set of competing discourses can be linked back to the function of a global, colonial design. It also illustrates the link between discourse and praxis: forced removals were an urban-design praxis. This is the force of Crone's comment. We can understand the institutional disavowal of particular pasts as a consequence of the focus on future time. In addition, we can understand the focus on future time in the Cape as a byproduct of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and 2014 World Design Capital events' conditioning of Cape Town's urban transformation.

The bigger picture

In this chapter, I pointed to a moment of discursive openness: the emphasis on talking, and on conversational revolution, that defined the democratic movements of the 1980s. I described how a more traditional discourse on the city gained strength in the form of a partnership between government, rate-payers and business. This discourse leaned heavily on the institutional memory of the city and its past praxis. By invoking set-in-place discourses of urban crisis, it resorted to fairly traditional paths towards urban futures, looking to the global north for answers. As such, a “colonial matrix of power” (Mignolo, 2012b)—neoliberal globalisation enmeshed in colonial power relations—was reinstated,

with various forms of gentrification and social exclusion as its consequence (Visser and Kotze, 2008). Subsequently, I showed how the World Cup and the World Design Capital brought about a focus on a time to come, a future time, and how a language of urban design and creativity was used to attract the attention of the public. Design language, a powerful tool during apartheid, was celebrated again, transforming apartheid remnants into design challenges. In fact, design language itself can be understood to contain the discursive remnants of apartheid. These continuities only show their true colours when the official discourse breaks down: for instance, Cronje's commentary about the collapse of the Fringe. Importantly, the discursive effects of the World Cup and the World Design Capital events not only negate a vision of, to borrow Tokolos-Stencils' words, "the bigger picture", obscuring how these urban-design strategies consolidated the positions of those associated with the categories "white", "corporate" and "privileged". They also make the historically disadvantaged responsible for their own problems. Thinking again about the *Perceiving Freedom* controversy, I would argue with sociologist Zygmunt Bauman that we have to understand such an artwork as part of the unintended normative shift that accompanies a focus on future time in this city (Bauman, 2000: 29 and 120)—a focus that turns out to be "myopic" for its blurring of the past.

4. Utopia and Dystopia in the City: The Praxis of the Future in Cape Town

Leapfrogging into the future

This chapter starts from the vantage point of a beautifully renovated 17th-century Cape Dutch farm just outside of Stellenbosch: the Spier Wine Estate. From 31 March to 4 April 2014, the 14th annual International Winelands Conference took place at Spier's conference centre. Surprisingly, perhaps, the farm was not the setting for a get-together of global artists of viticulture. Instead it hosted a World Design Capital-listed project entitled "Innovation for the Urban Age". This conference was centrally focused on "looking at leading ideas and practices to address the challenges facing our towns and cities, creative, innovative and sustainable approaches to governance and service delivery, pragmatic and implementable projects and programmes" (WC, 2014a). Experts from all over the world, but mainly from the global north, were flown into Stellenbosch. Acclaimed urbanists from Great Britain, including Richard Hayward (University of Greenwich) and Kelvin Campbell (Urban Initiatives), spoke of "organis[ing] complexity", "responsive environments", the "fantastic ordinary" and looking at the city as an organism that harboured potential for becoming smart. Their projects had excited names like "Urban Enablers", "the Urban Renaissance Institute" and "the Global Urbanist", all suggesting incremental ways to move towards smart urbanism.

In a similar vein, director of the Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency Maarten Hajer mentioned the importance of new agents of urban change, such as the BMW Guggenheim Lab, a mobile laboratory of urban life, and the Meetings of the Minds, a conference series on urban sustainability. These global actors provide new languages for the city, the Dutch planner explained to the conference participants at Spier. Discussing various forms of urban smartness, Hajer referred to Rio de Janeiro's "control room"—a literal mission-control centre for urban traffic, crime and weather, built for the 2014 Brazilian World Cup (Soffel, 2013)—as well as off-the-grid smart city solutions for Africa. Crucial for the future of the city, according to him, are the metabolic flows of the urban organism—that is, the management of water, energy and waste. Hajer suggested that a globally networked urbanism could allow the global south to "leap frog" into sustainable-city status. Local keynote speaker Mark Swilling agreed, indicating that the world imagined in the 19th century, built in the 20th and destroyed in the 21st century has not yet materialised in Africa.

As someone who participated in the conference, I would suggest that words like "smart", "sustainable" and "metabolism" signify the further shaping of the discourse on urban futures. Indeed, this chapter is about the framing or fashioning of the discourse on cities, and about the multiple sources and elements that go into this process. I describe how some of this input involves metropolitan or global theory, some involves local experience, and some involves local theorisation. The concept of the smart city that changes incrementally and has nicely balanced metabolic flows appeared influential among a local audience of Cape Town urbanists. Local plenary speakers—for example, former City of Cape Town planner Stephen Boshoff—sought to embed these ideas in the local Cape context (WC, 2014b).

In this chapter, I describe an urban praxis focused on a future Cape Town. My aim is to respond to the question: How are global discourses on the city impacting urban-design praxis in Cape Town? The argument I offer is based on interviews, scholarly texts, site visits and exhibitions. From these fragments emerges a series of insights of how global events impact local praxis. I argue that the discourses surrounding events like the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the 2014 World Design Capital provide points of reference that give shape to local visions of the city's future and enable local urban practice. I focus mainly on the work of the African Centre for Cities (ACC) and its associates. The ACC, headed by urbanist Edgar Pieterse, is one of the key agencies in terms of contemporary urban analysis at the Cape. Pieterse holds the South African Research Chair in Urban Policy; he was an advisor to the Western Cape premier (2004-2007) and a board member of the Cape Town Partnership. In the run-up to the 2014 World Design Capital, Pieterse was a member of the bid-book committee. The ACC, as an entity, is focused on understanding urban development in Africa. In what follows, I zoom in on and present a synthesis of the ACC's key works in relation to the World Cup and World Design Capital events. I also point to the relationship between discourses, dreamscapes and practices. Firstly, though, I take you on a short city tour.

Lynedoch and Oude Molen

In this section, I propose an imaginary visit to two idyllic places in the greater Cape Town region: Lynedoch and Oude Molen. They are both eco-villages that formed part of the Cape Town World Design Capital programme (WDC, 2014b; 2014a).



Figure 3: The old Drie Gewels hotel, Lynedoch, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

Our first stop is Lynedoch. Officially part of the Stellenbosch municipality, the village is only a ten-minute drive from Cape Town's townships. Coming from the N2 motorway, we turn off onto Baden Powell Drive just before the Total petrol station on the Annandale Road intersection; we pass a rail track while the road goes up hill. Sheltered by lots of trees, the Lynedoch settlement is somewhat hidden from the provincial road. After entering through a big gate, we park on a picturesque redbrick square with palm trees. Nelda, the secretary of the Lynedoch Homeowners' Association, awaits us, to give us a guided tour. She introduces us to the history of the village, which was planned by founders Mark Swilling and Eva Anneck, both academics. Principles of sustainable development in infrastructure, education, agriculture, and local economic activity define the rules according to which families from various racial and socio-economic groups live together.



Figure 4: Clay house. Lynedoch, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

The street curves from the redbrick square up the hill. On plots varying from 80 to 350 square metres, homeowners have built houses of a spectacularly eclectic character. Some have sand-bag or clay structures, others are completely built from re-used materials, and still others have a wooden architecture. Building plans must be submitted to the Association for approval, explains Nelda. The plots are relatively small, to forestall the effects of urban sprawl and, more importantly, to show the positive potential of higher-density living. We see many solar panels and a natural drainage system. Neighbours of various races and lifestyles wave and greet us while we pass by. Our guide explains how cross-subsidisation allows for mixed-income co-habitation. Indeed, further on, when the road descends the hill, we come across more plain-looking buildings for lower-income families. Music comes from their windows.



Figure 5: Low-costs house, Lynedoch, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

We pass the old Drie Gewels hotel, currently the primary school, which is one of the few original Cape Dutch-style buildings on the property. Before Lynedoch took shape, the hotel was a venue for Stellenbosch students' rave parties. Towards the end of the tour, Nelda comments that most buildings have wood stoves and composting toilets, and that the villagers separate their rubbish and recycle water. A vegetable garden, a community hall, and a Waldorf-Montessori school make up the collective spaces. According to her, this is a village focused on the future generation. Responding to our questions, she agrees that this form of living does sometimes entail endless discussions—she refers, for example, to a dreadful debate on whether an inhabitant was allowed to have two spaniels, even though the homeowners' constitution allowed for only one dog per family. And sometimes,

especially when discussing finances, old “apartheid” differences between whites, Coloureds and blacks come up. Yet in those instances, she says, the community tends to agree that the related stereotypes belong to the old South Africa.



Figure 6: Private garden, Lynedoch, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

We say thank you and goodbye to Nelda, as we turn right onto Baden Powell Drive and head back to Cape Town, glimpsing the splendour of the Spier Wine Estate on our left.



Figure 7: Communal garden, Lynedoch, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

Our second stop is Oude Molen. Coming from Lynedoch, the Oude Molen eco-village is a 25-minute drive in the direction of Cape Town’s city bowl. Oude Molen refers to an old water- or windmill that was part of the Valkenberg farm in the early 18th century. Currently, this eco-village lies just off the N2 on the wetlands of the Black River, bordering the southern suburbs of Pinelands and Observatory, as well as the Maitland Garden Village. Passing the Mowbray Golf Club on our right, we take the next exit. Following the eco-village signboard, we immediately take a left turn into Alexandra Road and then another left into the village. Pre-1994, Oude Molen was reserved for black and Coloured mentally ill patients.



Figure 8: Nursery, Oude Molen, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

Indeed, most of the buildings, as well as the entrance gate, are a reminder of what was known as the Valkenberg East Hospital. At first sight, Oude Molen village might make one think of the scruffy squatter communities of Berlin, Amsterdam or Detroit: hippyesque murals, guys with dreadlocks, chickens running around freely. Some buildings are renovated beautifully, others are fixed up in a more makeshift fashion, and still others are literally falling apart. It is quite a spacious and green space with big hospital buildings and a ring road—not a village in the traditional sense. We pass by the Riverlodge Backpackers and the Gaia Waldorf school, which is housed in one of the old manor houses, and park at the Millstone Farm Stall and Café to order a coffee and ask some questions.



Figure 9: Private house, Oude Molen, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

The café has great coffee, homemade bread and a variety of other tasty products. We mention to the salesperson, whose name is Sandy, that we have just come from Lynedoch. Sandy explains that Lynedoch and Oude Molen are very similar, and yet also very different. This eco-village was started in 1996 by Gary Glass. Glass moved into (or squatted in) the farmhouse when the psychiatric hospital was abandoned, and he started an organic garden. The pioneer has lived there ever since, and he and the rest of the community enjoy similar ideals to those at Lynedoch: namely, to create a community of diverse cultural and mixed-income groups that processes all its sewage waste on site and recycles its water. While we talk, we move into the leafy terrace of the café, which leads into the vegetable garden and is a great place to relax. The view on the Black River wetlands, where lots of horses run free, is truly magnificent.



Figure 10: Gaia Waldorf School's vegetable garden, Oude Molen, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

Sandy explains that Oude Molen is not planned and that, actually, the community is under threat. The Provincial Government of the Western Cape (PGWC), which owns the land, could sell it to a pharmaceutical company at any given moment. The Oude Molen Village Association organises the community of about thirty tenants against this prospect. They support the so-called Two Rivers Urban Park project. Yet, according to the bartender we spoke to, the village is not as organised as it could be. Moreover, the threat of eviction makes inhabitants cautious to invest in biogas digesters and other green technologies. Sandy also mentions that city officials want to get rid of the horses and chickens, because they don't understand the nature of an eco-village. In addition, since there is a township community close by, the community sometimes has problems with people stealing from the vegetable gardens. New squatters are constantly moving into empty buildings on the Maitland Garden Village side of Oude Molen.

Sandy needs to attend to other customers and we decide on a short walk before we hit the road. We see a woman cleaning the street, while a dazed-looking man is pushing a stroller, scavenging for something; a squatter sitting on a stoep greets us warmly. Oude Molen has many of the same features that Lynedoch does, and seems to be built on similar ideals, but it definitely has a different feel. While we discuss the future potential of both eco-villages, we drive back home.⁴ Perhaps you are wondering why I take time to visit these particular places as an introduction to Cape Town. In short, I propose to understand Lynedoch and Oude Molen as exemplary sites of Cape Town's aspirations for social and environmental sustainability. In this chapter, I consider how these villages figure within a broader process of imagining Cape Town's future. I argue that they sit neatly in between global and local discourses on the city.

Visions for renewal

Lynedoch was originally envisioned as part of the Spier Wine Estate. This Cape Dutch wine farm is owned by the Enthoven family, which is also associated with, among other partners,

⁴ These observations and descriptions are based on my personal experience of visits to the Lynedoch eco-village on 30 March 2014 and to the Oude Molen eco-village on 10 April 2014.

Hollard insurance, the fast-food chain Nando's and The Africa Centre. Dick Enthoven, who bought the farm in 1998, has spent over R250 million "to build a 'utopia' where wealthy whites and poor blacks will live cheek by jowl in the spirit of the rainbow nation" (Flanagan, 2000). Originally, only a quarter of the estate's land was used to produce wine; the remainder was reserved for Enthoven's ecological experiment, the current-day Lynedoch eco-village. Enthoven, who was a progressive member of parliament in the 1980s, got his inspiration from living on the car-free Aeolian island of Panarea, off the coast of Sicily. Enthoven is quoted saying: "There, Milan millionaires live alongside and walk the same paths as the local butcher and land worker and they all seem to live very happily. I couldn't see why this was not possible in South Africa too" (Flanagan, 2000).

Currently, the development of Lynedoch is managed by the Lynedoch Development Company and the Sustainability Institute. The latter works in partnership with the University of Stellenbosch (SI, 2009). The Sustainability Institute is co-founded and directed by Annecke and Swilling. Previously, Annecke and Swilling were executive directors of Spier Holdings (Pty) Ltd, where much of the work of the Sustainability Institute was incubated (SI, 2012). Swilling is also actively involved in the Oude Molen eco-village. He was approached by the Oude Molen Village Association and the PGWC in 2005 to take forward the planning of "a living and learning example of a sustainably designed, mixed-use (residential, commercial, agricultural, educational, conservation) settlement with a socially integrated (richer, poorer, multi-cultural, and child-centred) community, setting the benchmark for other developments of 'integrated sustainable human settlements' in South Africa" (SI, 2006).

A proposed R80 million redevelopment of the Oude Molen eco-village is part of the Two Rivers Urban Park (TRUP) development proposed by the PGWC in collaboration with the City of Cape Town and the University of Cape Town. It envisions, among other things, 600 new residential units through the development of so-called brownfields in Ndabeni and Alexandra (Powell, 2005). I believe this redevelopment plan must be placed within the context of the PGWC's Cape Town Central City Regeneration programme, which envisions "a city that comes alive as a diverse, globally connected and socially inclusive space that encourages an entrepreneurial culture, provides a welcoming and inspiring place for integrated communities, and attracts major investors" (CTS, 2012: 8).

Indeed, the Regeneration plan, drafted in 2010 by the Department of Transport and Public Works, in collaboration with various consultants, is a crucial document with respect to Cape Town's future. It outlines several major projects that will transform the central city, including the 2030 Cape Town Station/Woodstock Esplanade project, the Harbour Redevelopment project, the proposed District Six developments, and the East City Design Precinct initiative. Interestingly, in addition to Oude Molen, one of the other indicated areas of opportunity is the so-called Prestwich precinct in District One (PGWC, 2011).

I want to suggest that there is a great deal of re-imagining of the city taking place here. And in a desired grand vision for Cape Town's future, Oude Molen and Lynedoch function as utopias that are central to that imagination. The eco-villages function as local reference points for a global discourse on the city. Architect Mokena Mokeka, who consulted the provincial government on the village, wrote that "Oude Molen represented one of the most ideal places for imagining what a sustainable settlement could look like in practice" and also

that it provided “an extremely rare opportunity for implementing a wide range of government policies that have been adopted to advance sustainable development” (Makeka, 2010: 136-137). Lynedoch and Oude Molen figure against the backdrop of a post-apartheid dream topography. Makeka and Mark Swilling are both contributors to the ACC’s publications. Swilling said during an interview, in relation to Lynedoch:

If I look back over the last 12 years, and all the policy documents we have written for provincial and local government, the number of people who have been here, the fact that many influential policymakers have been students here, I think you could argue that over the last 12 years we have contributed to the build up of a very particular discourse in the Western Cape. I was the author of Isidima—[the] human settlements strategy for the Western Cape. The principles of that policy document really did emerge here out of this experience. And then [were] tested in the TRUP project and then written into the Isidima. That also influenced national [policy]. It marked a clear shift to incremental upgrading. (Swilling, 2013)

I’m interested in what these utopias work against. What is it that they prevent us from seeing? And what, if anything, does it mean for Lynedoch, as a utopic place, to be established, quite literally, in the backyard of a Cape Dutch farm owned by billionaire businessman? We finish the city tour and I drop you off at home. The experiences at these villages are fading away. The thought that remains is that the dream that Oude Molen and Lynedoch represent informs, to a degree, Cape Town’s urban-design policy, especially in the context of the FIFA World Cup and World Design Capital events. Interestingly, these ecological experiments/utopias also function against the backdrop of a series of dystopias, which are described in more detail in the next section.

