

From Tiervlei to Ravensmead

Tracing heritage in a place of continuity and dispossession

A place of both *in-situ* and *ex-situ* displacement during apartheid.

Chefferino Fortuin

Student Number: FRTCHE001



- ... van 10 November 1967 te begin.
Sekretaris: Sluimpruimingshof.
- BYLAE.
1. Die twee hout- en sinkwonnings op Perseel 736, Tygervallei gelee te Jopie Fouriestraat 241, Tiervlei.
 2. Die twee hout- en sinkwonnings op Perseel 737, Tygervallei gelee te Ullswaterweg 59 en 63, Tiervlei.
 3. Die ses hout- en sinkwonnings op Perseel 738, Tygervallei gelee te Ullswaterweg 49-55, Tiervlei.
 4. Die hout- en sinkwoning op die Restant van Perseel 749, Tygervallei gelee te Tadworthweg 36, Tiervlei.
 5. Die ses hout- en sinkwonnings op Perseel 751, Tygervallei gelee te Tadworthweg, 50, Tiervlei.
 6. Die twee hout- en sinkwonnings op Perseel 752, Tygervallei gelee te Tadworthweg 58, Tiervlei.
 7. Die twee hout- en sinkwonnings op Perseel 753, Tygervallei gelee te Tadworthweg 235, Tiervlei.
 8. Die twee hout- en sinkwonnings op Perseel 755, Tygervallei gelee te Jopie Fouriestraat 255, Tiervlei.
 9. Die twee hout- en sinkwonnings op Perseel 756, Tygervallei gelee te Tadworthweg, 61, Tiervlei.
 10. Die twee hout- en sinkwonnings op Perseel 757, Tygervallei gelee te Tadworthweg 51, Tiervlei.
 11. Die hout- en sinkwoning op die Restant van Perseel 758, gelee te Tadworthweg 45, Tiervlei.
 12. Die drie hout- en sinkwonnings op Perseel 768, Tygervallei gelee te Sandhurstweg 42 en 48, Tiervlei.
 13. Die vier hout- en sinkwonnings op Perseel 770, Tygervallei

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Mini-Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of MPhil Conservation of the Built Environment

Research Project | Course APG 5071S

School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics

Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment

University of Cape Town

Supervisor | Prof Cynthia Kros

August 2023

ETHICS APPLICATION FORM



2022/11/28

EBE/02037/2022

RE: Research Ethics Committee Project Approval Letter

Dear Chefferino Fortuin,

Your application for ethics review of your project titled

Tracing Intangible and tangible heritage in a place of continuity and dispossession, the case of Tiervlei renamed Ravensmead. A place of both in-situ and ex-situ displacement during apartheid.

has been reviewed and evaluated by the

APG:School of Architect,Planning&Geomatic Research Ethics Committee (REC).

Based on the information supplied your application has been successful and is approved.

You may proceed with your research project titled:

Tracing Intangible and tangible heritage in a place of continuity and dispossession, the case of Tiervlei renamed Ravensmead. A place of both in-situ and ex-situ displacement during apartheid.

Please note that should:

- (i) any serious or adverse effects to participants occur and/or,
- (ii) aspect(s) of your current project change and/or
- (iii) any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project occur then you should immediately report this to the approving REC. You may be required to submit an amendment to this application, in order to determine whether the changed aspects increase the ethical risks of your project.

Please note the following additional conditions associated with this approval:

- (i)

Regards,

APG:School of Architect,Planning&Geomatic

Research Ethics Committee

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AUTHOR'S STATEMENT

This 60-credit research project (mini-dissertation) is submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Conservation of the Built Environment. All other courses in the programme have been completed. The work in this document was undertaken from October 2022 to January 2023.

Degree: MPhil Conservation of the Built Environment

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PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

1. I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and pretend that it is one's own.
2. I have used the Harvard convention for citation and referencing. Each contribution to and quotation in this dissertation from the work(s) of other people has been attributed and has been cited and referenced.
3. This research project is my own work.
4. I have not allowed and will not allow anyone to copy my work.

Signature:

Signed by candidate

Date: 7 February 2023

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation examines the evolution and urban morphology of Tiervlei since its establishment and sale to Joyce and McGregor. Although the period studied does not include the prior timeline of the area it acknowledges all the communities who lived in the area before this period, their history, social lives and cultural practices. I hope this dissertation will complement previous, current and future research and will stitch together the tapestry of a shared space of lived experiences through memory and social interaction.

I am grateful to all the community members and stakeholders who participated in this research project. Those who were interviewed are listed in the annexures. However, I came to know many more during this journey who shared memories of joy, trauma and social interaction. Unbeknown to me, many of the stories included some of my own family history from community members with whom I was unfamiliar.

To all those who gave of their time to assist me – Dr Naomi Roux the course convenor, Wendy Wilson, who convened the last module and my supervisor Prof Cynthia Kros, I am grateful for your assistance. Prof Kros, thank you for the assistance over the last few hurdles. I would not have been able to submit this work if your encouragement and support had not been constant. Thank you.

Thank you too to the helpful staff at the Cape Archives, National Library, the University of Cape Town libraries and the National Geo-spatial Information. Also to Harriet Clift of the City of Cape Town's Environment and Heritage Resources Information Centre. A special thank you to Ms Louise Ing of the City of Cape Town municipality, who contributed to building the Tiervlei record, and for her valuable input.

I acknowledge my wife Shantel and sons Giovanni, Adrian and Chadwyn for their understanding and support and my cousins Carmen Fortuin and William (Vicky) Waldeck for our conversations during this journey. In conclusion I thank God for the inspiration to complete this project in honour of my late grandmother, Jeanette Hartnick (widowed Afrika) remarried Fortuin 1910–1991.

ABSTRACT

This project is more than an academic exercise, it is a project of memory and identity amid a fast-moving, changing society. It does not only concern safeguarding the marginalised community's heritage but also how we record, acknowledge and transfer it to future generations before it withers away.

The preamble to the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) (1999) states, in part, that its purpose is to

“encourage communities to nurture and conserve their legacy so that it may be bequeathed to future generations ... it promotes new and previously neglected research into our rich oral traditions and customs.”¹

This study considers whether the NHRA promotes and facilitates research into ‘new and previously neglected oral traditions and customs’ with regard to the part of Tiervlei, which has been renamed Ravensmead. The history and heritage of the marginalised communities in the northern suburbs, particularly Ravensmead, Elsie'srivier and Bellville South below the railway line, is largely undocumented 28 years into the unified democratised South Africa.

The heritage of the former white proclaimed areas such as Parow, Goodwood and Bellville have been well preserved above the railway line since the apartheid era and the process continues. This study was conceived while I was researching my lineage and family identity, beginning with my mother and her late grandparents. They were landowners in Tiervlei in the 1930s according to deeds records when they moved there from Ceres.

This research is in the conservation and heritage discipline, exploring intangible and tangible heritage, the legislation and its theories and ideology. The purpose is to find ways of exploring the heritage of the undocumented and previously marginalised community known today as Ravensmead. It also considers how heritage can be made visible and safeguarded in the present, given the country's history of erasure, land dispossession, fragmentation and forced removals.

¹ Republic of South Africa, 1999. National Heritage Resources Act (No 25 of 1999).

I have reported the interviews in the language of the interviewees, using colloquial phrases to give a voice to the community, thus reflecting the 'public voice of the marginalised'. Field (2006, pp31-42) maintains that marginalised communities lack access, resources and empathetic listeners and my intention in this dissertation is to offer them this access.

The study traces the intangible and tangible heritage of the community as a place of both continuity and dispossession and of displacement under apartheid. The community was subjected to dispossession in two distinct ways, either *in-situ* or *ex-situ*, which is a not a prominent discussion in the displacement landscape in South Africa. *In-situ* dispossession represents people remaining in a place or experiencing a prolonged multi-stage process of removal. *Ex-situ* displacement is the expulsion of people from their homes, communities, social and family relations and livelihoods.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Is it possible to locate places and practices of cultural importance in undocumented and previously marginalised communities? Can they be made visible in the present and safeguarded for future generations? This dissertation explores answers to these questions by examining intangible and tangible heritage and the legislation and theories behind it in relation to Tiervlei, renamed Ravensmead. It discusses the evolution and morphology of the Tiervlei landscape since its establishment and subsequent sale to Joyce and McGregor limited.

This previously marginalised community has, in the past, been dispossessed and forcefully displaced, either *in-situ* or *ex-situ*. Its dignity was attacked and the colonial and apartheid governments tried to erase its members, both living and dead, from the area. However, the community – those still alive and those who have passed on – has been steadfast. Their stories were made visible by the oral account of their memory.

We do not need the official archive if it does not give an account of the marginalised people when the indigenous knowledge is alive and well in the archives of their living memory. The history and heritage of the marginalised communities of the northern suburbs, particularly Ravensmead, Elsiesrivier and Bellville South below the railway line,² is largely undocumented 28 years into the unified democratised South Africa.

The history and heritage of the former white-proclaimed areas above the railway line, such as Parow, Goodwood and Bellville, has been well preserved since the apartheid period. (Strydom and Scheepers 1981; Rosenthal 1981; Rosenthal 1982; Du Plessis 1998 and Parow 1975) Their municipalities have published widely the history and achievements of the predominantly white communities³ and have

² Natural and artificial buffer zones, i.e., railway lines, were used to develop space along geographical engineered apartheid spaces to separate once integrated and multiracial communities with the implementation of the Group Areas Act

³ *Bellville – Wordingsjare van 'n Stad: Growth of a City* by Strydom, C J Scheepers: Good Hardcover (1981), Rosenthal, E., 1981. *Goodwood and its story*. Goodwood Municipality., Du Plessis, N. M, 1998. *The Tygerberg: The story of the Tygerberg Hills and the towns of Parow, Bellville, and Durbanville, Parow: A Handbook issued by the Municipality of Parow (Town's Clerk Department) in commemoration of the establishment of Local Government in Parow 75 years ago on 15 December 1903. (Parow 1975) (no date).* and Rosenthal, E., 1982. *Parow Parade*. Unpublished.

preserved their heritage objects. However, they neglected the heritage of the previously marginalised non-white communities in the area.

Figures 1, 2 and 3 contextualise and locate the study area in blue of Tiervlei in relation to Goodwood, Parow and Bellville in the northern suburbs of Cape Town. A cursory view also points to the morphological change from an undeveloped landscape to an urban space.

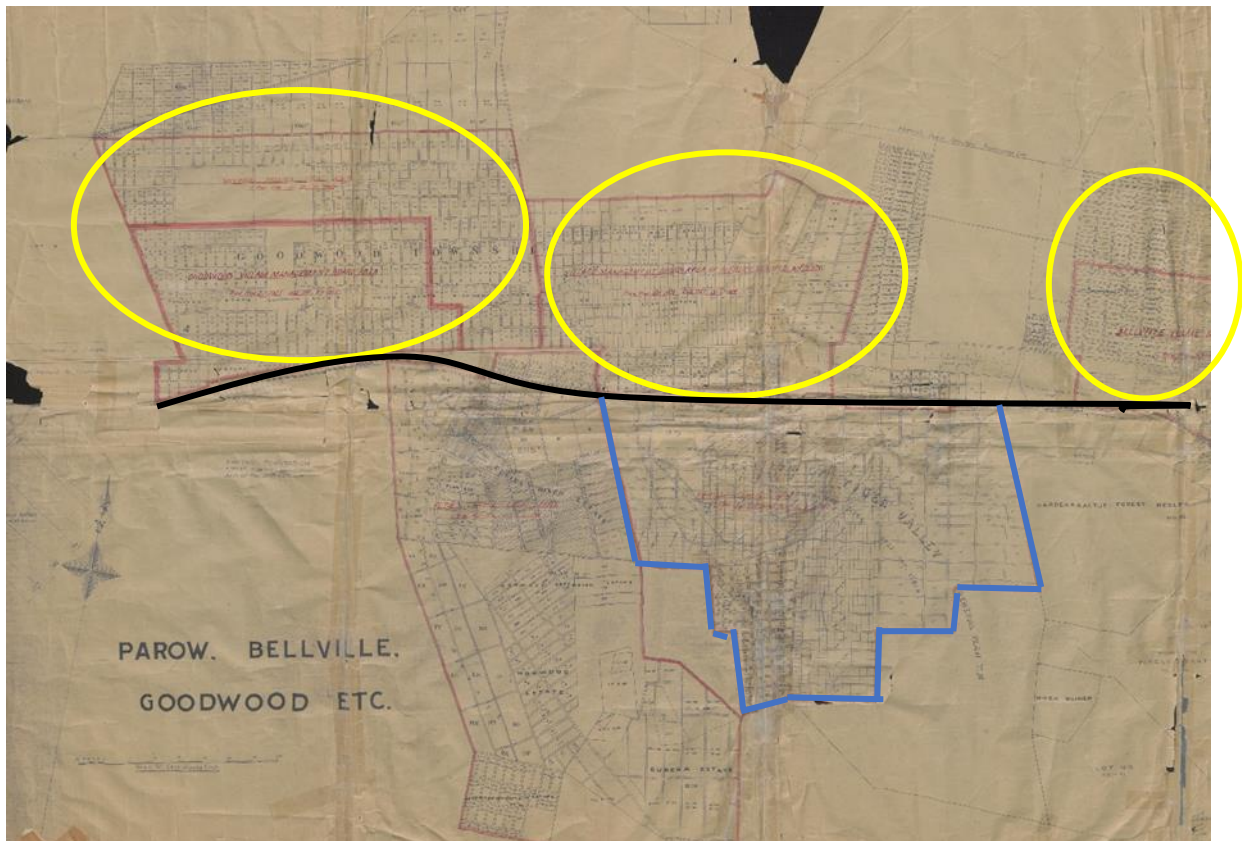


Figure 1: Map of Goodwood, Parow and Bellville (left to right in yellow). Blue is the study area, Tiervlei (Cape Archives, M4/117, edited by author)

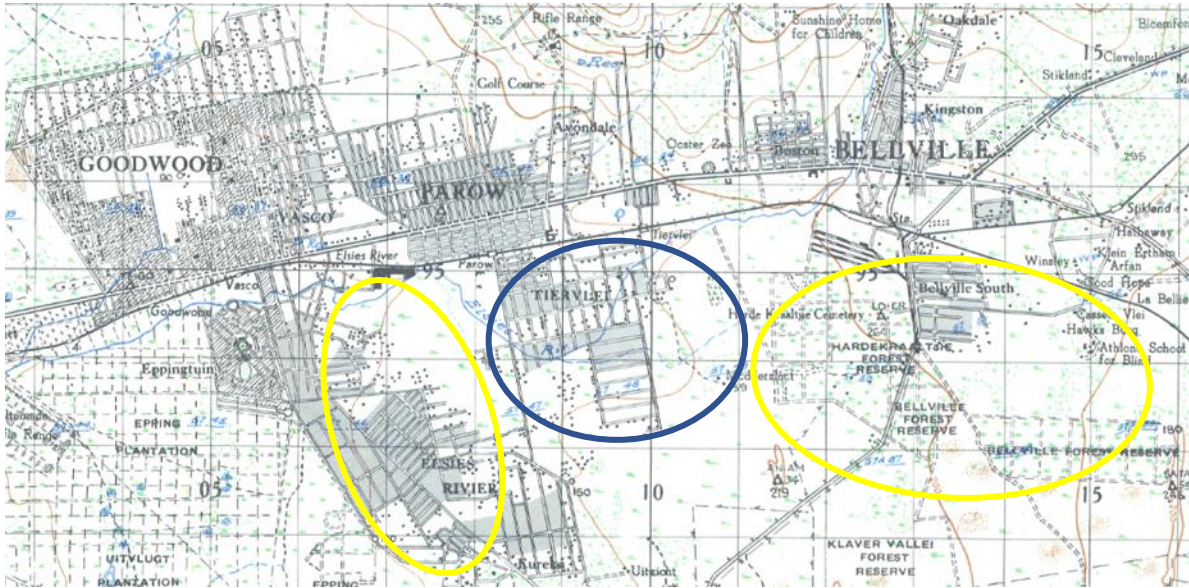
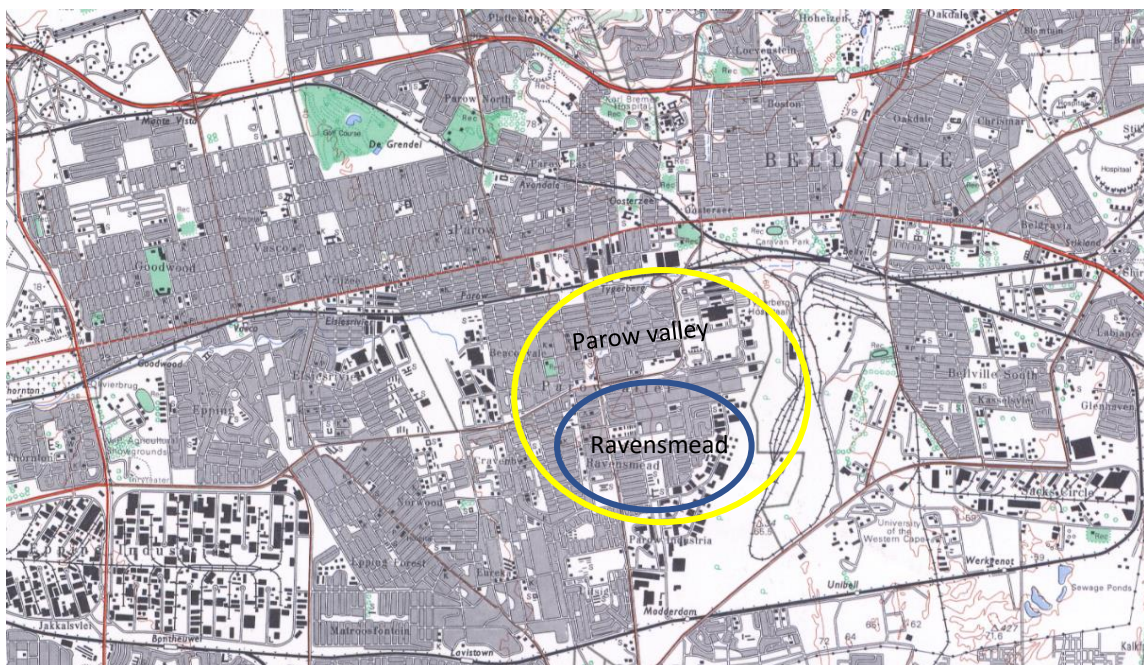


Figure 2: Aerial imagery 1941 in yellow (left to right) Elsiesriver, the study area in blue Tiervlei and yellow Bellville (National Geo-spatial Information, edited by author)

The third figure below is an aerial imagery of 1979, after the implementation of the Group Areas Act.⁴ Tiervlei (in yellow) became a segregated landscape for the coloured and white communities. The area for the white community was designated between Tiervlei Station, which was later renamed Tygerberg Station, and Fransi Van Zijl Street. The area was later renamed Parow Valley. The study area Tiervlei



⁴ Republic of South Africa, 1950. Group Areas Act, No. 41 of 1950.

the coloured area (later Ravensmead) was located between Webner Street, Roberts Avenue, Kinston Street, and circular road Parow Industrial Road.

Figure 3: Aerial imagery 1979 in yellow former Tiervlei now Parow Valley and in blue Ravensmead (National Geo-spatial Information, edited by author)

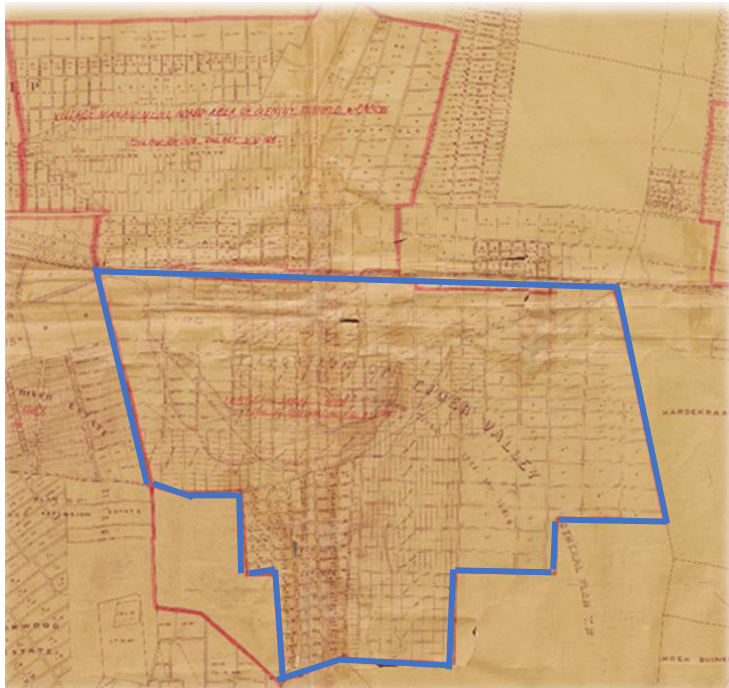


Figure 4: Map (in blue) is the study area Tiervlei (Cape Archives, M4/117, edited by author)

The Cape Town Municipal Planning Bylaw of 2015 introduced the Heritage Protection Overlay Zones (HPOZ) as its mechanism for area protection in its zoning scheme. While the HPOZ includes sections of Goodwood, Parow and Bellville, Elsiesriver, Ravensmead and Bellville South do not feature.

Both private and public institutions, including state owned enterprises have built infrastructure in these areas either above or below the railway line. Among these institutions are the municipality of Cape Town, Transnet (formerly the South African Railways), ESKOM, the University of the Western Cape, the University of Stellenbosch and the Cape Peninsula University of Technology, Tygerberg Hospital, the Medical Research Institute, and the head office of the investment company SANLAM. In their records, however, there is little or no reference to the history and heritage of the non-white communities in the area, who were living there long before the institutions moved in.

This gap is absent, most notably, from studies done by academics in the two higher academic institutions, the universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch, although there is material relating to the suburbs above the railway line (Pirie, 2005).⁵ It is these silences or omissions, relating to heritage and the social activities of the previously marginalised communities on the northern suburbs, that this dissertation addresses, starting with Tiervlei-Ravensmead.

Anne and Bennie Parring are two elderly Ravensmead residents whose siblings are buried in the Hardekraaltjie Cemetery. They recalled how powerless the community was during the forced removals. 'Back then, you didn't have a say because it was apartheid. The white man talks alone,' said Anne.⁶

This dissertation traces the intangible⁷ and tangible⁸ heritage in Tiervlei (now known as Ravensmead) as a place of continuity, dispossession and displacement under apartheid. *In-situ* dispossession represents people remaining in place or experiencing a prolonged multi-stage process of removal. *Ex-situ* displacement is the expulsion of people from their homes, communities and livelihoods.⁹ These two concepts are discussed in the literature chapter and how it relates to the area. This dissertation explores the archive, media reports, counter-mapping methodologies and memory to unwrap layers of erasure, dispossession and fragmentation as a consequence of forced removals.

⁵ Pirie, G., 2005, October. Researching Cape Town, 1990-2004. In *Urban forum* (Vol. 16, No. 4, pp. 336-351). Springer Netherlands.

