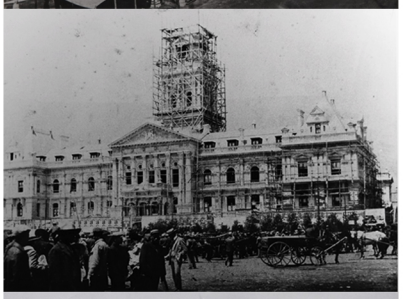
# LIVING HERITAGE in the HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE

## A Case Study of the Grand Parade Market



Wendy M. Wilson

Mini-Dissertation
Submitted in Partial Fulfilment
of MPhil Conservation of the Built Environment

Research Project | Course APG 5071S
School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics
University of Cape Town
Supervisor | Dr. Naomi Roux
July 2019

# APPLICATION FORM

**Please Note:**
Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form **before** collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application *prior* to embarking on research is to ensure that the highest ethical standards in research, conducted under the auspices of the EBE Faculty, are met. Please ensure that you have read, and understood the **EBE Ethics in Research Handbook** (available from the UCT EBE, Research Ethics website) prior to completing this application form: http://www.ebe.uct.ac.za/ebe/research/ethics1

| **APPLICANT'S DETAILS** | | |
|---|---|---|
| Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant | | Wendy Wilson |
| Department | | Architecture, Planning and Geomatics |
| Preferred email address of applicant: | | wilson.wendym@gmail.com |
| If Student | Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc. | MPhil CBE |
| | Credit Value of Research: e.g., 60/120/180/360 etc. | 60 credit |
| | Name of Supervisor (if supervised): | Dr. Naomi Roux |
| If this is a research contract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship | | n/a |
| Project Title | | Significance of the Living Heritage of Cape Town's Grand Parade Bi-Weekly Morning Market |

**I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that:**

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

| **SIGNED BY** | Full name | Signature | Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant** | Wendy Murray Wilson | Signature Removed | **08 Oct 2018** |

| **APPLICATION APPROVED BY** | Full name | Signature | Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Supervisor** (where applicable) | Dr Naomi Roux | Signature Removed | **15 Oct 2018** |
| **HOD (or delegated nominee)** Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section1; and for all Undergraduateresearch (Including Honours). | Click here to enter text. | | Click here to enter a date. |
| **Chair : Faculty EIR Committee** For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions. | R Behrens | Signature Removed | 26 Oct 2018 |

## 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 December 2018 to June 2019.

Course: MPhil Conservation of the Built Environment
Course Code: APG 5071S
Course Convenor: Dr. Naomi Roux
Supervisor: Dr. Naomi Roux
e-mail: n.roux@uct.ac.za
School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics, University of Cape Town

Student Name: Wendy M Wilson
Student Number: WLSWEN002
Date: 12 July 2019

## 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 Chicago 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: 12 July 2019

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Throughout the research and writing of this dissertation I have received a great deal of support and encouragement. First, sincere and deep thanks go to the traders of Grand Parade bi-weekly market who were enormously welcoming. In particular I would like to thank those who agreed to formal interviews, for being so generous with their time, thoughts and memories.

I am very grateful to the heritage professionals who gave their time, to work with me through my questions and uncertainties, sharing their knowledge and opinions.

Thanks too, to the always-helpful staff of the Cape Archives and National Library, the University of Cape Town libraries and the National Geographic Institute. Also, the librarians of the SAHRA archives and library, and the City of Cape Town's Environment and Heritage Resources Information Centre.

To my supervisor, Dr Naomi Roux, my thanks for believing that the project was worth doing, and for giving me constant encouragement and guidance.

Finally, my deep appreciation to my family, particularly my editor/sounding-board/soul-mate/husband, Mike Hardaker, whose unwavering support has been fundamental to getting the job done.

# ABSTRACT

This study examines the long-established bi-weekly market held on Cape Town's Grand Parade to see if it constitutes living heritage. If it does, how is it connected with the urban landscape it inhabits, and how might it be acknowledged or safeguarded?

Heritage practice in South Africa has long focused on the fabric of the historic built environment (not on the people using it or the uses to which it is put) with conservation methods tailored to that end. The importance of living heritage—or intangible cultural heritage—is increasingly accepted, particularly as a form of redress for the imbalance caused by the prioritisation of coloniser history. There is a growing sense of urgency, driven by those whose living heritage has been overlooked or ignored, to address this.

In this study, I combine on-the-ground analysis of today's Wednesday/Saturday market drawn from interviews with traders, with a deep reading of various official and academic archives. This is interpreted through the most recent theoretical thinking regarding living heritage, together with the international charters, national laws and local policies that apply to the real world of Cape Town today.