Slow violence and deep crisis

Indeed, as kind of a mirror image to the ecological dreamscapes of Lynedoch and Oude Molen, I want to give another vignette: a short sketch of a series of events originating in the Makhaza area of Khayelitsha, an informal settlement along the N2 motorway. In 2010, the ANC Youth League invited the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) to investigate whether the fact that residents had to relieve themselves in the open could be considered a human-rights violation on the part of the Democratic Alliance-run City (Hartley and Ndemze, 2010). The so-called “open toilet scandal” that followed was a public controversy that focused on the perceived lack of dignity for township dwellers in general, and on the lack of permanent “modern” flush toilets in informal settlements in particular. The poor state of sanitation in Cape Town’s informal settlements would be a central issue in the run-up to the 2011 local elections (Robins, 2011). “The widely circulated media images of unenclosed modern, porcelain toilets struck a raw nerve as the nation was preparing to vote,” writes anthropologist Steven Robins (Robins, 2014a: 479). On 1 June 2010, angry residents blocked the N2 with burning tires. “All we want is for people to get a covered toilet,” protest leader Andile Lile was quoted saying (Prince et al., 2010). A commentator wrote in the *Saturday Argus* on 5 June 2010:

As Cape Town gears up for the much-anticipated World Cup festivities the saga of the “toilet wars” continues to bedevil our city[.]

[A] city that boasts fine fan walkways, re-cobbled piazzas and world-class promenades can certainly scrape together the cash to end the war of the toilets. (SA, 2010)

In the run up to the 2014 World Design Capital and the general election of May 2014, the City of Cape Town introduced portable toilets to Makhaza. In response, community activists geared up their actions. Containers filled with human faeces were dropped onto places like the N2 Highway, the arrivals hall of Cape Town International Airport, and the steps of the building of the provincial government (Robins, 2014b). On 29 July 2013, the N2 was closed as residents of informal settlements threw human faeces at cars (Damba, 2013b). An activist named Zonke (23) explained:

At home, the [porta-potty] is kept in a kitchen where we cook; during the day we keep it outside the house.

We have been complaining about these po[r]ta-potties for a long time, with no answer from the City of Cape Town. They clean them only when they like. We throw them (the containers) on to the N2, then leave them there for the City to collect them! (Damba, 2013a)

In the winter of 2013, the “poo protests” dominated South Africa’s national television and local media. The protesters were quoted by the *Cape Times* as saying that they had a message to the United Nations:

We wanted them to know that our people have been living with uncleaned toilets that are filled up for three months. We wanted the UN and these so-called environmentalists to know that the city does not care about the health of black people. (Hutchison, 2013)

Local government responded by charging some of the sanitation activists under the Civil Aviation Act (Robins, 2014b). Robins points out that, in the face of a growing public controversy, the City responded in a purely technical manner. The City argued that “provision of toilets in the area met the national norms and standards of one toilet per five households” (Robins, 2014a: 492). During the organisational meetings for the World Design Capital that I attended, I came to understand that the proposed projects related to the toilet wars were considered extremely politically sensitive.

Analysing the toilet conflict, I would suggest that it needs to be understood in the context of what anthropologist Steven Robins has described as the “limits of liberation after apartheid”. In other words, it is part of the enduring post-apartheid struggle of dwellers of South Africa’s townships and informal settlements for, among other things, housing, service delivery, water and electricity (Robins, 2005). Sociologist Peter Alexander observes a “massive movement of militant local political protests” (Alexander, 2010: 37), which Susan Booyens understands as a mechanism, much like voting during elections, that ensures

improved levels of service delivery (Booyesen, 2007). According to Robins, the poo protesters claimed that anything other than installing flush toilets “was seen to be a racist confirmation of their status as second-class citizens from the African townships” (Robins, 2014b: 1). Interestingly, as Robins points out, members of what is now called the Ses’Khona People’s Rights Movement made their point about poor sanitation in informal settlements by transporting the smell of the slums of the urban periphery into the sanitised city centre and the seat of state power (Robins, 2013b). Writer and communist party member Jeremy Cronin commented that “suburban Cape Town was temporarily forced out of its amnesia” as the poo protesters breached the “old apartheid cordon sanitaire”. Ses’Khona (meaning “We are here”) claimed rights to the city. As Cronin asked: “Why should we take pride in Cape Town being World Design Capital in 2014 when so many of us are forced to live in the most squalid circumstances?” (Cronin, 2014).

For Robins, the actions of the poo flingers are a response to the slow or structural “violence” experienced by Cape Town’s poor. He uses this term, borrowed from Rob Nixon, to gesture to the magnitude of something like an environmental disaster, with its characteristic deferred casualties and “formidable imaginative difficulties for writers and activists alike, [who] seem to lack the symbols of dramatic urgency” (Robins, 2011; 2014a: 484). In this way, the protesters seize the opportunity of the media spectacle around the toilet wars, and their discourse is antagonising, confrontational and unruly. I am interested in the poo protests not only because they provide a mirror image to Lynedoch and Oude Molen, but also because they constitute a clear counter-discourse that addresses the violence integral to dominant urban-design praxis.

Against this backdrop, I want to address the urban-design praxis of the African Centre for Cities. Without making a direct reference to the poo protests, the ACC’s director Edgar Pieterse wrote in 2010: “Cape Town is heading for disaster and is already in deep crisis if one cares to look close enough” (Pieterse, 2010c: 13). His apocalyptic forecast of the future of the City of Cape Town centres on a warning of what he calls “sustainability dystopias”. He explains that the city’s “grim future is born out of the confluence of the globalised economic and ecological collapse that is fast becoming the defining feature of the twenty-first century” (Pieterse, 2010c: 13). In addition, Pieterse argues:

If we don’t invest in building up thick layers of empirical description and analysis, it is almost impossible to generate a [theory] of urbanism [in Africa]. That both helps us to understand what some of the phenomena might be but also helps to locate these specific urban forms within a larger debate.

Unless [urbanisms in Africa] are articulated with a more philosophical reflection about what these emergent spatialities might mean on their own terms and of course in their extensive relationalities we run the risk of very poor policy formulation and the risk then is to probably make the situation worse. (Pieterse, 2014a)

A recurrent thematic in the ACC’s publications is the crisis of (South) African urban society, as well as the future possibilities that might transpire if this crisis is addressed in the proper manner. Pieterse explains his usage of the term “crisis” as follows:

I find it a very productive term on many different levels. [T]here is not enough understanding amongst politicians and policymakers and even amongst academics [. . .] of the depth and the severity of the consequences of the new apartheid system or [. . .] a failed modernity. The reason for that is that the intellectuals, in the middle classes, people that underwrite or are invested in the reproduction of the status quo—and I include myself in here—their views and capacities to accept an extreme level of public suffering is really significant. I don't completely understand how that works. [T]he point is that is a truth for me: What society accepts as a degree of suffering varies historically but generally in the last twenty years the threshold has become higher and higher. (Pieterse, 2014a)

Pieterse adds:

The language of the crisis is of importance for two reasons: One, it is a reminder, there is an enormous amount of unfinished work. Secondly, I don't think you can shift the systems and structures in our society unless there is a rupture. And a rupture only comes about when a crisis is named and identified and understood and felt. A big part of the [silent] crisis is that it does not change, because those with power and resources do not feel the crisis. There is not a deep emotionally effective connection and that is the success of capitalism, of modernity and modern ways of living. The language of crisis works both empirically and as a rhetoric. (Pieterse, 2014a)

With the terms “crisis”, “new apartheid” and “failed modernity”, Pieterse seems to be referring to the reinforcement of old and the establishment of new urban divides since 1994, as well as to an increasingly violent response to these discrepancies—such as, for example, the poo protests. It is important to note that the ACC does not problematise its crisis terminology and its links to the sanitation syndrome (as discussed in Chapter One). Pieterse's approach to the perceived crisis is that he turns to future time. In the next section, I explain how this approach is actually a disciplinary tradition that is closely associated with apartheid policies.

A praxis of the future

Through a series of publications that includes *City Futures: Confronting the Crisis of Urban Development* (Pieterse, 2008a), *Counter Currents: Experiments in Sustainability in the Cape Town Region* (Pieterse, 2010c), *Rogue Urbanism: Emergent African Cities* (Pieterse and Simone, 2013) and *Africa's Urban Revolutions* (Parnell and Pieterse, 2014), the ACC presents a discourse of the (South) African urban experience. Importantly, over the past ten years, no other academic organisation in South Africa has produced this many publications on urbanism. The recurrent trope in this work is as follows: We are heading for an unsustainable dystopia, but if we act now we can work towards an ecologically balanced future. In a way, the discourse of urban crisis in Cape Town becomes accommodated by the futurist imaginations associated with the FIFA World Cup and World Design Capital. Pieterse comments on how he understands the future to be useful:

[The k]ey issues is society cannot be resolved by just the working class and definitely will not be addressed by a paternalistic agenda of the elites. Anything that is going to really make a difference will require the clarity of demand of the working classes and the cultural acceptance [of] the elites. Any big change requires that. It can only emerge through an embodied practice, in other words: doing things together. Now to achieve that you absolutely need to allow people to step outside the present. [This provides a] way of envisioning with sufficient emotional and analytical distance, so that you can agree on what is possible and what is not possible and then work your way back. For me the future is one of the few resources available in highly divided societies that

[. . .] enjoys [. . .] communality across classes and different interests and races and so forth.

[I]t needs to be put to work. How to do that? I have been struggling in the last few years. I work [with] people [who] are involved in forecasting using data models [. . .]. A recent project we started last year was using a future oriented methodology to animate citizens in very poor neighbourhoods to think differently about their neighbourhoods. I'm interested in all these scales. I'm really fascinated about using debates about the future to enable practices in the presence. (Pieterse, 2014a)

According to this urbanist, the play with future time frees up praxis in the present. Pieterse speaks of sufficient emotional and analytical distancing. What does this mean? Who is liberated from what? Bearing in mind Noeleen Murray's remark on the spatial disciplines in South Africa and the particular design consciousness they construct (Murray, 2010: 157), I believe Pieterse's future focus frees him from the messiness and contestations of everyday life in Cape Town—from dealing with the toilet wars, for example. I want to think about whether this discursive pattern is one that has been carried across from the pre-1994 to the post-apartheid era. Pieterse acknowledges a strong tradition of urban design in South Africa:

I think in the literature of geography and planning there are enough resources to work through. My work is not very historical; it is very contemporary. [W]e have such a high dynamic of diversity and processes in different settings and different sectors and scales that [it is possible] if you imbue your work with a theoretical openness and also a kind of methodological patience to really understand what is going on. And then depending on the topic or the locality you will find some of the older work [. . .] useful or not.

South Africa in that sense has been very lucky compared to other postcolonial countries. [W]ith the scale of the white racism project you were able to build up a very large higher education system over a long period of time. There is a very strong critical tradition within that, which is an important contradiction of the apartheid project. You can find those resources. The other side is that in South Africa the economy was always relatively substantial [and as a result] the rapid pace of urban modernity [produced] a non-traditional body of knowledge, which is maybe not codified in academic articles but you can find it and use it as a resource for many contemporary projects. (Pieterse, 2014a)

Pieterse hints here that his work has lineages to critical scholarly work on urban design during apartheid. I want to suggest that it also possible to think about a convergence between a critical approach to urban design, on the one hand, and the modernist language of crisis and futurist envisioning, on the other.

A strong example of this convergence comes from Steven Boshoff, another one of the contributors to the ACC's *Counter Currents* edited volume. During the earlier-mentioned International Winelands Conference, Boshoff presented "Recognise and Understand our Urban-Design History", a historical overview of urban-design successes and failures in the city of Cape Town. Interestingly, his timeline included such projects as the 2014 World Design Capital and the 2010 World Cup, but also the Foreshore Plan and the Mitchell's Plain township.

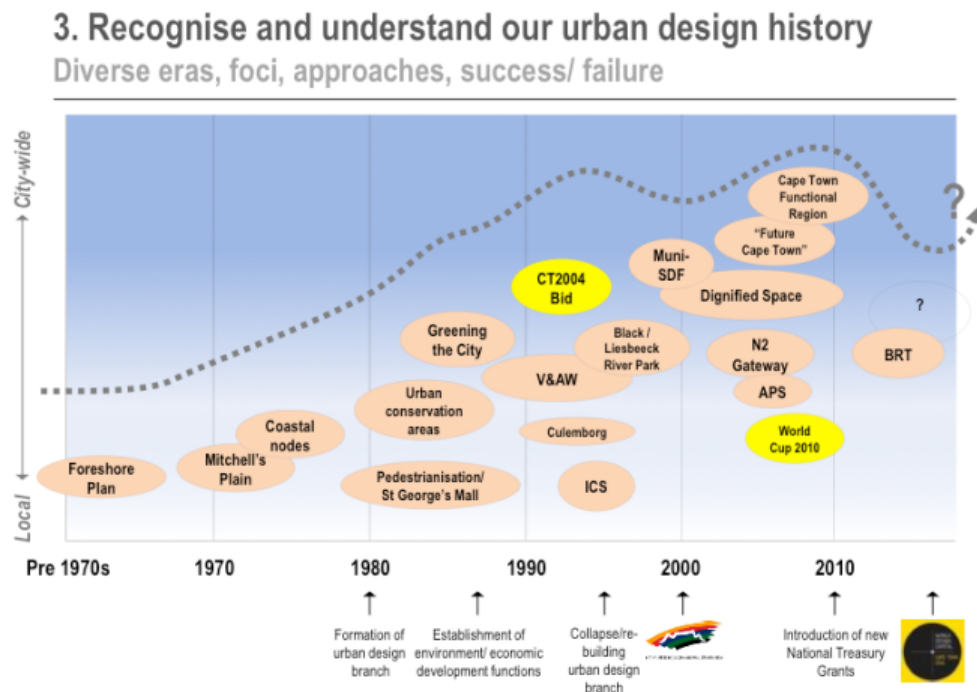


Figure 11: Slide from Stephen Boshoff presentation, Winelands conference, 2014.

In fact, Boshoff honoured the past efforts of urban designers like Roelof Uytenbogaardt, David Dewar, David Jack, Peter de Tolly, Paul Andrew, Julian Cooke, Gawie Fagan and Fabio Todeschini. These architects and planners are key figures in an official genealogy of urban design in South Africa. Boshoff suggested that pre-1970s there was no city-wide urban-design vision. Yet the Urban Areas Act of 1924 already inscribed early features of segregation into the urban landscape through concepts such as physical order, health and social stability. With the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950, a systematic programme of racial segregation was implemented, under which black and Coloured people were "evacuated" or forcibly removed to the fringes of the city (Bremner, 1998). Social theorist Tony Morphet writes:

Every hamlet, village, dorp, town and city was brought under the dictate of law of division and separation: each was obliged to carry the design through into the physical structures of housing and of work. (Morphet, 1998: 149)

Effectively constituting the largest urban-design project in the history of the country, apartheid spatial policies created mass housing in townships “as a means to coerce and subjugate an impoverished [black and Coloured] population, quarantined behind buffer zones from the main areas of urban wealth creation” (Chipkin, 1998: 265). How can we understand an official genealogy of urban design if not in relation to the violence of apartheid’s forced removals and the spatial policies of racial segregation? And what, if not this past violence, explains Boshoff’s chart? Murray’s comments on the praxis of spatial designers in South Africa are relevant. She writes:

Authorship is seldom theorised and agency is almost never problematised in the professional world of spatial design by architects and urban designers. Instead the process of spatial design is seen in a positive manner, beholden to the needs of social reform on the one hand and the market driven economy on the other, whereby architecture is viewed as being somehow capable of improving the quality of the built environment, “solving urban problems” with technical and spatial “solutions”, and strangely detached from the most basic social questions of agency, race and identity. (Murray, 2010: 155)

Another question arises: How should we understand the lineages that Boshoff suggests between apartheid projects like the Foreshore plan and Mitchell’s Plain, on the one hand, and the post-apartheid N2 Gateway project as well as the World Cup and World Design Capital events, on the other? Nicolas Coetzer’s comments are helpful here. He points to the quasi-policy of slum eradication in the context of the N2 Gateway project, the highway beautification effort that was launched as part of the preparation for the 2010 World Cup in Cape Town. Reflecting on this housing scheme adjacent to the N2 motorway, Coetzer speaks of “a post-liberation return of repressive tactics”:

Slum eradication is intended to work not only through indirect processes of economic development but [also through] literal forced removals and a growing ambition to *criminalize* land invasion and informal settlements. (Coetzer, 2013: 219)

Aligned with Murray and Coetzer, I believe that Boshoff’s historical overview—and, more generally, urban-design praxis in relation to the FIFA World Cup and the World Design Capital—must be framed by a critique of the post-apartheid transformation of the spatial disciplines in South Africa.