⁶ <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2023-01-19-we-need-to-know-what-happened-to-the-bones-tiervlei-community-wants-restitution-decades-after-bodies-were-forcefully-removed/> [accessed 19 January 2023]

⁷ NHRA section 2 (xxi) define intangible heritage as 'living heritage' and list 8 cultural elements.

⁸ NHRA section 2 (xxii1) (xiv1) list tangible heritage as objects, monuments, structures.

⁹ Feldman, S. and Geisler, C. 2012. *Land expropriation and displacement in Bangladesh*, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 39:3-4, 971-993

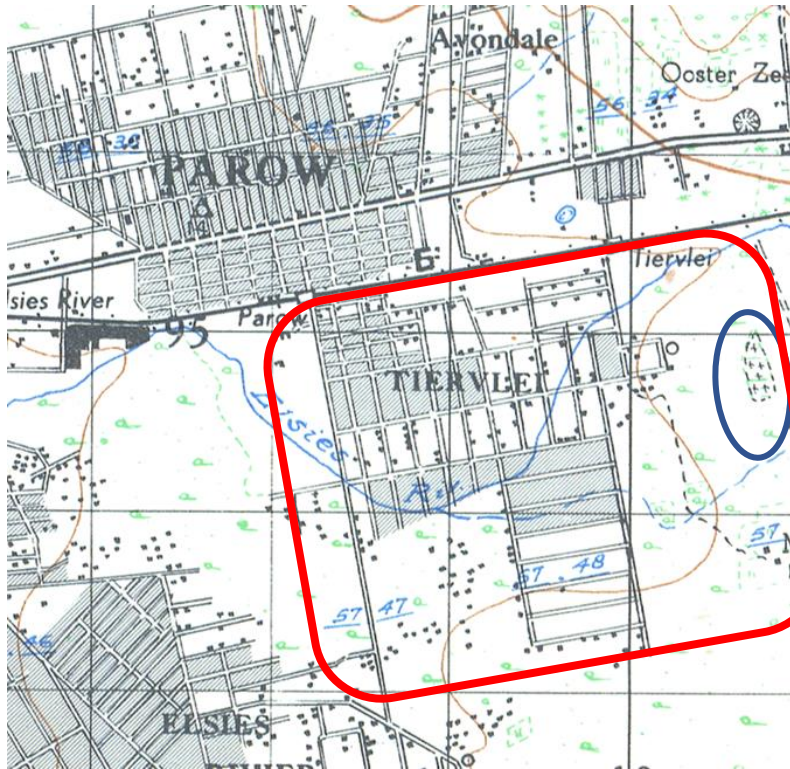


Figure 5: Aerial imagery 1941 the study area (in red) Tiervlei (later Parow Valley and Ravensmead) and blue the Hardekraaljie Cemetery (National Geo-spatial information, edited by author)

The research question

Tracing Intangible and tangible heritage, where are practices of memory located in the physical environment? And can memory be made visible in the present and safeguarded for future generations?

The research objectives were not only to document or record but to enable the community to celebrate its heritage and pass it on to future generations. The research contributes to uncovering and documenting the heritage and history of the previously marginalised non-white communities in the northern suburbs. It will contribute to the transcribing of the erased and forgotten memories of the disadvantaged community. It will be complementing the limited available heritage, both official and unofficial, with a focus on community-based identity and memory. It explores the presence of heritage spaces and practices in the landscape and attempts to identify such spaces, which may act as heritage markers for the community. The process began with a memory project on the Hardekraaltjie cemetery, an ongoing project initiated by the community.¹⁰

¹⁰ <https://www.litnet.co.za/die-onvoltooide-verhaal-van-die-hardekraaltjie-begraafplaas/> [accessed 10 April 2022], <https://www.sun.ac.za/english/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=8982> [accessed 10 April 2022]

The rationale for the research was to create an awareness of undocumented heritage spaces and practices that must be recorded. Hayden (1995) sees identity as intimately linked to memory and mentions that urban landscapes are the storehouses of the social memories of families and communities.¹¹ Stewart (2021)¹² states that our history includes matters of land justice and restoration, memory and heritage and ultimately informs our understanding of heritage and inheritance in South Africa.

This project is about making the invisible visible, documenting the undocumented histories of communities whose heritage spaces and practices require recognition. Where and how is the memory displayed, practised and preserved in the present? What does it mean today? The use of intangible cultural/living heritage presents an opportunity to redress the injustices suffered in the past by marginalised communities.¹³ It is important in the absence of the dominant visual materiality of the physical built environment, which was often neglected, destroyed and/or erased by successive oppressive governments before 1994.

Methodology, positionality and ethical considerations

The object of this dissertation is to trace intangible and tangible heritage in a place of continuity and dispossession. Savoy (2015) defines 'trace' as an 'active search' or a 'track of what once was.'¹⁴ To 'trace' is to explore layered histories. In pursuit of this aim I have used in-depth research and 'thick description' to portray in depth the culture and context of the area.¹⁵

The qualitative tradition appreciates subjectivity and accepts multiple perspectives and realities.¹⁶ For this study it creates the opportunity to explore and understand the

¹¹ Hayden, D., 1997. *The power of place: Urban landscapes as public history*. MIT press.

¹² Stewart, M, 2021. 'Counter-mapping heritage: Memory and significance in places of racialised land dispossession the case of Lower Claremont, Cape Town. MA dissertation. University Cape Town. p 13

¹³ NHRA preamble: 'Our heritage celebrates our achievements and contributes to redressing past inequities'

¹⁴ Savoy, L., 2015. *Trace: Memory, history, race, and the American landscape*. Catapult.

¹⁵ Ponterotto, J.G., 2006. Brief note on the origins, evolution, and meaning of the qualitative research concept thick description. *The qualitative report*, 11(3), pp.538-549.

¹⁶ O'Leary, K., Dong, T., Haines, J.K., Gilbert, M., Churchill, E.F. and Nichols, J., 2017, June. The moving context kit: designing for context shifts in multi-device experiences. In *Proceedings of the 2017 Conference on Designing Interactive Systems* (pp. 309-320).

interactions, processes, lived experiences and belief systems of individuals, institutions, cultural groups and even the everyday life of the community.

The qualitative framework can be separated into at least five groups including ethnography, narrative, phenomenology, grounded theory and case study.

Ethnography is the study of living heritage as a concept rooted in identity formation, meaning making, spirituality and social well-being.¹⁷ The qualitative research techniques used here include a focus group and individual oral history interviews as well as the collection of data from a range of sources using different methods.¹⁸ These methods include official records, personal observation, interviews and the recording of oral histories, literature, newspapers and archives.

Merging and triangulating these techniques is an important aspect of qualitative research.¹⁹ The multi-method approach generates insights that might not be obtained using a single method and drawing out multifaceted social experiences.²⁰ Consistent with the grounded theory, the research themes are open ended, not predetermined. This made it possible to identify additional cross-sectional themes and sub-themes²¹ not yet visible in the local landscape.

While it is useful and important to elicit oral histories, caution must be exercised over the way they are gathered and by whom. They are useful in qualitative research, contributing to 'thick' descriptions²² and they facilitate the 'production of new historical knowledge' by recording memories of people not represented in or by the official archive.²³

This approach allows for the recording of possible 'new' information in understanding both the intangible and tangible history of this community. In this instance it may also

¹⁷ Laurajane, S. and Akagawa, N., 2009. *Intangible Heritage*, London and New York.

¹⁸ Gillham, *Case Study Research Methods*, 13.

¹⁹ O'Leary, K., Dong, T., Haines, J.K., Gilbert, M., Churchill, E.F. and Nichols, J., 2017, June. The moving context kit: designing for context shifts in multi-device experiences. In *Proceedings of the 2017 Conference on Designing Interactive Systems* (pp. 309-320).

²⁰ Bhattacharjee, A., 2012. '*Social Science Research: Principles, Methods, and Practices*'. Textbooks Collection. 3. http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/oa_textbooks/3 [accessed 10 April 2022]

²¹ Hammersley, M., 2012. *What is qualitative research?* (p. 144). Bloomsbury Academic.

²² Janesick, V.J., 2007. Oral History as a Social Justice Project: Issues for the Qualitative Researcher. *Qualitative Report*, 12(1), pp.111-121.

²³ Witz, L. and Rassool, C., 1992. The Dog, the Rabbit and the Reluctant Historians. *South African Historical Journal*, 27(1), pp.238-242.

serve as a tool to help other marginalised groups uncover hidden histories.²⁴ In this regard, Lusaka (2016) discusses Howarth who contends that oral history is not only limited and confined to recording information for the sake of recording or collecting. It is also aimed at the interpreting objects and historical buildings, providing the meaning and uses of certain objects and opening links with the public.²⁵ Field (2006) cautions against seeing memory work as a silver bullet, as writing, remembering and transmitting memories is selective, which means 'regeneration' will leave new silences and issues to be confronted in the future.²⁶

My access for this case study was that my family lived in the area and referred me to some of the interviewees, after which the snowball sampling technique was used to identify additional participants. The techniques accommodated the different stakeholders and allowed them to express themselves within the framework. I had not intended to include more than 15 participants, planning to interview between seven and nine community members. This represented an intergenerational group consisting of both genders; two non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or non-profit organisations (NPOs) working in the area and two representatives of the City of Cape Town responsible for heritage and two heritage or cultural representatives in public or private practice.

Individual interviews took place at the library, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)'s Ravensmead office, at the United Protestant church, the residences of two participants and at the City Cape Town Heritage branch. The interviews, which were recorded, were 'unstructured covering the individual's life' (Becker et al 2012).²⁷ Oral histories or the life history interviews are not generalisable,²⁸ they will still provide insights into the social and political shifts and will locate places and practices of memory. Each session lasted for between an hour and one and a half hours and there was one session with each participant, except Clarence Gertse, with whom I

²⁴ Witz, L., Minkley, G. and Rassool, C., 2017. *Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts*. University of Michigan Press.

²⁵ Lusaka, M.W., 2016. Conserving spaces of memory and heritage: the complexities, challenges and politics of the stone wall project on bluestone quarry at Robben Island.

²⁶ Field, S., 2006. Beyond 'Healing': trauma, oral history and regeneration. *Oral History*, pp.31-42. p.41

²⁷ Becker, S., Bryman, A. and Ferguson, H. eds., 2012. *Understanding research for social policy and social work: themes, methods and approaches*. policy press.

²⁸ Ibid

had two sessions. The schedule of interviews and the proposed group session did not go as planned and are discussed under the limitations.

The historical research component, using both primary and secondary sources, explores the development of Tiervlei, the urban growth and fragmentation of the landscape and its historical development. This researcher was aware of the limitations, the absence of information and the need to refigure the archive because the documents were written for or by the very authorities who had caused the destruction.²⁹ The government sources are primarily from the City of Cape Town's Environment and Heritage department and Heritage Western Cape. Press clippings found in the National Library were also used. The archival sources and the community's narrative will not be compared but they will lay a foundation for understanding the lived experiences and social interaction across spaces and places.

The purpose of the research is to contribute to documenting this undocumented community's history and heritage and establishing a community archive. I am mindful of the argument of Howarth and Field (2006) that oral history ultimately invites the interviewee into the spaces of the public through their memories and Field's caution about the limitation and selectiveness of memory. However, the information collected offers both the reader and the community of Tiervlei new insights into the morphological evolution of this landscape and the community.

My position

This dissertation is the result of a process that started when I tried to research my family history in Ceres. I could find no significant historical or heritage information on either Tiervlei or Ravensmead and I wanted to contribute to the narrative. I became involved in the community as a social historian, working on the heritage and history to create an awareness and encourage the community to contribute to the narrative.

The journey was severely hampered for more than two years by the COVID-19 epidemic and the resultant restrictions on movement and contact. I am both an insider and an outsider in the community that is the subject of the dissertation. Adler

²⁹ Cauchi, J., 2004. Carolyn Hamilton et al. eds. Refiguring the Archive. *ARCHIFACTS*, pp.59-60.

& Adler (1987) state that the insider role has both benefits and limitations.³⁰ My extensive family network contributed to my being accepted in the community, but it could also be seen as a bias and detrimental to the data collection or analysis.³¹

I was born and raised as a coloured male in Tiervlei before the area was renamed Ravensmead, but when my grandmother was moved to Belhar in the 1980s I moved with her. However, I frequently visit members of my family who still reside in Tiervlei, where my great-grandparents were landowners in 1936 before they were dispossessed. During her first marriage my grandmother had owned a property at 42 Joppie Fourie Street Tiervlei.

The outsider (observer) is perceived to be 'neutral', retrieving information without bias.³² Both positions could potentially be a challenge, resulting in a biased or prejudged account, but I have managed these limitations by ensuring that all assertions are evaluated against the views of others and against the literature.

Ethical considerations

I am mindful of the ethical guidelines of the University of Cape Town³³ with regard to human participants, data capturing and the protection or safeguarding of the information.

All participants have been protected from harm. The research did not involve minors and participation was voluntary. Participants were free to withdraw at any stage without negative consequences. Interviews were conducted in person.³⁴ The participants were informed of their rights and consent forms were distributed and discussed where clarification was needed. The recording device was secured when it was not in use and the recordings were downloaded after each session for

³⁰ Adler, P.A. and Adler, P., 1987. *Membership roles in field research* (Vol. 6). Sage.

³¹ Dwyer, S.C. and Buckle, J.L., 2009. The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research. *International journal of qualitative methods*, 8(1), pp.54-63.

³² Ibid: p. 59.

³³ <https://www.uct.ac.za/main/about/policies> [research accessed 18 April 2022]

https://www.uct.ac.za/sites/default/files/image_tool/images/328/about/policies/Policy_Responsible_Conduct_Research_March2022.pdf [accessed 18 April 2022]

https://www.uct.ac.za/sites/default/files/image_tool/images/328/about/policies/TGO_Policy_Research_Data_Management_2018.pdf [accessed 18 April 2022]

https://www.uct.ac.za/sites/default/files/image_tool/images/328/about/policies/Human_Research_Ethics_Code_2012.pdf [accessed 18 April 2022]

³⁴ Covid-19 regulations

safekeeping. The research was conducted in a manner that did not 'violate ethical standards' or 'compromise professional standards' (Fluehr-Lobhan 2015 [1998] pp139).³⁵

Structure

Chapter 1 outlines the research question and the aims, objectives, rationale and methodology of the research. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on tangible and intangible heritage, memory and its intersections of theory, policy and legislation. What is the relevance of continuity of use, communities of practice and association of place?³⁶ Chapter 3 traces the historical context, the development and the morphological change of Tiervlei into Ravensmead, its layers and implications for the urban environment, including the legislation that affected these changes. I use maps and aerial imagery to illustrate graphically how the area has transformed and investigate the presence of heritage spaces and practices. How it is practised or the reasons for it not being practised and its relationship to the material fabric if at all.

Chapter 4 discusses and explores the oral interviews with the participants, the mapping exercise and what it reveals. The community's narrative is examined to understand the lived experiences and social interaction across spaces and places. Chapter 5 presents the research findings from the data and the concluding chapter considers the data that was collected.

The research

The research timeline started with the submission of the proposal. The fieldwork and research component ran concurrently. Ethical clearance was submitted after the proposal had been approved. However, institutional challenges affected the proposed plan – there was a few months delay in the appointment of a supervisor and a technical delay with the ethical clearance.

This affected the focus group and the interviews. By the time the ethical clearance was received some of the participants were no longer available and the focus group

³⁵ Fluehr-Lobban, C. 2015 [1998]. Ethics. In H.R. Bernard and C.C. Gravlee (eds.) *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology* (Second Edition). London: Rowman & Littlefield, pp.131-150.

³⁶ Laurajane, S. and Akagawa, N., 2009. *Intangible Heritage*, London and New York.

had to be cancelled. I only interviewed seven participants rather than the proposed eleven.

The interviewees, who provided a rich narrative of the lived experiences of an intergenerational group, were born between 1942 and 1966. Apart from one, whose family was part of the *ex-situ* displacement programme and moved to Belhar, all the others have spent their lives in the area. Time constraints meant that the fieldwork component could not proceed as planned after the delay and the unavailability of potential interviewees. In this regard I am grateful for my supervisor Dr Cynthia Kros's support and understanding. The institutional research took place in the Western Cape Archives, the City of Cape Town (CCT) Environment and Heritage Resources Information Centre (EHRIC), the National Library of South Africa and other relevant institutions. However, there were limitations.

Verne Harris (2002) reminds us that the country's archives are informed³⁷ and dominated by presentations of a colonial and apartheid social memory of our history. Hall (2006)³⁸ identifies the counter-memory method as particularly useful as he explores the urban landscape of Cape Town in relation to recollection and forms of inequality. The oral interviews offered insights into the experience and views of those who lived through the periods covered in the dissertation.

The purpose is to locate, document and map the places and practices of memory of the community. A sub-question explores how these can be made visible in the present and safeguarded for future generations. I discuss the debates about heritage, legislation and the ideas of memory and placemaking. I consider the potential limitations or advantages of safeguarding tangible and intangible heritage. The dissertation may be used as an analytical tool to document other marginalised communities, safeguarding their heritage for future generations and positioning it in relation to the dominant heritage discourse. The following chapter considers the literature and its intersections of theory, policy, and legislation.

³⁷ Harris, V., 2002. The archival sliver: power, memory, and archives in South Africa. *Archival science*, 2, pp.63-86.

³⁸ Hall, M., 2006. Identity, memory and counter-memory: the archaeology of an urban landscape. *Journal of material culture*, 11(1-2), pp.189-209.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature on which I drew can be divided into themes. A literature review is essentially concerned with the secondary literature – reports on scholarly research and debates among scholars on a particular subject. In this regard heritage, memory, maps, and identity in landscapes. I could find no previous narratives or heritage work covering this area and rely largely on the information gleaned from the interviews.

Literature on heritage

The concept of heritage has expanded significantly since the 1931 Athens Charter³⁹ and the 1964 Venice Charter, which focused on build fabric, objects, monuments and buildings.⁴⁰ The Nara and Burra charters added elements of culture and the uniqueness of communities. The Nara Document acknowledged ‘the diversity of cultures and heritage in the world’ and the fact that ‘values may differ from culture to culture’.⁴¹

UNESCO’s position on cultural values suggests that cultural heritage does not end with monuments and collections of objects. It also includes elements such as form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions, techniques. It continues with management systems, location and setting, language and other forms of intangible heritage, spirit and feeling and other internal and external factors or living expressions.⁴²

The Burra Charter describes conservation as ‘looking after a place so as to maintain its cultural significance and the aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present or future generations’, which is represented in the location itself.⁴³ Araoz

³⁹ ICOMOS, Athens Charter (1931) The Conservation charters was brought about by global events, the 1st and 2nd world wars. The focus was on the restoration of historical buildings and matters of conservation. This included the introduction of protection guidelines for heritage and conservation monuments.

⁴⁰ ICOMOS. 1964:1. International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites. The Venice Charter 1964. Available: http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf [2021 March 22]

⁴¹ ICOMOS. 1994. The Nara Document on Authenticity. Available: <http://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf> [2021 March 22]

⁴² UNESCO, ‘What is Intangible Cultural Heritage?’ <https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-isintangible-heritage-00003>.

⁴³ ICOMOS (Australia), The Burra Charter 2013: Charter for places of cultural significance

(2013), a heritage scholar, saw this idea as an inter-generational agreement to transfer our heritage to future generations with the same vigour, significance and authenticity as we received it from those who went before us.⁴⁴ This concept has influenced my work.

Also useful is Goodrich and Bombardella's (2016) discussion of the heritage landscape in relation to the statue debate and the unequal representation of communities within South Africa.⁴⁵ This was evident in the way in which heritage declarations were driven by the government for an official national narrative and an overreliance on tangible heritage.⁴⁶

The idea of what constitutes heritage changed from an emphasis on Jan van Riebeeck (and the establishment of 'European' civilisation and the heroic actions of the Voortrekkers) to resistance to symbols of the colonial past such as the statue of Cecil Rhodes on the University of Cape Town campus. Before 1990 the minority government and its supporters were intent on preserving the heritage of the Voortrekkers, Van Riebeeck and so on.⁴⁷ The authors were against the emphasis on colonial heritage to the exclusion of the contribution of other communities and the over reliance on tangible representations. They consider how it can be reinterpreted, enabled by the new NHRA, which focuses on healing and nation building.⁴⁸

When apartheid ended South Africa's 3 500 declared heritage sites represented 97% of the white community's heritage in the struggle for identity of the colonial settlers and Afrikaner self-determination.⁴⁹

Legislation and policy

Our post-apartheid heritage legislation is empowered by the South African Constitution Act of 1996. Sections 9.1 and 9.3 of the Bill of Rights acknowledge the

⁴⁴ Araoz, G., 2013. Conservation philosophy and its development: Changing understandings of authenticity and significance. *Heritage & Society*, 6(2), pp.144-154. p.150.

⁴⁵ Goodrich, A. and Bombardella, P., 2016. What are statues good for? Winning the battle or losing the battleground? *Koers: Bulletin for Christian Scholarship= Koers: Bulletin vir Christelike Wetenskap*, 81(3), pp.1-10.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹ Ibid

cultural rights of the indigenous people.⁵⁰ The National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999 (NHRA) promotes an inclusive approach to nation building, embracing all communities and their tangible and intangible cultures and customs.⁵¹ The stated objective of the Act is to 'encourage communities to nurture and conserve their legacy so that it may be bequeathed to future generations'.⁵² These elements were not protected under previous legislation. A key deviation in the heritage legislation is the inclusion of intangible heritage.

In section 2 (xxi) 'living heritage' refers to the intangible aspects of inherited culture and may include cultural tradition, oral history, performance, ritual, popular memory, skills and techniques, indigenous knowledge systems and a holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships.

Section 3(2)(b) adds:

(b) places to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage;

(h) sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa and

(i) movable objects, including —

(ii) objects to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage.

The NHRA replaced the National Monuments Act of 1969, the focus of which was on relics, object, and monuments, predominately of the apartheid and colonial eras.⁵³

South Africa is a signatory to the 1972 World Heritage Convention, which describe living heritage as the foundation of most communities in the country and an essential source of identity and continuity.⁵⁴ However, the NHRA 1999 prioritises tangible over intangible heritage.

⁵⁰ South African Constitution Act no. 108 of 1996

⁵¹ NHRA

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ Ndlovu, N., 2011. Legislation as an instrument in South African heritage management: Is it effective? *Conservation and management of archaeological sites*, 13(1), pp.31-57.