I determine that the market is, indeed, living heritage, and that it is important to recognise it is such. I argue that the heritage binary of intangible and tangible represents a false dichotomy, and that it is essential to consider heritage as a whole, with living heritage being indivisible from the urban landscape in which it exists. However, I identify the potential pitfalls that formal protection might bring to a living, dynamic system, and find that the significance values of tangible and living heritage require different actions to conserve and safeguard them.

I show how, while the will to identify and acknowledge South Africa's living heritage has been expressed at the highest policy levels, the ensuing legislation, implementation policies and working practices of heritage practitioners are insufficient to deliver on this. I suggest that, to reflect this better in our management of heritage resources, a more trans-disciplinary approach is needed, one with processes and methodologies that accommodate diversity in the interpretation of cultural value and emphasise stakeholder involvement.

KEYWORDS: INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE, LIVING HERITAGE, IDENTITY, PLACE, TRADITIONAL PRACTICE, VALUES, COMMUNITY.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# TABLE OF FIGURES

***Cover:***

From Top: Cape Archives AG10811. NLSA PHA 10604. Cape Archives J7850. Cape Archives J4534. Cape Archives AG12976. Period Papers 1931 Print Cape Town City Hall Cityscape South Africa Parade Market Dome NGM7. Cape Archives J4730. Cape Archives CA3338 & CA3341. Main colour image: Grand Parade, June 2019, by author.

***Four page A3 insert:***

# ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS USED

| | |
|---|---|
| AHD | Authorised Heritage Discourse |
| APHP | Association of Professional Heritage Practitioners |
| CHS | Cultural Heritage Strategy |
| CoCT | City of Cape Town |
| DAC | Department of Arts and Culture |
| EHRIC | Environment and Heritage Resources Information Centre |
| EIA | Environmental Impact Assessment |
| GPTA | Grand Parade Traders' Association |
| HIA | Heritage Impact Assessment |
| HPOZ | Heritage Protection Overlay Zone |
| HUL | Historic Urban Landscape |
| HWC | Heritage Western Cape |
| ICCROM | International Centre for the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property |
| ICH | Intangible Cultural Heritage |
| ICOMOS | International Council on Monuments and Sites |
| LHA | Living Heritage Approach |
| NGI | National Geo-spatial Information |
| NHC | National Heritage Council |
| NHRA | National Heritage Resources Act |
| NLSA | National Library of South Africa |
| NMC | National Monuments Council |
| PCA | Peopled Centred Approach |
| PHS | Provincial Heritage Site |
| SA | South Africa |
| SAHRA | South African Heritage Resources Agency |
| UCT | University of Cape Town |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation |
| VOC | Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company) |

# A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

***Race terminology***

In a seminal work on issues of race and Cape Town, Erasmus writes: "There is no such thing as the Black 'race'. Blackness, whiteness and coulouredness exist, but they are cultural, historical and political identities."[1]

However, no South African story exists outside of its race and class context, even if "race" is a "cultural, historical and political" identity. The terms, used to describe racial difference along the lines of apartheid-era classification—black, coloured, white and so on—are still in mainstream use in contemporary South African administration and discourse. I have opted to use them uncapitalised, unitalicised and un-marked by quotations marks (the option chosen by Erasmus, but in a work covering a very different context).

Where these and other historic, essentialist, classifications appear in quotations, I have represented the words as written. An awareness of the context in which they were made is important.

***Practice, practitioner***

The words practice and practitioner recur in this study. For clarity:

- By *professional heritage practice*, I mean the process of identification and management of cultural heritage within the legislative domain.
- By *professional heritage practitioner*, I mean the official or professional (often one and the same) engaged in the process of identification and management of cultural heritage.[2]
- When referring to *cultural practice*, *community practice*, *traditional practice*, I mean the social group or individual engaged in a specific activity that they claim or valorise as a heritage practice.[3]

[1] Zimitri Erasmus, "Re-imagining Coloured Identities in Post-Apartheid South Africa," in *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place : Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town*, ed Zimitri Erasmus (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001), 12.

[2] David C. Harvey, "Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies," *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7:4 (2001): 327, 329.

[3] Dorothy Noyes, "Traditional Culture: How Does it Work?," *Museum Anthropology Review* 5, no. 1-2 (2011): 39, 42.

# 1. INTRODUCTION

Professional heritage practice in South Africa is dominated by tangible heritage, particularly the conservation of buildings and townscapes from the colonial and settler eras. South African law enshrines the role of intangible, *living*, heritage but this legislation has so far had a limited impact on heritage conservation decisions affecting the built environment.[4] Although embraced by informal and activist efforts, formal processes are especially slow to recognise and safeguard living heritage in urban landscapes.