Accordingly, I want to think about the continuities between the work of Pieterse and others at the ACC and South Africa’s prior urban-design tradition. The ACC’s scholarly production sits well with the legacy projects of the FIFA World Cup and the World Design Capital. In fact, the 2010 *Counter Currents* publication can be read in conjunction with the City of Cape Town’s Green Goal programme for the World Cup (Gerrans, 2011). On the other hand, the argument made in the 2014 *Rogue Urbanism* edited volume is aligned with the first theme

of the World Design Capital, which was “African Innovation: Global Conversation” (WDC2014, 2014). Pieterse commented on the legacy of the World Design Capital:

I think the basic potential around the WDC to create a social movement around the notion of design to both intervene in very pragmatic ways and in the larger debates in the city about the causes of ongoing urban divides and segregation and ways in which to rethink things and repurpose investment is still tremendous. And, in fact, I think the notion of design and this weird bridge that they try to straddle between the kind of private world of design as a kind of industry and design as a force of social change is a really fantastic way to articulate Cape Town’s contradictions and so on. I am very drawn the potential creativity of a very different kind of politics and discourses that this opens up. (Pieterse, 2014a)

For Pieterse, the World Design Capital has the potential to produce “a possible storyline for how we can dream Cape Town differently” (Pieterse, 2010a: 259). In 2010, he stated:

Paradoxically, if we are to imagine and effect a fresh political agenda that can bring sustainability into being, invariably an act of transgression, we must fashion a compelling storyline about who we are as a city; how we came to be in such awful mess; how our finest qualities and achievements persist despite our history and contemporary condition; and what we think we can become in our finest hours.

It is only at the moment when we are able to ignite a multiplicity of organic interventions that we will begin to sense the possibility of common purpose and shared direction. (Pieterse, 2010a: 264)

While the ACC’s praxis can be understood in parallel with those two global events, its overall discourse is intelligent, open-ended and critical of the dominant discourse. Pieterse speaks of a combination of “ground-up materiality with a strong ethical desire to decipher potential openings for greater wellbeing” (Pieterse, 2009: 9). In addition, he writes that “our focus needs to fall on the wide array of small and large practices (imaginaries, strategies, tactics) available in the numerous cracks of the contradictory dominant system” (Pieterse, 2009: 9). How, then, can we understand the working of this local future-oriented praxis in relation to a global discourse on cities?

Savvy discourses

Two key tropes come to the fore in both the ACC’s praxis and in the legacy projects of the World Cup and World Design Capital events. These are sustainability and African innovation. In the introduction of *Counter Currents*, Pieterse asks whether Cape Town, facing an economical and ecological crisis, will be “among the leaders or be a laggard” (Pieterse, 2010b: 13). In his hope for “transformation onto a sustainable trajectory”, he foresees a low-carbon society. Pieterse uses a definition provided by the National Science Foundation Workgroup on Urban Sustainability. Sustainable livelihoods are, according to this workgroup, “processes of social and ecological reproduction situated within diverse spatial contexts” (Pieterse, 2010b: 13-14). Pieterse explained in an interview:

Where my own work has gone is to suggest [. . .] the idea of transitions, drawing on the idea that each city has its own pathways. I completely disagree [with] this idea that there is a fixed [. . .] matrix and a fixed pathway that you have to go through. [This is what] the policy literature and the consulting industry on sustainability tend to suggest. The second point is that you have got to translate—and here I draw on Marx’s work [. . .]—the ways in which to achieve greater sustainability by saying that every human being has an equal right to consume. If you can aggregate the per capita contribution from people in terms of both negative environmental trends and then also what is the life space that is required to live a dignified life you at least get to a political claim that allows you to explain why somebody that lives in Constantia consuming sixteen times at the rate what they should and somebody that lives in Khayelitsha deserve to consume more. It opens up that social justice and equity debate in a very powerful way. That has to do with the energy and resource flows. The other component is the form: the obvious things around land use, spatial policy and so on. There the question is what kind of densification makes sense. (Pieterse, 2014a)

Aligned with anthropologist Arturo Escobar, I understand the purpose of sustainability or sustainable-development discourse not as the survival of local cultures and local realities but rather as the survival of the global ecosystem. In Escobar’s terms, the “global” in the global ecosystem is “defined according to a perception of the world shared by those who rule it”. Sustainable-development discourse reconciles two “old enemies” of the modern world: namely, economic growth and the environment. As such, it also creates a “new field of intervention and control” (Escobar, 1996: 330). In bringing Escobar into the conversation, I hope to signal that the thinking and discourse regarding sustainability, ecological justice and the environment are rooted in a modern and rational mode of discourse (Vanhulst and Beling, 2014; Mignolo, 2011b). I think it is possible to say that the ACC, in conjunction with the legacy projects of the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the 2014 World Design Capital, focused on sustainability, and amplified a modern intervention agenda in Cape Town.

In the *Rogue Urbanism* edited volume, Pieterse introduces the second trope: African innovation. In order to map this concept, he distinguished four analytical sub-concepts. Firstly, he pointed to “palimpsests”, which supposedly “remind[] us that the contemporary urban condition cannot be understood or fully reimagined without a spatially informed obsession with historical precedents.” Secondly, Pieterse pointed to “deals”, suggesting that “[i]t is virtually meaningless across most African cities to hold onto the distinctions such as ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ because most of the city is the consequence of hybrid economic practices that fundamentally depend upon the capacity of actors and institutions finding ways to continuously strike agreements on accomplishing things together.” Thirdly, Pieterse proposed the term “governmentalities” to focus on the “changing nature of state functioning and governmentality”. His final concept was that of “interstices”, which highlights the “interstitial nature of emergent urbanism”. He wrote that, “in contexts where the physical infrastructures and scaffolding of the city are incomplete, uneven and mostly absent, getting some traction on [. . .] ephemeral moments [such as memory, desire, pleasure, cruelty, etc.] of cityness is indispensable” (Pieterse, 2014b: 13-15).

While Pieterse's language here is at odds with mainstream urban-design discourse, it also undoes the opposition between a discourse of governmentality, on the one hand, and a discourse of popular energies and initiatives driven from below and by social movements, on the other. Urban-design discourse, in this case articulated through the praxis of the ACC, suggests an open space for African innovation. My understanding of discourses of governmentality is instead that they close down spaces of criticality. As a result, I think the trope of African innovation has to be understood within the discursive framework of a perceived crisis and a future vision. I think it is worthwhile to ask the question: While the discourse on urban futures is exciting and compelling, does it allow for a critical urban practice? Indeed, to what extent does ACC's urban-design discourse qualify as unruly, rogue or contentious? How can we measure the impact of global discourse on local practice? Or is this just how savvy global discourse operates? In the next section, I address these questions through an analysis of a World Design Capital exhibition project curated by Pieterse and designer Tau Tavengwa.

A field of intervention

The "Cities Desires" exhibition was opened in 2014 as part of the World Design Capital and held at Cape Town's old City Hall building. It was curated by the ACC's Pieterse in collaboration with designer Tau Tavengwa. The piece was introduced as "[a]n exhibition about cities through the lens of Cape Town". The introductory text read: "[T]he tale of Cape Town is emblematic of the beautiful struggle of all cities wrestling with the challenge of sustainability, equity and social justice in the modern era" (Pieterse and Tavengwa, 2014).

Including photography, film, and various interactive tools, the exhibition presented a series of biographies of 11 Capetonians, posing questions against a backdrop of an enormous set of empirical data. According to the curators, it dealt with "the fine grain of the city awkwardly negotiating change" (O'Toole and Tavengwa, 2014). The exhibition as a whole was presented as "a biography of the city", a description of its life. A poster with poetic commentary by poet Ben Okri and a quote from writer Italo Calvino summarised some of the curators' desires. Okri wrote: "[S]torytellers are reorganizers of accepted reality, dreamers of alternative histories, disturbers of deceitful sleep" (Pieterse and Tavengwa, 2014).



Figure 12: Overview of the *City Desired* exhibition rooms, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

The Calvino quote was, in part:

Cities, like dreams, are made up [of] desires and fears[;] even if the thread of their discourse is secret, their rules are absurd, their perspective deceitful, and everything conceals something else. (Pieterse and Tavengwa, 2014)



Figure 13: Overview of the *City Desired* exhibition elements, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

The quotes are juxtaposed with a series of strongly data-driven presentations offering empirical detail and statistical information about the everyday life experience of the city. As such, the exhibition implied a certain objectivity when dealing with a series of broad policy themes: mobility, work, education, diversity, land, shelter, well-being, the food system, vulnerability, and climate change. Each of the ten themes consisted of a dataset, a key question, an idea for change, and a portrait of a Capetonian. The last also figured as a role model.



Figure 14: The *City Desired* diversity data set, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

Zooming in on the theme of diversity, I provide a deeper analysis of the exhibition. One of the challenges in terms of diversity was stated as follows: “[R]esidential deracialisation across all colour lines [is] restricted to middle class areas even though they remain predominantly white.”

The dataset highlighted that Capetonians are predominantly religious like the rest of the country, with two exceptions: Cape Town has a large group of atheists and a greater percentage of Muslim people. The display read:

The [Muslim] community is unique in how they have assimilated and contributed to the Cape and South African culture in terms of language, cuisine, political life and architectural heritage.

Cape Town's "big story", according to the dataset, is the "dramatic increase" of the black population since 2001. The key question the curators formulated was: "Why don't we equip our children to engage with our fractured histories and their legacies?" And the "idea for change" was: "Make the three regional languages compulsory in the basic education system."

In relation to the "diversity" theme, the biography of role models Hasan and Husain Essop was told via video. Hasan and Husain are twin brothers, observant Muslims, and artists. In the biography, their self-described "very standard way of growing up" is contrasted with a backstory of forced displacement. Their father Yunus Essop was relocated in the 1970s from District Six to Rylands by the apartheid regime. Hasan and Husain's art practice is thriving, and their work is represented by the well-known Goodman Gallery. Through this sketch of their daily experience, one understood something of their lives in the city (Gurney, 2014).



Figure 15: Overview of the *City Desired* exhibition rooms, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

The biographies that were part of the other thematic chapters of the exhibition included those of a former gangster who became a "violence interrupter" in the Cape Flats; an architect who specialised in the design of low-cost housing; a minibus taxi driver and "key figure in a black economic empowerment project"; a psychiatrist who addresses drug abuse in the Cape flats; a school principal in a working-class school in Woodstock; an entrepreneur in the Sweet Home settlement in Philippi; a domestic worker and unionist in Grassy Park; and a conservationist in Philippi. All of these stories came with a dataset, a key question, and an idea for change. An upbeat version of the future runs through all these personal narratives. Finally, the exhibition concludes with a game entitled "Mother City Metropolis". Simulating reality, players co-design their own neighbourhood. A video showed participants playing and participating in planning the city, dealing with debt and rental obligations, or finding ways to earn a university degree. Much like the overarching theme of the World Design Capital, the exhibition invited all visitors to become designers of the future of the city.



Figure 16: Play board of the *City Desired* Mother City Metropoly game (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

What do we take away from this exhibition? I argue that the exhibition visuals render a particular version of Cape Town. It is a self-conscious attempt to dream a post-apartheid urban landscape into being. *City Desired* functions much like Lynedoch or Oude Molen functions: by presenting a real or lived version of the dreamscape. Moreover, through the biographies of a series of model Capetonians, Pieterse outlines a praxis for the future city, one based on ecological awareness, humanist ethics and rational citizenships. But it also does more. The exhibition offers, as Escobar suggested, a field of intervention and an accompanying work strategy for engaging with the city: collect data, ask the big question, and then design an idea for change. To facilitate this process, it offers examples of model citizens of the rainbow nation. What to make of the juxtaposition between empirical detail and statistical data, on the one hand, and visionary language and biographical narratives, on the other? I argue that the discourse wants to bridge these two spheres. It wants to create an empirical space, a generic space, that allows for a rational intervention: a city of facts, figures, good citizens and great ideas that produces a sustainable future. Indeed, I understand the exhibition as an attempt to offer a model for the city based on the lived experience of Cape Town. It presents an exemplary image of the city that claims priority over other images. I am interested in how its discourse negates the urban experiences that result from the chaos of everyday life in the city. How does it deal with experiences such as fear, anger, amnesia, nostalgia, or paranoia that result from improvisations and rudimentary forms of survival? How does it reconcile historical and contemporary contestations concerning particular local sites and their communities?

The terms of the conversation

As a way of ending this chapter, I want to go back to the “Innovation for the Urban Age” conference held at the Spier farm, and its mission to find leading ideas and practices for addressing the challenges of the city. How does the global discourse of smart urbanism, sustainable development and urban metabolism manifest in Cape Town? I showed in this chapter that this global discourse on the city manifests in the local context under the label of “new”. I argued that, in the case of Cape Town, the global urban discourse is mediated and translated locally by the ACC, and by Edgar Pieterse especially. For Pieterse, a key term in this mediation is “crisis”, and this term allows him to open up a series of quite optimistic imagined futures. The future enables the city to leapfrog into the future—at least, that is the

thinking. I argued that Pieterse's vision displays certain continuities with a modernist tradition of urban design in South Africa. The official genealogy of this tradition is formed by architects and planners such as Uytendogaardt, Dewar, Jack, de Tolly, and others. The disavowed genealogy of urban design, however, is linked to apartheid, to its history of forced removals and racial segregation. Especially in District One and District Six, but also in the rest of the city, these were the formative historical events.

In translating the global to the local, Pieterse interprets the city from the perspective of the future. The resulting discourse of future time levels the playing field. As such, it creates a field of intervention in which a rational answer to a perceived challenge is possible because empirical data is provided. Aligned with Alejandro Haber and Nick Shepherd, I understand this approach to the city as the sectioning-off of particular phenomena in order to create a form of coherence in terms of knowledge production (Haber and Shepherd, 2015; Shepherd, 2016). The question that arises is: How does the discourse deal with what is outside its proposed field of intervention? Here, it is appropriate to think of the smart city, with its vision of nicely balanced metabolic flows, in relation to its mirror image: the service-delivery protests and the politics of shit in the city. The official urban-design discourse is a discourse on paper and on the screen. It is civil and cerebral, unfolding in publications, policy debates, seminars and exhibitions. And it is shadowed by a form of counter-discourse, a form of critical urban practice: poo protests and toilet wars. These practices are performative, embodied, olfactory, affective, and effected through the senses. In the discourse of Pieterse and the ACC, these practices are simply part of everyday urbanism (and therefore part of the crisis). Instead, I propose to understand them as *also* an intervention in the future of the city. In order to break away or delink from a praxis that reinforces the logic of colonial modernity, Walter Dignolo suggests that we strive for forms of "epistemic disobedience" (Dignolo, 2011a). By epistemic obedience he means disrupting epistemologies, breaking away from modern rationality, and generally changing the terms of the conversation (Dignolo, 2007). In terms of their driving discourse, I believe this is what the poo protests are about: changing the terms of the conversation. In the next chapter, I discuss questions of counter-discourse, governmentality and exemplary places in more detail, with a focus on District Six.

5. The Ruins of District Six: A History of Restitution

“Ruins hold histories but are less than the sum of the sensibilities of people who live in them. Instead we might turn to ruins as epicentres of renewed claims, as history in a spirited voice, as sites that animate new possibilities, bids for entitlement, and unexpected political projects.” (Stoler, 2008)

“Zonnebloem renamed” at Art Basel

In this chapter I want to think about the ruins of Cape Town’s District Six in relation to the praxis of the District Six Museum, which is essentially “the face of the District Six story” (Coombes, 2003: 118). As a way of setting up my argument, I introduce two artworks by Haroon Gunn-Salie. Gunn-Salie is a young Cape Town-based artist whose work has been featured at the Cape Town Design Indaba. I was first alerted to his work in 2013, the year before he changed five Zonnebloem street signs in Cape Town back to “District Six”. District Six is a residential area in the city bowl of Cape Town that was renamed “Zonnebloem” in 1970. Previously, in 1966, the district was declared a whites-only area according to apartheid’s Group Areas Act. 60,000 Coloured and black inhabitants were forcibly removed, and their houses destroyed, on the grounds of slum clearance. The story of District Six entered the popular imagination largely as a result of the work of the District Six Museum.