⁵⁴ Department of Arts and Culture, <http://www.dac.gov.za/content/living-heritage> [accessed 15 October 2022]

Thabo Manetsi (2017) argues that the South African practice has failed to address silenced heritage, perpetuating a process of exclusion.⁵⁵ He refers to the lack of coordinating mechanisms for safeguarding intangible/living heritage.⁵⁶ The NHRA refers to the management of living heritage related to heritage objects and sites, whereas the National Heritage Councils Act of 1999 discusses the safeguarding of living heritage when it is linked to tangible forms of heritage.⁵⁷

Archeologist Ndukyakhe Ndlovu (2011) takes exception to the scant regard for an 'African approach' and the over reliance on a 'Eurocentric approach'.⁵⁸ He discusses a number of limitations to attaining the stated objective of the NHRA. This includes to record, safeguard and represent the nation's heritage assets while simultaneously recognising local communities' right to access to their heritage. He reiterates concerns about providing accessibility to the heritage sites for locals or the practising community, which is associated with and determined by affordability rather than cultural rights.⁵⁹ Although he raises these concerns, he concedes that the NHRA is an improvement on the previous legislation with regard to including all communities in the 'national estate' and the participatory approach to 'public participation' it advocates.⁶⁰

The three spheres of responsibility

The NHRA allocate responsibility to the three spheres of government: national, provincial (in this case Heritage Western Cape) and municipal. The City of Cape Town has divided the third category into subcategories IIIA, IIIB and IIIC.⁶¹

Draft National Policy on South African Living Heritage, 2009

The draft policy, which is relevant to this dissertation, states a national policy promoting living heritage is necessary to correct the historical imbalances and the

⁵⁵ Manetsi, T., 2017. State-prioritised heritage: governmentality, heritage management and the prioritisation of the liberation heritage in post-colonial South Africa. (PhD Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2017), 213.

⁵⁶ Manetsi, T., 2011. Safeguarding intangible heritage in South Africa: a critique of the Draft National Policy on Living Heritage. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 6, pp.57-69.

⁵⁷ Ibid. p.3

⁵⁸ Ndlovu, N., 2011. Legislation as an instrument in South African heritage management: Is it effective? *Conservation and management of archaeological sites*, 13(1), pp.31-57. p.52.

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 3

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Environmental and Heritage Management, 2015

manner in which the living heritage of different communities has been underrepresented. There is also a need to coordinate living heritage, which is managed by various agencies, including communities.⁶²

The draft policy refers to intangible heritage as living heritage.⁶³ This term emphasises the continuity of a heritage that was discouraged during colonialism, apartheid and by missionaries.⁶⁴ It states that living heritage (intangible) cannot be separated from tangible heritage⁶⁵ and acknowledges that it is valuable and irreplaceable. It is rooted in the history and identity of a group or community and constantly reproduced, developed and renewed by its bearers.⁶⁶

Heritage and its uses

Various communities and nations have used heritage to legitimate their claims to particular spaces, often excluding others in the process. Ashworth et al (1996) have argued that 'heritage interpretation is endowed with messages which are deliberately framed by an existing or aspirant power elite to legitimise the existing dominant regime'.⁶⁷ This resonates with the evidence revealed by my research and with Stuart Hall's (2005) description of heritage as 'the material embodiment of the spirit of the nation' when it fits into the official national story.⁶⁸

Harrison (2010) differentiates between a 'top-down' (official) and a 'bottom-up' (unofficial) classification of heritage and the relationships between people, place and memory.⁶⁹ Smith (2006), introducing the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD), summarises the Venice Charter as institutionalising and professionalising the heritage process. I examine how the AHD works in my case study. My interviews revealed that Smith's notion of heritage is central to an understanding of what assumes the status of heritage in the minds of communities.

⁶² Department of Arts and Culture, *National Policy on South African Heritage. 1st Draft*, (March 2009), 8.

⁶³ Ibid. p.5

⁶⁴ Ibid. p.20

⁶⁵ Ibid. p.10

⁶⁶ Ibid. p.12

⁶⁷ Tunbridge, J.E. and Ashworth, G.J., 1996. Dissonant heritage. *The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*.

⁶⁸ Hall, S., 2005. Who's Heritage? Un-settling 'their heritage', re-imagining the post-nation. *The Legacies of Race*. London & New York: Routledge, pp.23-35.

⁶⁹ Harrison, R. ed., 2010. *Understanding the politics of heritage*. Manchester University Press.

It privileges the elite across the political, economic and academic spheres and requires those with experience to protect the object and guard it against value alteration and distortion.⁷⁰ These are important elements in my understanding of why things have gone awry in Tiervlei-Ravensmead.

Smith argues that heritage is not a thing, site, building or material object, rather it is a social and cultural practice of making meaning of the material elements that constitute heritage.⁷¹ She observes that all heritage is intangible, but does not dismiss the built fabric, instead deprivileging the self-elevation of the built fabric as a form in the heritage space.⁷²

Wijesuriya argues that living heritage is visible in the use of heritage places and its connection with 'communities' and the 'continuity' of traditions and practices.⁷³ This resonates with the Nara Document. It states: 'Conservation of cultural heritage must be considered within its cultural context including the distinctly intangible qualities of "use and function", "location and setting", and "spirit and feeling".'⁷⁴ Whereas Harriet Deacon identifies the mode of transmission of living heritage as generational,⁷⁵ which is explored as the dissertation unfolds.

Place-making and whose heritage?

Place-making literature has played an important role in the writing of this dissertation. Highmore (2002) discusses Lefebvre who sees space and time as being socially produced and understood in relation to a specific community and as not only relational but historical. It includes societal arrangements, power relations and tensions relevant in each situation.⁷⁶

The daily activity in these spaces contributes to identity formation. Within this context the heritage of Tiervlei must be traced through the social and political changes in the South African landscape. He argues that relationships are formed through activities

⁷⁰ Smith, L., 2006. *Uses of heritage*. Routledge.p.90

⁷¹ Ibid p. 45.

⁷² Ibid p.3 and 44

⁷³ Wijesuriya, G., 2015. Living heritage: a summary. *Rome: ICCROM*.

⁷⁴ ICOMOS, N., 1994. The Nara document on authenticity. *Proceedings of the ICOMOS, Nara, Japan*, pp.1-6.

⁷⁵ Deacon, H., Dondolo, L., Mrubata, M. and Prosalendis, S., 2004. *The subtle power of intangible heritage: Legal and financial instruments for safeguarding intangible heritage*. HSRC Press.p, 28.

⁷⁶ Highmore, B., 2002. *Everyday life and cultural theory: An introduction*. Routledge.p.29.

and practices and that these make it possible to identify the interconnectedness of social and material spaces, both physical (built) and daily social interactions.⁷⁷

The spaces and places identified in this study reveal the values and meanings inscribed by the community of Ravensmead. The Burra Charter (2013) identifies places that 'may have tangible and intangible dimensions and values for different individuals and communities. The fact that cultural significance may change over time and with use⁷⁸ raises the question of whether there was a change in value and use in Tiervlei-Ravensmead. In addition to what extent, as pre-democracy identity was directly linked with the separation of race, culture and values.

At the turn of the 19th century the area was multiracial and integrated, but the political and spatial structural changes introduced by the Natives Land Act of 1913, the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and the Group Areas Act of 1950 created separation along racial lines. The concept of a multiracial community became a contested terrain within this framework. These Acts, and the use of the Slums Act of 1934 to facilitate demolitions in Tiervlei, not only displaced people along racial lines, but they also dislodged family social structures.

The formation of the identity of a community is linked to the values and heritage of what is visible, shared, unspoken or suppressed. Community is a contested term, with Smith and Waterton (2009a) disproving the idea that a community is a homogenous construct defined by religion, class, ethnicity and/or education.⁷⁹ This study uses the term as Waterton and Smith (2010) do, to denote social concepts and experiences that are constantly in motion and not fixed entities and descriptions, in flux, unstable and uncertain. Community should not be pinned to geography alone, it is a frame of reference or orientation that galvanises around shared interests, common causes or collective experiences.⁸⁰ One interviewee, Claude Young, confirmed that his memories lie in Tiervlei, the community and area where he was born, not the area in Belhar to which he moved.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Ibid p.29

⁷⁸ Icomos, A., 2013. The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS charter for places of cultural significance. *Burra: ICOMOS.1.1*

⁷⁹ Smith, L., and Waterton, E., 2009a. *Heritage, communities and archaeology*. London: Duckworth.

⁸⁰ Waterton, E. and Smith, L., 2010. The recognition and misrecognition of community heritage. *International journal of heritage studies*, 16(1-2), pp.4-15.

⁸¹ Claude Young interview with author 13 December 2022

Memory as instrument

For Hayden (1995) identity is intimately tied to memory and she sees urban landscapes as the storehouses of the social memories of families and communities that survive many generations.⁸² This research explores the memories of this community to unlock and display these storehouses of heritage. Hayden believes that destroyed places of spatial conflict should be marked to restore shared public meaning and to enhance social meaning in public spaces. I believe that in the Tiervlei landscape there might be many spaces, tangible or intangible, that have been ignored and need to be recognised.

Similarly, for Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) there is an inseparable link between memory and place and some spaces are markers of history and memory.⁸³ They further argue that memory and place combine to produce identities and often contestations of these identities,⁸⁴ which this study explores in relation to Tiervlei. Maurice Halbwach (2006) argues that all remembering relies on group dynamics – the family, social standing or religion and the social relations among members of the group. He believes the lived collective memory is rich in detail, authentic and valid.⁸⁵

Pierre Nora (1989) introduces the nature of contemporary memory, which is constructed and replaces ‘true’ memory’,⁸⁶ and the need for the *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory).⁸⁷ It separates contemporary memory, which is institutionalised, elitest and preserved in archives, and ‘true’ memory, which is imbedded, unspoken and part of the daily social structure.⁸⁸ Oral history accounts can bring memories of the everyday to the surface. However, Portelli (1991) cautions about the limitations of oral histories, which may be a narrative more about meaning than events.⁸⁹ In other words, memory might be a source of information to enable the understanding

⁸² Hayden, D., 1997. *The power of place: Urban landscapes as public history*. MIT press.

⁸³ Hoelscher, S. and Alderman, D.H., 2004. Memory and place: geographies of a critical relationship. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 5(3), pp.347-355.

⁸⁴ Ibid

⁸⁵ Russell, N., 2006. Collective Memory before and after Halbwachs. *The French Review*, pp.792-804.

⁸⁶ Nora, P., 1989. Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire. *representations*, 26, pp.7-24.

⁸⁷ Ibid p. 12.

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ Portelli, A., 1991. *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* State University of New York Press.p.50

of meanings, while the process of memory is subject to recreation and reconstruction.⁹⁰

In exploring the nature of memory-making in the present, Sean Field (2012) emphasises the process of active imaginings.⁹¹ He argues that some spaces become important markers on which memories 'crystalise' and these spaces and their memories become significant as the people interact with them.⁹² The need for structures as a safeguard against rapid change is a significant element of this study. The memory of Ravensmead formerly Tiervlei becomes an important experience that could be useful for other communities as a reference point.

Hall (2006) identifies urban landscapes as expressions or constructs of identity, memory and counter memory and uses them as he explores the urban landscape of Cape Town.⁹³ He asserts that urban landscapes are expressions of identity-shaping by those who inhabit them and are reinterpreted as political and economic power relationships change.⁹⁴ Dutch rule influenced the now famous Company Garden, the Castle and street names⁹⁵ that were established by the Dutch East India Company and have been preserved and are presented as heritage in contemporary Cape Town.⁹⁶ Under National Party rule Afrikaans was promoted and made compulsory as a partial medium of instruction and symbols related to Van Riebeeck and to the Voortrekkers were promoted.⁹⁷

He argues that an urban landscape of counter-memory emphasises contradictions, keeping discourse open as a public sphere of challenge and counter challenge. Untold stories, he believes, must be claimed and anchored in the cultural landscape of Cape Town.⁹⁸ In this dissertation I use counter-memory to trace the story of

⁹⁰ Ibid

⁹¹ Field, S., 2012. *Oral history, community, and displacement: Imagining memories in post-apartheid South Africa*. Springer.

⁹² Ibid. p.103.

⁹³ Hall, M., 2006. Identity, memory and counter-memory: the archaeology of an urban landscape. *Journal of material culture*, 11(1-2), pp.189-209.

⁹⁴ Ibid

⁹⁵ Ibid p.3-4

⁹⁶ Ibid p.8

⁹⁷ Ibid p.10

⁹⁸ Ibid p.19

Tiervlei, the spaces that are not acknowledged, recorded or written because the community did not have sufficient political or economic power.

A tool to construct and reconstruct

The mapping and un-layering of the community's spaces becomes important if one follows Lefebvre's approach that the historic city is fragmented and consumed as an illogical set of spaces.⁹⁹ Over the decades this urban morphology may offer details and patterns of the historic urban environment and community life within Tiervlei. Lefebvre's approach and the historical urban landscape approach are relevant as the once multiracial community was subjected to racial classification, dispossession and forced removals. The government separated the community into racial groups, segregating it and breaking longstanding family social structures.

UNESCO in its HUL proposes a view that allows for different interpretations.¹⁰⁰ It acknowledges that the urban environment and its morphology may be read as texts and sites as continuums in time and space.¹⁰¹ It respects the evolution of landscapes without erasing parts of the story or favouring one historical period over another and acknowledges both tangible and intangible heritage as sources of social cohesion, creativity, innovation and urban regeneration.¹⁰²

Van Oers sees the HUL as an outcome of natural, cultural and socioeconomic processes that construct it spatially, temporally and experientially. It is buildings and spaces, rituals and values that people bring into the city. This concept involves layers of symbolic significance, intangible heritage, perception of values and connections between the composite elements of the landscape.¹⁰³ It is within this context that I will map the heritage of Tiervlei. The process of historical layering creates a long-term cultural identity for all the inhabitants of the city.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹Lefebvre, H. (1996). *Writing on Cities*. Blackwell Publishers: London

¹⁰⁰ UNESCO. *New life for historic cities: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach explained*. Booklet published by UNESCO (2011).

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² UNESCO, W., 2013. *New life for historic cities: The historic urban landscape approach explained*. *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)*.

¹⁰³ Van Oers, R., 2010. *Managing cities and the historic urban landscape initiative – an introduction*. *Managing Historic Cities*, pp.7-17. p14

¹⁰⁴ Bandarin, F. and Van Oers, R., 2012. *The historic urban landscape: managing heritage in an urban century*. John Wiley & Sons.

Within the Tiervlei environment the HUL and memory were useful in identifying the historic Hardekraaltjie Cemetery, which was initiated by the memory of the community, after which a bottom-up engagement was initiated with the University of Stellenbosch.¹⁰⁵ The resultant individual mapping of memory locations and physical space reveals scattered, disconnected spaces. However, when they are woven together, these memories and physical locations could transform into celebrated spectacle moments and a platform for new memories.

Taylor (2015) describes cultural landscape as an expression of human value and identity marked by distinctive characteristics. It is tangible in the physical patterns and intangible in the symbolic meanings and values we attach to places objects and ways of expression. They offer a past, are part of the present and suggest future continuity. It is these places that give rise to local identity and the sense of place of communities.¹⁰⁶

Maps and their influence

Mapping is an inherent requirement for identifying heritage in the South African legislative environment.¹⁰⁷ For Harris maps 'are neither neutral nor unproblematic with respect to representation, positionality, and partiality of knowledge' since they portray a power relationship.¹⁰⁸

Harley, Foucault, Harris, Peluso, the Kollektiv Oranotango and others contend that mapping as a medium has transformative power. Maps allow for a visual display of the presence or omission of heritage resources, contrasting or promoting inclusive heritage displays across communities and groupings. It allows for valuable discussions. Harley (1989) argues that we can only understand the history of cartography if we interrogate the forces at play around mapping.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ <https://www.sun.ac.za/afrikaans/Lists/news/DispForm.aspx?ID=8533> US brei konsultasieproses oor historiese Hardekraaltjie-begraafplaas uit [accessed 12 December 2022]

¹⁰⁶ Taylor, K. (2015) 'Cities as Cultural landscapes' in *Reconnecting the City: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage* (eds F Bandarin & R Van Oers), pp. 179-202, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015, p. 5

¹⁰⁷ NHRA Section 38(3)(2)(a)

¹⁰⁸ Hazen, H.D. and Harris, L., 2006. Power of maps:(Counter) mapping for conservation..p. 101

¹⁰⁹ Harley, J.B., 1989. Deconstructing the map. *Cartographica: The international journal for geographic information and geovisualization*, 26(2), pp.1-20. p.3

Deconstruction requires us to read between the lines of the map to uncover the silences and contradictions that challenge its honesty. Cartographic facts are only facts within a certain cultural perspective.¹¹⁰ Hall (2006) illustrates this when he asserts that Cape Town's urban landscape is an expression of identity that is reinterpreted as the power relationships change.¹¹¹

Where Hall (2006) argues that the urban landscape is an expression of identity at a point in time, Harley (1989) asserts that identity reflects a cultural perspective and is imprinted on a map. In the South African context such expressions, which include boundaries, emerged during the different political periods. In this dissertation maps are analysed and compared to discover silences or omissions relating to Ravensmead's heritage. Harley asserts that because the production of a map is rooted in a social setting and the producers operate in a cultural setting map are not a neutral expression of a terrain but are power laden. He argues that maps display values such as ethnicity, politics, religion and social class and that these values are also embedded in the map-producing society.¹¹² He quotes Eagleton (1989), who understands the process of deconstruction as reinscribing and resituating.

meanings, events and objects within broader movements and structures; it is, so to speak, to reverse the imposing tapestry in order to expose in all its unglamorously dishevelled tangle the threads constituting the well-heeled image it presents to the world.¹¹³

Maps display both what is hidden and what is visible and has been recorded in the area. The information about them that is used in this dissertation might help to create interventions for other undocumented previously marginalised communities. Harley concludes that a deconstructionist argument does not invalidate but redefines the historical importance of maps. It is enhanced by adding different nuances to the power of a cartographic representation of the world. In the context of intertextuality maps can be read for alternative and sometimes competing discourses.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Ibid p.3

¹¹¹ Hall, M., 2006. Identity, memory and counteremory: the archaeology of an urban landscape. *Journal of material culture*, 11(1-2), pp.189-209.

¹¹² Harley, J.B., 1989. Deconstructing the map. *Cartographica: The international journal for geographic information and geovisualization*, 26(2), pp.1-20.. p.5

¹¹³ Ibid. p. 8

¹¹⁴ Ibid. p.15

Counter-mapping

Peluso (1995) introduced the concept of 'counter-mapping', a form of resistance by indigenous communities making visible the indigenous values of the forests in Indonesia, which were not available on the official maps.¹¹⁵ The approach was to re-insert people into the process of mapping. To challenge the idea of land ownership over indigenous ways of living, creating sketches overlaid on official GIS maps.¹¹⁶ Peluso cautioned that counter-mapping is not a magical solution to a complicated problem. However, the approach allowed the indigenous communities to document their ancestral activities and reclaim land that was being appropriated by the state and private organisations.¹¹⁷

Like Peluso, Currie and Corea (2022) see mapping as an ongoing interpretive process, not a finished product.¹¹⁸ No map can capture the culture and changing cultural life of a city, in that case Edinburgh, but it does open up space and access for open discussions across communities with different interests.¹¹⁹

The expansion of the counter-mapping initiative is illustrated in the work of the Kollektiv Oranotango, its publication on counter-mapping illustrating how maps is created and transformed by the political struggle. Its purpose is to inspire individuals and communities to document the omissions in the official map.¹²⁰ These discussions and others like Lydon's (2003)¹²¹ make a strong statement about the discourse of challenging and addressing the omissions and elitism of map making in giving expression to vulnerable and marginalised communities. In relation to Tiervlei this is best illustrated by the way the apartheid government created boundaries along racial lines. I agree with Harrison, who argues that counter-mapping presents an

¹¹⁵ Peluso, N.L., 1995. Whose woods are these? Counter-mapping forest territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Antipode*, 27(4), pp.383-406.

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ Ibid. p.20

¹¹⁸ Currie, M. and Correa, M.M., 2022. Tangibles, intangibles and other tensions in the Culture and Communities Mapping Project. *Cultural Trends*, 31(1), pp.88-106. p. 16

¹¹⁹ Ibid.p.16

¹²⁰ <https://orangotango.info/>

¹²¹ Lydon, M., 2003. Community mapping: The recovery (and discovery) of our common ground. *Geomatica*, 57(2), pp.131-144. p.4

opportunity for minority and marginalised groups to challenge official versions of heritage.¹²²

Apartheid forced removals and *in-situ* vs *ex-situ* displacement

While apartheid, displacement and forced removals are a well-known feature of South Africa's historical landscape, a less discussed feature is that displacement was both *in-situ* and *ex-situ*, as discussed by Feldman and Geisler (2012), Feldman et al 2003, Doutriaux et al 2008 and Halstead (2020). In cases of *in-situ* dispossession people remain in place or experience a prolonged multi-stage process of removal. *Ex-situ* displacement is the expulsion of people from their homes, communities and livelihoods.¹²³ *In-situ* displacement can take many forms, including citizens becoming permanently disenfranchised or deprived of rights, and it does not depend on resettlement 'out of place', but leaves people in place, with diminished and uncertain forms of livelihood.¹²⁴ Tiervlei was the site of both forms of displacement.

Halstead describes the *in-situ* displacements in Karditsa, in Greece and how the effects on the landscape disorientated the animals working the fields and the local community's everyday familiarity with the fields, walkways, routes and landmarks in the natural and cultural landscapes.¹²⁵ '*In-situ* displacement depends on relations of exclusion that set new boundaries for people's physical and social movement.'¹²⁶ The Tiervlei residents interviewed recalled how properties, whether their own, other families' or community members, were affected by the new boundaries that were imposed with little input from those affected.

There is a large repository of literature on *ex-situ* displacement in areas such as Windermere, Tramways Road, District One, District Six and Simonstown.¹²⁷ Field

¹²² Harrison, R., 2011. Counter-mapping heritage, communities and places in Australia and the UK. *Local heritage, global context: Cultural perspectives on sense of place*, pp.79-98.

¹²³ Feldman, S. and Geisler, C., 2012. Land expropriation and displacement in Bangladesh, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 39:3-4,

¹²⁴ Ibid. p. 4

¹²⁵ Halstead, H., 2020. Reclaiming the land: belonging, landscape, and in situ displacement on the plain of Karditsa (Greece). *History and Anthropology*, 31(5), pp.643-668. p.1

¹²⁶ Feldman, S., Geisler, C. and Silberling, L., 2003. Moving targets: displacement, impoverishment, and development. *International Social Science Journal*, 55(175), pp.7-13. p.4

¹²⁷ Field, S. ed., 2001. *Lost communities, living memories: Remembering forced removals in Cape Town*. New Africa Books. Mesthrie, U.S., 1994. The Tramway Road removals, 1959-61. *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*, 21(1), pp.61-78. Thomas, A., 2001. Twenty-five Years Later: The Forced Removals of the Coloured

(2001) in the collection of 'lost communities, living memories' narrate the memories of lost, the loss of family relations, the disappearance of familiar neighbourhood and landmarks. This included the shops and hawkers being taken to new unfamiliar places with little or no social infrastructures. In her work on the Tramway Road removals Mesthrie (1994)¹²⁸ describes listening to stories of familiarity with a place that no longer exists. The stories of the families who were displaced and forced from Tiervlei to Belhar and elsewhere are probably similar to those of communities who experienced *ex-situ* displacement elsewhere in the Cape. However, many families in Tiervlei also experienced *in-situ* displacement, where they were subjected to loss of familiarity of place, social relations and landmarks while remaining in the area.