These intangible elements of urban cultural heritage such as custom, ritual and memory tend to belong to slave ancestry, struggle history and the urban life of the working classes. Recognising this "other" heritage of the city offers us a way to rebalance, reframe and redress the dominant—for some, oppressive, and for many, exclusionary—physical structures and spaces that have been so carefully preserved.[5]

This case study has two objectives. First, to explore how the non-physical, social heritage of a place can be identified. Then, to examine the mechanisms—legislation, policy and practical implementation, whether existing or still required—that can be used to acknowledge it appropriately. To do this, I look in-depth at the history and tradition of a long-established, bi-weekly market on Cape Town's Grand Parade. I contend that it is example of living heritage for its association-with-place, continuity-of-use and communities-of-practice. I argue that this cultural practice contributes to the heritage significance of the Grand Parade.

## 1.1 Central Research Question

The Grand Parade represents the point-of-origin of South Africa as a modern construct, being at the centre of the initial colonial urban settlement. The first public square in the country, it has been put to many uses, and holds a symbolic place in Cape Town as a stage for events that shaped the city. By any measure it is a heritage site of immense social and cultural

[4] Harriet Deacon, Sephai Mngqolo and Sandra Prosalendis. *Protecting Our Cultural Capital, A Research Plan for the Heritage Sector* (Human Sciences Research Council 2003), 29.; Ndukuyakhe Ndlovu, "Legislation as an instrument in South African heritage management: Is it effective?" *Conservation and management of archaeological sites* 13, no. 1 (2011): 32-33.; Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) National Policy on South African Living Heritage 2016, 9.; Karel A Bakker, "South African heritage places: expanding current interpretation and presentation," *SAJAH*, volume 22, number 2, (2007): 1.

[5] The notion of othering and associated identity creation and denial of agency is discussed in the literature review.

significance, a site of memory.[6]

The Grand Parade is a Provincial Heritage Site.[7] Heritage analyses—conducted since the 1980s to assess archaeological sensitivities or the parameters for development—have explored and revealed the richly layered history of the site, and its multiple uses and users.[8] However, implementation of findings takes place within the framework of legislation and policy for urban planning and development. This has focussed on the tangible and built environment and failed to integrate the site's intangible, social, narrative. As a result, the visible markers of colonial history dominate this key public space. However, a clear understanding of the intangible and living heritage of this urban space has the potential to help reposition and rebalance the heritage discourse, as urged by current South African heritage policy.[9]

My research question asks:

> Is Cape Town's Grand Parade bi-weekly market living cultural heritage? If so, how should professional heritage practice acknowledge and respond to this intangible heritage in the built environment?

The Grand Parade market is an outdoor market selling non-food items, predominantly textiles, clothing and household goods, on Wednesday and Saturday mornings. It constitutes a practice that has a continuous history of over 180 years, tightly attached to place. Some current traders are the third generation at the market, while other extended families have traded uninterrupted for over 70 years. The traders form a self-identifying group with a legally-constituted association.[10]

This case study deals with the people, memories, practice, place and sense of place of the

---

[6] The concept of "site of memory" (*lieu de mémoir*) was introduced by French historian Pierre Nora in mid-1980s to define "any significant entity, whether material or nonmaterial in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community." Pierre Nora, "General Introduction: Between Memory and History," in *Realms of Memory: the Construction of the French Past*, trans Arthur Goldhammer, Volume 1. (New York: Colombia University Press, 1996-8), 6.

[7] The Grand Parade was proclaimed a National Monument on 31 August 1962. With the promulgation of the NHRA in April 2000, all protected National Monuments became either National Heritage Sites (Grade I) or Provincial Heritage Sites (Grade II).

[8] Such as the archaeology of 1983, with the follow-up excavations in 1990 and 1991, which sought artefactual evidence to supplement written records of the pre-history and settlement of the space. The 1981 "A Development Plan for the Grand Parade & its Environs," aimed to provide development limits and guidelines for the immediate area, while 2003's "Grand Parade Appraisal" provided recommendations for rehabilitation of the site. The 2006-2008 Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) is the most complete study to date, and informs current developments.

[9] National Heritage Resources Act, 1999 (NHRA), Government Gazette, Vol 406, Cape Town No. 19974, (April 28 1999), Preamble.; Department of Arts and Culture, National Policy on South African Heritage, (2016), 23.

[10] Grand Parade Traders Association (GPTA). Three members of the four member committee, interview with author. Cape Town, January 26, 2019.