Figure 17: *Witness*, a site-specific intervention by Haroon Gunn-Salie, 2012 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

In 2014, Gunn-Salie’s work could be seen at the Searle Street T-junction off Nelson Mandela Boulevard and the Tennant Street/M60 turn-off at the Good Hope Centre. Not long after Gunn-Salie put the new signs up at these busy intersections, the city removed them. A week later, Gunn-Salie changed the name on the signs a second time. The old-new name (District Six) has been up since then. Gunn-Salie, who finds an artistic home at the renowned Goodman Gallery, has indicated that he understands the Zonnebloem name to be an apartheid legacy that needs to be reversed (Gunn Sali, 2013; Rawoot, 2014). As part of another artwork, Gunn-Salie projected the word “Witness” on a derelict building in District Six in 2012, addressing the former inhabitants’ fate. In the graffiti-art tradition, the artist

“tagged” the ruined buildings of the District in order to, in his own words, “raise the ghosts of South Africa’s past” (Kelman, 2014). Born in prison in 1989 to an anti-apartheid activist, and named after apartheid critic Imam Abdullah Haroon, Gunn-Salie explained that the stories of the people of District Six needed witnessing. As he put it, “My work has to do with history and the fact that many historical things have not been corrected in South Africa” (Kelman, 2014). The artist has eloquently characterised his own work as follows:

“Site-specific” “Dialogue-based collaborative art practice” “Dialogical artwork”
“Activism” “Street Art” “Conceptual art” “Public art” “Interdisciplinary practice”
“Process-led research” “Temporary situations” “Responsive” “Social justice through art”
“Intergeneration practice” “Interdisciplinary practice” “Installation art”
“Performative”. (Libsekal, 2014)

A second chapter of his *Witness* project involved a newly constructed home in District Six’s Chapel Street. This building, which is part of the second phase of the District Six redevelopment programme, in turn the result of the 1994 Restitution of Land Rights Act 22, was allocated to a family of land-restitution claimants. Visitors to the exhibition entered the house and in each of the rooms experienced a different art installation. Gunn-Salie collaborated, for what he describes as a sculpture project, with District Six Museum’s Seven Steps Club, “a group of veteran residents who meet monthly as a reconstitution of community” (Libsekal, 2014). One of the sculptures, a concrete-casted cat sitting in a windowsill, made in collaboration with Fasia Adams, bore the caption “One day my kittens will return”. According to the artist, the piece alludes to the many families who are yet to receive compensation for their forced removals. Gunn-Salie explained that he “was able to see that sculpture can capture ‘real world’ forms and narratives with far-reaching referential potential” (Libsekal, 2014). Interestingly, another one of his sculptures, *Turn the Other Way*, a window-sized mirror in three parts, was bought by Sean Combs—better known as US rapper P Diddy—at the 2013 Art Basel exhibition in Miami Beach, Florida (GG, 2012; Libsekal, 2014).

More than 20 years into democracy, Gunn-Salie’s art points to the perseverance of apartheid’s spatial inscription in Cape Town. *Witness* takes the aesthetics of the ruins of District Six as its context, resembling in this way the work of artists in shrinking cities like Detroit (Carducci, 2011). But there is more at stake. Gunn-Salie’s art is self-articulated as activism, yet his work is sold at the Goodman Gallery in Cape Town and at Art Basel. I would like to think here about art as resistance, as opposed to high or conceptual art, and the way it relates to the art market. I want to propose that Gunn-Salie’s art-practice exists in uneasy relation to the market. It qualifies as resistance art, but it is also available to elite buyers. His art is intensely desirable because it is well situated in relation to a set of global discourses. In performing this ambiguous role, Gunn-Salie’s work transforms the trauma and the memories of the forced removals at District Six into commodities. Aligned with the work of archaeologist Alejandro F Haber, I am concerned here with the disciplinary ethics of Gunn-Salie’s work. I am interested in its “intended as well as its unintended consequences” for a locality such as District Six, in the face of the global discourses circulating in the city (Haber, 2007: 426; 2012).

In fact, Gunn-Salie's art practice embodies a crucial aspect of the contemporary urban moment in Cape Town: that is, the ambivalent relationship between resistance or counter-practice and a global or modern experience of the city. In this chapter, I think about the praxis of the District Six Museum in relation to the restitution and redevelopment of District Six. Specifically, I am interested in how the Museum tackles the challenge of naming the heritage and urban design of District Six *outside* the pervasive logic of Cape Town as a modern and global city, while using "the terms of that same logic" (Shepherd and Haber, 2011: 112). I identify two moments of engagement in which the Museum self-consciously put a counter-practice in place against the grain of the dominant discourses that frame Cape Town as an emerging global city. I argue that in these key moments in 2003 and 2006 the Museum engaged directly with, and challenged, the discourses of heritage and urban design. Regarding the consequences of these engagements, I think about ruins and coopting. Finally, I try make sense of the messy intricacies that currently make up the District Six restitution process, as well as how this process carries the burden of post-apartheid dreams.

From hands off to hands on

The District Six Museum emerged out of the 1988 Hands Off District Six campaign, initiated by people who were forcibly removed from the area. The aim of the campaign was to keep the land in District Six "open and bare, a memorial scar within the cityscape" (Layne, 2008: 56-57). The District Six Museum was founded in 1994 and since then has worked with the memory of the area's forced removals, in collaboration with its sister organisation the District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust. Both the Museum and the Trust work towards a homecoming to District Six and "the possibility of a non-racial community" (Rassool, 2007b: 126). The "Digging Deeper" exhibition in 2000 took place in the context of the ceremonial handing over of 40 hectares of District Six land to claimants by then-President Thabo Mbeki. Importantly, this symbolic act kick-started the redevelopment process of District Six, which in turn triggered the Museum's "Hands On District Six" campaign of 2003. The move from "Hands Off" to "Hands On" meant letting go of the ambition to guard the ruins of District Six as a physical reminder of the horrors of apartheid.

Yet the Museum's new "Hands On" strategy signalled more than just the opening up of restitution possibilities for former inhabitants. It also pointed to a strong desire to re-design District Six as an exemplary place in post-apartheid South Africa. Indeed, the Museum's website reads:

The return to District Six can serve as a model for restitution, as a process which has made it possible for citizens who ordinarily would not have been able to afford it to have access to prime real-estate in an increasingly gentrified Cape Town. It has facilitated the process of repossession of the city by the dispossessed. (D6M, 2014b)

The process of land restitution provides several opportunities for developing the area as an ongoing cultural heritage site integrated with the process of urban regeneration in the city. One of the major challenges lies in the need to ensure that the process of restitution serves as a place for ongoing reflection on transformation, and on citizenship. (D6M, 2014a)

The Museum's new strategy is articulated around notions of justice, equality, active citizenship, and urban regeneration. Moreover, as a "site museum", the Museum envisions for itself the role of internal critic and watchdog for the process of restitution in the city (Bennett et al., 2008: 52)

The 2005 "Hands on District Six: Landscapes of Post-colonial Memorialisation" conference functioned as a community consultation regarding the significance of the "Hands On" strategy. In addition, the conference outlined the concept of a site museum, which would serve as a homecoming centre for the new District Six, as well as the intention to develop a Memorial Park and secure national-heritage-site protection for the whole District Six area (D6M, 2014a). In terms of counter-practice, the "Hands On" campaign meant a profound ideological shift: the Museum would now become an active partner of government in the planning and design of the new District Six (Bennett et al., 2007). In an interview, Museum director Bonita Bennett explained to me:

The intention [. . .] was to lift the story out of its ghettoisation. People like to hear the story of District Six, because there are a lot of lovely stories, the alternative counter-culture stories—the minstrels, the music, the jazz. [Yet] I felt eventually that it was getting disconnected from a national story. [It is] actually a story of displacement, part of an apartheid strategy. That was part of the thinking: to get it back on the national agenda. The other thing was to strengthen our hand in terms of protecting spaces for heritage and memorialisation. The Museum wanted to become an active player in that. In the midst of development—how do you stop it from becoming another urban development without any respect for the past? (Bennett, 2014)

Strikingly, researcher Christiaan Beyers has described the Museum as "more than ever [. . .] the vanguard for advancing a broader vision of urban reconstruction" (Beyers, 2008), which suggests a tension in the Museum's relationship with urban transformation. Dwelling on this point, I discuss the publication that emerged from the conference below, in order to think through the Museum's ideology.

The ideology of the Museum

At the heart of the District Six Museum is a methodology of inclusivity and multivocality that is affirmed by its print and online publications. In fact, Museum trustee and historian Ciraj Rassool refers to the Museum's rhetoric as having a "sense of authenticity and innocence" in opposition to the "national, masculinist narrative of triumph". Rassool introduces the concept of "museum as verb", "as something ongoing, productive, empowering and engaging" (Rassool, 2013: 12-13) How did this counter-practice materialise in the 2005 "Hands on District Six" conference? According to the organisers, the conference was designed to "deepen the participation of unsung and hidden voices, to increase interactivity, and to explore participatory elements and creativity" (Bennett et al., 2007: 10-11). Reflecting this desire, the conference publication was designed as a collage of keynote speeches, quotes and photographs, representing the diverse range of contributions at the conference,

which was attended by community members, academics, performance artists, archive experts, and activists alike. Yet the publication is also guided by a series of powerful commentaries. Rassool, for example, delivered a keynote presentation in which he argued against the global tourist discourse and exhibitions of a rainbow society “that seek to frame peoples’ lives within fixed categories and as people without history” (Rassool, 2007a). Instead, he hoped for an activist-interventionist museum practice. As a kind of warning, he pointed to the legal implications of transforming the museum into a site museum, specifically the fact that it would have to subject itself to the mechanisms of the National Heritage Resources Act (No 25 of 1999) (Rassool, 2007a). Valmont Layne, a former District Six Museum director, spoke of a site museum resembling the Topography of Terror site in Berlin. Museum trustees Crain Soudien, Premesh Lalu and Peggy Delport also made notable contributions (Bennett et al., 2007). As the final statement in the conference publication, Bennett and the Museum’s collections manager Chrischene Julius wrote:

The best experience of the District Six site is that of physical presence, of experiencing “being there” in a physical way. It is a space in which history, memory, narrative and performance converge most profoundly with bodily insertion into the land to create an experience of what exists now, by attending to what had gone before. (Bennett and Julius, 2005: 62)

The publication represents a range of opinions, but at the same times there is a kind of overarching scripting enacted by the speakers mentioned above. Most of these individuals have their ideological roots in the 1950s Charterist movement, the national liberation struggle and anti-apartheid activism (Beyers, 2008: 363, 368). The meta-narrative they have put in place involves the move from “Hands Off” to “Hands On”—or, as Beyers articulates, a move towards “a more assertive politics of intervention” (Beyers, 2008: 369).

Rassool speaks vehemently against the idea of the Museum as vanguard and against a pre-defined ideological framework. Yet he argues simultaneously that the Museum is “one of the only sites in the city with a sense of legitimacy to address the future of the city and its concept of citizenship, and to debate issues of urban renewal and cityness” (Rassool, 2013: 13). He asserts that the 2003 “Hands On” campaign aimed to provide “leadership and direction” for “the interpretative and narrative reclamation and redevelopment of the area” (Rassool, 2013: 13). I want to argue that Rassool claims a moral position for the Museum here, and directs his words at policymakers in the fields of heritage and urban design. Whereas “Hands Off” meant a position of non-engagement or opposition, with a focus on the memories of forced removal, “Hands On” meant being drawn into processes of governmentality. This ideological repositioning in relation to the discourses already in place in post-apartheid Cape Town represents the Museum’s first major form of engagement.

The Museum took a bigger leap into those discourses when it started drafting a conservation management plan (CMP) for District Six as a national heritage site. I believe this particular engagement changed the nature of the Museum. Julius explained, for example:

We always talk about that period post-2003 [. . .] when you get this moment of professionalisation. I don’t think we agree with that kind of word. Things became formal. You get departments, you need to set out things in a particular way. It is not

any more “I’m going to call people to come over and have a chat”. It is about project planning and all that stuff. (Julius, 2014)

In the next section, I describe how the Museum sought to make District Six’s heritage “legible” to government through archaeological reports and a heritage-impact assessment as it prepared its application for national heritage status (Scott, 1998).

The legibility of District Six

The South African National Heritage Resources Act (No. 25 of 1999) provides the language and instruments of governmentality with regard to heritage (Ndlovu, 2011). In order for a site to be considered a national heritage site, the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) must first evaluate the place according to specific heritage-assessment criteria. In the context of the redevelopment of District Six, architect Lucien Le Grange and archaeologist Antonia Malan were contracted by the District Six Museum in 2003 to write a heritage impact assessment (HIA) for the City of Cape Town. Besides its own memory work, the Museum used this particular document to articulate the national-heritage status of District Six. A close reading of the HIA reveals how District Six’s heritage was made legible to City officials by way of a cultural resource management (CRM) discourse. CRM discourse facilitates a relationship between the heritage disciplines and development (Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 2011). In fact, Le Grange and Malan wrote in the introduction of the HIA:

The specific aim is to conclude with a number of recommendations that can assist the preparation of a Development Framework and that would enlighten the detailed design and development of the area. (Le Grange, 2003: 5)

In relation to archaeology specifically, Shepherd has written that CRM discourse reconfigured the discipline in the direction of corporate accountability and a managerialist ethos (Shepherd, 2008; 2013a; 2015a). The discourse allows heritage to become visible in the neoliberal city. Instead of referring to the local significance of a place, it configures the landscape through a neutralised set of metrics, including numbers, tables and lists, as is evident in the District Six HIA document (Le Grange, 2003: 27).

Malan, who worked at that time for the Archaeological Contract Office (ACO), refers to two prior excavations at District Six, in 1994 and 1996, executed by the ACO (Le Grange, 2003: 28). This contract work was commissioned by UCT professor Martin Hall’s Research Unit for the Investigation of the Archaeology of Cape Town (RESUNACT). The excavation reports from these digs in the 1990s inform the 2003 impact assessment (Hall et al., 1994; ACO, 1996a). The 1994 excavation is the most illustrative in terms of results. It was focused on two adjacent houses on the upper part of Horstley Street, part of the envisioned Memorial Park. The researchers sketched a history based on 18th- and 19th-century ownership records of the Zonnebloem farm, and the maps, deeds and diagrams showed the properties’ transformation into a residential area.

Beneath what would have been the floorboards, the archaeologists found, among other items, “shards from at least 101 ceramic vessels”, “compris[ing] both porcelain and refined

earthwares”, and a small number of “pearlware shards”. “26 percent of the glassware assemblage [was composed of] bottle caps for alcoholic drinks: wine, spirits and beer.” They also found objects small enough to fall through the gaps in the floor: “a variety of small metal objects, including nails, screws, bottle tops and numerous pieces of plastics (mostly broken parts of larger items)” (Hall et al., 1994: 3-8). The largest single category listed under “personal assemblage” was buttons, “including examples manufactured in South Africa and in England”. The team also discovered “a cut glass brooch, a silver chain, a small brooch in the shape of a key, a pendant engraved with a cow’s head and the name ‘ELSIE’ [as well as] a hair-clasp decorated with plastic flowers and a small collection of unstrung beads”. The list continues with “a bisque clay doll and several plastic dolls heads, a plastic toy soldier [and] a lead American Indian with rifle” (Hall et al., 1994: 3-8). As part of their conclusion, the researchers wrote that “[t]ea and soft drinks were more often consumed in the front room” whereas “alcohol was drunk throughout the house, but more often in the back room”. This use of space was, according to them, attributable to “a complex interplay of working-class custom, religion and gender differences” (Hall et al., 1994: 8). Interestingly, CRM discourse renders a heritage of District Six in terms of everyday households patterns, and as a catalogue of disembodied objects. The site’s status as an apartheid ruin is brushed aside, as it were.

Modern ruins have garnered substantial interest among anthropologists in recent years (González-Ruibal, 2008; Dawdy, 2010; Gordillo, 2014). Ann Stoler has discussed ruins in terms of “imperial debris”: the aftershocks of colonial relations, their social, political and material afterlife. As such, the excavated objects at District Six can be understood as evidence of “an act perpetrated, a condition to which one is subject, and a cause of loss” (Stoler, 2008: 194-195). In reference to these material traces, Hall wrote that they “give form and shape to verbalized memories” (Hall, 2001: 310). They allow for connections with the dispersed histories, memories and affections (Hall, 2000; 2001; Leone, 2005; Mullins, 2012).

The two archaeological reports that underpin Malan’s contribution to the HIA, on the other hand, approach the materiality of the site in an empirical, object-oriented way. According to Shepherd, archaeology during the first years of democracy in South Africa has been defined by an antipathy to theory and political entanglements (Shepherd, 2008; 2015a). The form of discourse that has emerged instead is one of “business as usual”. Christobal Gnecco and Adriana Schmidt Dias argue that, by getting rid of the evidence of time in space, CRM discourse and practice make the landscapes of the past available for development. Archaeology functions as “a mere technical service” (Gnecco and Dias Schmidt, 2015: 697). Malan’s main recommendation in the HIA concerns setting up “a system of ongoing monitoring and reassessment of priorities” (Le Grange, 2003: 29). By omitting time, the authors of the HIA, it could be argued, forge a series of deeper disconnects. Their approach tends to negate the experiences and narratives of suffering and violence. It distils neat overviews with no space for imagining of District Six in terms of a history before Dutch occupation, in terms of the afterlife of the struggle, or in terms of the deep histories of slavery. In fact, through the seemingly neutral CRM language employed, colonial and apartheid notions of the Cape landscape seep back in. Things are named with a certain casualness. Shepherd speaks of a mode of discursive entrapment (Shepherd, 2013b: 241), and it may be that uncritical proponents of CRM discourse run the risk of being entrapped by

its terms. I argue that in order to fully understand how the HIA makes District Six legible it is necessary to discuss what it renders invisible.