Safeguarding

The safeguarding of intangible heritage is particularly significant to areas of forced removal and erasure, where the heritage of the area remains largely concentrated in the oral histories and embedded memories of the landscape.¹²⁹ Manetsi's critique of the Safeguarding Intangible Heritage draft policy is used as a guide in the South African context,¹³⁰ while best practices are analysed to understand what tools other marginalised communities used to safeguard their undocumented heritage. Ndlovu asserts that the National Heritage Act 1999 accepted apartheid-era processes and structures, thus failing to address socio-cultural matters relevant to identity, practice and tradition.¹³¹

In the next chapter the urban morphology and layering of the spatial development of the Tiervlei landscape are explored using maps, aerial imagery and memory to understand how these layers have affected tangible and intangible heritage fabric in the area and for the community.

People from Simon's Town: An Interview with William Kindo. Weeder, M.I., 2006. *The palaces of memory: A reconstruction of District One, Cape Town, before and after the Group Areas Act* (Doctoral dissertation, University of the Western Cape)

¹²⁸ Mesthrie, U.S., 1994. No place in the world to go. *Studies in the History of Cape Town. Volume Seven. Rondebosch: UCT Press in association with the Centre for African Studies.*

¹²⁹ Roux, N., 2021. Remaking the urban: Heritage and transformation in Nelson Mandela Bay. *Remaking the urban*, pp.1-264.

¹³⁰ Manetsi, T., 2011. Safeguarding intangible heritage in South Africa: a critique of the Draft National Policy on Living Heritage. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 6, pp.57-69.

¹³¹ Ndlovu, N., 2011. Legislation as an instrument in South African heritage management: Is it effective? *Conservation and management of archaeological sites*, 13(1), pp.31-57.

CHAPTER 3

The history, development and morphology of the landscape

This chapter discusses the evolution and morphology of the landscape and acknowledges all the communities who lived in the area, their histories, social lives, and practices. Smith (2006) asserts that heritage is not only a social and cultural resource or process but also a political one through which a range of struggles is negotiated.¹³²

This research explores the urban growth and spatial development in the establishment of Tigervalley, Florida and Tiervlei and how it was segregated, and the section that later became the coloured township renamed Ravensmead. It considers the influences of the Native Land Act of 1913 and the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, the Slums Act of 1934, the Group Areas Act of 1950 and democracy on the shaping of heritage of this community. It is intended to complement other studies to map the tapestry of a shared space and of those who occupied that and made it a place of memory and social interaction. The limitations of the study's parameters mean that this examination comprises only a cross-section of the memories of the participants.

Chirisa and Matamanda (2019) contend that urban areas have experienced spatial transformations to provide for growing urban populations.¹³³ They see urban morphology as a system that offers an understanding of the formation and transformation processes of human landscapes. It considers how they are formed by historical developments and the interactions among a settlement's constituent parts.¹³⁴ This chapter sets out the geographical location and the morphology and erasures of physical and social spaces. The aerial imagery, maps and the layered construction of spaces over time give an insight into the landscape.

The *Parow 75-year* publication issued by the Parow municipality and the unpublished manuscript *Parow Parade*, written by Eric Rosenthal, the well-known South African journalist and writer about corporate histories, who also wrote the

¹³² Smith, L., 2006. *Uses of heritage*. Routledge.p.7.

¹³³ Chirisa, I. and Matamanda, A., 2019. Forces shaping urban morphology in Southern Africa Today: unequal interplay among people, practice and policy. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*. P. 2,3

¹³⁴ Ibid

history of Milnerton,¹³⁵ focused on the economic and social development of Parow and Tiervlei, largely considering only the white area.¹³⁶ He dedicated a whole chapter to the achievements of the white community and the individuals who made significant contributions to Parow and Tiervlei. Both texts ignored the contributions of the coloured community in the area of Tiervlei that became Ravensmead. He presents apartheid as an empowering project for the coloured community, ignoring the trauma of dispossession and forced removals, loss of place and social cohesion for the families who were displaced. Neither the municipality nor the author refers to or acknowledges the resting place of the forebearers of many descendants in the Hardekraaltjie Cemetery.

Although the name Tiervlei no longer officially exists, it is alive and well in the mouths of those who were born or moved there in the early 1900s or those who heard stories about it. It is alive in the religious sector, sports, arts and culture and the business community. In narrating the events, interviewees referred interchangeably to Tiervlei and Ravensmead in the same sentence. In the following chapter Clarence's statement is explained:

vir ons ja miskien nou nie vir die mense wat agterna kom nie maar vir ons en n kyk ons daar was n stryd gewees aan die begin ... maar n daai is wat ons nog altyd Tiervlei maak nie Ravensmead nie Tiervlei'.¹³⁷ [For us yes, maybe not for the people who come after us but there was a struggle at the beginning ... but that's what made Tiervlei not Ravensmead but Tiervlei]

Situating the place, the geographical location and the landscape

The former Tiervlei was located below the Parow and Tygerberg (earlier Tiervlei) railway line between 35th Avenue Elsiesriver and the railway siding works (earlier, the Hardekraaltjie forest reserve). The Hardekraaltjie Cemetery was in the

¹³⁵ Rosenthal, E., 1980. *History of Milnerton*. Ancestry24.

¹³⁶ *Parow: A Handbook issued by the Municipality of Parow (Town's Clerk Department) in commemoration of the establishment of Local Government in Parow 75 years ago on 15 December 1903. (Parow 1975) (no date).* and Rosenthal, E., 1982. *Parow Parade*. unpublished.

¹³⁷ Clarence Gertse interview with author 12 and 13 December 2022

Hardekraaljie forest reserve where the Tygerberg Hospital and the University of Stellenbosch Medical Faculty are now located.

Urban growth and development driven by apartheid and the Group Areas legislation divided Tiervlei into five parts. The residential part reserved for the white community became Parow Valley, the border Fransi Van Zijl Road. Tiervlei, reserved for the coloured community and renamed Ravensmead, was below Fransi Van Zijl Road. The other three parts are the Tygerberg Hospital and two industrial areas, Beaconvale and Parow Industria as illustrated in figure 6.

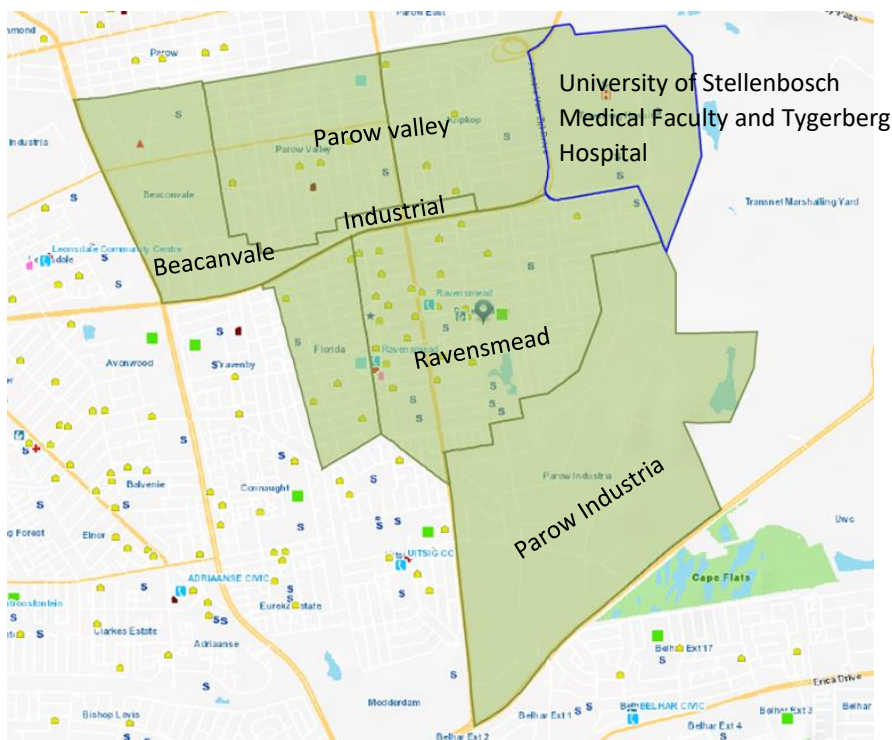


Figure 6: Former Tiervlei landscape fragmented into five areas (City of Cape Town Map Viewer edited by author)

Today Ravensmead is still largely a coloured suburb nestled between Fransi van Zijl Road, Industrial Ring Road, Ullswater Street and Webner Street in the city of Cape Town. The area is below the Beaconvale industrial area, Parow Valley and next to the former Indian residential area, Cravenby, and the former coloured Uitsig residential area. Southeast is the Parow industrial area and the Tygerberg Hospital complex is on the northern side. The initial layout is also visual visible in figure 7.



Figure 7: Aerial imagery January 2022 showing Ravensmead and surrounding areas (City of Cape Town Map Viewer edited by author)



Figure 8: Aerial imagery January 2022 showing Ravensmead (City of Cape Town Map Viewer edited by author)

The morphology and layering of the Tiervlei landscape

The township Tiger Valley, the area south of the railway line, which was known as Tiervlei, was established on farm Tiger Valley. It was one of four farms originally owned by Johann Parow who sold it to Messrs. Joyce & McGregor.¹³⁸ Tiervlei was proclaimed in 1932 and was incorporated into the Parow Municipality in 1944¹³⁹ and now forms part of the City of Cape Town Metropolitan Council Municipality.¹⁴⁰ The

¹³⁸ Parow Handbook. Parow Municipality, 1975

¹³⁹ Ibid

¹⁴⁰ <https://www.capetown.gov.za/Family%20and%20home/Meet-the-city/city-council/find-your-councillor-ward-or-subcouncil/lookup-search-results?SearchExecuted=1&WardSubDivisionName=ravensmead> [accessed 16 January 2023]

Hardekraaltjie Cemetery was established in 1910 as a public cemetery¹⁴¹ and closed in 1947.¹⁴² It was first managed by the trustees and then by the Parow municipality until 1971,¹⁴³ when it was sold to the University of Stellenbosch.¹⁴⁴

The maps and aerial imagery illustrate how Tiervlei and the section renamed Ravensmead, where I was born, is a completely different geographical and spatial landscape today than it was in the early 1900s. It confirms Harris's contention that maps are not neutral but represent a display of power relations.¹⁴⁵ This will be illustrated by tracing the path from the integrated landscape in 1938 to the time when the landscape was segregated and the apartheid spatial landscape was displayed on the 1979 map. It illustrates the spatial changes and racial boundary lines as incision scars on the landscape. It is silent on the social interactions and everyday life, which is evident in the voices of the community and the emotional trauma they endured.

The interviewees recalled that it was undeveloped and surrounded by farms, small holdings and bush as far as the eye could see. It was integrated, multiracial and semi-rural, consisting of both small holdings and big plots (*kampe*),¹⁴⁶ called by the owner's family name, for instance, Miller Kamp, or Basjan Kamp, Donson Kamp. My great-grandparents' plot was Hartnick's Kamp. Among these properties were many corrugated iron structures, shacks, shanties and some build fabric. The African location in the vicinity of the sportsfield was in Joppie Fourie Street. Oral history and archival records reveal that Africans were also landowners in the community. The Local Area of Tiervlei was gazetted in January 1932 and included the Florida Estate¹⁴⁷ (see figures 9 and 10 for proclamation and boundaries).

¹⁴¹ Cape Archives, 4/CT 4/1/6

¹⁴² Cape Archives, 3Bell/296/12

¹⁴³ Cape Archives, AA140/52/1/1

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

¹⁴⁵ Hazen, H.D. and Harris, L., 2006. Power of maps:(Counter) mapping for conservation.

¹⁴⁶ All the interviews referred to the 'kampe' the camps were called after the surname of the owners to locate the families or tenants who lived on these camps. Usually, a number of families resided on a plot.

¹⁴⁷ Cape Archives, 4/CT Volume 4/1/80

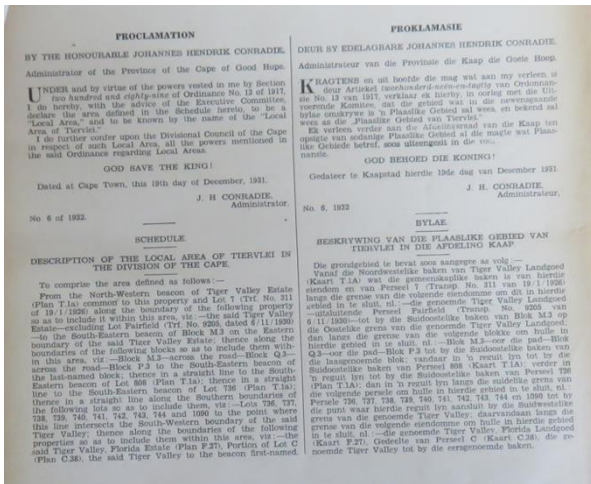
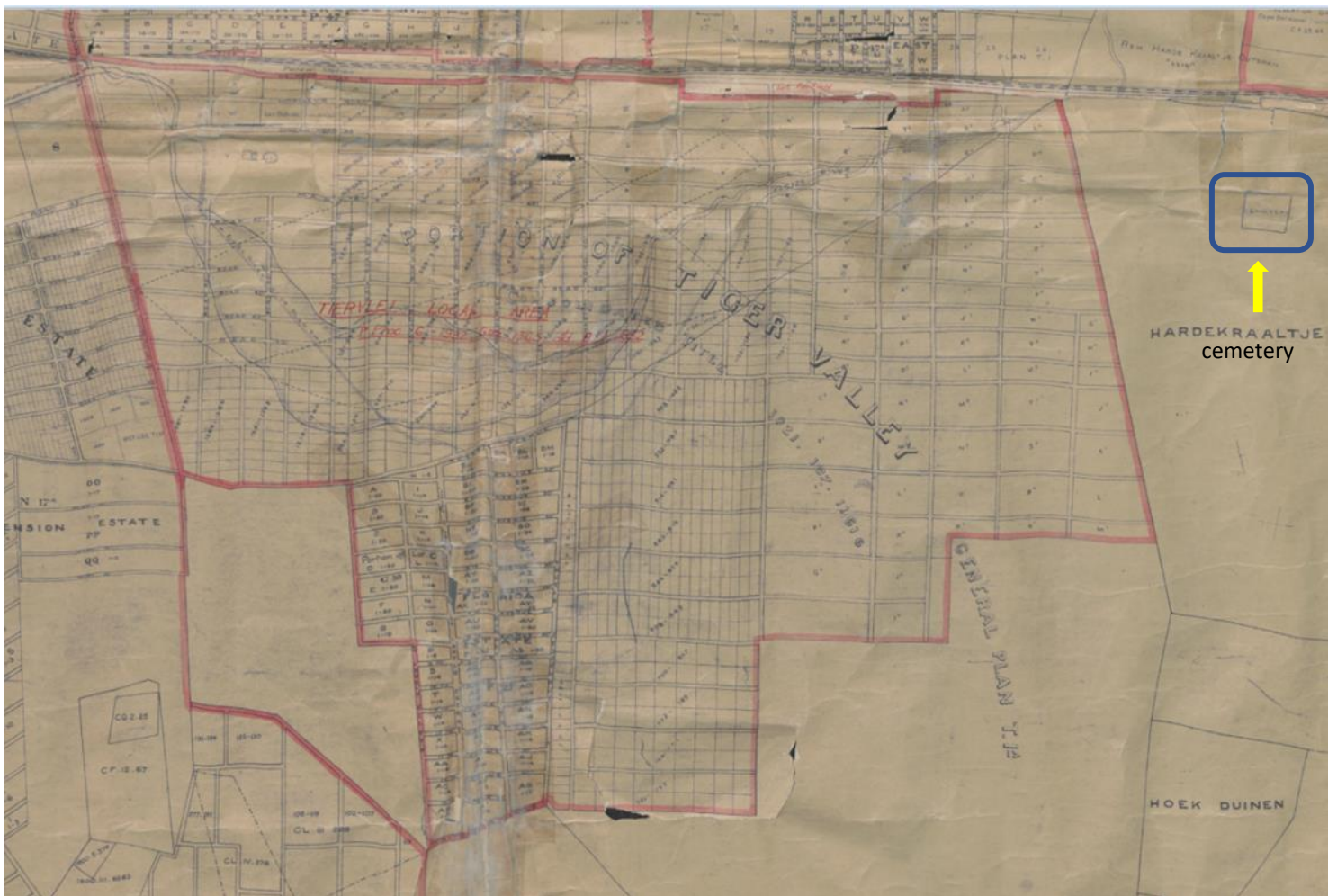


Figure 9: Gazette notice No 6 of 1932 Local Area Tiervlei proclamation and area location. (Cape Archives 4/CT Volume 4/1/80)



Tiervlei before 1948

Political and socioeconomic environment

The following figures (maps and aerial imagery) illustrate the urban growth and spatial segregated development from an integrated multiracial area in 1938 to the apartheid and democracy periods. These maps reflect an area that developed according to a separatist agenda, mostly during the apartheid era, into an urban landscape.

In the map shown in Figure 11 Tiervlei is situated inside the green border, with the study area indicated in blue and the cemetery in yellow. Figure 12 is an enlargement of the study area. The area is undefined and undeveloped, sparsely populated and with little visible build fabric visible and plots of reasonably sizes. The Volkskerk Primary Mission School's built fabric, which changed over the years, is visible.

William remembers the area where he was born and raised as ' 'n familie kamp'¹⁴⁸ ... jy het verskillende kampe gehad die Manuel Kamp, die Basjan Kamp, die George Kamp ... 'n Kamp is waar 'n groep families bly en op hulle kamp het ses families gewoon.'¹⁴⁹ His grandparents owned the property, which stretched from the current Ravensmead Street to Silo Street and housed six children with their families in the 'kamp'.

Clarence Gertse¹⁵⁰ (78 years old) remembers the place of his birth at 142 Joppie Fourie street in 1944 as undeveloped, multiracial and integrated.

Dit was sandpaaie, gruispaaie was nog nie daar nie. Dit het maar agterna gekom hulle het dit stuk stuk gedoen en daarvandaan het hulle gruis toe gegaan ... in die 60s toe hulle begin met die teerpaaie. Die plek was woes baie bos, sand paaie en baie dae moet ons skool toe gaan kaalvoet, en as dit warm dae is dan het ons dit hot dan brand ons voete. En dit was vir my baie lekker dae want hier was destyds nie gangsters nie maar skollies. Die skollies was nie daarop uit om mense leed aan te doen nie hulle het net as groepie bymekaar gekom en hulle dinge gedoen wat hulle wil doen. [The place was undeveloped forest area with sandy roads and

¹⁴⁸ 'Kamp' was known as a group of families or acquaintances living on a property. It was named after the Surname of the owner as explained by the interviewees.

¹⁴⁹ William Charles, interviewed by author on 07 December 2022

¹⁵⁰ Clarence Gertse, interviewed by author on 12 and 13 December 2022

many days they had to go to school barefoot. It was sandy roads, gravel roads were not there yet. Afterwards they started with the gravel roads in a piecemeal fashion ... in the 60s they started the tarmac. And those were nice days for me because here at that time there were not gangsters but 'skollies'. The 'skollies' weren't out to harm people, they just came together as a group, and they did things they wanted to do.]

He remembers Mr Grodes, whose property was expropriated later, lived on the side that was later declared an area for whites only. He cannot remember what happened to the Africans who lived in the 'kamp' on the sports field. What was strange for him was that although they lived among them, there were no black people in their church or at school with him. He also remembers a friend of his father, a Mr Williams, an African man married to a coloured woman who had built his own house on Northway Street, not far from De La Rey Road, and later moved to Elsiesriver. His memories are of a barefoot, carefree youngster in an area that was relatively safe. He distinguishes between the 'skollies', who gathered as a group and did their thing without hurting people and the gangsters today who perpetrate crimes against the community.

Sidney Reid¹⁵¹ (68 years old) remembers,

Broer Mohammad hy was n Xhosa man gewees nou hy was die eerste een wat die kerk klok so op tyd hier gelui het ... Hy het swaar Afrikaans gepraat hy het tussen die coloureds Afrikaans geleer maar sy taal was eindelik Xhosa. Hy het vir n hele paar jaar op die kerk se grond gebly ... Hy was getroud gewees met n African vrou die vrou het eerste gesterf hy was die eerste koster wat die klok gelui het. [Brother Mohammad he was a Xhosa the first one to ring the bell at the Kleurling Verenigde Kerk (Coloured United Church) on time ... He spoke heavy Afrikaans he learned Afrikaans among the coloureds ... He stayed on the church's property for several years ... He was married to an African woman who died first. Sidney describes in the next chapter 'die roepstem van die klok' (calling of the bell) and the distance it reached.

¹⁵¹ Sidney Reid, interviewed by author on 12 December 2022

The first forced dispossessions took place between 1936 and 1938, with the challenges around landownership in Tiervlei when Joyce & McGregor requested the transfer of land that had been sold to nine 'Natives'.¹⁵² The Assistant Native Commissioner advised that the sale contravened the Native Land Act no 27 of 1913 and the Native Trust and Land Act no 18 of 1936 and could not be approved.¹⁵³ The seller was advised to nullify the contracts.¹⁵⁴ In another letter to the commissioner Joyce & McGregor request assistance with forcefully removing eight landowners, as only one had vacated the property voluntarily. The matter was handed over to the police.¹⁵⁵ Rosenthal writes in *Parow Parade* that in 1947 the municipalities of Goodwood, Parow and Bellville held a conference to discuss a proposal to establish a black location to serve the three municipalities. They suggested the location be called Nyanga.¹⁵⁶ In 1956 the Parow municipality sent 119 black families there in a move that constitutes an *ex-situ* displacement.¹⁵⁷

Thus, a multiracial integrated community in which different races had interacted daily before 1948 was broken up, although there is an oral account of an African owning his own property before moving to Elsiesriver and another staying in the area long after the proclamation of the Group Areas Act.

¹⁵² Florida natives SAB NTS Vol 3072 Ref 903 305 Cape Division Florida Estate

¹⁵³ Ibid

¹⁵⁴ Ibid

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

¹⁵⁶ Rosenthal, E., 1982. *Parow Parade*. unpublished.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid

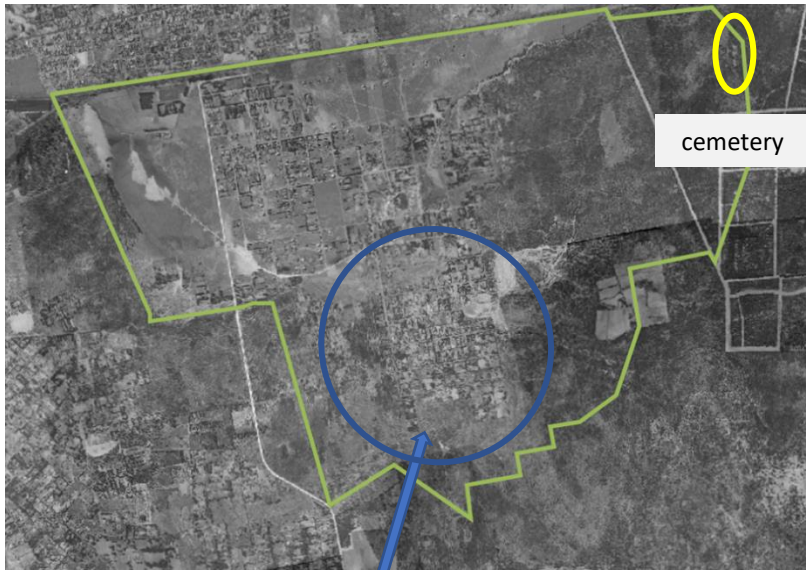


Figure 11: Aerial imagery 1938 of integrated Tiervlei inside green border and in blue the study area and future Ravensmead. In yellow is the cemetery (City of Cape Town Map Viewer, edited by author)



Above Figure 12: Enlargement of the study landscape showing the Volkskerk Mission School in the landscape (City of Cape Town Map Viewer edited by author)

Tiervlei after 1948

The changing landscape and the political and socioeconomic influences

The changing landscape and another layer are emerging. The two figures dated 1953 and 1968 illustrate the changes brought about by the political environment. Smith (2006) asserts, heritage is not only a social and cultural process but also a political one,¹⁵⁸ a statement that is true of the Tiervlei area.¹⁵⁹ The process of heritage-making was a way of contesting racial segregation, as Sydney observed in his memory of the man he called Brother Mohammad.