Grand Parade market.[11] It unpacks its history and explores how the intangible heritage notions of *continuity-of-use, communities-of-practice* and *association-with-place* aid in the identification of heritage significance.[12] It examines the relationship between the physical place, the Grand Parade itself, and the market's long-standing pattern-of-use. It examines the questions: Does the market *practice* have cultural heritage significance? If so, to whom, and what *values* do they ascribed to this significance? What might be the objectives and difficulties in safeguarding it? Does the implied binary of tangible/intangible impose obstacles to safeguarding heritage? Can the identification of an ignored element of Cape Town's cultural heritage enhance the lived perception of the Grand Parade?

I examine this social, urban history in the context of heritage conservation policy. The National Heritage Resources Act 25, 1999 (NHRA) provides the legislative framework, the Department of Arts and Culture National Policy on South African Living Heritage (2016), currently in a phased process of implementation, sets out the national position. The City of Cape Town's Cultural Heritage Strategy (2005) is the relevant local government policy.[13] NHRA frames decisions made by Heritage Western Cape (HWC) as the custodian of the Grand Parade's heritage, while the City of Cape Town, which is also the landowner, manages the usage of this public space.

Although this study is limited to the Wednesday/Saturday market on Cape Town's Grand Parade, these questions apply more broadly: the city has many spaces and public places with blurred, fused layers of historic fabric, social memory, quotidian life and living heritage. Professional heritage practitioners and authorities struggle to evaluate the significance of recognised intangible qualities, the "deep architecture", of a built space.[14] There is little consensus and less guidance in legislation or policy on the means to identify living heritage in the historic urban landscape, and the ways to acknowledge—facilitate, enable, memorialise, prioritise—cultural practices. There is a lacuna between intention and implementation into which living heritage tumbles.

---

[11] By sense of place, in this context of architecture and the built environment, I mean the notion of *genius loci* as used by Norberg-Schulz in his analysis of phenomenology in architecture. This refers to the qualitative, experiential nature of a bounded place, its "character." Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci : Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1980), 6-11.

[12] Laurajane Smith, and Natsuko Akagawa, *Intangible Heritage*, (London: Routledge, 2009).

[13] The Cultural Heritage Strategy 2005 was originally drafted to accompany the City of Cape Town's Integrated Metropolitan Environmental Policy (IMEP) 2001. IMEP has since been replaced by the Environment Strategy 2017, but CHS 2005 remains the relevant policy.; Environmental Strategy for the City of Cape Town (Policy Number 46612), (Approved August 24, 2017): 23.

[14] Deep architecture refers to that which goes beyond the record, the archive, the familiar narrative of the founding and building of the nation. June Bam-Hutchison, quoting a term used by Carolyn Hamilton during the University of Cape Town #RMF debates of 2015. (Lecture, Critical Heritage Studies, University of Cape Town, July 31, 2017).

## 1.2 Methodology

I have used a single case study methodology within a qualitative framework.[15] Case study research methodology can be used to explore and investigate a "contemporary real-life phenomenon through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions, and their relationships".[16] It allows for a case-specific reading of people and place. This is an intrinsic, single-case study.

Qualitative research can be characterised as:

> [A] form of social inquiry that tends to adopt a flexible and data-driven research design, to use relatively unstructured data, to emphasize the essential role of subjectivity in the research process, to study a small number of naturally occurring cases in detail, and to use verbal rather than statistical forms of analysis.[17]

This understanding of a qualitative approach fits my research: an analysis of the Grand Parade bi-weekly market through observation and interviews with traders, shoppers and interested people. It entails direct observation and relatively unstructured interviewing in a natural field setting where genuine interactions occur.[18]

The case study methodology demands in-depth research, termed "thick description" by some theorists. The case—its culture and context—must be described in depth, in fine grain detail, permeated with careful consideration.[19] The methodology calls for this depth and richness of examination to be specific to the arena in which the case is placed, in order to reach a valuable understanding. The arena, in this case, is legislation and policy relative to intangible heritage in the built environment.

I have adopted a multi-method research approach to gain as much "thickness" as possible, collecting evidence from the widest possible range of sources and in a variety of methods.[20] These include analysis of official records, personal observation, interviews and oral history, literature,

---

[15] Catherine Marshall, and Gretchen B Rossman. *Designing Qualitative Research*. 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1999).
[16] Zainal quoting Yin. Zaidah Zainal, "Case study as a research method." *Jurnal Kemanusiaan* bil.9, (Jun 2007), 2.
[17] M Hammersley. *What is Qualitative Research?* (The 'What is?' Research Methods Series). (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 12.
[18] FM Mathebula, "Intergovernmental Relations Reform in a Newly Emerging South African Policy," (Pretoria: University of Pretoria 2004), 39.; Robert K Yin, Case Study Research: Design and Methods, 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2003), 22.
[19] Joseph G Ponterotto, "Brief note on the origins, evolution, and meaning of the qualitative research concept thick description," *The qualitative report* 11, no. 3 (2006): 538-549.; Bill Gillham, *Case Study Research Methods* (London : Continuum, 2000), 19.
[20] Gillham, *Case Study Research Methods*, 13.

ephemera, newspaper and photographic archives. Each method contributes in a way appropriate to its particular strengths. This ties in with the idea of triangulation, which is key in qualitative research. It is used to look for the point at which the results of different research methods converge, convergence pointing to the veracity of the findings.[21] As my data includes both the empirical *and* the subjective, I have interrogated results for convergence *and* the inevitable contrast and contradiction in the perception and description of the market.