Studying the excavation report of District Six's Horstley Street with this idea in mind, I was struck by Note 1, which discusses the owners of the Zonnebloem farm. The fifth owner of this so-called freehold was Steven Holder. The report reads that Holder bought the farm in 1738, along with four male slaves: Arent, Pieter and Panwel from Malabar, and January from Bengal (Hall et al., 1994: 10). In discussing Le Grange's survey of urban structures in the second part of the HIA document, I want to think about eligible heritage in terms of disavowed pasts. Arent, Pieter, Panwel and January provide a useful entry point for this exercise.

Thinking about fragments

The four slaves at Zonnebloem help us think about a "history of fragments" of District Six. Shepherd introduces this term in order to move away from a linear narrative and experience at the heart of imperial material cultures. In thinking about the archaeology of a place, Shepherd stresses the need to dwell on "the materiality of memory and experience, the performativity of history, the multiple resonances of sites on the landscape and the multi-stranded ties that bind communities of the living and the dead" (Shepherd, 2013b: 242). How can we develop such an epistemology for District Six? Perhaps we can begin by exploring the disjunctures between recurrent colonial spatial patterns in the HIA, such as the farm and the grid, and the presence of the four slaves.

In the HIA document, architect Lucien Le Grange develops a spatial narrative based on colonial and apartheid plans and surveys of the city. 1812 is his point of departure, since this is the year that urbanisation reached Zonnebloem. He writes that "the farming estates on the lower slopes of Devil's Peak were still in existence, though some of them were now being subdivided". According to Le Grange, the planning of District Six was defined by, among other things, the boundary lines of the farms, roads or tracks that served this agricultural land and "the lines of the old French Battery to the east". Moreover, Le Grange argues that it is "the facility and 'power' of the typical grid-iron plan as applied to District Six [. . .] that provided a greater order" (Le Grange, 2003: 8). From the deed document we know that Arent, Pieter, Panwel and January lived and worked at the Zonnebloem farm around 1738. Yet we know nothing about their lives except that they were not free. We can speculate that they worked on the slopes of Devil's Peak and walked the roads to and from the city. We can also speculate about whether they accepted their living conditions or lived with hope and a readiness to resist. Finally, we can speculate about their perceptions of the environment. Did they experience the boundary of the farm as the border to their freedom? Did they sense the oppressive order of the grid when walking through town? Did they dream about life outside the colony?

CRM discourse does not raise these issues. It is by sheer accident that the HIA provides a lifeline for these four slaves, whose presence in the assessment is an oddity. In fact, more than anything, the document tends to rediscover and reinforce imperial and apartheid materiality. The chart in Appendix 2, for example, shows mainly religious and public

buildings, grading their Victorian, Edwardian, Georgian, neo-gothic or modernist features or their rustic qualities; it also identifies a piece by well-known architect Herbert Baker and an old Cape Town building or warehouse with a Venetian attic window (Le Grange, 2003). This is a professional language that values material remnants over people's experiences, that shatters the relationship between the living of District Six and the dead. It is a heritage newspeak that is as disconcerting as it is mainstreamed and normalised. I would suggest that between the Victorian and Georgian architecture and the colonial maps, on the one hand, and the unknown life histories of Arent, Pieter, Panwel and January, on the other, we find the fragments of the excavations: the nails, the screws, the buttons, the clay doll and dolls heads, the plastic toy soldier and the American Indian with a riffle. It is this secretive layering of lost artefacts, lost memories, and the lives associated with them that is poignant. These ruins portray a violently broken history of place.

A time for District Six

For all its shortcomings, the Museum needed the HIA to put together a conservation management plan (CMP), the document required for claiming national-heritage-site status for District Six. Indeed, the Museum's second key moment of engagement occurred in 2006, when it entered the official heritage apparatus for the first time, and put forward a formal application for national heritage status for the site—successfully, it seemed at first. On 23 September 2006, SAHRA provisionally declared the site a national heritage site. Failure and disenchantment followed, however. The formal declaration never took place. As Bennett commented in an interview in 2014:

It has been such a disaster. They only informed us last year that [the] provisional declaration expired in 2008. We had lots of issues and fights with people [who] developed on the site but actually we have been on a fool's journey, because it has not been protected. [. . .]

I think it was in December [2013 that] a consultant [was] asked to do the heritage-impact assessment for a particular site within District Six that was identified for the next pilot phase. He asked us [to give] input, which we did [. . .]. In my narrative I [mentioned] the conservation management plan, which the Museum developed in 2006 [as part of the national-heritage-site application], which referenced the heritage impact assessment from 2003. This is how I became aware. [The consultant] says: Well, do you know that this heritage impact assessment actually carries no weight? Because the City never formally tabled [nor] accepted it as an oversight. It is a document commissioned by the City. In terms of research it has a lot of value, but in terms of what it was intended to do . . .

I thought it was only about the conservation management plan for the national heritage site, which apparently was also tabled but there was someone who didn't sign it.

The shortcut is that we have become a project that is characterised by incompetence. (Bennett, 2014)

Bennett describes an application process that fell apart. Neither the City of Cape Town nor SAHRA completed its individual technical procedures. The outcome is a heritage-management trajectory that ended up sinking itself. Rassool argues that this outcome is the result of SAHRA's "inadequate approach to the landscape of complex histories" (Rassool, 2013: 17). I believe the explanation lies, too, in the Museum's terms of engagement with the official discourses of heritage and urban design.

Drawing on Shepherd and Haber's analysis of the World Archaeological Congress's partnership with the mining multinational Rio Tinto Limited (Shepherd and Haber, 2011; Shepherd, 2015a), I argue that the discourse of the District Six Museum was coopted. Shepherd and Haber write that global modernity—and, in this case, its local variant, the neoliberalism-led city—has penetrative powers that reach far into life and the imagination (Shepherd and Haber, 2011: 11). In 2006, the Museum fully engaged with forms of governmentality. As a result, its counter-practice became framed within the context of the corporate city. This framework determined how both the past District Six and the future District Six could take shape. Thus, even as the Museum struggled to protect the memories and intangible experiences of the past, the essence of its struggle was undermined and finally paralysed. Guiding questions here are: What does it mean to be in opposition, according to the Museum? How is the Museum's counter-discourse articulated in the conservation management plan?

The CMP highlights reunions as ways of "re-establishing links between people whose relation to each other has been fractured". Moreover, it discusses oral-history narrations as "opportunities for interviewees to reinsert themselves into the story of a city". In this regard, it mentions public gatherings, school visits, rituals, memory walks, site walks and memory mappings as well as street performances and acts of celebration, commemoration and resistance. These are the methodologies central to the Museum's memory work (D6M, 2006: 18-42). They allow for intimate forms of knowing and give meaning to a District Six made visible in drama. They offer a tradition of long-time association that communicates the extent to which the land is suffused with memories and imagination. The cooption of these methodologies happens as a consequence of their articulation within an official framework. When it comes to matters of governance, heritage and urban design, official frameworks are determined by a neoliberal agenda that reaffirms the power network of old and new elites. As Julius remarked in an interview, regarding the process of writing the CMP:

It was strange because now [. . .] when you see "reunions" you actually have to start formalising it. And you have to start to think about when it is, what it represents and what it means. You have to balance with that [the fact that] sometimes what people just want is a moment to get together. Once you start to put things down, it is about formalising it. (Julius, 2014)

The quote exemplifies how heritage discourse reframed the Museum's practice and, as a consequence, interrupted the traditions, sensibility and criticality of the community attached to it.

Yet there is more at stake. Aligned with the Museum's ideology, the document proposes conserving District Six as an exemplary place in the neoliberal city. It reads, for example:

At the District Six end of the fast-growing city of Cape Town, we hope to model a process of participatory engagement, working in solidarity with a broad public to rebuild ownership of the landscape as communal memory, not only as individual and private property. (D6M, 2006: 5)

In fact, the CMP provides, according to the authors,

a framework for seeking a strategic and critical engagement with development initiatives that addresses the negative impact of gentrification and development practices which increasingly preclude access to the physicality and resources of the city, restricted by class. (D6M, 2006: 48)

The imagined new District Six is a society not defined by race or class. But it should also materialise the post-apartheid dream of restitution for all victims of forced removal. The document reads:

Many other areas where people were forcibly removed from have been irreversibly changed and developed, rendering the possibility of return an unobtainable dream.

District Six thus will become a symbol of return and restitution for a much broader community of returnees. (D6M, 2006: 34-35)

The quote illustrates the way District Six is imagined as a utopian space. The central utopia is based on the nostalgic image of the District Six that might have been if it had not been destroyed by apartheid: a multi-racial, multi-ethnic urban working-class community (Coombes, 2003: 126).

In 2008, the Museum again provided a meta-narrative of its work—or “a reflective moment in the ‘Hands On’ phase”, in its words—in the form of a publication entitled *Site. Museum. Reviewing Memory Practices at the District Six Museum* (Bennett et al., 2008). The publication included contributions from the Museum's key commentators: Soudien, Bennett, Julius, Rassool, Layne and Lalu. In this publication, Bennett and Julius clearly articulate the nostalgic vision hinted at above:

The space which was District Six helped the people of Cape Town and beyond, to own the city in ways which have not again been possible since the destruction. An organic relation existed with the inner city itself, where many people from the area worked, and where others chose to spend their leisure-time hours. The ability to walk the streets of a neighborhood—which included the city just a stone's throw away—is one of the ways of expressing familiarity and ownership, a practice which was lost with the area's destruction. (Bennett and Julius, 2008: 66)

What precisely does this image entail? It first of all situates District Six in a bygone time, an organic place of leisure and familiarity that does not exist anymore. Secondly, in post-

apartheid Cape Town, the new District Six is supposed to embody the sort of neighbourhood that the national liberation struggle was meant to bring into being.

Amid widespread disillusionment with the results of the national liberation struggle, District Six is projected into the future as the exemplary place. The redevelopment of the area bears the weight of the nostalgia of District Six before its destruction, as well as the weight of the unfulfilled promises of national liberation (Robins, 2005). Importantly, this profoundly nostalgic post-apartheid utopia is the thrust of the Museum's claim for national-heritage status in 2006, and the core of its counter-practice. Literary scholar Svetlana Boym describes nostalgia as a longing for a different time, for "the slower rhythms of our dreams" (Boym, 2007: 8). She writes that nostalgia is not anti-modern: instead, it is coeval with modernity. More precisely, it is a refusal of the irreversibility of modern time (Boym, 2007: 8-9). I want to argue here that the explanation for the Museum's cooption lies in the very terms of its counter-discourse. This counter-discourse does not go far enough. In fact, it lends itself to the modernist logic of the corporate city, because its vision is framed by the same logic and set in the same utopian time-space as the neoliberal-led city. In the next section I explore why the heritage and restitution process was derailed.

Restitution gone rogue

The District Six Museum expected the homecoming of a group of committed and exemplary citizens who would collaboratively strive for new forms of liveability in District Six. Julius commented in an interview in 2014: "At the time when we wrote the CMP [. . .] I think we had an understanding of a cohesive or a coherent community coming back" (Julius, 2014).

Based on this understanding, the District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust (D6BRT) laid out a homecoming trajectory, with a draft development framework (2005), an exhibition as platform for public consultation (2011), an adjusted draft framework (2011), and a final development framework with a business plan (2012) (D6BRT, 2012). Le Grange, responsible for the architectural and spatial plans, focused on designing the "appropriate" neighbourhood for these citizens. The architect's language in explaining the design details of the envisioned post-apartheid utopia is accumulatively awkward. He writes, for example, that "[t]he planning and design of precincts and neighborhoods should [. . .] take into consideration the design of appropriately scaled perimeter blocks, the limitation of urban block sizes, the use of appropriate block shapes [and] the making of positive block interiors." In addition, he states that "[t]here should be an appropriate mix of occupants such as young families, the elderly and extended families." Moreover, Le Grange says that the design "clearly promote[s] an urban sustainability that combine[s] the timeless urban elements of the old District Six with a contemporary style of making positive places and spaces" (Le Grange, 2008: 12-15). The ambition of the architectural plans is to design new spaces and, as a result, to produce new subjectivities for a newly planned District Six. In the context of the district's recent history of social engineering, though, Le Grange's modernist discourse of planning and design seems out of place.

The restitution process began to derail in 2006. In October of that year, the restitution and redevelopment process was interrupted by a dispute between the City and the Beneficiary

Trust (Nicholson, 2006). The newly installed Democratic Alliance (DA) city government demanded of the Trust that it have annual general meetings. Mayor Helen Zille was quoted as saying: "So far, it seemed [the Trust] wanted to develop the area with small pilot projects and that is simply not viable or sustainable" (Du Plessis, 2006). Shortly after, a protest was staged by former District Six residents who belonged to the District Six Crisis Committee. These claimants were told, according to reporter Leila Samodien of the *Cape Argus*, that "they would not receive land because they were late in handling their applications" (Samodien, 2006). The committee also protested against the possibility that land would be given to people who did not have a history in District Six. Dickie Davids is quoted as saying: "We have nothing against these people wanting land, but District Six was our home . . . and we want them to give us land first and then give what is left to them" (Samodien, 2006). On 27 November 2006, the Beneficiary Trust held a meeting during which a small group accused Trust chairman Anwah Nagiah of stealing land from former residents. The police had to intervene. The *Cape Times* quotes residents as shouting, "You are taking land from the people" (Powell, 2006).

The legitimacy of the restitution process as well as of the envisioned trajectory broke down. The meta-narrative of District Six split apart. Tanya Kleinhaus of the District Six Claimants Advocacy Committee wrote in the *Cape Argus*:

As ex-owners of the land of District Six, property owners would prefer to develop their own land and need to be informed of the conditions of the "separate agreement" property claims still to be settled by the Commission. (Kleinhaus, 2006)

On 23 August 2007, the Advocacy Committee, which was said to be representing 360 claimants, threatened High Court action if the restitution process was not suspended (Smook, 2007a). Rhoda Kadalie, a human-rights activist, accused the Beneficiary Trust of "gate keeping" (Kadalie, 2007). A growing anger was directed at the Trust. On 4 October 2007, journalist Ella Smook reported in *Cape Argus* that there were "[f]laws found in [the] District Six restitution plan" (Smook, 2007b). On 26 March 2008, the same reporter wrote that the Trust was set to have its first annual general meeting and that it was the respondent in an upcoming court case (Smook, 2008).

The Beneficiary Trust started to lose control of its own trajectory and language. The necessity of the annual general meeting shows how its processes got coopted and appropriated by political parties. Did the African National Congress (ANC), in charge of national government, and the DA, in charge of provincial and local government, operate in good faith? Bennett commented in an interview:

On a government level it really needed a partnership between the city, province and national government. [A] part [of District Six is owned] by national government [. . .]. Some of the land belongs to provincial government [. . .] And you can imagine the complexities of that when the city, the province and the state are not in the same political hands. Who gets to seem to be the champion of this process? (Bennett, 2014)

On 11 February 2011, at the Second Homecoming celebration, President Jacob Zuma promised that the development of District Six would be completed in three years (Bamford, 2011). In response, a representative for the DA-led Western Cape premier's office said that "some of the city's A-team officials who worked on the stadium will be on this", stressing the need for a "solution that is good urban design and has lots of work and commercial opportunities" (Nicholson, 2011).

The utopian vision for housing justice for the urban poor, as propagated by the Museum and the Trust, slowly crumbled. Ebrahim Jacobs, a representative of the District Six Concerned Claimants Association, yet another organisation involved in the ordeal, wrote:

Is restitution not meant to restore [that] which was lost? [. . .] If the authorities—national and local government—want a model city, then they must do so somewhere else, not on restitution land. (Jacobs, 2012)

The restitution process was derailed by soaring inner-city residential property prices (Pirie, 2007) as well as by the further fragmentation of the claimant community. The Trust was all but sidelined. In an interview with me, Bennett said:

There were a whole lot of people [who] didn't claim [before the original deadline] in 1998. Part of [that] was coming out of apartheid having almost no reference point in terms of governments that deliver. There was a lot of cynicism [. . .]. In addition, because it so far down the line, a lot of the original claimants have passed away. It became part of their estate [. . .]. Sometimes there are 20-30 people around one claim. (Bennett, 2014)

A proliferation of claimant organisations occurred. While this proliferation is in line with the Museum's commitment to multi-vocality, the move was nonetheless unexpected. Julius commented in an interview:

Before, when the site was empty, you were one of the main stakeholders [. . .]. Now, you realise that you're no longer the only stakeholder in that process of memorialisation. On some level it has been happening in opportunistic ways. That is linked to how people are claiming status and space in relation to the bigger restitution process [. . .]. It is about how people see themselves in relation to a bigger national program of restitution. (Julius, 2014)

The new claimant voices challenged the meta-narrative set up by the Museum. They operated against the idea of the model society. In fact, they envisioned housing justice on their own terms. In 2012, soon after President Zuma had promised a new National Traditional Affairs Bill that would provide recognition of Khoikhoi communities, leaders and councils (MG, 2011), the contestations took on a different character. Fuelled perhaps by the nation-wide rise in housing and service-delivery protests, the challengers of the restitution process changed their tactics (Davids, 2012).