The following images reflect a developing area with a suburban layout and more built fabric visible. The altered built fabric of the Volkskerk Primary Mission School is visible in the landscape, as is the first public school, Florida Primary. The Kleurling Verenigde Kerk can also be seen. In yellow is the cemetery, which had closed in June 1946.¹⁶⁰

Florence born Jantjies married Valentine (80 years old) remembers the area when she and her family arrived in 1953.

Die gedeelte was pure hokke ... hier was nie eers 'n biblioteek nie. Hier het hulle begin met die NG Kerk en toe het hy nie eers 'n toring gehad nie, dit was net vlei hier. Pinedene Straat was die ou bus-terminus ... ek kan nie vir u rerig sê of dit daai tyd al Stroebel straat was nie en in die anderkant was die rugby veld ... dit was net hokke, hokkies, hokke ... ek kan nie sê of all die ... groot eienaars van gronde hulle gronde teruggekry het nie maar so is dit. Op die bult was dit nie eers 'n pad nie, dit was net sand daarom het hulle dit die bult genoem en pastor se ou kerkie die Kleurling Verenigde Kerk ... dit was net sink ... met 'n paar geboude huise ... ou Kwongsee was die enigste winkel hier. [The section was only corrugated structures. There was no library here. They started with the Dutch

¹⁵⁸ Smith, L., 2006. *Uses of heritage*. Routledge.p.7.

¹⁵⁹ Florence Valentine, interviewed by author on 09 December 2022

¹⁶⁰ Cape Archives, 3Bell/296/12

Reformed Church with no tower, it was just open plain, wetland. Pinedene Street was the old bus terminus ... I cannot tell you if it was Stroebel Street at that time and in the other side was the rugby field ... it was just cages, cubicles, cages ... I can't say whether all the ... big owners of land got their lands back, but so be it. On the '*bult*' it wasn't even a road, it was just sand, so they called it the '*bult*' and the pastor's little old church, the Coloured United Church, ... it was just zinc, corrugated structures ... with some built houses ... old Kwongsee was the only shop here.]

Florence, who started school in Standard 3 (now Grade 5) at Volkskerk Primary, remembers that the area was always flooded in winter. She later moved to Northway Primary, which was constructed of timber, and remained there until Standard 6 (now Grade 8), when she left at the age of 13 to work to help the family. It was only after that that she remembers the streets being surfaced with gravel.

Her parents were both buried at Maitland Cemetery because the Hardekraaltjie Cemetery had already closed. She knew about the Hardekraaltjie Cemetery through someone who had loved ones buried there. At the time the area near the Hardekraaltjie Cemetery, where the hospital now stands, was a forest, from which the community had collected firewood until, with the hospital about to be built, they could no longer do so. She did not know the hospital is coming but recalls they could no longer fetch firewood in the bush close to the cemetery.

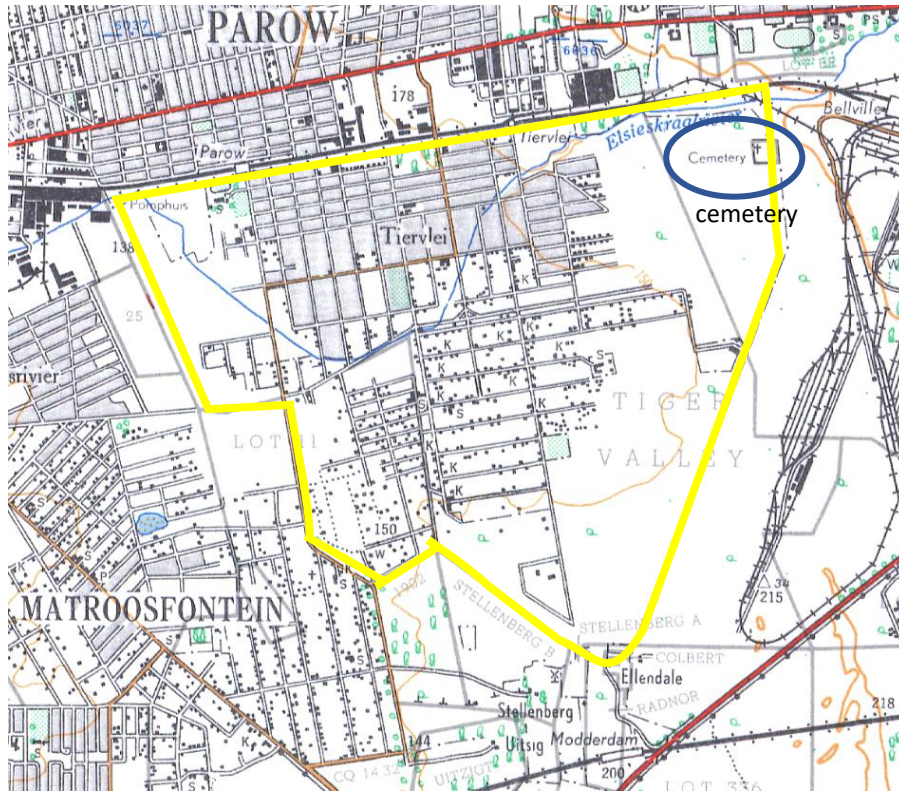


Figure 13: The 1953 landscape. The study area (outlined in yellow) is changing as the area develops and becomes more populated as an urban landscape (National Geo-spatial Information edited by author)



Figure 14: Aerial imagery 1953 of integrated Tiervlei inside green border and in blue the study area and future Ravensmead. In yellow is the cemetery (City of Cape Town Map Viewer edited by author)

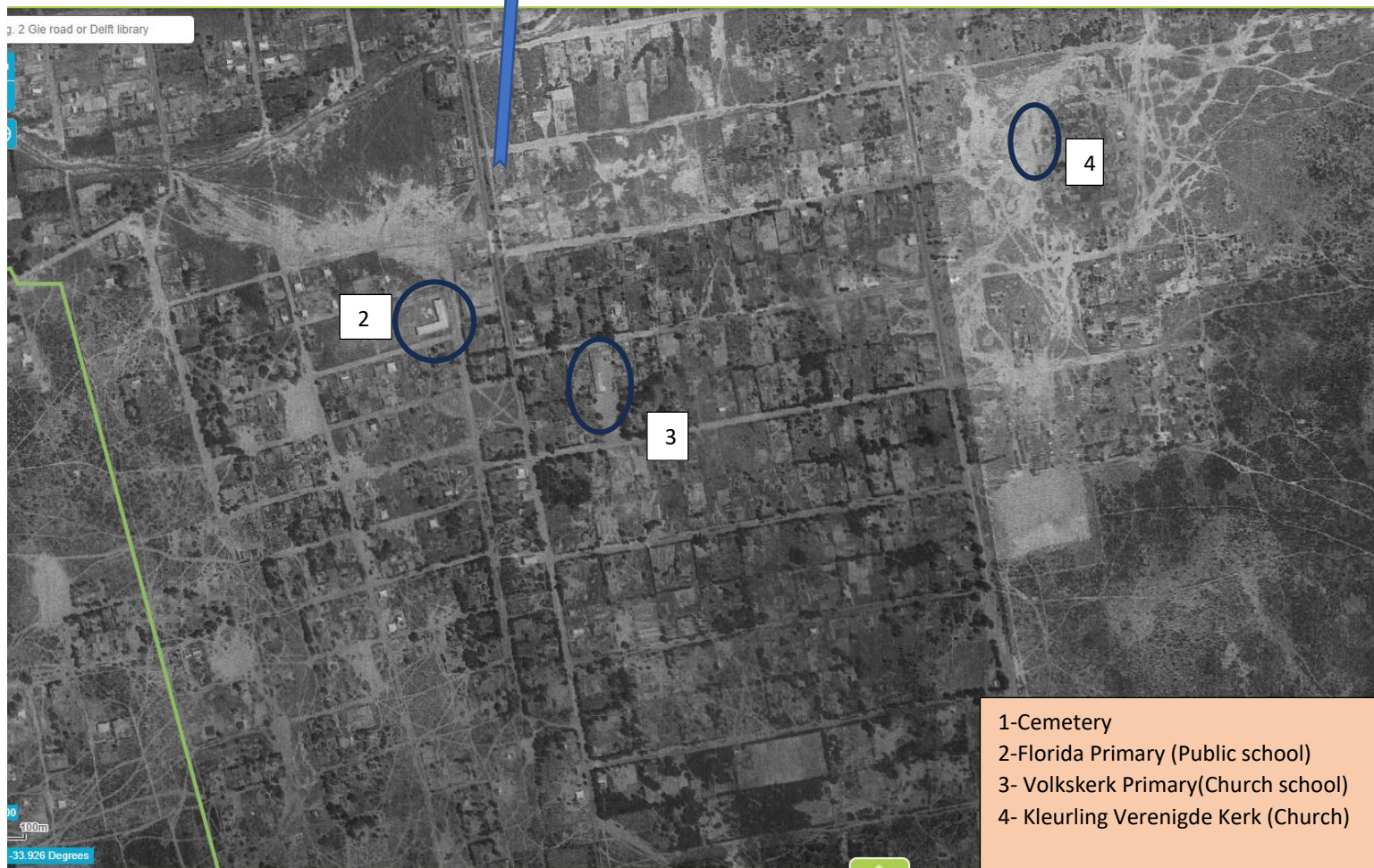


Figure 15: Enlarged image of the 1953 study landscape illustrating the built fabric (City of Cape Town Map Viewer edited by the author)

The effect of apartheid and the Group Areas Act

While urban growth changed the topography of the area, it was the apartheid spatial and separation legislation that battered multiracial relationships and social cohesion.

Toe het hulle n muur gebou tussen Ravensmead en die wittes. Hulle het dit die skeidsmuur genoem, die witmense is mos veronderstel superior te wees volgens hulle. Hulle moet die eenkant wees en ons die anderkant. Ek dink daai rivier was eers die skeidspunt, dit was vanaf die garage na De La Rey Pad se kant. Toe later jare het hulle die muur begin afbreek.¹⁶¹ [Then they built a wall between Ravensmead and the whites. They called it the dividing wall, the whites are supposed to be superior according to them. They on one side and us the other, I think the river was the dividing point first. it was from the garage to De La Rey Road's side. In later years they started tearing down the wall.]

On 31 January 1958 Parow, which had a coloured population of 14 000, was proclaimed under the Group Areas Act of 1950. In 1962 and 1963 the coloured families were moved out of the white residential area, most of them to Ravensmead (then Tiervlei). Some settled in Bellville South, Athlone and elsewhere.¹⁶² The municipality was the first in the Cape to carry out mass removals and displacement of the population in terms of Group Areas Act.¹⁶³ A section of Ravensmead to the east of De la Rey Street was declared a slum in 1966, properties were expropriated by the city council and structures were demolished. Later the entire area was declared a controlled area by Proclamation 301 of 17 May 1974 and was redeveloped.¹⁶⁴ The council reports that 1 020 families (about 6 000 people) were affected and moved from Ravensmead to Belhar.¹⁶⁵ Nothing was said about the dispossession and forced removals and the trauma experienced by those affected. According to Mesthrie(1994),¹⁶⁶ it was not easy to separate the groups into different group areas. However, from the start the town councils of Parow, Goodwood and Bellville indicated that areas within their jurisdiction north of the railway line would be

¹⁶¹ Claude Young (64 years old) interviewed by author 13 December 2022

¹⁶² Parow Handbook. Parow Municipality, 1975

¹⁶³ Ibid

¹⁶⁴ Ibid

¹⁶⁵ Ibid

¹⁶⁶ Mesthrie, U.S., 1994. No place in the world to go. *Studies in the History of Cape Town. Volume Seven. Rondebosch: UCT Press in association with the Centre for African Studies.*

declared white group areas. A decision described in a newspaper article as a 'goodwill gesture' on the part of the white community: 'Whites at Parow offer first areas sacrifices', not as the destruction of the way of life and social cohesion in the community and the loss of what its members had invested in the area.

The coloured community was treated as chess pieces on a board and moved out of the area indiscriminately and by force. Another article: 'lost all through the Areas Act', NOTE ON BODY OF HANGED MAN, describes the trauma and desperation of the individual and loss of life caused by the forced removals, as opposed to the implied 'goodwill gesture' from the white community. According to his tenant, the man was moody and depressed after trying to sell his house in Tiervlei without success after he was ordered to be off the property by the 31 December.



Figure 16: Headlines from newspapers, 1958-1959 (National Library)



William (56 years old) remembers how his grandparents had to forego a portion of their property and the disintegration of family relations when family members had to move from 'die familie kamp'.

Ouma en oupa moes van die grond afgee ... Slegs my ma en haar jonger broer het twee plotte gekoop. Die ander plotte was aan die regering verkoop of gegee. Die regering het kennis gegee dat hulle kannie sulke groot gronde besit nie en

moes verdeel en verkoop. Net twee het gekoop en die ander twee was afgestaan of verkoop aan die munisipaliteit.

After some time, the other four families received houses made available by the government. His parents and uncle had to build their own houses. 'Baie van die kampe se mense was gerelocate na skietbaan, Belhar. So baie is na Belhar of het skema huise gekry [So many went to Belhar or got scheme houses].' (Scheme houses was low-cost housing made available by the municipality. The family lived next to De La Rey Road and he remembers during the rioting in the late 1970s and early 1980s how the police would shoot tear gas into the 'kampe'. 'You remember the smell it's all memories you can remember.' 'Die polisie trek op in De La Rey Pad, jy kan nie beweeg nie, jy is n teiken vir hulle [The police pull up in De la Rey Road, you can't move, you're a target for them]'

He also recalls accompanying his mother, a housekeeper, to the 'madam'.

... dan moet jy by die agterdeur ingaan. Jy kan nie voor ingaan nie. Dan vra jy hoekom dan nie? Dan sê jou ma ons kan nie diekant ingaan nie. Al die dinge het jou as jong mens geraak daai vroe hoekom en waarom. [You cannot enter from the front. Then you ask why not? To this your mother's response is you cannot enter that side. All those things affected you as a young person.]

Clarence Gertse was a member of the 1960s 'Aksie Kommittee' (Action Committee) in Tiervlei, which campaigned against the expropriations and forced removals and for decent housing. The committee opposed the Coloured Management Committee and council project of expropriation and slums clearance. He remembers how the council would freeze the area because they considered it a slum area and would then develop it, section by section, build scheme houses and sell or rent them back to the people. The section between Stroebel Street, which was then Joppie Fourie Street, and De La Rey Road was expropriated. It was developed piece by piece until it consisted almost entirely of scheme houses. Some of the owners kept their property or one plot and built a house there.

The expropriated plots were developed and scheme houses were built on them and rented out. Although some people kept their own houses, most scheme houses were rented to people who had not been born in the area. Many owners and tenants had to apply for accommodation in Delft and the area known as 'skietbaan' in Belhar.

His property was expropriated and he fought for three years to get it back and still had to forgo a portion for the construction of Colorado Street. 'Die Kampe' were so big one lot could accommodate up to three houses. The municipality decided the land should be divided in half and one half could be sold or expropriated. The new plots meant it was necessary to create new streets, one of which was Colorado Street, between Mornay and Northway streets.

Die diere was eerste verban, jy mag nie meer diere aanhou nie anders moet jy buitekant die dorp 'n plek kry waar jou diere kan wei ... na die onteiening sit die mense ook nou met 'n klein stukkie erf en een huisie daar issie plek vir die diere wat hulle gehad het nie ... ons het nie nodig gehad om melkery toe te gaan nie ons kan by die man wat koeie het gaan melk koop ... ons het nie winkel toegegaan vir eiers nie en die tye wanneer aartappels reg is kan ons uit iemand se tuin aartappels koop ... met die onteiening is alles daai weg. Ons moet nou winkels toe gaan om die goed te gaan koop. Jy kan maar opnoem enige groentesoort wat jy kry het ons mense geplant ... Ons ruil uit of koop by mekaar maar vandag is dit anders, jy kan nie eens 'n tuintjie maak by jou huis nie so klein is die grond – baie baie skade aan gedoen. [The animals were first banned, you were no longer allowed to keep animals. You must find a place outside the village where your animals can graze. After the expropriation the people had smaller properties, there was no room for the animals they had. We didn't need to go to the dairy we could buy milk from the man who has cows. We didn't go to the store for eggs and when potatoes were ready, we could buy potatoes from someone's garden. With the expropriation everything is gone. We now must go to the shops to buy the stuff. You can just name any vegetable you find, our people planted it. We would exchange or buy from each other but today it's different, you can't even make a small garden at your house, so small is the property – so very much harm was done.]

Sidney Reid, who was born in Tiervlei, felt the anguish of those who were forced out and displaced.

[M]ense was nie gelukkig nie want hoe kan hulle dan nou hulle gronde verlaat om Belhar en Delft toe te gaan terwyl hulle groot geraak het in Tiervlei? Baie was ongelukkig ... die klok was eindelijk 'n roepstem vir die ... gemeente wat in Tiervlei

gebly het rondom die kerk en wyer as die kerk die roepstem van die klok ... maar die klok kan net nie gehoor word by die mense wat nou in Belhar en Delft bly nie, hulle moet toe maar aanpas by die tye ... die munisipaliteit ... het rooi kruise by die deure van die mense gemaak want die mense moet weet hulle moet trek, anders kom gooi hulle self die huise af. Toe moet die mense, hulle het nie 'n keuse gehad nie, ons kan ook nie die munisipaliteit gekeer het nie hulle het die wet aan hulle kant gehad. [People were not happy because how can they now leave their property to go to Belhar and Delft while growing up in Tiervlei. Many were unhappy ... the calling(ringing) of bell was for ... congregation that stayed in Tiervlei around the church ... but the bell just can't be heard by the people who are now staying in Belhar and Delft, they have to adjust to the times ... The municipality ... made red crosses on the doors of the structures because the people needed to know they had to move or they would be thrown out of the houses. Then the people moved. They didn't have a choice, we can't stop the municipality either, they had the law on their side.]



Figure 17: A corrugated structure, its door marked (with the number 60), as described by Sidney Reid.

(Ms L. Ing City of Cape Town)

Figure 18 illustrates the changing landscape: A) Beaconvale Industrial area, B) Tiervlei, the white residential area, C) Tygerberg Hospital, D) Parow Industrial areas in progress and E) Tiervlei, the coloured residential area. It was announced that the Beaconvale Industrial area would become a buffer between Tiervlei, the white proclaimed area whose name was changed to Parow Valley, and Tiervlei coloured area, whose name changed to Ravensmead.



Figure 18:
Aerial
imagery of
segregated
Tiervlei,
1953 (City
of Cape
Town Map
Viewer,
edited by
author)



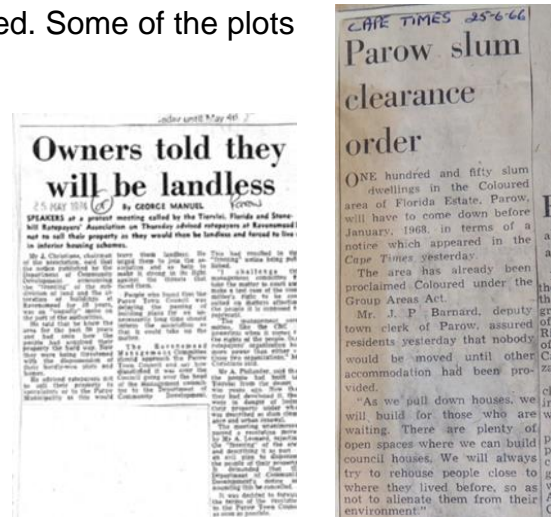
Figure 19: Aerial view of Tiervlei coloured residential area, 1968, the section (in yellow), which was declared a slum in a notice in *Gazette* No 3352 of 24 June 1966 (Cape Archives) and imagery (City of Cape Town Map Viewer, edited by author)



Above Figure 20: Tiervlei residential 1973 aerial imagery of the area which was later renamed Ravensmead. The landscape after the slum clearance and redevelopment in yellow (City of Cape Town Map Viewer, edited by author)

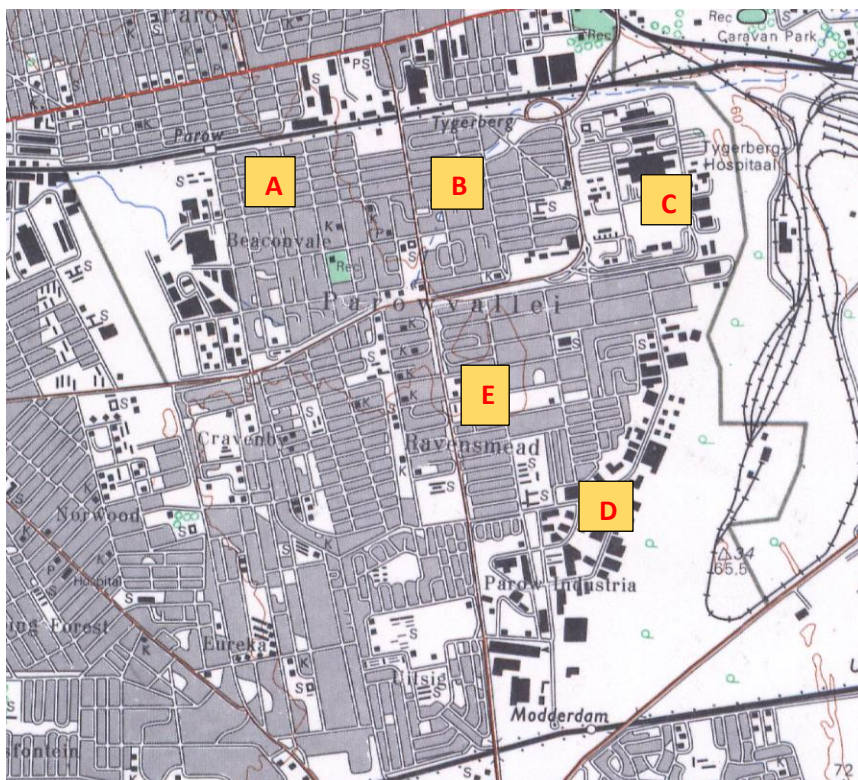
The Slums declaration in the *Gazette* of June 1966 listed 78 lots and 173 structures on these properties which had to be demolished. Some of the plots had up to eight structures on them.