Oral history as a research method is considered useful in qualitative research, particularly to "capture the story of outsiders" as it contributes to thick descriptions.[22] It enables the "production of new historical knowledge" by recording memories of people missing from the official archive.[23] This *history from below* approach seeks to revise received national histories by adding the narrative of the seldom-heard.[24] The approach has been critiqued for maintaining power-relations, as the interpretation of the participant's words is controlled by the researcher.[25] As I contend that heritage conservation of the Grand Parade has failed to recognise the agency of its traders, I have this kept approach in mind and made an ethical and methodological choice to use lengthy extracts of interviews, allowing the interviewees to speak for themselves.

Social history research of this form does bring with it concerns regarding positionality and bias. I approached the research from a position strongly rooted in post-colonial thinking. I am a white South African who has benefited—and continues to benefit—from colonial and apartheid structures. I believe I have a duty to contribute to restorative thinking that may help redress imbalances arising from these structures. As a middle-aged, English-speaking woman, working on an academic project, I undoubtedly conveyed a particular position and world-view to my interviewees. How this was read depended on the interviewees' different backgrounds, histories and experiences.[26]

I began my study research with the awareness that my findings may show that there was no case

---

[21] Ibid., 29.
[22] Valerie J. Janesick, "Oral History as a Social Justice Project: Issues for the Qualitative Researcher," *The Qualitative Report*, 12(1), 111-121. (2007): 111, 115.
[23] Leslie Witz and Ciraj Rassool, "The Dog, the Rabbit and the Reluctant Historians," *South African Historical Journal*, 27:1, (1992): 238.; Martin Legassick, and Gary Minkley, "Current Trends in the production of South African history," *Alternation 5*, no. 1 (1998): 108-112.
[24] Marxist-derived, this approach of "historical recovery" gained traction in 1980s South African academia. Jonathan Hyslop, "South African Social History and the New Non-Fiction," *Safundi* 13, no. 1-2 (2012): 59.; Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, "'History from Below'," *Social Scientist* (1983): 3.; Witz and Rassool, "The Dog, the Rabbit and the Reluctant Historians," 238-242.
[25] Ciraj Rassool, "Power, knowledge and the politics of public pasts," *African Studies* 69, no. 1 (2010): 4.
[26] Glynis Cousin, "Positioning positionality: the reflexive turn," in *New approaches to qualitative research : wisdom and uncertainty* eds. Maggie Savin-Baden and Claire Howell Major, (London : Routledge, 2010), 10-12.

at all, that the market had no worthwhile qualities of heritage significance. I have worked inductively, allowing the research, observations and evidence to drive the theoretical conclusions. This "grounded theory" approach to fact-finding and theory formulation is compatible with qualitative case study methodology.[27]

### *1.2.1 Methods*

Field research included both detached and participant observation (recorded in a field notebook), and interviews. I began with "fly on the wall" observational research, watching activities and interactions, while remaining detached. I visited the Wednesday/Saturday market regularly (approximately once every 10 days) at various times of day—including early mornings to watch the 6:30 set up, and afternoons for the pack-up—and in various wind conditions. Most visits were in January and February 2019, a notoriously slow time of year for trade, although mitigated by generally benign weather conducive to outdoor sales. Activity was atypical for a three-week period while the central taxi rank was relocated from the Cape Town station roof to the Grand Parade.

As I became familiar with the case—the place and people—I engaged in naturally-occurring conversation. I introduced myself and my research project, *the history and heritage of the Grand Parade market*, to stallholders who appeared open to conversation. They were quick to tell me their understanding of its history, and responsive to questions about their personal trading background. I gave each person I spoke to a visiting card with my contact information and the project's working title, *Grand Parade Market, Is It Heritage?*

From this group I selected what I felt to be a representative range of people, in terms of longevity at the market and social background, in an effort to get a broad insight into a range of personal experiences. Of those I invited to participate, 11 traders agreed to recorded interviews and were given consent and information forms to sign (two chose to consult a lawyer family-member). Five declined to be recorded or quoted by name but were open to conversation. These casual social interactions at the market contribute to my understanding of the sense of place and its use.