Unruly citizens

In the lead-up to the centenary of the 1913 Natives Land Act, and inspired by the global rise of indigenous-rights movements, some of the challengers framed their struggle in indigenous terms. On 12 February 2012, protesters from the Advocacy Committee blocked a march of other land-claimants from the Museum to the site of a proposed memorial. The march was accompanied by two bulldozers to mark the start of “a two-phased development process, which will end in 1060 claimants moving back into the area in 2014” (Capazorio, 2012). The Advocacy Committee claimed: “District Six property owners’ land is stolen and bonded for millions”. Tanya Kleinhaus reportedly blocked the way of the bulldozer, shouting at the driver: “Come. We’re not afraid. Our parents died for this land” (Capazorio, 2012). Interestingly, Rassool, in his 2013 report “Contests of Land Restitution at District Six”, does not mention these protests (Rassool, 2013: 8). Instead, he writes against the decision-making process that contributed to the further marginalisation of the position of the Beneficiary Trust, pointing especially to the instalment of a “Reference Group”.

Indeed, at a meeting in September 2012, Minister for Rural Development and Land Reform Gugile Nkwinti asked the District Six claimant community to elect a Reference Group, consisting of 20 claimant members, in order “to fast-track their home-coming” and facilitate “a more inclusive” process (Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, 2012). On 28 January 2013, the District Six Reference Group presented its position paper. Among other things, they spoke out against the Trust for its role as a kind of Big Brother (D6RG, 2013: 8-9). According to Rassool, however, the work of the Reference Group further divided the claimants’ process. He wrote that, even though both the Trust and the Reference Group sought the rebirth of District Six, the Reference Group “approached these entanglements in ways that might create a new District Six as a restitution-themed environment, with new, unbridled forms of commerce and accumulation on its doorstep” (Rassool, 2013: 11).

Importantly, Rassool wrote of the Trust in 2013:

[Its] concept of the reconstructed, returned District Six community involved a concept of citizenship rooted in the values of solidarity and the resources of resistance, and not any managerial notion of a new orderly, land-owning, rate-paying client of the city, whose citizenship resided rights to service delivery on the part of the state. (Rassool, 2013: 6)

I argue that Rassool’s desire for the new District Six prevented him from seeing the messiness of contemporary developments—the informal, impulsive and opportunistic forms of activism. Rassool does not discuss the new contenders in the restitution process in relation to, for example, a rebellion of the poor (Alexander, 2010), the re-segmentation of the working class (Seekings and Nattrass, 2002), forms of Khoikhoi ethnic revivalism (Besten, 2006), or the projects of young artists in post-apartheid South Africa. I agree with Rassool that the restitution process plays out along the lines of a politics of memory. Yet it also plays out along the lines of a politics of identity and ethnicity, fuelled by a dissatisfaction with the project of national liberation (Murray et al., 2007).

In his 2013 State of the Nation Address, Zuma announced that the cut-off date for land claims would be extended to 20 June 2013. The president re-opened the land-claim process,

so that former inhabitants who had missed the original deadline could have a new opportunity to claim. Moreover, the Khoikhoi would be able to claim “for their land dispossessed before 1913, when the Native Land Act was enacted” (Nicholson, 2013). These new arrangements did not contain the rising rebel energies, however. As the restitution process continued, the counter-practices of District Six claimants became more unruly. On 15 June 2013, 11 units of a newly built District Six apartment complex were occupied by 40 Khoikhoi activists. Kleinhaus, now head of the Institute for the Restoration of the Aborigines of South Africa, acted as their spokeswoman. She argued:

Our right to the land is entrenched in history. It is undisputed. We have ancestral rights to the land because it was not granted or sold to anybody. The land belonged to aborigines who were there long before Europeans settled. We have, for example, a treaty from 1670 between the Cochoqua and the Dutch. But the colonialists took the aborigines and classified them as colored. Then these “coloreds” had to go through a restitution process. But this process only further alienated them from their land, as it required property rights and title deeds. (Cronje, 2013b)

The *Cape Argus* reported Kleinhaus as saying: “If we have invaded land, then whose land did we invade [. . .]. We have a right to occupy this land under international law” (Madiṭla, 2013).

Appealing to the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples adopted by the United Nation in 2007, claimants simply took back a piece of their land. Instead of following a specific trajectory, which involves an engagement with forms of governmentality and a submission to an official process of restitution, these claimants “misbehaved”, and acted outside the modernist logic of city planning and exemplary citizenship. Their actions were a direct assault on the nature of the corporate city. My argument here is that the actions of the Khoikhoi claimant group picked up where the discourse of the Museum and the Trust left off. They tapped into the same energy as the protests about service delivery, land and sanitation happening elsewhere in South Africa. These protesters were angry and creative; they engaged the media in savvy ways. Their counter-discourse was based on forms of refusal, protest and struggle. Instead of being exemplary citizens, they performed unruly and aggressive forms of subjectivity.

Shepherd and Haber write that resistance framed in indigenous terms frequently involves groups that are sidelined by the state or that “bear the costs of globalisation without enjoying its fruits” (Shepherd and Haber, 2011: 111). Even though indigenous collectives like the Khoikhoi claimants squat on land in defiance of the corporate city, they should, according to Shepherd and Haber, also be understood as part of the landscape of modernity. Inspired by the global rise of indigenous movements, their play of resistance is ambiguous. They are counter-modernities, much like the District Six Museum is a counter-modernity. And they are challenged as much as the Museum is to reframe their knowledge and dreams beyond the discursive patterns of a modern or global Cape Town (Shepherd and Haber, 2011: 111).

Like the utopian vision of the Museum, the indigenous movement’s vision involves challenging the dominant discourse by presenting the long-gone past of District Six on its

own terms (Shepherd, 2013b). Rassool claimed that District Six was *the* place in Cape Town to address the future of the city, its concept of citizenship, and issues of urban renewal and cityness. He might be right regarding the future of the city. Yet the illicit behaviour of these unruly citizens fundamentally challenges his strategy for changing the course of urban transformation. More importantly, it points to rival languages concerning citizenship and the public sphere, and the struggle against the neoliberal city. As a way of closing, I want to revisit the ruins of District Six and think about the burden of their dreams. I propose to understand the ruins and their dreams in the context of the “off-modern”. To go “off” the modern is, according to Boym, to make a detour—not to be anti-modern or to distort the facts, but to explore their echoes, residues, implications and shadows (Boym, 2010).

Echoes and residues

Looking at a photograph of *Witness*, the artwork by Haroon Gunn-Salie, I think about what it means to witness District Six, and his artwork as a remnant of it. I think about the household intimacies described by the archaeologists at Horstley Street: the “linoleum floor surface”, “the walls [. . .] painted at various times with colors including light blue and ochre brown”, “two coins from the Netherlands (1954 and 1960), and a single example from Switzerland (1885) and Southern Rhodesia (1951)” (Hall et al., 1994). I think about how they inspire a desire at once to reflect and to restore. Yet can these peculiar fragments, so far removed from the language of the Museum, also lead the way beyond colonial time? What do the echoes and residues under the floorboards and in the spoilheaps tell us about a restitution process that breaks? How can their poignancy inspire ways of going off the grid, ways that do not lead to the relentlessness of colonial inscription of Cape Town, or to its neoliberalism-led contemporary counterpart?

We can think here of the multiple afterlives of the ruins: the poetic and political resonances of their colonial modernity in the present. We can think of how the materiality of a shattered landscape offers ways of connecting with degraded personhoods, in the past and in the present. Reiterating Dubravka Ugrešić, we can think here of ruins as pieces of shrapnel that “opened wounds which had long since healed, and made new ones” (Ugrešić, 1996). I have argued that the ruination of the restitution process was an inherent consequence of the Museum’s engagements with the official discourses that give shape to this particular city. I have showed how CRM discourse, development discourse and design discourse in fact reenact the old colonial spatial boundaries, styles and values of District Six for neoliberal times. From 2003 onwards, the District Six Museum’s counter-practice followed a script that centred on realising a utopia of racial harmony and equity—one that channelled imagined pasts and imagined futures. The Museum’s aspirational language was profoundly nostalgic.

The dream that the Museum projected was fuelled by all the unfulfilled promises of the new South Africa’s rainbow nation. Its decision in 2006 to engage with forms of heritage and urban governmentality was a pragmatic one, made in an attempt to uphold certain ideals and advance certain goals. As a consequence, though, the redevelopment of District Six now bore the burden of both the past and the future’s dreams. In practice, the discourses of heritage, development and urban design translated these dreams into a design-friendly

utopia founded on the epistemological blueprint of the colonial grid city. This utopia apprehended and produced exemplary post-apartheid citizens. Lying among the ruins of District Six today is the implosion of this dream over the course of the restitution process. Through the Museum's engagement with this process, its long-term tradition of knowing the District Six landscape was coopted. The space for its subaltern "regime of care", which involved the experiences, relations, memories and dreams of former inhabitants and their ancestors, was reduced or made complicit. These are the unintended ethical consequence of the engagements of the District Six Museum.

6. The Percolation of Truth: A Visual Essay of District One and District Six

“How can I say what these fragments mean to me? The awkward truths of my life take shape in their negative spaces. In the lengthening shadows of the official histories, looming like triumphal arches over every small, messy life, these scraps saved from the onrush of the ordinary are the last signs I can bring myself to consult.” Neville Lister (Vladislavić, 2011: 174)

Afterlife

In this chapter, I explore District One and District Six, two inner-city areas in Cape Town, by means of a series of images gathered from their ruins. As a point of departure, I quote Neville Lister, the first-person narrator of Ivan Vladislavic’s novel *Double Negative* (2011). He is a white middle-class young man from Johannesburg whose life overlaps with the city’s post-apartheid transformation. Vladislavic’s story, in which Lister becomes a photographer, was inspired by a collection of photographs of Johannesburg taken by renowned South African photographer David Goldblatt (Goldblatt, 2010). As his protagonist moves through the post-apartheid city, Vladislavic highlights the complexities underlying attempts to represent a coherent visual narrative of South Africa’s disjunctive urban history.



Figure 18: A tourist frame at Harrington Square, District Six, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).



Figure 19: A commercial photo-shoot at Loader Street, District One, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

Over the course of the last decade or so, I have visited Cape Town many times. My personal life converged with the city's urban transformation through a series of fortuitous encounters I had first as a student, then as a tourist, and finally as a researcher. The photographs in this chapter are the product of my artistic collaborations between 2010 and 2016, most notably with photographers Sara de Gouveai, Dirk-Jan Visser and Barry Christianson. Recalling the epigraph of Bettina Malcomess and Dorothee Kreutzfeldt's book about Johannesburg *Not No Place* (2013), I suggest that the impressions conveyed by the images included here are, at best, "fragments of spaces and times" representing post-apartheid Cape Town. Referring to Walter Benjamin and Thomas More, Malcomess and Kreutzfeldt describe the "double negative" at the root of utopia (translated as "no place"), the materialisation of "impossibility and always deferred potential" (Malcomess and Kreutzfeldt, 2013: 12). Like these scholars, I have focused on the difficulty of capturing the complex transformation undergone by Cape Town's District One and District Six.

Cape Town appeared as number one on the *New York Times* list of "52 places to go to in 2014". "Cape Town is reinventing itself," wrote journalist Sarah Khan, "and the world is invited to its renaissance" (Khan, 2014a). Contemporary Cape Town is a story about boutique shops, property values, gentrification, self-stylisation, and the self-conscious craft of hipster appeal. I am interested in the meaning of this "renaissance", and in the image of the city as an ultimate holiday destination and an African creative metropolis. I am interested in images of Cape Town that have been othered as a consequence of this reinvention. Following Gayatri Spivak, I do not consider District One and District Six to be mirror images of the stylised version of Cape Town, since they would then depict merely

“the self othering the other, indefinitely” (Spivak, 2012: 16). Instead, I attempt to reach beyond the hopeful rhetoric of reinvention. I intend to reach those others who inhabit the negative spaces of modernity, using what Spivak calls “the empathetic power of imagination” (Spivak, 2012: 68).

Against the backdrop of work done by other scholars on the visual discourse of southern Africa’s history (Judin and Vladislavić, 1998; Skotness, 1996; Hartmann et al., 2001; O’Connell, 2013; Shepherd, 2015b; Grendon et al., 2015; O’Connell, 2015), this chapter attempts to understand, through photography, how the materiality of the ruined landscape of Cape Town offers ways of experiencing degraded personhoods—those of both the past and the present. Following Grendon et al., this chapter offers a “fractured uncovering” and the construction of “space for openings and prospects” (Grendon et al., 2015: 19). As I consider the challenge at hand, a number of questions come to mind: How to construct a narrative in the present using images of the ruins of a violent past? What is this empathic power of imagination that Spivak speaks of? I am drawn here to a particular analysis of W G Sebald’s novel *Austerlitz* (2001). Cultural-studies scholar Silke Arnold-de Simine argues that this story can be read as a project of “secondary witnessing” with regard to the traumas of the Holocaust. Images are central to the narrative because they function “to assist remembrance and to accrue remembrance” via contextual association. Arnold-de Simine suggests that instead of straightforward access to the past Sebald insists on “the painful dissociation between past and present, experience and memory, seeing and knowing, self and other”. Following this train of thought, I compose a visual story about the ruined afterlives of District One and District Six, relying solely upon found images and their “associative and imaginative correspondences and analogies, on real and virtual connections” (Arnold-de Simine, 2012: 27-30).

Homage

As described in the introduction to this thesis, the two districts are located on the edges of the old colonial grid-city. George Thompson's plan of Cape Town (developed in 1827) leaves a strong impression. The plan is actually a mirror image: the sea should be north of the city. District One's burial grounds are visible on the bottom right and District Six starts above the castle.



Figure 20: Cape Town 1827 (Source: G. Thompson, 1827, *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa*, London: Henry Colburn).

In 2013, I engaged with this particular history through the framework of “Land”, a public event hosted by the Gordon Institute of Performing Arts (GIPCA) in Cape Town. I worked as programme assistant to choreographer Jay Pather, director of the GIPCA. 2013 marked the centennial commemoration of the infamous South African Native Land Act of 1913. This piece of legislation formalised the material inscription of colonisation, as it decreed that only 13% of South African territory could be owned legally by “natives” (UCT, 2013). GIPCA’s “Land” project—a response to this centennial—consisted of a four-day event, including a programme of performance and visual art, and a series of public lectures held in Cape Town. The program was designed to address questions of ownership, historical trauma, restitution and art. The performances, lectures and exhibitions took place in various city spaces that bore historical significance and embodied contemporary contestation. Two of these spaces were District One and District Six. I use “Land” as a way of opening my visual story concerning these two areas.



Figure 21: “Waiting for Rain” by Jazzart Dance Theatre, choreographed by Jacqueline Manyapelo, GIPCA’s “Land” project, 21 November 2013, Cape Town (Image: Ashley Walters).

The image above, figure 21, is a night-time scene dated 21 November 2013, taken at the corner of District One’s Somerset and Buitengracht streets. It shows a woman and man dressed in white. Their skins have been painted white, too, and in the background a car is passing. The frame captures a moment of expectation—the performance of two individuals seated on a wall in front of the Prestwich Memorial building. They stare off into the distance. The man and woman are dancers from the Jazzart Dance Theatre, performing a piece named “Waiting for Rain”. Artistic director Jacqueline Manyapelo describes it as “a fusion of ritualistic calls to ancestors and spirit forms using indigenous instruments” (MU, 2013). Just before this photo was taken, the GIPCA’s “Land” event officially began. Nick Shepherd was one of the keynote speakers at the opening. Addressing the audience at the ossuary, of which I was part, Shepherd said:

We meet in a haunted space.

We share this space with 1,624 boxes of human remains. (GIPCA, 2013a)

What is the meaning of “ritualistic calls to the ancestors”? And why is this memorial a haunted space? The ancestors—in this case, boxed and stored in the building’s ossuary—are the unidentified dead who have been exhumed in increments from District One since 2003 (CoCT, 2013). They are haunting us.



Figure 22: The storage area of the Prestwich ossuary (Image: Sara de Gouveia, 2014).

The public controversy that followed the 2003 exhumations (described in detail in Chapter Two) focused on the meanings of justice and restitution, specifically those that bear upon the urban transformation of District One generally, and Prestwich Street in particular. Indeed, some Capetonians—including those who were removed forcibly from District One during apartheid—claimed they were descendants of these dead. Moreover, they argued that the burial site should remain where it was and be developed into a national heritage site (Malan, 2003: 10).



Figure 23: The Prestwich ossuary. Credit: Photo by Dirk-Jan Visser, 2014.

History followed a different course, however. The discovery of the dead at Prestwich Street did not constitute a moment of seizure, of honouring the process of witness-bearing when it comes to the horrors of the historical dehumanisation of black bodies, and the memories associated with slavery and apartheid's forced removals. The fate of the resurfaced dead remained "the death of the subject who is considered dead before actually dying", to quote Nelson Maldonado-Torres (Maldonado-Torres, 2011: 17). The dead of District One were exhumed, only to be reinserted into a past that was already neatly organised and constructed. In fact, their new home, the Prestwich ossuary, is currently managed by a City Improvement District company that provides services in terms of "security, cleansing and social intervention" (Truss, 2014). The human remains were transformed into a commodity, ultimately contributing to the "regeneration" and "renaissance" of the post-apartheid city. Underlying the images featured in this chapter is an argument that the 2003 Prestwich Street exhumation constituted a decisive discursive shift with regard to Cape Town's urban transformation. With the interment of the human remains at Prestwich in the ossuary, a discourse of the city centred on reconciliation (but also touching on issues of reparation, restitution, identity, and memory) lost ground. It was replaced by discourses that framed heritage issues in terms of urban development and design—a discourse that in turn enabled the projection of Cape Town as a global city.