Figure 21: Newspaper headlines from 1966 and 1974 (National Library)



The morphology of place from an integrated and multiracial community to the segregated Coloured area renamed Ravensmead

By the time Figure 22 was produced in 1979 the spatial morphology had changed and the apartheid footprint is reproduced on the map (National Geo spatial information edited by the author)



The new spaces produced by the Group Areas Act were starting to take shape and are visible in the landscape, with the accompanying new street names. The name Tiervlei on the map is erased and the new changes already occurred and is mapped A) is Beaconvale Industrial, B) Parow Valley, C) Tygerberg Hospital, D) Parow Industrial Area and E), the residential area Ravensmead, all of them part of the area formerly called Tiervlei. The landscape has changed and the Hardekraaltjie Cemetery, which was in the vicinity of the Tygerberg Hospital, no longer features on the map. Hall's assertion that landscape is an expression of identity and power is illustrated by the changing nature of the Tiervlei landscape on the maps, which showed the new power relations imposed by the apartheid agenda.¹⁶⁷

The destruction of the social fabric and structure was well underway during this period, as was the erasure of familiar places. New streets were created and old ones renamed as the boundaries of the urban morphology changed. The streets connecting Tiervlei were still visible in the landscape and the names in the white section remained in place. However, the connection of the streets is visible on aerial imagery and align and where it stops on both sides of Fransi van Zijl the change of the portion in the coloured area changes. Interviewee Clarence Gertse was experiencing what Halstead¹⁶⁸ described as the disorientation as a sign of *in-situ* displacement when he remembered the street names before the expropriations and displacements but struggled to remember all the new names.

The Tiervlei spatial forced removals destroyed and erased the physical fabric and social structure of place, custom, culture and familiarity. This affected their livelihoods and the ability to provide for themselves as many families had a self-sustaining form of livelihood as mentioned. This process first started with the Africans in the area before the Apartheid project which changed the spatial landscape and interracial relationships as communities. The aerial imagery illustrates the chaos to which families were subjected for generations to come. To this day many families and the subsequent generations are tenants and still paying rent on fractions of land that was stolen from them, living in council flats, rental units and as backyard dwellers largely in areas that were predominantly coloured. The images

¹⁶⁷ Ibid

¹⁶⁸ Halstead, H., 2020. Reclaiming the land: belonging, landscape, and in situ displacement on the plain of Karditsa (Greece). *History and Anthropology*, 31(5), pp.643-668. p.1

illustrate the extent to which properties were diminished to accommodate low-cost housing. What the pictures display is the consequences of forced dispossession and expropriation of the land from its rightful owners. However they do not speak of or illustrate the emotional and economic trauma, the loss of livelihoods and of places of tradition and heritage. The newspaper articles express two opposing views and give words to the trauma, which is not visible in the imagery. The interviewees still vividly remembered and expressed their frustrations and anger about the apartheid project.

A much deeper investigation is required to do justice to this community. Many elements are not covered because of the limitation of the dissertation in tracing heritage in places of continuity and dispossession. The next chapter sketches everyday life the everydayness and what and what 'heritage' means to the interviewees and how this layering can be unpacked in a marginalised community suffering the scars of apartheid's effects on the spatial landscape.

CHAPTER 4

The lived experiences of the community

Continuity and dispossession

Hy dink erfenis is meer belangriker as geskiedenis hoewel dit naby is maar erfenis kan 'n mense seker aardra makliker na jou kinders se kinders toe sodat hulle kan weet waar hulle vandaan kom jy kan nie weet waarna toe jy gaan as jy nie weet waarvan jy kom nie [He thinks heritage is more important than history although it is close, but heritage can be easier transferred to your grandchildren, so they know where they came from. You can't know where you're going if you don't know where you're coming from.]¹⁶⁹

This chapter resonates with the thinking of Hayden, who sees a link between identity and memory that informs urban landscapes as storehouses of social memories with the potential to be marked in the landscape.¹⁷⁰ It focus on the interviewees and the theme of heritage in Tiervlei. One of the interviewees is a member of the community that was subjected to an *ex-situ* displacement process. The rest were subjected to an *in-situ* displacement process. The former was an 'inkommer', who came from Ceres and was a tenant, the other latter the grandchildren of people who had owned 'familie kampe [family camps]. The questionnaire sought to elicit the themes of the location of the heritage and the challenges of identifying, recording and safeguarding it. The interviews inadvertently included life stories or anecdotes, as the communities' social links was interwoven between individual, family and community. This chapter also includes a selection of photographs of the landscape and the social activities that took place in those spaces.

Tangible vs intangible representation

The colloquial name of Tiervlei is still used by the community and features in the name Tigers used for various sports teams. In the sphere of arts and culture it is being kept alive by the Tiervlei Rieldance group and the YMCA. In religious circles it is alive and well in names such as the Calvinse Protestantse Kerk van Tiervlei and

¹⁶⁹ Interview Claude Young 13 December 2022

¹⁷⁰ Hayden, D., 1997. *The power of place: Urban landscapes as public history*. MIT press.

the burial society Tiervlei Hulpgenootskap and in business there is a Tiervlei Electrical Company.

The official representation in the previous Parow municipality,¹⁷¹ in *Parow Parade*,¹⁷² and the City of Cape Town narrative in the archives relates largely to the built fabric and one-sided political landscape of the colonial or apartheid government. It is silent on the social and cultural landscape of the non-white community of the area.

Stellenbosch University¹⁷³ and Tygerberg Hospital are devoid of social interaction, placemaking and social structure. Neither institution referred to the Hardekraaltjie Cemetery in their history or academic articles before 2020 and it was only after the community initiated a project for acknowledgement that a process of recognition was started.

The City of Cape Town municipality declined on two occasions – in 2022 and 2023 – to participate in the process, with spokesperson Luthando Tyhalibongo saying that ‘no engagements are planned with Fortuin or the Tiervlei community’. ‘The city is not aware of any exhumation of human remains at the Hardekraaltjie Cemetery.’¹⁷⁴

However, the archive records reflect that the Parow municipality informed the provincial department about the reburials.¹⁷⁵ Almost 30 years into democracy and the custodians of the national estate, including Heritage Western Cape and the City of Cape Town municipality have neglected our heritage. They are not only perpetuating the silence, but their silence is also presiding over the erasure of the heritage of this community in the present.

The community’s memory, however, is alive – family members buried in the cemetery, children and young adults collecting wood in the forest in which the cemetery and hospital is located. Children playing in the sandy dust streets, teenagers in the roads, adults on makeshift sportsfields and Kwongsee, the corner shop. The brass bands and the sports teams contributing to social cohesion in the

¹⁷¹ Parow Handbook. Parow Municipality, 1975

¹⁷² Rosenthal, E., 1982. *Parow Parade*. unpublished.

¹⁷³ <https://www0.sun.ac.za/100/en/timeline/> [accessed 25 January 2023]

¹⁷⁴ <https://www.iol.co.za/capetimes/news/haunted-by-the-past-activist-challenges-city-on-historic-cemetery-759af157-bdba-40e5-bb94-2d99d42edf73> [accessed 25 January 2023]
<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2023-01-19-we-need-to-know-what-happened-to-the-bones-tiervlei-community-wants-restitution-decades-after-bodies-were-forcefully-removed/> [accessed 25 January 2023]

¹⁷⁵ Cape Archives, AA140/52/1/1

community. The social interaction around the schools and churches, and 'die roepstem' [church bell ringing] the infrastructure before the council infrastructure. These memories, Nora argues, are the identity and connection to the past is closely linked to the embodiment of memory in sites of memory.¹⁷⁶

Thematic analysis and perspectives

The interviewees had a strong association with place and activities. The interview process became a means of understanding and interpreting the significance and values to the interviewees of important spaces.

The interviewees

Clarence Gertse was born in 1944 and raised at 142 Joppie Fourie street which was renamed Stroebel street. His grandparents owned the 'family kamp'. He attended Florida Primary School, where the principal was Mr Balie, until Northway Primary was completed. He then attended Vasco High and still resides on a portion of the family property.

William Charles was born in Ravensmead Street in 1966 and attended Nebo Primary and Uitsig High. His grandparents owned the 'family kamp'. He still lives on a section of the family property.

Florence Jantjies (Valentine) was a 'inkommer [relocated here] and a tenant, born in 1942 in Ceres and moved with her family to Tiervlei in 1953. She attended Volkskerk Primary School from Standard 3 (Grade 5) and moved to Northway Primary after it was completed. She moved from the tenanted place into a flat, where she currently lives.

Claude Young was born in 1958 at his parents' rented home, 22 Mornay Street Tiervlei, attended by Nurse Adams. It was a home birth and Nurse Adams was the midwife at the house his parents rented.

Terwyl hulle in Mornay Straat gebly het het sy ma hom by Balie se skool ingesit wat hy later gehoor het was Florida aangesien die skole die prinsipale se van destyds gehad het ... toe hulle Denton Straat toe trek toe was hy na Northway Primer ... daai tyd was dit slegs vlaktes van Denton Straat na Northway Primer

¹⁷⁶ Nora, P., 1989. Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire. *representations*, 26, pp.7-24.

daar was nie paaie gewees nie ... hy is na Florida High.¹⁷⁷ [While they were staying in Mornay Street, he went to Balie's school which he later heard was Florida, as the schools had the principals' last name at the time ... when they moved to Denton Street he was enrolled at Northway and it was wetland, plains from Denton Street to Northway, there were no roads. His high school was Florida High.] After the family had moved three times in Tiervlei they ended up in Belhar.

Sidney Reid still lives at the address in Mornay Street where he was born during 1954 in Tiervlei. He attended Northway Primary and Florida High School.

'Die Kampe'

All the community interviewees referred to the 'die Kampe' as a residential social space of families and acquaintances whereas the council saw it as an unhygienic place and a reason for the Slums Act proclamation of some properties.

For William, who recalled the different 'kampe', the 'kamp' was a family place. He remembers the social bonding amongst the cousins who were raised on the same plot. Clarence remembers 'die kampe' and some of the families and a number of 'hokke' (corrugated iron structures). He recalls that some were overcrowded and some owners were more interested in the rent they were collecting.

Florence's memory as captured in the previous chapter was the amount of 'hokke' corrugated structures which she saw in the area. According to Florence, her family shared 'die kamp' with five other families, including her father's brother's son and wife. While Claude recognised 'die kampe', he said there were more brick-and-mortar houses when he grew up.

Social bonds and familiarity

All the interviewees recall the neighbourliness and social bond amongst the adults, which include sharing or exchanging food, plants and ingredients. William, for instance remembers:

die samesyn. As my ma byvoorbeeld kook en sy makeer iets dan sal sy sê gaan na anty Sarie en vra iets om in te gooi want sy groei miskien ... 'n kuie soort wat sy makeer. Ek onthou ook die blommeskou wat daar was, tuinekompetiesie. My

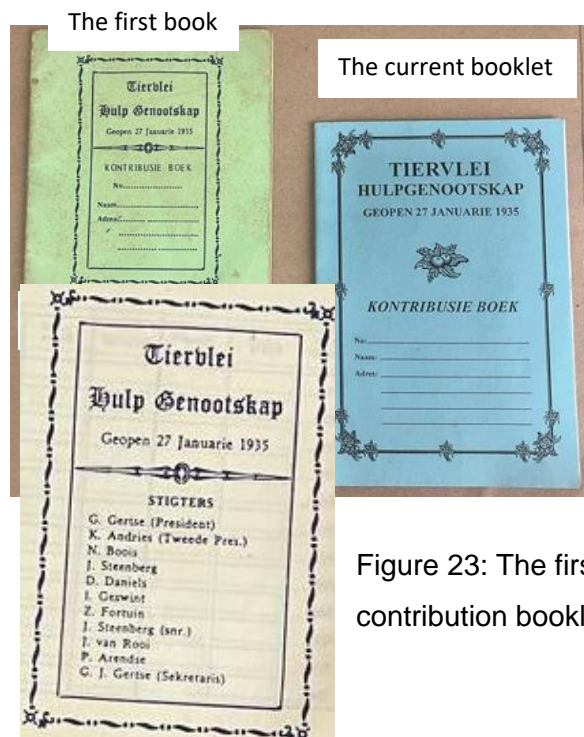
¹⁷⁷ Interview Claude Young 13 December 2022

pa was baie mal oor Dahlia bolle ... en die uitruil van plante. Iemand sal my pa vra vir 'n plant of roos en vir 'n ander person iets anders. Die gemeenskap het vir mekaar gesorg.¹⁷⁸ [William remembers the togetherness. If, for instance, my mother was cooking, she would send me to a neighbour to ask for something the neighbour is growing in her garden, a herb or ingredient. I also remember the flower show and garden competitions. My father was crazy about Dahlia bulbs ... and the exchange of plants. The community took care of each other.]

In the previous chapter I quoted Clarence's memory on the importance of social relations amongst the community. He expressed the profound loss when the dispossessions affected the subsistence way of living of the families whose properties was dispossessed. This would equate to a loss of small-scale agricultural practice.

Tiervlei Hulpgenootskap

Clarence's grandfather, with his, father and five or six others, founded the Tiervlei Hulpgenootskap (Burial Society) in January 1935.¹⁷⁹ Both his grandfather and his father were named Gert. He would later join the society as treasurer – a third-generation member.



Members initially paid 10c (a sjieling/shilling) a month. At one point the society had 400 members. Members of the society's management committee would do the rounds to collect the subscriptions. Clarence recalls that in the early years his father kept the money at home, as no bank account was opened until later.

Figure 23: The first and current Tiervlei Hulpgenootskap funeral contribution booklet with names of founding members. The

¹⁷⁸ Interview William Charles 7 December 2022

¹⁷⁹ Clarence Gertse interview with the author 12 and 13 December 2022

booklets could be found in many households in Tiervlei and are still in homes in Ravensmead (Picture by author with permission from C Gertse)

Members were recruited by word of mouth in the community and in announcements made in churches and some meetings were advertised in the newspaper. In the early years the society also helped people who had had a death in the family, even though they were not members. The society now has its third management team.

'Dus ons genootskap Tiervlei Hulpgenootskap, Dit behoort aan die gemeenskap van Tiervlei so enigeen wat daaraan behoort hy is deel.¹⁸⁰ [This is our Tiervlei Burial Society. It belongs to the community of Tiervlei, so anyone who belongs to it is a part.]

Florence's first experience when she arrived in Tiervlei and saw the 'hokke', she was shocked at the poverty of the place. Claude remembers as a child his parents always warned him about the dangers of gangsterism, which at the time, was becoming a problem in the community.

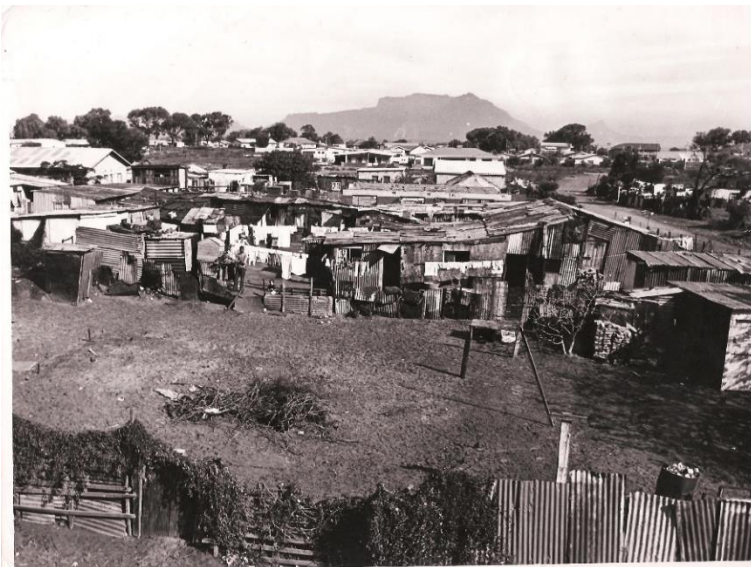


Figure 24: Corrugated iron structures ('hokke') in a 'Kamp' at the corner of Webner Street and 5th Avenue.

(L. Ing, City of Cape Town)

¹⁸⁰ Ibid

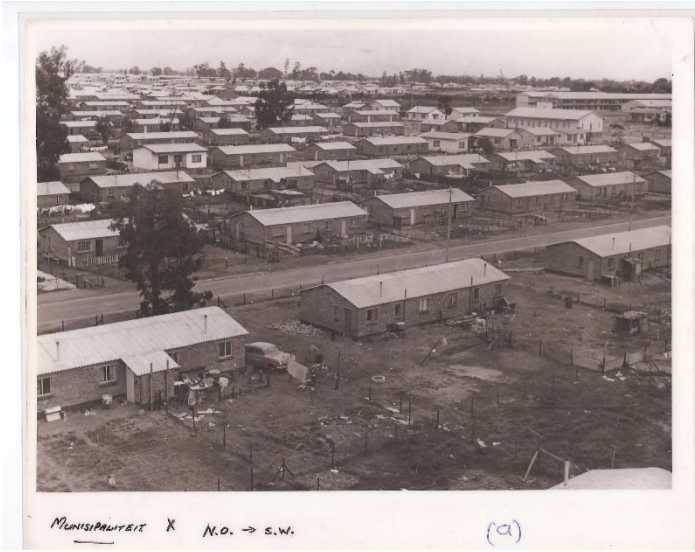


Figure 25: Council rental housing scheme
(L. Ing, City of Cape Town)

Figure 26: Corrugated iron structure,
address unknown
(Ds Bester collection)

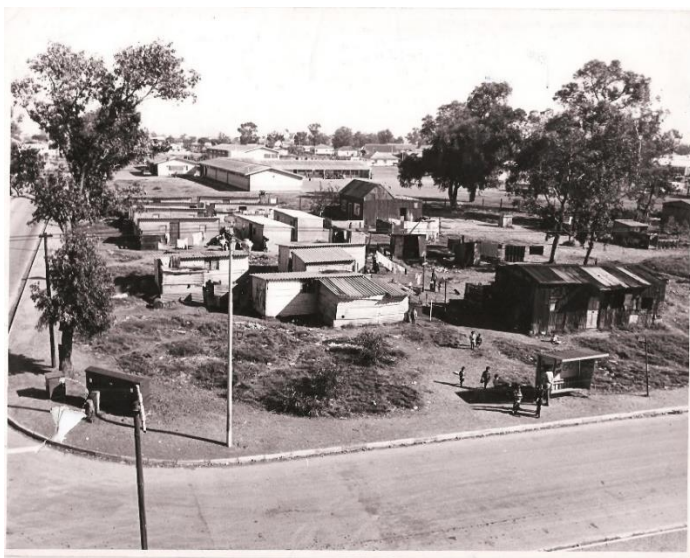


Figure 27: Corrugated iron structures
at the corner of Pinedene Street and
Joppie Fourie, next to Pindene
Primary School
(L. Ing, City of Cape Town)

Sidney remembers the social bond amongst neighbours

dit is nou Northway Straat anderkant Mornay Straat en dan Linden langsaan daai was eindelijk sandpaaie gewees en daarna het die munisipaliteit mos die gravel kom gooi voordat hulle die teer kom gooi het ... ons het eindelijk rugby en sokker in die sandpaaie meesal gespeel ... Die pad was amper soos 'n rugby veld gewees die mense het van hulle huise af uitgekom om te kom kyk hoe ons rugby speel ... die liefde was nog sterk tussen ons mense gewees nie soos dit vandag is nie. Vandag is die mense soos vreendelinge onder mekaar geraak ek praat nou van families ook.¹⁸¹ [It's now Northway Street beyond Mornay Street and then Linden next door those were finally sand roads and then the municipality came with the gravel before the tar ... They ended up playing rugby and football in the sandy roads. The road was like a rugby field the people came from their homes to watch. The love was still strong between the people, not as it is today. Today the people are like strangers to each other, and I'm talking also about families.]

Important spaces of interaction

The interviewees describe the space as semi-rural and in the maps and aerial imagery in Chapter 3 it can be seen how urban growth has changed the undeveloped space and the character of the landscape. They identified the schools, churches, sports field, the civic centre and the surrounding bush as important spaces for social interaction, with many community activities taking place there. There were not many places in those days where young people could enjoy themselves.

Claude Young's parents were subjected to an *ex-situ* displacement, ending up in Belhar – he does not know why.

Baie mense het baie goete oorgekom maar het nie daarvoor gepraat nie. Baie was uit hul huis gegooi as die government die plek wil hê. Kyk ek het gehoor op De La Rey Pad het die government baie mense se gronde gevat en net gesê hulle wil die grond hê want hulle gaan 'n pad daar bou ... toe het die mense altyd gesê dus hoekom daar so baie mense doodgaan op De La Rey Pad omdat daai mense se sweet van hulle afgevat was hulle het hard gewerk vir daai grond.¹⁸² [Many

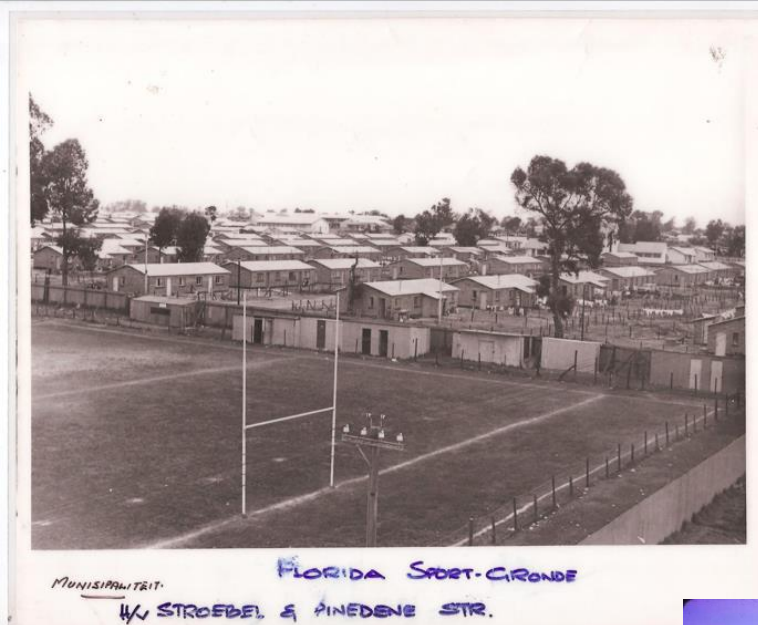
¹⁸¹ Sidney Reid interview with author 15 December 2022

¹⁸² Claud Young interview with author 13 December 2022

people suffered but didn't talk about it. Many were thrown out of their houses because the government wanted the property. I heard on De La Rey Road the government took a lot of people's land because they were going to build a road there. The people always said the reason there are so many people dying on De La Rey Road is because those people's sweat was taken from them, they worked hard for that land] I sensed that his statement reflects the anguish and trauma experienced by many families who suffered in silence.

Social spaces and activities

William remembers going with his father to 'Florida Park ... om die ou Tigers span te ondersteun'¹⁸³ Many of his family members and later he himself played rugby for



Tigers. He acknowledges the sports field as an important place in the community and a place where he could enjoy himself.