The recorded interviews took place over three weeks at the market on market days, on a day and at a time selected by the interviewee. One interviewee no longer trades and was interviewed at his current workplace. I used a semi-structured, open-ended question technique as this allowed

[27] Ibid., 12, 37.

me to build a like-for-like picture of the market experience. However, interviews deviated into discursive conversation. In all cases the respondents were well prepared, having given the subject thought; some provided family photographs and relevant memorabilia. The introduction of personal images into the interview space could be deeply evocative for the interviewee (and I treated this with sensitivity) and it provided a rich shared reference point.[28] I worked hard to facilitate a collaborative quality to the interviews in recognition that the interviewee is the holder of knowledge and should feel able to "rewrite" the question.

While I was mindful of my outsider position (Macfarlane identifies the ethical appropriateness of checking the interview relationship), I feel the interviews found a "shared positional space", which shows the identity-malleability of both researcher and participant.[29] In all interviews I became the invited guest, with the conversation conducted inside the stallholder's pitch, behind the table. I believe this balanced possible researcher dominance.

Once the main question-and-answer session of each interview was complete, I shared a flip file of 40, un-captioned and undated, historic photographic images of the market, organised chronologically from the oldest to the newest—1870 to 1980. I wanted to observe interviewee reactions, add their subjective gaze to my own reading of each image.[30] This approach, *photo elicitation*, draws on the power of visual memory. It also requires the interviewer to learn from "how" an image is experienced—the interest, emotion or lack of, evoked—and not just spoken words.[31] The photographs were undated so I could see whether any memories triggered correlated with the actual date of the image.

It was ethically essential to tell respondents *why* I was doing the research: to establish whether the Grand Parade market has heritage significance. However, I am aware that the word "heritage" can be understood in many ways: it has emotive associations that might seed a romanticised view of the past; it also has social and political muscle and can be used to convey a particular bias (this is discussed in Chapter two). I analysed the interview transcripts with this awareness.

Over the course of the research period I became more participatory. As I became "a regular", I noticed an experiential shift. I became familiar with the spatial arrangement of the stalls in

---

[28] Sarah Pink, *Doing Visual Ethnography* (London: SAGE Publications, Ltd, 2007), 84.
[29] Bruce Macfarlane, "Values and virtues in qualitative research," in *New approaches to qualitative research : wisdom and uncertainty*, eds. Maggie Savin-Baden, and Claire Howell Major, (London : Routledge, 2010), 21.; Cousin, "Positioning positionality: the reflexive turn," 16-17.; Gillham, *Case Study Research Methods,* 28.
[30] Pink, *Doing Visual Ethnography*, 84.
[31] Ibid., 82.

context, the sounds and smells, the changes of rhythm through the morning trade and most of all, familiar with the people. This participant position allowed me to observe the "informal reality" which can only be perceived "from the inside out".[32]

I undertook archival research concurrently with my field research so that findings from each source could inform the research in the other. This contributed both to better-targeted archival searches and better-informed interview questions.

Official archives are an invaluable source of primary research material. As they relate to this case, they are the official records of colonial and apartheid administration, coloured by the time in which they were produced, and only capturing people's activities as they intersect with the formal realm. They should be read with an awareness of the need to "refigure" the archive.[33] Refiguring relies on an understanding that the past exists both in what is recorded and in what is lost, and that "spaces must be opened up in the archives by a transforming society".[34] The notion of refiguring frames my case study objective: to re-read the historic urban landscape, making space for the unrepresented living heritage of the built environment.

My searches on the Western Cape Archive's index led me to records of the Colonial Office, Public Works, Lands, and Treasury Departments and the Department of Community Development. The records of the Town Clerk provided a steady stream of relevant data from 1900 to 1980.

The archives and library of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) provided the official response to Grand Parade as, first, a National Monument and, currently, a Provincial Heritage Site. Here, I found correspondence concerning the market and its relationship with the Parade, and documented redevelopment projects (numerous, both historic and recent). These gave insight into the perception of the market and its contribution—or not—to its physical context.

The Mayor's Minutes in the library of the City of Cape Town (CoCT) Environment and Heritage Resources Information Centre (EHRIC) provided a valuable link between the Cape Archives and SAHRA records, in many cases "completing the story" by reporting on outcomes and decisions.[35]

---

[32] Gillham, *Case Study Research Methods*, 11.
[33] Carolyn Hamilton, et al. eds., *Refiguring the Archive* (Springer Science & Business Media, 2012).
[34] Ibid.
[35] The "in-the-moment " nature of archival records, compiled through reports, complaints and correspondence (official and off-the-record) as they are, do not always include the final outcome of a discussion.