Figure 24: John Goodwin and Adam Windaaai (Source: BV290/39).⁵

Shepherd labelled his keynote address an act of homage. He referred to the ways in which these dead, and especially their physical proximity during his speech, challenge us. Shepherd presented a photograph of his own, namely figure 24. The image he displayed seemed somewhat out of place: it was an historical image portraying two men seated at an archaeological site at Oakhurst Cave on the Southern Cape coast. On the left is acclaimed South African archaeologist John Goodwin (1900–1959). On the right is Goodwin’s co-worker Adam Windwaai. Only after thorough investigation did Shepherd manage to identify Windwaai by name. In Goodwin’s photographs documenting his exhumation of cave dwellers’ remains, Windwaai’s piercing presence permits an alternative reading of the archive. Shepherd posed questions regarding Windwaai’s relationship with the archaeological work done on the bones, most notably: What remains invisible in this photo? (GIPCA, 2013a).

Projected on one of the walls of the memorial, Windwaai’s gaze was directed at us—the audience seated in the Prestwich ossuary. Shepherd asked what his expression signals: “[C]hallenge? Reproach? An unexpected candour?” (Shepherd, 2015b: 4). How does the nature of the Goodwin/ Windwaai collaboration reflect contemporary dealings with the dead of District One? How does the image of Goodwin and Windwaai help us redirect our gaze from the present to the spirits of Prestwich Street? I want to propose here that the interstices represented by the proximity of the bones in the ossuary, the Jazzart

⁵ I am grateful to Nick Shepherd for providing this photograph.

performance, and the gaze of Adam Windwaai mark a space suited to empathic imagination. Beginning with another image furnished by the “Land” project, I discuss how these issues play out at District Six.

Witness



Figure 25: *Witness*, a site-specific exhibition by Haroon Gunn-Salie, GIPCA’s “Land” project, 22 November 2013, Cape Town (Image: Ashley Walters).

Figure 25 is quite peculiar. It was taken on Day 2 of the “Land” event (22 November 2013). The photograph shows a porcelain kitten on a windowsill. The image contains little in the way of reference: the wall is white, the view is blurred, and the cat is facing the other direction, away from us. The photograph was taken at 70 Chapel Street, in a newly constructed home that forms part of the second phase of the District Six redevelopment programme. The kitten in the image is part of a larger art installation called *Witness* by artist Haroon Gunn-Salie, for which Gunn-Salie collaborated with Mrs Fasia Adams, a former District Six resident (Libsekal, 2014). The caption reads, “One day my kittens will return”, a reference to the District’s history of forced removal. 60,000 Coloured and black residents were evicted, and their homes demolished, as a result of the Group Areas Act of 1950, instituted by the apartheid administration.

Besides the eerie green fields and an easy-to-miss plaque at St Mark’s Anglican Church, which lies just off Keizersgracht Street, there are no reminders of these acts of urbicide at District Six. Gunn-Salie’s project speaks to this void and tries to raise the ghosts of the past (Kelman, 2014). He explains how he bore witness to the story of his parents’ forced removal to Athlone, a township at the city’s outskirts (GIPCA, 2013b). Since 1988, the act of

witnessing has been a central strategy for members who make up the community initiative Hands Off District Six. As mentioned in Chapter Five, the campaign was aimed at keeping the District Six land “open and bare, a memorial scar within the cityscape” (Layne, 2008: 56-57). Yet, importantly, Gunn-Salie’s kitten refers also to issues of return and, consequently, to the complexities attached to land restitution and redevelopment in neoliberal Cape Town.



Figure 26: “All who pass”, St Marks Anglican Church, District Six, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

In 2003, construction began on the first of the buildings that comprised the District Six redevelopment programme. Importantly, Ciraj Rassool understands this redevelopment as having taken place “in the shadow of Prestwich [Street]”. Rassool points to the lack of recognition of the Prestwich Street burial ground as a heritage site, noting that “the claims of memory [were] pitted against the demands of property development”. Rassool is of the opinion that formal heritage policies proved inadequate regarding District One in the face of memory and in the midst of processes of urban regeneration (Rassool, 2007a: 36). Unfortunately, the same thing happened at District Six. The District Six Museum’s Hands On strategy centred on the endowment of national-heritage-site status on District Six. This endowment was never realised.



Figure 27: “Reform”, District Six, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

Truth

Over the street from the District Six Museum on Buitenkant Street, and also inside the Prestwich Ossuary in District One, lies Truth. Contrary to what you might think, Truth is not a government-supported initiative that reminds visitors to the area of key heritage sites related to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, or of the gains of national reconciliation. Instead, Truth is part of the crude trade of the neoliberal city. As discussed in Chapter Two, a café entitled Truth opened its first store inside the ossuary in 2010 (just prior to the FIFA World Cup). In 2012 (in time for the 2014 World Design Capital), it opened a shop opposite the District Six Museum. Truth Coffee was celebrated last year by British newspaper *The Telegraph* as number one on its list of “world’s best coffee shops” (Telegraph, 2015). Shortly before, David Donde, owner of Truth, had been criticised for literally “building on slavery” (Donde, 2014). As a result, the company removed the skull image from its logo, leaving a conspicuous absence—especially since its initial strategy had not changed.



Figure 28: Coffee blends at Truth Coffee, Buitenkant Street, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

The theme of history and memories, it seems, became both a marketing opportunity and a location-focus for Truth. Donde explained in an interview:

We needed an area that was going through gentrification or was likely to go through gentrification in terms of property values. We wanted to secure good values for ourselves. We also wanted something which was cool, slightly grungy [and] on its way up. (Donde, 2014)

Figure 28 depicts a series of recent illustrations advertising three of Truth's signature coffee blends: "1652", "Resurrection", and "Steampunk". The retro design of these ads suggests a historical context in which coffee-blending takes place—namely, the start of the Dutch occupation ("1652"), and the "resurrection" of the dead at Prestwich Street in 2003. Taking inspiration from colonialism as well as from historical slavery, the Truth Coffee entrepreneur converted the discovery of human remains at District One into commercial taglines. The steampunk blend riffed off the interior-design style of the café on Buitenkant Street, conceptualised by South African designer Haldane Martin (DI, 2012).



Figure 29: Truth Coffee, Buitenkant Street, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

Steampunk is a science-fiction or fantasy genre based loosely upon the aesthetics of nineteenth-century industrial steam-powered machinery. I would argue that Donde has created a themed environment by applying styles and objects associated with a historical dreamtime—objects and styles that overwrite the local histories and memories associated with Districts One and Six. This playful reinterpretation of history contributes to a further disavowal of the wounds and suffering related to the historical traumas that affected communities in these areas (Bogues, 2010: 44). To those who experienced forced removals during apartheid, the message appears to be this: “Not only do you inhabit a different space; you also inhabit a different time.” In my understanding, and in the shadow of Prestwich Street, this message constitutes a colonial disavowal. While some discuss reconciliation and restitution, others take off on an adventure in a fantasy time-space. In the words of Johannes Fabian, this departure represents the denial of the coevalness of dwelling in Cape Town (Fabian, 2014).

I argue here that this problematic does not lie with Truth alone. The coffee roasters are exemplary of a larger set of urban-regeneration enterprises flourishing in and around old colonial Cape Town. This is the urban renaissance the *New York Times* refers to. Cape Town is becoming part of modern time-space, part of “a universal story of human emancipation” (Shepherd, 2016). In practical terms, such a reinvention encapsulates a series of utopian projects focused on property values and capitalist ventures that annihilate history and rename localities. First, District One became part of Green Point; then, in the early 2000s, it was marketed as De Waterkant (“the waterside”). District Six became Zonnebloem during apartheid; since 2004, it has been called the East City (except prior to the 2014 World Design Capital, when it was temporarily renamed the Fringe) (Boraine, 2013).



Figure 30: De Waterkant House, Loader Street, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

My analysis of Truth's marketing strategies resonates with the work of scholars such as Jennifer Robinson, Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall regarding how dreams, fears and desires drive post-apartheid urban transformation (Robinson, 1998; Mbembe, 2004; Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004). Truth also represents a particular (Capetonian) genealogy of urban design. In fact, it is a powerful reiteration of the violent nature, or, to use Walter Mignolo's term, the deathly logic, that lay at the heart of colonial modernity (Mignolo, 2011a: 63). Coffee blends like "1652" or "Steampunk", along with the renaming of city quarters, highlight what Shepherd calls the "conquest of time" (Shepherd, 2016). In neoliberal cities, this conquest is the direct result of the globalisation of Western time-space.

Percolate

How might the proximity of the Prestwich dead inspire us to see District One and District Six differently? How might 2003 become an opportunity to begin making "space for openings and prospects" (Grendon et al., 2015: 19)? How might this year be read as a point of departure as we attempt to apprehend some other time beyond "universal" time? Spivak's response to photographs by Alice Attie of Harlem are important here: "Inscriptions are lexicalized into the textuality of the viewer and it is the unexpected that instructs us" (Spivak, 2012: 35). With Sebald in mind, I situate the lexicalisation of sites or places by imagining connections and recalling moments. As such, in this section I looked for traces and spatial inscriptions at District One and District Six.



Figure 31: Parking lot, Salesian Institute, District One, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

Figure 31 is the first image I want to consider. We see the unused parking lot of the Salesian Institute on Somerset Road. Photographer Dirk-Jan Visser and I came here as part of a walking tour entitled “The landscape of early colonial burial in Cape Town” (Halkett et al., 2008). This tour was originally designed by the Archaeological Contract Office (ACO) for participants in the 2008 Association of South African Professional Archaeologists conference. The block adjacent to this parking lot is a well-known Prestwich Street site. The block’s name (“The Rockwell”) is just visible on part of its facade. As Dirk-Jan and I arrived, a group of teenagers had just finished skating; they were resting in the shade of the trees. The ramps they had just recently occupied stood vacant, offering something of a reminder of what local histories lay underneath. As contract archaeologists Tim Hart and David Halkett pointed out, the burial grounds still stand beneath the parking area, despite the thousands of bodies exhumed over the years (Halkett et al., 2008). If you were to narrow your eyes and look at them, you might get a glimpse of District One’s burial grounds, with the skate ramps as old tombstones.



Figure 32: Parking lot, Salesian Institute, District One, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

Under the trees, visible to the right of the first photograph, lies some old brickwork. We also discovered an abandoned statue of sorts showing Mary with a young Jesus—probably the remains of a more formal burial site (figure 32). The Malmesbury shale stone underneath the statue reminded us of the material used at the Prestwich ossuary. It was at this point that we were able to imagine the neighbourhood differently. We suddenly perceived the “deep map” of District One (Pearson and Shanks, 2001: 158). We noticed how old walls were heightened. Were these the prescribed borders of some ancient graveyard? Were the unofficial burial grounds beyond these walls? Did the communities that buried their loved ones here gaze up at Maria in search of solace?



Figure 33: Wall on Hospital Street, District One, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

We saw many old trees around the Prestwich Street site. We speculated about their nature: Are they graveyard trees? Do their roots reach down to some deeper time? They quite literally connect us with ancestors buried deep within the earth. Likewise, they reach the families that lived around them, the children who once attended Prestwich Primary School—until the day when all were removed.



Figure 34: Trees in schoolyard, Prestwich Primary School, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

Skate ramps, walls, old bricks and trees become points through which one might enter other time-spaces. Referring to Michel Serres, Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks write that time does not flow: “it percolates” (Pearson and Shanks, 2001: 178). It filters into the present, becomes a revenant, returning as a box that contains human remains, or as a dance to be performed in the street. The lexicalisation of traces and inscriptions, like those noted in District One, offers a point at which to begin writing and visualising the frame of another time-space.



Figure 35: Parking garage, The Rockwell, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

Dirk-Jan and I eventually wandered into the parking garage underneath The Rockwell. The earth is now a haven for shiny vehicles, rather than for the ancestors who lie forgotten in the ossuary across the street. This is the deathly logic of colonial modernity. In the next and final sections, I attempt to circumvent this logic using photographs of District Six.

Scar



Figure 36: The remains of a Horstley Street, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

This photograph is one of the classic representations of the scar that the destruction of District Six left upon the fabric of urban Cape Town. The scar is Horstley Street. Horstley Street was a key location in the District Six Museum's application for national-heritage-site status for the neighbourhood. The cobble-stone road evokes the romantic and aesthetic qualities of some other period. The District Six Museum, called "the face of the District Six story", reminds us via its work on memory of the community life that once played out on this street and in the adjacent houses (Coombes, 2003: 118). Modern ruins such as these have recently garnered attention from anthropologists and archaeologists (González-Ruibal, 2008; Stoler, 2008; Dawdy, 2010; Gordillo, 2014; Pétursdóttir and Olsen, 2014). In line with anthropologist Ann Stoler, I am interested in understanding Horstley Street as "an act perpetrated, a condition to which one is subject, and a cause of loss" (Stoler, 2008: 194-195). Moreover, I wonder what it takes for Horstley to avoid becoming another heritage commodity, like the Prestwich Street dead.

Citing Roland Barthes, archaeologists Þóra Pétursdóttir and Bjørnar Olsen argue that the photograph taken of a ruin channels magic, because it enables the "emancipation of a past reality" (Pétursdóttir and Olsen, 2014: 23). The scar of Horstley Street reminds me of colonial modernity's deathly logic—that is, of the denial of a "transmodern" world, a world into which many worlds fit (Maldonado-Torres, 2011: 18). The magic of the ruin of Horstley Street allows many connections to be made. For example, in the second image we see a new resident's attempt to privatise a public parking space: a number plate beside the curb and a "residence parking only" sign upon the wall. I read this as the insertion of one individual's private life into an urban space, a space wiped by apartheid's social engineering of all

intimacy. I would argue, however, that the scar of the removals offers other connections as well.



Figure 37: A bottle and a pair of shoes, District Six, 2014 (Image: Sara de Gouveia).

The third image in this section shows a pair of shoes and a bottle lying beside a tree. Rubbish? I want to suggest that in these objects we see a different (and more intimate) form of relationship between persons and District Six. The ruins of District Six have been a hideout for many homeless Capetonians. Some call them “bergies”, referring to the act of seeking shelter on the slopes of mountains. (“Berg” means “mountain” in Afrikaans.) As the neighbourhood improvement districts in the inner-city areas become more and more successful, homeless folks are driven out and find refuge in the high grass, ruins and tree trunks around District Six. This photograph might be of somebody’s resting place. My point is that the value of the scar of Horstley Street is that it allows one to imagine connections between lives that perform vagrancy. Lives that are marginalised—or that do not fit well next to concepts of citizenship in the contemporary city—allow us to conceive of and access degraded lives in other temporalities.



Figure 38: “Once a king’s throne”, District Six, 2014. (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).



Figure 39: “Opportunity to meet with skyways”, District Six, 2015. (Image: Barry Christianson).

I argue also that the scar emancipates the messiness of past realities. Interestingly, the Cape Town Partnership, a private-public partnership that championed the East City Design programme and many of the city-improvement districts, hired ethnographer Evan Blake to its team in 2014. Its aim in doing so was to map the “social geography of marginalized

groups” in the East City (CTP, 2014). As an unintended consequence of an exercise labelled “Mapping Moments”, Blake found a lexicalisation of ruined spaces in District Six. In the Partnership’s annual report, he presented the terms that “marginalised” individuals used to describe their spaces:

“A corner to watch drama unfold”, “A shady spot to be chased away from”, “Once a king’s throne”, “A work zone”, “Opportunity to meet with skyways”, “A corner for Evelyn to throw a fit on”, “The gatherings corner—where worlds collide”, “A stoep with a view to drink coffee”, “The urinal”, “Once a king’s throne” and “A spot to hide if harassed”. (CTP, 2014)

The two images above convey my reading of how these terms conjure up sites that undergo constant change. My point is that these terms recapitulate time-space relations, allowing us to understand worlds within worlds, or “where worlds collide”. The scar points to these terms, allowing us to attain different understandings of the unofficial, the unknown and the marginalised in the city. They capture an instance of transformation—or, as Spivak refers to it, a moment “congealing into a past” (Spivak, 2012: 18). As at District One, I want to propose that it is at the interstices of District Six—represented by the proximity of the scar of Horstley Street, Gunn-Salie’s temporary art installation, and the site that was “once a king’s throne”—that we can reach out to a deeper time and a distant other. It is here that we can find something of the vanishing traces of those who lived on the edges of the colonial and apartheid city.



Figure 40: “A corner to watch drama unfold”, District Six, 2015. (Image: Barry Christianson).

Drama

By way of conclusion, I refer to Derrida's use of the terms "dramaturgy" and "gospel". These terms, I think, are useful when it comes to thinking about the meaning of Cape Town's "renaissance" and global experience. They provide the creative space needed for a light-hearted reimagination of cities' pasts (Derrida, 2006: 125).