Figure 28: Florida sportsground, corner Stroebel and Pinedene Streets in the earlier years

(L. Ing, City of Cape Town)

Figure 29: Girls playing netball

(Ds Bester Collection)



¹⁸³ William Charles interview with author 7 December 2022



Figure 30: Youngsters playing rugby

(Ds Bester Collection)

He also identifies his church, civic centre and old library as important places and the sites of many community activities. The built fabric of the old library has changed and it is now used as a crèche. He is a member of the Calvyn Protestant church and has been involved in youth activities for some time and was a member of the church brigade before that.

Clarence, who was not a sports enthusiast, spent most of his time in church. As an adult he was an active community activist as treasure of the Labour Party and later championed the cause of the community with the other members of the Aksie Komitee (Action Committee). He is still a member of the Calvyn Protestant church. He has fond memories of the church and his family's involvement in it. The surrounding bush area was also a place of social interaction for Clarence, who remembers accompanying friends whose families had cows that grazed in the afternoons in the surrounding bush areas. Florence has a rich sense of the topography, which is described in the previous chapter. 'Die bult' – the portion of Mornay Street between Stroebel (formerly Joppie Fourie) and Milldene – was an important area, with sand roads in which she played as a child. Gravel roads only came later.



Figure 31: 'Die Bult' section of Mornay Street between Stroebel (formerly Joppie Fourie) and Milldene Street with the Kleurling Verenigde Kerk in the background. Circa 1960 (Ds Bester Collection)



Figure 32: The 'Kleurling Verenigde Kerk' in Mornay Street. Circa 1960. The name was changed in the 1980s to the Protestante Verenigde Kerk van Suid-Afrika (Ds Bester Collection)

She mentioned important activities in the community but also for her were sports and music. The surrounding bush areas, where the hospital is currently situated, were also a place of social interaction for her and her friends and family.

For Claude, the civic centre was an important place. Here many public functions – school concerts, weddings and 21st birthday parties – were held. Other important spaces were the church – Claude was raised in the Full Gospel church and believes it is an important gathering space and an institution intended to support the community – and the library.

Sidney recalls that

Die sportsveld was aan die agterkant van die kerk weg van die pad af het die bult sy eie football veld gehad. Ja, die bult en dan in Overdale Straat Tigers se veld. Tigers en Happy Hearts. Happy Hearts was eindelijk die bult se rugby team daai tyd het my oupa en die Adamse ... was eindelijk die stigters van die Happy Hearts

rugby team gewees ... Hulle het toe later uitmekaar uitgegaan ... en toe was daar nog 'n team soos Blue Birds het ook rugby gespeel ... Ons het altyd hulle oorgenooi om hier teen die bult se span te speel ... totdat Christiaans hulle later ingemeng het deur te begin bou daarso en ... 'n pad Boston straat deur die rugby veld gebou, daarom sien jy nou die paaie is aangelê. [The sportsfield was at the back of the church away from the road 'die bult' had its own football field. Yes, 'die bult' and then in Overdale Street Tigers' field. Tigers and Happy Hearts. Happy Hearts was 'die bult' rugby team that time my grandfather and Adams was the founders of the Happy Hearts rugby team. Then there was another team like Blue Birds playing rugby too. We always invited them over to play against our team here. Until Christiaans later interfered by constructing Boston Street through the rugby field.]¹⁸⁴

Heritage spaces and activities

William, speaking both as a community member and a YMCA member, recognises heritage in the following spaces:

as jy kyk na die Volkskerk geboutjie word nou amper 100 jaar so ook die ou biblioteek dit word nie gebewaar nie ... Ons het die biblioteek die ou skooltjie kom ons as die gemeenskap vat dit as erfenis en ons bou daarop. Want so maklik word geboue afgegooi en mense trek uit die gemeenskap soo daardie erfinus word net laat gaan. [The Volkskerk building is almost 100 years and the old library it is not preserved. We have the library the old school let us as the community take it as heritage and we build on it. Because so easily buildings are demolished, and people move out of the community and the heritage is just let go.]¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ Interview Sidney Reid 15 December 2022

¹⁸⁵ Interview William Charles 7 December 2022



Figure 33: Volkskerk Primary Mission School Circa 1960

(Ds Bester Collection)

Clarence's main recollection of important spaces is of the church, both at a personal level and in relation to the community. His family was very involved in the establishment of the building of the church. His identity is tied to the church, and he remembers his uncle's handywork there.

Daar is nou nog van die klippe ... wat hy langs die paadjie gesit het ... ek sien sy handewerk en dit is nou al oor die sewentig jaar wat die stene daar lê ook twee groot bome wat hy geplant het ... maar daai bome staan ook nou al by die sewintig jaar. Nou die kerk wil van die mense wil nou hê die bome moet nou uitgehaal word ... Ons is nog van die mense wat nou van die begin nog daar inkom wat daarteen is ... want dan is my oom en sy vrou die twee bome dan haal ons mos nou vir hulle ook uit want as ons dan nou inkom dan sien ons nou dit bring die gedagte terug van hulle ... Hy het die hoeksteen van die kerk geskenk [There are still some of the stones which he put along the path, his handywork over 70 years. The bricks lie there with two large trees that he planted, standing almost 70 years. Now the church, some of the people want the trees taken out and the people who are still coming from the beginning are against it. Because the two trees represent my uncle and aunt who also donated the cornerstone of the church.]¹⁸⁶

This reminds him and those who agree with his views of the challenges the church experienced during its formative years.

Vir ons ja miskien nou nie vir die mense wat agterna kom nie, maar vir ons was 'n stryd gewees aan die begin toe die kerk begin ... Dit laat ons nou terug dink aan

¹⁸⁶ Ibid

daai dae ... toe ons wegbreek van die kerk toe word ons gehaat ... Ons is oor die sewintig jaar en ons staan ... daai is wat ons nog altyd Tiervlei maak nie Ravensmead nie Tiervlei. Die kerk is geregistreer in die naam van die Calvynse Protestante Kerk Tiervlei, nou wil hulle weet hoekom verander ons nie na Ravensmead nie, toe sê ons dit is ons naam waarin ons geregistreer is.¹⁸⁷

He also went into detail about how the local and motherbody church preserves and transmits its heritage. Every year when the community celebrates the church's birthday with a service, they tell anecdotes or stories about its development. On the birthday of the motherbody a joint service is held with all the congregations, at which the story of the establishment of the church is told. He concludes on a conciliatory note:

Een geluk ons is vandag at peace ... ons vergeet dai ... Ons hou dit nie meer teen die mense nie ons onthou net dit is die ding wat ons deurgegaan het dit is deel van die geskiedenis. [They are at peace today and don't hold it against the people anymore they just remember it's the thing they went through it's part of history.]¹⁸⁸

On the transmission to the congregant community, he remembers the year the church produced a booklet on the history of the local church and its growth. In recent years the transmission has been by word of mouth at the church birthday celebration service. He has some reservations about the last two events as at one only parts of the story were told, which leaves the history of the church incomplete. At the other some additional issues around the use of language were raised which he felt were inappropriate at that event. He argues there are still enough seniors in the church and mentioned a number of people even older than himself who can still narrate the history of the church.

For Florence the 'Kleurling Verenigde Kerk' was important, although she was not a member. The built fabric still exists and is still functioning. She also remembers 'Kwongsee', the Chinese-owned shop. The built fabric has been changed several times as has the ownership, but it still functions as a corner shop.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid

¹⁸⁸ Ibid

She attended rugby matches played by her brothers, who were members of Happy Hearts and later joined the Happy Hearts netball club. Music is a tradition in the family and she remembers the first band 'op die bult', the Good Shepherds, and later Palm Crusaders, the community band that is still active. She enrolled her son in Palm Crusaders when he was three and is now over 40 years old. He is currently the bandmaster at Young Good Shepherds while her brother's son is the band master at Palm Crusaders.

For her the brass bands are part of the tradition because they were always present at singing events or were invited to church functions. They were available for funerals and especially during the festive period, there was always music. They were party of community life. She is concerned about how expensive it is for children who are interested in music to pay the fees and get to the venues, which are not locally situated. There are no facilities in the community for children or young adults to learn professionally. She does mention about the initiative from the Young Good Shepherds, who taught music to interested youth and the partnership it had with some schools, but the uptake was very disappointing from the community side. Although there are currently no projects with a heritage theme, Florence believes music can be used as catalyst to stem the social decay, at least in the flats, where she is on the committee. She also believes the councillor could play a role in assisting with funds and other resources.

Claude could not identify heritage spaces or projects in the community other than the Hardekraaljie Cemetery.

‘We need to know what happened to the bones’ — Tiervlei community wants restitution, decades after bodies were forcefully removed



 Ravensmead community members at the Hardekraaltjie cemetery. (Photo: Protouch Photography)



Figures 34 and 35:
Ravensmead community
members at the former
Hardekraaltjie Cemetery, 2020

The Community and the
University of Stellenbosch are
currently busy with a project to
memorialise the cemetery¹⁸⁹

(Photo's: Protouch
Photography)

For Claude, heritage is important as it provides a transmission opportunity to the next generation. He believes there is an important synergy between community and family social cohesion. He believes that to create a stable society community members need to understand their identity and an awareness and knowledge of heritage can facilitate this. He further suggests that one way in which awareness can be created or transferred is to create employment opportunities such as the clearing of local cemeteries which, he says, will go a long way towards building social cohesion and family ties. This will simultaneously be serving as a small job creation project.

¹⁸⁹ <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2023-01-19-we-need-to-know-what-happened-to-the-bones-tiervlei-community-wants-restitution-decades-after-bodies-were-forcefully-removed/> [assessed 19 January 2023]

Sidney is a retired elder still of the Protestantse Verenigde Kerk van Suid-Afrika and has a deep knowledge of the church's history, tradition and culture (see Figures 31 and 32). He speaks fondly of the history and the traditions that are still practised and the loss for those who can no longer hear the 'die roepstem van die klok' die klok kan net nie gehoor word by die mense wat nou in Belhar en Delft bly nie hulle moet toe maar aanpas by die tye'.¹⁹⁰

Sidney gave a comprehensive and thorough explanation of the practice, which he handed over after his retirement. I can only summarise in this dissertation this living heritage practice, which dates back to the 1960s. Should the church wish to do so, a report can be compiled for a submission to Heritage Western Cape.

The church, which is one of the oldest in Ravensmead, was always used by the community when there were no public buildings available. Even a Muslim group used the venue to practise their religion. The Volkskerk Primary Mission School leased premises from the church to accommodate the growing student numbers before the public schools were established. Many marriage ceremonies across the religious spectrum took place at the church as the local pastor was a commissioner who could issue marriage licences. The hall is still used by the community as the congregation has built another church on the same property to accommodate the growth in numbers and the original bell has been installed in the tower of the new building.

Sidney calls the ringing of the church bell 'Die roep stem'.

Die klok was om drie redes gelui. Die Sondagoggend roepstem en wanneer iemand afgesterf ... het en vroeër jare as iemand getrou het. Ons het altyd drie keer die klok gelui op n Sondag oggend nou word dit net een keer gelui wanneer die kerk begin ... die eerste klok was gelui om die mense bewus te maak dat daar wel kerk sal wees die tweede een dat die mense hulle gereed moet maak om te skuif na die kerk toe en die derde een wanneer die kerk moet begin. Destyds toe iemand nog getrou het het hulle ook een klok gelui wanneer dit begin maar dit gebeur nie meer nie. Daar is 'n verskil in lui van die klok die ritme van die Sondag oggend roepstem en die aankondiging van n sterfte. [The calling voice is still

¹⁹⁰ Sidney Reid interview with author 15 December 2022

being practised since the 1960s. This practice is the ringing of the church bell, which is used to call the congregation and guests to church on a Sunday and there were three rings of the bell on a Sunday every half an hour, which has been reduced to one. The second announcement is the passing of a member. The third announcement, which is no longer practised, was the bell on a wedding day announcing the celebratory news.]¹⁹¹

As mentioned earlier the ringing of the bell could be heard some distance away from the church towards A) Pinedene street, B) Northway Street and the C) Calvyn Protestant church up to D) Industrial Ring Road where Aunt Maria stays as illustrated in the following two aerial imagery.



Figure 36: Tiervlei coloured residential aerial imagery 1968 indicating the distance reached by the sound of the church bell 'die roepstem' (City of Cape Town Map Viewer, edited by author)

¹⁹¹ Sidney Reid interview with author 15 December 2022



Figure 37: Ravensmead residential aerial imagery, 2022, indicating the current reach of 'die roepstem' (City of Cape Town Map Viewer, edited by author)

Community heritage stakeholders

Three organisations were part of this process -- the YMCA, The Tiervlei Riel and the Heritage Unit of the City of Cape Town. The purpose was to understand the importance of heritage and the challenges experienced with the community and stakeholders responsible for heritage.

The YMCA

William,¹⁹² who was always involved in youth activities in the church and the community, started the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) after attending a YMCA camp in 1997. The Ravensmead YMCA branch was registered as a non-profit organisation in 2015. The organisation works with teenagers and the youth in the community focusing on a youth justice programme, performing arts, singing, drama and sports. Many youngsters struggle with self-identify and low self-esteem and one of the programmes – a culture initiative around identity and the Khoisan culture – experienced some challenges. The community lacks heritage facilities and

¹⁹² William Charles interview with author 7 December 2022

information and there is no venue in the community where heritage programmes are facilitated or information stored about the heritage of the community.

William is aware that Khoisan groups have recently been established in the area and has partnered with them over the recent heritage initiative. While he could not establish whether any traditions are practised, he is aware of old buildings and referenced the old Volkskerk Mission School building. It is almost 100 years old and could be used as a resource centre and facility from which to facilitate such programmes.

He cautions against the neglect of the community's heritage, which is so easily lost when those with knowledge leave and buildings are demolished. The group has decided to include cultural programmes as a feature to help strengthen the community social cohesion. William believes Tiervlei Ravensmead has potential, but stakeholders need to collaborate and identify challenges and opportunities to establish a heritage culture in the community.

The Tiervlei Riel Group

Lydia Mercia Hanekam¹⁹³ comes from Wupperthal, however, she spent a number of years in Elsiesriver and knew Tiervlei. She moved there in 1984 when she married and has stayed ever since.

She started the cultural Tiervlei Rielgroup (Riel is a traditional Khoisan dance) in about 2013 at Northway Primary School when she noticed the absence of cultural activities in the area. She has a deep understanding of the riel, which has been part of her cultural identity since childhood, and when she moved to Elsiesriver and Tiervlei her family always danced the riel at Christmas parties in Linden Street, where she lives.

Die rieldans het ek van n jong ouderdom ervaar want my pa se familie was rielmense. Die riel is ook n emosionele verbintenis met my pa ... want ek sien myself as 'n Khoi. Ons het as familie ... Calvinia toe gegaan waar die familie ... bymekaar gekom het en dan was daar geriel. My liefde vir die riel kom van vroeg. Vanaf die sewintiger jare as kind het ons gekyk as daar geriel word om vure, by verjaarsdag partytjies, by troues by feeste dit was ons kultuur daar was nie ander

¹⁹³ Lydia Mecia Hanekam interview with author 19 January 2023

musiek nie dus hoe die liefde binne in my geplant is. [I experienced the riel dance from a young age because my father's family were riel people. The riel is also an emotional connection with my father because I see myself as a Khoi. When the family get together in Calvinia, they would riel. As a child I watched when the riel was danced around fires, at birthday parties, at weddings at festivals it was our culture there wasn't other music that was how the love was planted inside me.]¹⁹⁴

For a while she trained children at Northway Primary School then moved the classes to her house. She observed two issues when she started the riel, the seniors enjoying it and talking about their childhood memories of the dance and the lack of understanding of it among the youth in the community. The children initially ridiculed it,

en gesê ja watse dans doen julle dit is nie onse culture nie dit is hiphop en kwaito ... Hulle het minder geword want hulle was bespot dit is eindelijk moeilik in ons omgewing waar die kinders nie met dit groot geword het nie.¹⁹⁵

Today the group is inundated with requests to perform at schools and parties, including a matric ball event. Lydia's group is also training other interested groups. She believes the awareness is creating an opportunity to talk about her heritage and ancestry, like other cultural groupings in South Africa are doing. The challenges are around access to resources and time – with the growing awareness is a growing demand and the need to raise funds for the equipment required to stage the shows. The group has won a number of accolades but for Lydia it is about transferring her heritage to the next generation. One positive consequence is that 'her children', as she affectionately refers to them, are being exposed not only to Khoisan culture but to cultures in South Africa.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid

¹⁹⁵ Ibid



Figure 38: The Tiervlei Rieldansers with trophies at a Riel competition

(Lydia Hanekam, the Tiervlei Riel group)

She believes the reason for the growth in gangsterism is that people are looking for their identity. She believes you must tell the story of our history first

Ek dink ons ... het meer inligting nodig oor onse kultuur, want sodra die kind die storie ken van die kultuur dan kan jy voel hier binne dan dans hy met 'n passie om daai uiting te gee. [Sometimes I think you must call a child and ask how you feel when you dance because sometimes, they are not even aware of the passion they bring out so intensely that the spectator can also sense it ... It's a very blessed dance, the oldest dance.]¹⁹⁶

The community, our young people, yearn for something, she says, adding that some of the children have told her that 'if it wasn't for the riel, they would have played in Abraham Street.¹⁹⁷ However now they make friends with other culture group and that's what our culture can do.'

¹⁹⁶ Ibid

¹⁹⁷ Abraham street is one of the streets in the council housing scheme with associated social ills in Ravensmead



Figures 39 and 40: Competition pictures (Lydia Hanekam the Tiervlei Riel group)

City of Cape Town Heritage Unit

Harriet Clift¹⁹⁸ is responsible for managing the heritage inventory of the City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Resource Management Branch, which is available to the public. The unit has not done a heritage audit in Ravensmead and is unaware of any resources in the area. There is currently an audit underway for the whole area below Voortrekker Road and the hospital but other than the old cemetery, very little is being mapped.

The sequence with mapping is to do the high-pressure development areas first, creating an imbalance between what has and has not been mapped. The project is focusing on the areas for which the city has no information, using external heritage consultants to undertake the heritage audit. She acknowledges that the previously marginalised communities have considerable living heritage with which the arts and culture unit of the city could assist.

The challenges her unit experiences with the community are where something that has been graded as conservation worthy is no longer used by the community there is no drive to protect it. The weakness of the NHRA Act is that nobody or communities

¹⁹⁸ Harriet Clift Interview with author 19 December 2022

cannot be forced to act to conserve anything. If it is not formally protected it is usually at the mercy of the role players, mostly property owners.

Another problem arises when there is not enough information available about the site or building as a heritage resource, or the information is not accessible. It is in these cases that the communities must help. At times there are also conflicts within the community as to what is a heritage resource and what is not. People need to be more outspoken about their heritage and what they want to happen to it.

Clift explains that the City Heritage Unit acts as a commenting body rather than a decision maker because Heritage Western Cape is the heritage resource authority provincially. Communities' contact with Heritage Western Cape is through registering as conservation bodies or as affected parties if a project being advertised is affecting them locally.

The city's information is available in the public domain and Clift's unit has created an email address for the public which will become available 2024 to interact with the unit. She recognises that intangible heritage is more of an issue than it was ten or twenty years ago and believes it is necessary to resolve what communities want and whether that is 'defendable'. Managing intangible heritage is problematic because it is not visible, it is the story of the place. Clift recons it is difficult to manage intangible heritage because the heritage resource is not necessarily what is on the ground. What should be manage of the intangible she recons is the story about the place, that is the intangible significance about the site. She cites the example of the Riverclub in Observatory,¹⁹⁹ where an intangible heritage has been identified and has not been contested, but how it has been implemented and incorporated into the new development or whether it should be is hugely contested. She argues that within communities different people want different outcomes.

The interviews have demonstrated the challenges experienced by the community with the indigenous knowledge and the organisations working with the community with regard to financial and equipment resources. The municipality has the resources but lacks the indigenous knowledge and this is discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁹⁹ London, L., 2021. The River Club development: What is really at stake? *New Agenda: South African Journal of Social and Economic Policy*, 2021(79), pp.30-35.

The interviewees did not need to struggle with heritage as a term as their oral accounts spoke to the values and significance of the everyday spaces they cross daily. The memories are imbedded in the spaces and signify the importance those spaces hold. These everyday spaces as social spaces hold many memories, but how can it be acknowledged and celebrated. This question is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

Analysis of the heritage in the landscape

This dissertation set out to trace intangible and tangible heritage in a place of continuity and dispossession. A place in which the community suffered both *in-situ* and *ex-situ* displacement under apartheid. A secondary challenge was to see if this heritage can be made visible in the present and safeguarded for future generations. The data shows the disconnect when heritage audits are undertaken in areas such as Tiervlei, which was subjected to displacement and fragmentation under apartheid. In such areas the objective set out in the preamble to the NHRA becomes a challenge. It aims to

encourage communities to nurture and conserve their legacy so that it may be bequeathed to future generations ... [and promote] new and previously neglected research into our rich oral traditions and customs.

When the legal custodian, the City of Cape Town municipality, and other government and corporate institutions (listed in Chapter 1) fail to reflect the history of the communities who, historically, occupied the spaces, they perpetuate the silencing and erasure of the heritage of the marginalised communities in the present.

The methodology and literature used was helpful in drawing information from the process. The words of the interviewees yielded a rich picture that largely contrasts with the official narrative. The media reported what was in the public domain and the counter mapping allowed for un-layering, exposing layers of history covered by apartheid legislation and not yet explored or properly interrogated –. The counter mapping has exposed the layers which were imposed by the segregation legislation, the segregation of races in the fragmented spaces. The African community from Tiervlei and the coloured communities from the Tiervlei-Parow Valley and the cemetery. These spaces were integrated and multi-racial both on the landscape and the maps however as discussed in the literature maps can be an expression of power dynamics as demonstrated in this dissertation.

Intangible and tangible heritage in a place of continuity and dispossession

Tiervlei is a place of continuity and dispossession, a landscape disfigured by urban growth and the Apartheid Group Areas project. The study area of historic Tiervlei renamed Ravensmead was one of five areas that were remapped (see Figure 18, Chapter 3). The African community could not own land in the area and was removed as part of the colonial exclusionary practice and finally by the Group Areas Act. The Group Areas Act removed coloureds from the portion of Tiervlei, which were designated for whites-only replacing them with whites and renaming the area Parow Valley. The expropriation of properties and the proclamation of the Slums Act was used to force coloured families from Tiervlei.

The reading material was informed by the official narrative and what was in the public domain through the media. However, it was the interviews with those who experienced the displacement that colour the pages. The process was callously implemented, disruptive and intrusive, destroying social bonds across neighbourhood relationships and worse, families. The disruption was not limited to street neighbours, it included the sportsfield, the schools, the church and social places in the local community and affected people, animals and plants. It destroyed the sense of community, social cohesion and togetherness so eloquently articulated by William, Clarence, Florence, Claude, and Sidney. The disruption was more than just the loss of possessions and property. However, the values and the significance of the community's experience of community gave them the tenacity to persevere and create 'die Aksie Komitee' (see Chapter 4), despite sometimes feeling hopeless '... hulle het die wet aan hulle kant gehad ... maar daar was onregverdigheid [they had the law on their side but there was unfairness.]²⁰⁰

The literature on the historic urban landscape is helpful in the study of areas affected by apartheid spatial planning, displacement and forced removals. The historical layering of cultural and natural values can be uncovered if this approach is applied to an understanding of the way the space has developed over time. Understanding the different layers will allow for a better understanding of the development of Tiervlei

²⁰⁰ Sidney Reid interview with author 15 December 2022

and where the heritage is located. It exposes the silences of those voices not included in the story.