Following the archival research, I conducted voice-recorded interviews with heritage professionals and decision-makers, selected for their specific knowledge of, or involvement with, heritage management in Cape Town, and the Grand Parade in particular. David Hart, Principal Professional of the CoCT Heritage Resources Section, previously held a senior position at the National Monuments Council, continuing through its transition to SAHRA, and has a wide-spanning perspective on heritage management. Tyrone Africa, CoCT Facilities Manager, is responsible for the management of the Grand Parade. Melanie Attwell is an urban planner, historian and professional heritage practitioner—she was the principal author of the Cultural Heritage Strategy 2005, while employed by CoCT, and of the most detailed research on the Grand Parade to date: the 2006-2008 Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA). Dr Stephen Townsend is a professional architect, heritage practitioner and academic, and has served as the administrator of land use-related and conservation-related regulations at the Cape Town City Council. Deirdre Prins-Solani is a UNESCO-accredited expert on the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, educator, and assessor of intangible heritage policy and strategy.

These interviews were unstructured and open-ended but focused on a specific informational goal. My objective in the interviews with Hart and Africa, was to understand the city's relationship with the identification and management of the Grand Parade's heritage. Interviews with academics and heritage practitioners provided a deeper understanding of the theoretical and practical constraints regarding intangible, living heritage.

Throughout the research process I have searched for visual evidence of the market in action over the years, the main sources being the Cape Archives, the National Library of South Africa Special Collections, the Special Collections at the University of Cape Town (UCT), and archived microfilm of Cape newspapers and magazines. I also studied ways in which the market is frequently the subject, a *character*, in visual representations (photographs, film and art works) of Cape Town. Following historic ethnographic research principles, I critically examined this visual imagery with an understanding of the social context in which the image was made, as well as what the image represents.[36]

I have incorporated a visual component in this case study to communicate ethnographic qualities. This is a reflexive approach in that I have made the image selection.[37] However, in an effort to offset my subjectivity, I have also included a sequence of four published 20th century photographic

[36] Pink, *Doing Visual Ethnography*, 41, 67.
[37] Ibid., 23.

features of the market, each in its entirety, thus allowing each example the greatest opportunity to reflect its period of production. Travel guide books, memoirs, creative non-fiction and novels also provide insight into Grand Parade as a peopled place, from the 18th century to the present.

### 1.3 Chapter Outline

This opening chapter has introduced the central research question, the case study, and the legislative framework for the investigation. It described the research methodology and methods used.

Chapter 2 is a literature review. It explores the theory, legislation and policy that inform the ideas of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) and living heritage, both globally and in the context of South African practice. It investigates writings on issues of continuity of use, communities of practice, urban cultural heritage and the politics of public space. It problematises the dichotomy of tangible/intangible heritage and identifies alternative approaches to living heritage.

Chapter 3 outlines the historical context of the Grand Parade, its morphology as a place and its shifting situation in the city. It looks, too, at the history of its multiplicity of uses and the various groups who have laid claim to the space.

Chapter 4 provides an in-depth chronological study of the history of the bi-weekly market on the Grand Parade, and incorporates a wealth of primary archival research to establish the documented story of the market as a peopled place subject to urban management.

Chapter 5 has lengthy excerpts of interviews with market traders and those with strong personal or professional connections to the market and the Grand Parade. These expose the three significant themes identified in the research: relationship with public space, inheritance and identity, and community and family.

Chapter 6, an analysis of the case, examines the findings alongside the theoretical framework identified in the literature review. This is a critique of the gap between policy intention and practical implementation. It sees the case through the lens of new theories on living heritage in the historic urban landscape, and makes a case for revisions to policy and practice.

Chapter 7, the conclusion, reviews the research into the case and the findings reached.

# 2. LITERATURE REVIEW: THEORY—POLICY—PRAXIS

My research is rooted within the disciplinary context of conservation of the built environment but takes place in the broader theoretical context of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) or—the term preferred in South Africa for its connotations of dynamism—living heritage.[38] To contextualise the study, I review the underlying ICH theory and look at how it applies in legislation and policy at the national and local scale. To locate the research in the urban context, I look at theory concerning public space and place.