In this chapter, images gathered from scenes of Districts One and Six offered us fragments of other imagined worlds, messy worlds in the corners of which one talks with the revenants of different pasts. It is at the interstices of these worlds that we bear witness to the traumas of the unresolved histories of racial slavery and of apartheid's forced removals in contemporary Cape Town. In addition, it is here that we can begin a reading of these ruins as artefacts of loss and violent pasts. "We must investigate and imaginatively constitute our 'own' history with the same teleopoetic delicacy that we strive for in the case of the apparently distant," writes Spivak (Spivak, 2012: 17, 33). As such, a different urban text regarding the ruins of districts One and Six might help "sediment meaning" in the face of Cape Town's supposed renaissance (Spivak, 2012: 17, 33).



Figure 41: "The gatherings corner—where worlds collide", District Six, 2014 (Image: Dirk-Jan Visser).

Conclusion: Archaeologies of the Future

“Such a long journey ahead for you and me. Oh God, oh God.”
“This no one can take away from us.” (Brink, 1992: 14)

Glimpse beyond history

On 6 February 2015, acclaimed novelist André Brink passed away on a flight from Amsterdam to South Africa. About 40 years earlier, he wrote *An Instant in the Wind* (1976), a love story set in 1751 about the relationship between Adam Mantoor and Elizabeth Larsson. Brink starts the romance asking, “Who are they?” In response he answers, “The names are known” (Brink, 1992: 9). According to the Cape Archives and the Slave Register of the Cape, Adam, a runaway slave, is the son of Krissie, a Hottentot woman, and Ontong, a man presumably from mixed Madagascar-Padang descent. Elizabeth, wife of traveller Erik Larsson, is the daughter of Elisabeth Nourtier, a Huguenot woman born in Calais, and Johannes Wilhelmszoon Louw, a Cape-born son of a soldier of the East India Company. Elizabeth joins her husband on a journey into the interior of the Cape of Good Hope, during which he dies. Brink picks up on a footnote in the archive that mentions that Adam and Elizabeth reached Cape Town towards the end of February 1751 after a long journey trekking together through the Karoo desert. Adam was flogged and strangled in March that year (possibly buried in an unmarked grave northwest of the city), while Elizabeth remarried soon after.

Brink describes how he found the journal of Erik Larsson in the London Missionary Society archives, and how he was struck by the entries in Elizabeth’s handwriting after Larsson’s death. He points to phrases like “Such a long journey” and “This no one can take away from us”, entries that hints at a hidden story of affection. The novelist writes in 1976 (the high time of apartheid) that these are occasional remarks “in which one suddenly glimpses an existence beyond history”. Brink ends the preface to the romance with the remark that “the crust of history must be scraped off” (Brink, 1992: 14-15). Providing a window to a post-apartheid world, he writes:

[W]ithout knowing what to expect, when all the instruments have been destroyed, nothing else remains but to continue. It is not a question of imagination, but of faith. (Brink, 1992: 15)

I choose Brink’s preface as part of the postscript of this thesis. I argue that as we scrape the crusts off history we are confronted with what we have disavowed. In the face of apartheid’s racism, *An Instant in the Wind* has been referred to as an act of political defiance (Sokolov, 1977). “Who are you? Who am I?” asks Brink. The novel confronts us with what we know and what we don’t know. It points to the stories and knowledges of individuals such as Adam Mantoor, subjectivities outside of history, or, in the words of Maldonado-Torres, by-products of a “coloniality of being” in modern time (Maldonado-Torres, 2007: 259). In this thesis, I have tried to move away from a recapitulation of the past in the present and instead trace those local knowledges that lead a disguised existence as “a set of ‘fragments’ in the interstices of modern/colonial worlds” (Shepherd, 2016). The challenge inherent in such a

task is that these stories tend to remain incomprehensible to the disciplinary gaze. As I approached time-space in Cape Town, I work in a void, in terms of conventional urban and heritage-studies literature. For me, Brink's notion of scraping off the crust of history resonates with an attempt to understand Cape Town's deep materiality, as the city is simultaneously reinvented and haunted. It also invites an understanding of the moments of poignancy in the city, invites us to use a sliver from the archive as an opportunity to understand the messiness of time-space and "the borders" of local histories that are confronted with pervasive legacies of global modernity such as apartheid or neoliberalism (Mignolo, 2012a: 277). Scraping off the crust of history refers to a break-away from modern time-space and the colonial knowledge associated with that, to allow for a sub-altern understanding of Cape Town's past. During their time together, Adam and Elizabeth have the following fictionalised conversation:

"You think you're taking history with you wherever you go," he says with a sneer. "I suppose history, to you, is what happens to people of the Cape."
"Well, it's from the Cape that this whole land is being civilized," she retorts.
"And civilization is history? The Cape with its churches and schools and gallows, is that all that matters to you? How do you civilize a land? And how do you know when you've gone too far?" (Brink, 1992: 84)

My ambition in the chapters of this thesis has been to allow for a glimpse beyond the history of Cape Town's recent "renaissance". I have described ways of urban thinking and praxis, and I have formulated these through notions of discourse. I tracked discourses on the city in the form of a genealogy of different ways of framing and thinking about the city. In the introduction I asked: How can the contemporary urban moment in Cape Town be characterised? I presented an argument that centred on two particular moments in a key period in Cape Town: 2002 to 2014. My intervention here was to name two forms of discourse—heritage and urban-design discourse—that have been dominant in conditioning ways of thinking and forms of praxis in this city. I then thought through how and on what terms these discourse came into being, and how they have produced counter-discourses. I described the exhumation of the dead of District One in relation to the preparation of the 2010 World Cup. I zoomed especially in on the 2003 Prestwich Street unearthing and its aftermath. Subsequently, I focused on the fragmentation of the restitution process at District Six alongside preparations for the 2014 World Design Capital. Paying detailed attention to the 2006 provisional declaration of District Six as a national heritage site, I argued that poignant moments such as this one are crucial because they constitute a decisive discursive shift in the orientation of Cape Town's recent urban transformation.

Play of time

Interestingly, the apparent renaissance of the city consolidated a particular vision of Cape Town for city and provincial officials interested in the afterlife of the 2010 FIFA World Cup. In 2006, the Provincial Government of the Western Cape and the City of Cape Town wrote:

Cape Town is set to become the dramatic backdrop to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. With its spectacular beauty, its long history and its diverse cultures, Cape Town will play

host to the family of nations celebrating the best of football in the first World Cup to be played in Africa. (PGWC, 2007)

I showed how the World Cup was expected to restore the city's position as part of a family of nations. Mediated through heritage and urban-design discourses, local histories, such as those at District One and District Six, became tourist or local "backdrop[s]", quintessential to a global experience of the city (Mignolo, 2000b: 744; Grosfoguel, 2008). Central to this imagination was the hope of a brighter future for Cape Town, meaning a global and neoliberal future. Prior to the World Cup, during Cape Town's early neoliberal period, the city was still focused on how to repair the wrongs of the past. Heritage discourse at this time worked alongside the discourses of archaeology and history. Around the time of the World Cup bid, a shift took place towards a kind of renaissance thinking. Importantly, as part of this shift, an urban-design discourse emerged that worked well with the operations of the creative and spatial disciplines in the neoliberal city.

I argued that this discursive shift towards legacy-based thinking and future time is key to understanding how the World Cup conditioned urban transformation in Cape Town. Following Derrida, literary scholar Homi Bhabha writes that we can characterise our times by their ambition "to locate the question of culture in the beyond". I believe this is particularly relevant when thinking about Cape Town's renaissance. Bhabha explains further:

"Beyond" signifies spatial distance, marks progress, promises the future, but our intimations of exceeding the barrier or boundary—the very act of going *beyond*—are unknowable, unrepresentable, without a return to the "present" which, in the process of repetition, becomes disjunct and displaced. (Bhabha, 1994: 1)

In the case of Cape Town's desperate rebirth, going forward into the future means, in practice, dealing with a disjunctive and chaotic neoliberal present in the city. It means dealing with the city's revenants. Indeed, I proposed to understand the city's emergent nature as a state of transition from a difficult past into an uncertain local and global future. The answer to this uncertainty has been a policy focus on culture and creativity. I explained how this cultural turn became part of official praxis in preparation for the 2010 World Cup event, and how it subsequently continued (or even resulted in) the 2014 World Design Capital. In terms of the consequences of locating culture in the future, I have made the case that it involves a shift in the ethics of urban-transformation discourse: whereas the pre-2002 phase was geared towards historical injustice, identity and memory in the city, the focus now became urban-design and heritage discourse in the competitive context of global city networks. Indeed, my point is that heritage discourse in the city came to be articulated through a language of governmentality and, subsequently, was coopted as part of the unrelenting logic of the neoliberal city. Zygmunt Bauman has written that this moment in time can be characterised by a normative mindset of shifting rather than staying. He describes the shift from the collective ambition for a just society towards the self-assertion of the individual (Bauman, 2000: 29, 120).

In the translation of global discourses of heritage and urban design into local praxis, the language and imagery of imminent urban crisis are typically re-invoked. I write re-invoked because crisis language is part of a discursive tradition of space in South Africa, as is the

utopia–dystopia dichotomy. Indeed, when thinking about the genealogy of urban design in South Africa, the history of spatial disciplines becomes tied up with the histories of apartheid’s forced removals and racial segregation. But it also hauls back to an even deeper myth of origin involving the racist colonial image of the peaceful garden versus the lawlessness of the wilderness. In terms of urban-design discourse, I think it is useful to understand the eco-village utopias of Lynedoch and Oude Molen as the peaceful gardens of contemporary Cape Town. It is against the backdrop of this genealogy that the African Centre for Cities articulates its vision for the city. In trying to make sense of the messy intricacies that currently make up Cape Town, the ACC ends up translating global discourses on the city into the local context. As such, the ACC can be understood as mediators or translators for global designs in the city. The main tropes in ACC scholars’ work are sustainability and innovation. Through focusing on a future time, they create a field of intervention, an empirical space for discursive interventions. Lynedoch and Oude Molen, but also the *City Desired* exhibition, function in this space as exemplary places. They suggest a particular way of dealing with the disjunctive character of the city. Underlying the discourses of sustainability and creativity is a modern and rational notion of citizenship and civil engagement. It is a vision that stands in contrast with the counter-discourse associated with the unruliness of service-delivery and poo protests or the squatters at District Six.

Here I want point to interesting discursive parallels. In Chapter One, I discussed the tranquility of the Cape Dutch farm in relation to brutality of colonial slavery. This juxtaposition, I believe, resonates with dreams of renewal in relation to the structural violence of township dwelling. How can we explain this continued resonance? Reiterating Mignolo, I want to suggest that the global discourse on the city reinforces a series of local knowledge-based power relations, and thereby strengthens the “colonial matrix of power” (Mignolo, 2012b). As global and local urban-design discourse merged, urban design was framed as an important tool for improving South African society. Moreover, over the course of the World Design Capital in 2014, the traumatic remnants of apartheid were reframed as “design challenges”. And as a consequence of a future-oriented urban-design praxis, the idea of a transformed society was projected into a future time. The chaotic present of Cape Town’s everyday life was left to its own devices. Indeed, I argue that the idea of a Cape Town renaissance was based, at least partly, on a dream. It was a dream that produced additional fantasies, or dreamtimes, in the neoliberal city. I am thinking here of the Truth Coffee, The Rockwell, and The Fringe projects. The reinterpretation of history at the heart of these projects does not repair or change the historical injustices suffered by the affected communities who lived in these areas. While these communities fight for restitution, others play in a fantasy time-space. The American sociologist Mike Davis suggests that the best way to view the city of the future is through excavating the ruins of its alternative futures (Davis, 2006: 3). The play of archaeologies of the future in Cape Town is a play around time. At the contemporary moment of Cape Town, you expect the past yet you get the future. As such, the examination of Cape Town function as an interesting case study for understanding the urban transformation of cities in the global south.

"Horizon of expectations"

Zooming in on the spatial locations of District One and District Six, I explained how these areas are key to understanding the contemporary moment of this city. Just on the outskirts of the old colonial city and the current Central Business District (CBD), these quarters were severely affected by the histories of colonial slavery and apartheid's forced removal. I showed that it is impossible to understand the contemporary gentrification of these areas if not in relation to the spatial policies of racial segregation, and the coded power of racial difference inscribed in bodies and landscapes that have deep roots at the Cape. This function of deep time is not foregrounded in the global discourse. The recent exhumations at District One and the restitution process at District Six can be understood as material ways of re-inscribing newness into the landscape. Heritage and urban-design discourse work as a selective gaze on the past. Yet even as they present themselves, through the praxis of contract archaeologists and the South African Heritage Resources Agency, as unitary and totalising, there are moments of breakdown. During these moments, the discourse suddenly stops functioning, and a diagnostic opportunity emerges: you see the previously hidden rules and edges of the discourse. Importantly, these moments of breakdown resonate with the counter-voices, the mirror images, of the discourses. If the dominant discourse at District One and District Six encapsulates a kind of denial of colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid racism, it also produces its double.

One of these counter-voices belongs to the dead at District One. They are the revenants. They point to the relationship between archaeological contract work and property development. Moreover, they make us aware of a dominant discourse—CRM discourse—driving the exhumation of human burials. I suggested that, as a result of this discourse, the ancestors of the colonised other became dehumanised (Maldonado-Torres, 2007: 257-258). In the case of District Six, the District Six Museum's utopian vision for the restituted future of the site—a vision burdened by unfulfilled post-apartheid dreams—became coopted as the Museum engaged with forms of governmentality. Indeed, the District Six Museum's aspirational language, with its deep roots in the Charterist movement and the national-liberation struggle, seems almost nostalgic. As such, it runs the risk of negating other, more unruly forms of citizenship, identity and memory. The counter-voices at District Six challenged this vision and the hallowed restitution process. Inspired by the service-delivery protests, their practice resisted the workings of the dominant discourse in very direct ways. The artist who makes work about District One and District Six, as well as the actual ruined state of these two sites, can also be understood as providing forms of counter-discourse. How, then, do we take these counter-voices as points of departure that redirect our attention away from a linear narrative, and towards a history of place that does not reinforce Cape Town's colonial features? What does it mean to go "off the grid" of what we know? How do we navigate the bones, the rocks, the pottery, the traces, the exploded utopias, the fugitive materialities on site, the messed-up social histories, the ahistorical archaeological site reports, the memories, the resistant art, and the nostalgic counter-practices? Or, if we turn for a moment to decolonial love: What might such a praxis look like, following the desire for a post-apartheid intimacy? What kind of rupturing might lead to this closeness? How does one inspire kinship in the face of systems and structures of meaning that "militate against the very lives of the subjects within their reach" (Maldonado-Torres, 2011: 17)?

In response to these questions, I proposed searching for subaltern regimes of care. I suggested simultaneously revisiting the discursive and the spatial ruins of the modernist histories of District Six and District One. I described how while walking through District One I wondered: Who is there? Who is not there? And who is still buried beneath the ground? Following “[t]he landscape of early colonial burial in Cape Town” (Halkett et al., 2008), I walked from the Prestwich memorial via Alfred Road, along the sites of the Old Dutch Reformed, Military, Catholic and Scottish cemeteries and the Da Gama Tavern, to the site of the Prestwich excavations (The Rockwell). I wondered how to respond to Reverend Weeder’s remark that we are divided by our response to the remains. How do I escape from this global colonial death-world?

As a way of coming to an end, I am reminded of the “doodwegen” or “spookwegen” in the Netherlands. Travel writer Robert Macfarlane writes about these death roads, or “ghost roads”—old paths that converge at medieval cemeteries. Historically, walking these paths meant engaging in a traditional ritual, in which a deceased family or community member was carried to his or her grave (Macfarlane, 2013: 13-14). I find inspiration in the idea of following these pre-modern Dutch death roads that the ancestors walked while carrying their loved ones, even if their translation into the Cape Town context is a fraught and complicated one. Photographer Dirk-Jan Visser and I walked routes in Cape Town loaded with intense emotions and memories. These imaginary paths of sorrow led us from the outskirts of the colonial city to the unmarked graves of District One. The walking tour we were part of is in fact a journey through the trenches of post-apartheid contract archaeology in District One. According to Haber, it is a battlefield where one “either inhabits the hegemonic time, [. . .] enjoy[ing] the little or big market success”, or inhabits “a counter-time” (Haber, 2015). I realised that the old trees in the backyard of the Salesian institute and at the Prestwich Primary School are the only witnesses. They make us understand how our experience of this place and their time is “figmented” (Ingold, 2010: 17). Mignolo replaces the modern concepts of past, present and future with a “pluri-versity” composed of the local “space of experience” and a “horizon of expectations” (Mignolo, 2007: 497). The trees have survived the entire struggle that has taken place in the neoliberal city. Whether they are “indigenous” or “alien”, their growth rings are reminders of another time—a past time. They do not speculate about the future. Their roots meander through layers of burials. Perhaps these trees will allow for a decolonial passage that leads to the loving of the ancestors of District One, producing a truthful ecology that encompasses both life and death.

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