One such voice is that of the African community that was part of the Tiervlei social structure but removed in an *ex-situ* displacement process which was a complete removal from the area. Their heritage is absent from the landscape, it lays dormant until their narrative is reflected. The same applies to other ethnic communities that were removed and not recorded in this dissertation.

The morphology of the urban spatial transformation process offers an understanding of the spatial structure and character of the Tiervlei landscape and how the constituent parts influenced the historic development.²⁰¹ The literature and the counter-mapping process have exposed the apartheid and urban spatial boundaries that were imposed. Figure 42 illustrates how urban growth and racial discrimination influenced the 1979 map (also see figure 41). Harley's (1989),²⁰² assertion that the production of maps is rooted in a social setting, and it is not a neutral expression of a terrain but is laden with power resonates with the entire Tiervlei landscape. The maps in Figures 41 and 42 portray the values Harley describes²⁰³ such as ethnicity (created by the Group Areas Act, B-white area, E-coloured area and the removals of Africans), politics (colonial, apartheid spatial planning and urban growth fragmented the landscape into five areas).

²⁰¹ Chirisa, I. and Matamanda, A., 2019. Forces shaping urban morphology in Southern Africa Today: unequal interplay among people, practice and policy. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*. 12:3, 354-372,

²⁰² Harley, J.B., 1989. Deconstructing the map. *Cartographica: The international journal for geographic information and geovisualization*, 26(2), pp.1-20. p.5

²⁰³ Ibid

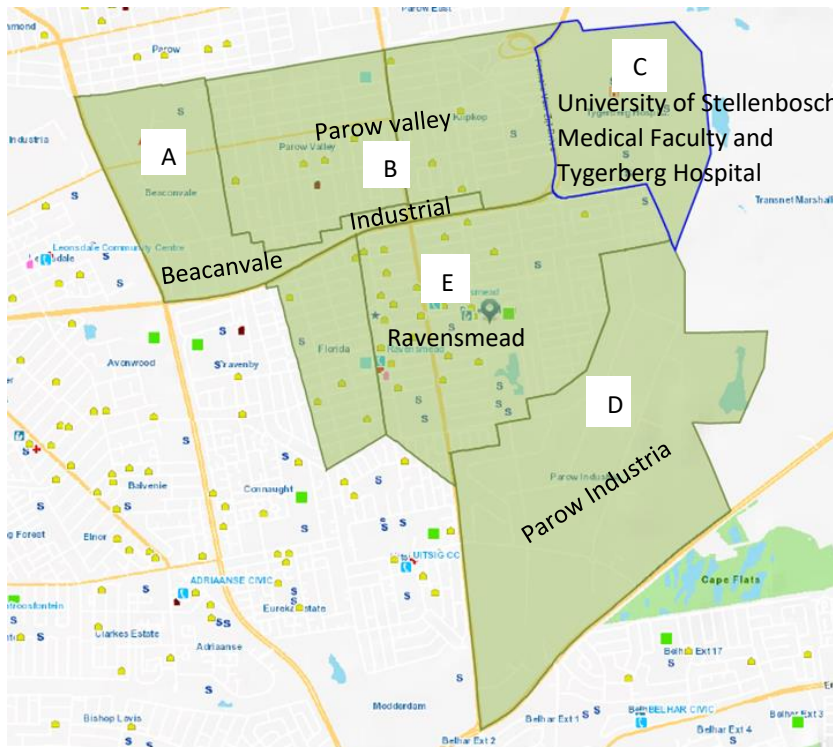


Figure 41: former Tiervlei landscape fragmented into five areas (City of Cape Town Map Viewer, Edited by author)

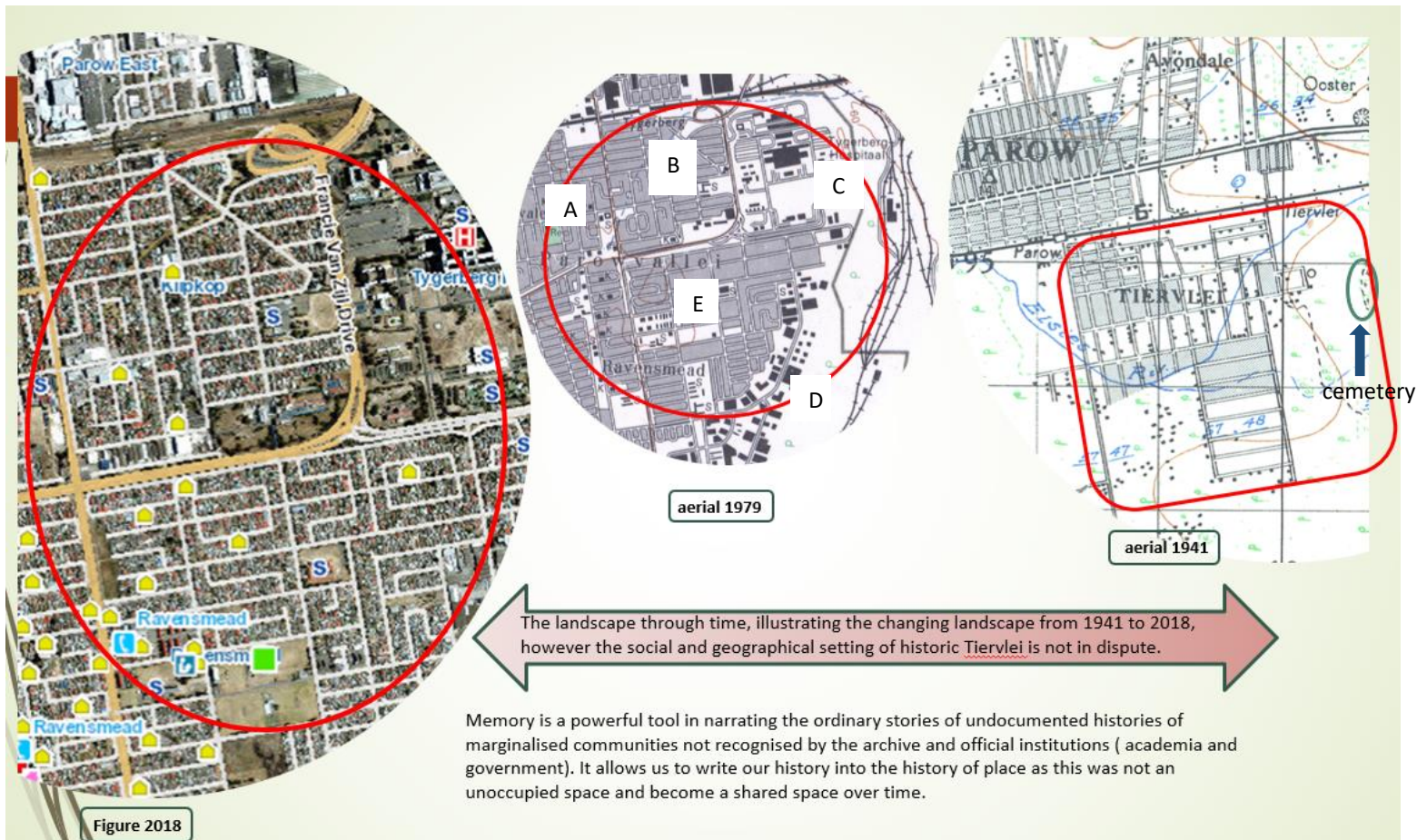


Figure 42: Aerial imagery of the changing landscape right to left 1941,1979 and 2018 (City of Cape Town Map Viewer and National Geo-spatial Information, edited by author)

A place of displacement and fragmentation

Both the documentation and the interviews confirm the displacement and forced removals. Landowners were deprived of their rights, some properties were expropriated, others reduced in size to enable the construction of roads and public facilities. Others was moved internally or had to forego parts of their properties.²⁰⁴ They were deprived of the familiarity of the place and subjected to a changing environment and loss of rights.²⁰⁵

Sites of memory in the physical environment and in the intangible landscape

This cross-section inquiry into the heritage of Tiervlei now Ravensmead has revealed the significance of many spaces. William would like to see both the tangible and the intangible heritage commemorated or preserved. The Riel and the brass bands have both a personal and community connection, commemorating as they do, the cultural and social connections in the community. For all the interviewees the significance lies in the close connection with neighbours, family heritage and identity. They have fond memories of growing up in the area and are disappointed that both the physical fabric and the moral values of Ravensmead have decayed over time. They believe that this has caused a disjuncture in the social cohesiveness of the community.

Memories relating to family, practices and daily interactions carry an overwhelm amount of significance for all and their loss was profound and is heard in the emotion of their words. The participants suggested that there is much to be celebrated about the values and heritage of the area and celebration should include ideas of family, community and connectedness. Numerous tangible and intangible elements were cited, and sites were identified that have historical, social and cultural significance for the participants.

1. Difficult to map is the notion of family, community connectedness and togetherness.
2. The spaces mentioned were 'die kampe', 'die bult', Florida sportsground, the unofficial sports field at the back of the church home to Happy Hearts where

²⁰⁴ Ibid

²⁰⁵ Ibid

Boston Street is now. The Hardekraaltjie Cemetery and surrounding bush areas where Parow Industrial area, Tygerberg Hospital and the university of Stellenbosch Medical faculty is resonating with the interviewees as public spaces around which daily interactions occurred.

3. The built fabric was the 'Kleurling Verenigde Kerk' now the 'Protestante Verenigde Kerk van Suid-Afrika' (Protestant United Church of South Africa) and Calvyn Protestant Church. The Volkskerk mission primary school, Florida primary and Northway primary schools. Also mentioned was the civic centre and first library in Piet Retief Street which was renamed Christians Street. The buildings and spaces as markers of social significance are reflected in the daily lives of the community as places of worship, teaching and gathering as part of the landscape. Florida primary was closed as school and the building was demolished. Although the space no longer exists, it is still a memory for those who had some relationship with it. The built fabric basic form and style of the built fabric is not aesthetic nor architecturally significant, but the associated living heritage is. It has become part of the built fabric and its continuous presence in the landscape represent and expresses cultural values and social behaviours.
4. Cultural events and tradition mentioned were the music, the brass bands Palm Crusaders, Young Shepherds and Young Good Shepherds. The church bell 'die roepstem' and sporting activities, the two trees in front of the Calvyn Protestant church.

The limitations of the dissertation did not allow me to pursue the thread of the interviews of Sidney Reid. He referred to the African pastors who preached in the church, and the person who married the African's daughter who resided on the church property and no longer stays in the area.

He also narrated the practice the Muslims performed who made use of the church 'Kleurling Verenigde Kerk' ' hulle het sulke penne deur hulle lippe en neuse gesteek dit is jare gelede hulle het so n khalifa²⁰⁶ dansie uitgevoer daar is n leier aan die voorkant. Hulle het so n kringdans gevorm hier op die stage en dan stamp hulle voete die hooffiguur het die penne ontvang en die penne op die

²⁰⁶ <https://dsae.co.za/entry/khalifa/e03767> [accessed 18 December 2022]

maat van die musiek deur sy neus gesteek en sy mond dwarsdeur, hy het n swaard later gebruik om dit oor sy tong te laat beweeg het ons het gedink die man sny sy tong af maar dus nou deel van hul geloof daar het niks bloed uitgekom nie' There was no need for me to do a google search as his memory reflect what the research on the khalifa confirmed.

There are still many untold histories in the landscape and there is a danger that with the disappearance of the ageing population much of the intangible heritage will be erased. The memories and values associated with it will disappear if it is not captured, recorded and safeguarded. The significance of some of these spaces extends beyond individual experience or memory. They have value and significance as heritage resources, aiding an understanding of Tiervlei/Ravensmead.

Safeguarding the memories

While there is literature available on how a community can make its heritage visible and create mechanism to safeguard it, this requires the NHRA and local government to empower it. The City of Cape Town, as the local authority, must prioritise marginalised communities, recording and registering their heritage in the city heritage inventory.

According to Harriet Clift,²⁰⁷ there has been no heritage audit in Ravensmead but one is currently underway for the whole area below the N1 Voortrekker Road. The challenge is with the mapping sequences, which focus on the high-pressure development areas, creating an unbalanced inventory. A process is now under way to focus on marginalised communities. I believe Section 8 of the NHRA has made sufficient provision for the mandate to protect and conserve heritage resources by assigning this responsibility to the three spheres of government – national, provincial and local.²⁰⁸ Local municipalities are responsible for sites of local significance (Grade III) and those that have not yet been graded.²⁰⁹

They cannot apply this responsibility selectively, favouring the previously advantaged communities as this would defeat the objectives of the NHRA, which acknowledges

²⁰⁷ Harriet Clift interview with author 19 December 2022 She is responsible for the management of the heritage inventory of the City of Cape Town environment and heritage resource management branch.

²⁰⁸ NHRA

²⁰⁹ NHRA Section 8(1) and (4)

that the heritage of some communities has been marginalised. Section 34(1) provides protection for buildings older than 60 years.²¹⁰ Section 2 (xxi) 'living heritage' refers to the intangible aspects of inherited culture and may include 'cultural tradition, oral history, performance, ritual, popular memory, skills and techniques, indigenous knowledge systems and a holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships. Other important inclusions are Section 3(2) (b) places to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage; (h) sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa; and (i) movable objects, including (ii) 'objects to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage.

This objective will be difficult to achieve with the heritage audits if the authority the municipality and Heritage Western Cape does not engage the community and assist with resources to safeguard, record and celebrate the heritage as prescribed in Section 5(2) for ensuring the effective management of heritage resources.²¹¹

Challenges and opportunities

With the inception of the NHRA the municipality has no excuse for not fulfilling its mandate to conduct heritage audits in this area.²¹² In addition to the building fabric discussed in this dissertation, there are several buildings in the area, many of them churches, dating back more than 60 years.

The data has identified both challenges and opportunities. However, there is a disconnect – the municipality has not engaged the community and the community has not engaged the municipality. This section is not solution driven, it merely presents the data.

²¹¹ Section 5(2)(a) the skills and capacities of persons and communities involved in heritage resources management must be developed.

²¹² Section 8(1) and (4) Responsibilities and competence of heritage resources authorities and local authorities for identification and management of national estate

The challenges

The community is concerned about

- The lack of resources for cultural activities in the community and the lack of interest among young people in participating in what the community regards as tradition – the brass bands, cultural music and dance. They also worry about what they regard as the moral decay and downward spiral of young people. In addition to the lack of support from the council for arts and culture and the decrepit state of old buildings in the area such as the almost 100-year-old former Volkskerk Mission School building;
- The fact that the YMCA Ravensmead and the Tiervlei Riel have no space in which to practise and perform and no finances with which to produce quality programmes that will attract the youth and seniors;
- The absence of cultural information available; and
- The lack of understanding among young people of heritage and how it relates to personhood and identity.

The municipality is concerned about

- The failure of the NHRA to protect properties the community no longer uses but regards as heritage worthy;
- The implications for living heritage in marginalised communities if nobody champions this important issue; and
- The conflicting views within communities about the heritage of specific resources.

The opportunity

The community

- Has institutional indigenous knowledge; and
- Has two organisations that actively engage the youth and the community with regard to culture and heritage. The Tiervlei Rielgroup also promotes and teaches groups in nearby Uitsig and Wesbank about cultural awareness.

The municipality

- Has access to institutional capacity, financial resources and equipment;
- Has access to departments such as Arts and Culture that complement their work; and
- Has internal and external heritage contractors to do heritage audits.

What the data demonstrates is the disconnect between the municipality and the community, who are working towards the same objective in different ways. In this regard what could be suggested is a participatory approach through which both parties will work together. This is not a simple solution – the council is driven by policies and procedures and the community would require champions with the time and resources to engage council. Community groups should form coordinating bodies to share the resources needed to preserve their heritage.

For the municipality, there should be inter-departmental cooperation between the heritage and arts and culture units, who could organise joint programmes to audit both the tangible and intangible heritage. The municipal heritage unit should run awareness campaigns in designated communities before the heritage audit start in order to reach a wide audience and capture the intangible heritage embedded in the community. If they don't the data will demonstrate the disconnect when heritage audits are undertaken in areas such as Tiervlei, which was subject to displacement and fragmentation under apartheid. The audit teams will audit the five separate areas formed under apartheid and the Group Areas Act instead of the multiracial pre-apartheid Tiervlei. Those who were removed from the area will potentially be further silenced, perpetuating the unheard culture and practices in the landscape that could lead to the erasure of their heritage.

The Tiervlei-Ravensmead heritage audit will reflect the heritage of the coloured community, not that of the African or those coloured families who were forcibly displaced in an *ex-situ* process. A Tiervlei-Parow Valley audit will reflect the heritage of the white community, not the African or those coloured families who were forcefully displaced in an *ex-situ* process. An audit of the Tiervlei-Beaconvale, Tiervlei-Parow Industrial areas and the Tiervlei-Tygerberg Hospital area will probably reflect no tangible heritage however the intangible heritage rests uneasy in these landscapes.

Tiervlei's history and heritage are multilayered and multiracial in the landscape. To prevent the previously marginalised from being further marginalised the authorities and the NHRA must consider alternative ways of engaging with those communities whose living heritage is tied to spaces that they no longer occupy. Continued marginalisation stands in direct opposition to what the NHRA envisages as building social cohesion and preserving marginalised heritages. This study also proposes ways of approaching an historic site with varying levels of significance assigned to the different layers of the landscape – the colonial and apartheid past and the present.

Understanding a layered historic place such as Tiervlei will assist other communities and researchers with similarly complex sites. The scope of the project was limited in terms of time and a complicated subject. It is not possible to advance a solution within this framework, but what I have been able to do is to identify some of the challenges that confront both the community and the council.

The following chapter summarises this dissertation and encourages the communities to celebrate, record and transfer their cultural inheritance notwithstanding the challenges raised in this dissertation.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

Yes, it is possible to trace heritage in a landscape of continuity, dispossession and fragmentation such as Tiervlei is my answer to the question I posed at the start of this dissertation. In doing so I have relied on the memories of members of the community, the archive, with its limitations, media reports and maps.

The history of Tiervlei since 1932 is set in a landscape of rapid urban growth, development and social change driven by the apartheid project and, particularly, the Group Areas legislation. This growth divided Tiervlei into five parts, including the study area, Ravensmead. I was able to identify various noteworthy built fabric and cultural sites that were important to the participants and themes emerged from the mapping of these buildings and urban spaces. Lefebvre's (1987)²¹³ explanation of the past and its relationship with the 'everyday' accord with the memories of the daily lives led in Tiervlei/Ravensmead and the social spaces and places with which the community interacted. In the previous chapter I highlighted the challenges and opportunities of tracing heritage in such landscapes

The use of the colloquial language and terminology of the interviewees was intentional – recognising not only this marginalised community but also, hopefully, encouraging other marginalised communities to use all available platforms, as Field (2006),²¹⁴ Rasool (2006)²¹⁵ and Hall (2006)²¹⁶ suggest, to celebrate and display their heritage, but more so, as Claude Young and Sidney Reid²¹⁷ in their respective interviews suggest, to 'transfer' and 'explain' that heritage to the next generations. Claude stated eloquently that there is a void in the youth of the community that can only be filled once they know about their identity and heritage. That sentiment is shared by Mercia of the Tiervlei Rielgroup and William of the YMCA.

²¹³ Lefebvre, H. and Levich, C., 1987. The everyday and everydayness. *Yale French Studies*, (73), pp.7-11.

²¹⁴ Field, S., 2006. Beyond 'Healing': trauma, oral history and regeneration. *Oral History*, pp.31-42.

²¹⁵ Rasool, C., 2006. Community museums, memory politics, and social transformation in South Africa: histories, possibilities, and limits. In *Museum Frictions* (pp. 286-321). Duke University Press.

²¹⁶ Hall, M., 2006. Identity, memory and counter-memory: the archaeology of an urban landscape. *Journal of material culture*, 11(1-2), pp.189-209.

²¹⁷ Interview Sidney Reid 15 December 2022

... jy weet nie waantoe jy gaan as jy nie weet waar jy vandaan kom nie en baie van die mense weet nie waa hy vandaan kom nie ... daai leemte maak somkere dat mense altyd soek na iets ... maar hy weet nie wat hy soek nie ek dink hulle het nie rerig hulle verlede ontsluit of toegemaak en beginner lewe nie ek wonder ook maar altyd ... en ek dink dit is wat baie keer gebeur in die gemeenskap. [... you don't know when you're going if you don't know where you're coming from and a lot of the people don't know where they from ... That void makes people always looking for something ... but he doesn't know what he's looking for. I think they haven't really unlocked or closed their past and moved on with life. I'm always wondering ... and I think that's what happens a lot of times in the community.]²¹⁸

The community of Tiervlei/Ravensmead has been dispossessed and forcefully displaced. Their dignity was attacked and the pre-democratic authorities tried to erase them both in life and in death (the cemetery) from this area. However, the tenacity of the community, its seniors, those still alive and those who have passed on, was steadfast and is visible in the oral account of the memory. We do not need the official archive if it does not give our account when we have our own institutional capacities alive and well in the archives of our living memory.

²¹⁸ Interview Claude Young 13 December 2022

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Cape Archives, 3Bell/296/12

APPENDIX 1: SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEWS

All the interviewees agreed for their names and surnames to be used in the dissertation.

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS WITH DISPLACED RESIDENTS

William Charles was born in 1966 and raised in Ravensmead. He was interviewed by the author on 7 December 2022 at the offices of the Ravensmead YMCA. He lives on a portion of the property his parents bought from his grandparents after they were forced by the Parow Council to sub-divide it.

Florence Jantjies (Valentine) was a 'inkommer' (relocated here) and a tenant, born in 1942 in Ceres. In 1953 she moved with her family to Tiervlei. Initially a tenant, she later moved into the flat in which she lives now. She was interviewed by the author at the Ravensmead Library on 9 December 2022.

Clarence Gertse was interviewed by the author on 12 and 13 December 2022 at his house, a portion of the original property at 142 Joppie Fourie Street on which he was born in 1944 and raised. The street was renamed Stroebel Street.

Claude Young was born in 1958 at 22 Mornay Street Tiervlei, the house rented by his parents. The family moved three times within Tiervlei and eventually ended up in Belhar. He was interviewed by the author at his house in Belhar on 13 December 2022.

Sidney Reid still lives at the address in Mornay Street, Tiervlei where he was born in 1954. He bought the property from his grandparents. He was interviewed by the author on 15 December 2022 at the Kleurling Verenigde Kerk (the Protestant United Church of South Africa).

INTERVIEWS WITH STAKEHOLDERS

City of Cape Town

Harriet Clift, Professional Heritage Officer, Environment and Heritage, City of Cape Town, interviewed by the author, 19 December 2022.

Cultural and youth organisations

William Charles, Ravensmead YMCA, (Young Men's Christian Association), interviewed by the author, 7 December 2022.

Lydia Mercia Hanekam, Tiervlei Riel Group, interviewed by the author, 19 January 2023.