## 2.1 The Concept of Heritage

"Is it heritage?" is a question I put to interviewees, asking about Grand Parade market. For this study I feel I have an obligation to explore *heritage* before grappling with notions of living heritage. It is a concept both nebulous and malleable. Heritage has been described as "paradoxical, perhaps even a uniquely paradoxical, conceptual space", it is "of the past but in the present"; it is both material and intangible.[39] It "hovers uneasily in the space between the individual consciousness and the collective," yet "always experienced from an individual standpoint".[40] As Shepherd notes, "Providing an adequate definition […] turns out to be no easy matter."[41]

Heritage can be understood as *meaning-making*, a process whereby contemporary meaning—significance, value—is identified and acknowledged in something from the past.[42] Critical thinkers on the subject—Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, Smith, Harrison—argue that it is an active process that contributes to identity, and might be used socially or politically to take a stand, to be heard, or to craft a collective position.[43]

Ashworth says, "Not only does heritage have many uses but it also has multiple producers, both

---

[38] Department of Arts and Culture, *National Policy on South African Heritage* (2016), 18.
[39] Nick Shepherd, "Heritage," in *New South African Keywords,* eds. Nick Shepherd and Steven Robbins (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2008), 117.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (Oxford: Routledge, 2006): 83.; Rodney Harrison, *Heritage : Critical Approaches* (London: Routledge, 2013), 228.; Mounir Bouchenaki, "The Interdependency of the Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage," From Place – memory – meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites (presentation at ICOMOS 14th General Assembly, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, October 2003).; David C. Harvey, "Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies," *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7:4 (2001): 336.
[43] GJ Ashworth, Brian Graham, and J.E. Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies* (London: Pluto Press, 2007).; Harrison, *Heritage : Critical Approaches*, 111-112.; Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 37.

public-private, official-non-official and insider-outsider, each having varied and multiple objectives in the creation and management of heritage."[44] Place, language, beliefs and class are among multiple heritage sources from which each person may craft their personal identity.[45] At the official level, the idea of heritage may be co-opted for use in a top-down manner to motivate a shared national—or local—identity by "smoothing over conflict and social difference."[46]

### *2.1.1 The Authorised Heritage Discourse*

This top-down, official and expert/professional understanding of heritage has become known as the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD). Smith, who coined the term, argues that it is hegemonic and institutionalised, protecting material culture which is treated as having innate value.[47] This underlines a division between tangible and intangible notions of heritage. Harrison, citing Smith, shows how the AHD, through legislation and policy, tends to universalise heritage by appropriation in a way that excludes participation.[48] The result, as Alderman and Inwood point out, is that heritage material may narrate a "racially or ethically inclusive national history", but the story is "scripted to uphold dominant cultural ideas and values".[49]

Rejecting the top-down/bottom-up approach to heritage work, Wijesuriya and Poulios argue for a collaborative methodology that places practitioners, official institutions and interested communities on an equal footing. Wijesuriya calls this "de-secularisation".[50] It dismantles the separation of tangible material and intangible uses, and removes AHD control.[51] While the AHD carries great weight, the fungibility of the concept also means that "heritage" can be seen in other ways.[52]

### *2.1.2 Heritage as contested space*

Heritage may simultaneously be officially sanctioned and subversive, or cherished and despised, depending on how it is created and interpreted, a *dissonance* that is particularly prevalent in post-

---

[44] Ashworth, Graham, and Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts*, 3.
[45] Laurajane Smith, and N Akagawa*, Intangible Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2009) 7.; Ashworth, Graham, Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts*, 3.
[46] Emma Waterton, Laurajane Smith and Gary Campbell, "The Utility of Discourse Analysis to Heritage Studies: The Burra Charter and Social Inclusion*," International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12:4, (2006): 339.
[47] Term coined by Smith, and explained in *Uses of Heritage*. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 29-42.
[48] Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 111-112.; Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 37.
[49] Derek H Alderman, and Joshua FJ Inwood, "Landscapes of memory and socially just futures," in *The Wiley-Blackwell companion to cultural geography* (2013), 191.; Also Ciraj Rassool, "The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa," *Kronos*, no. 26 (2000): 1-21.
[50] Gamini Wijesuriya, "Towards the de-secularisation of heritage," *Built Heritage* 2 (2017): 1-15.
[51] Ibid.
[52] David C Harvey, "The history of heritage," *The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity,* eds. Brian J Graham and Peter Howard (Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 19-36.; Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*,18, 31.

colonial societies where the colonising power's cultural expression remains dominant.[53] Meskell terms this dissonance "negative heritage", arguing that: "All heritage work essentially starts from the premise that the past is contested, conflictual, and multiply constituted."[54] Smith argues that "all heritage is dissonant and it is so because no heritage site, place or intangible event can be universally or uniformly valued or perceived to have the same meaning to all cultures or peoples."[55]

Worden, and Tunbridge and Ashworth show the importance to research issues of heritage, conservation and safeguarding in Cape Town with an awareness of political dissonance, particularly as the city sits uncomfortably in the post-colonial, post-apartheid country.[56] South Africa struggles with the legacy of erased and unheard histories. Mohamed Adhikari points to the social erasure, the genocide of the "Cape San peoples", that is poorly acknowledged in the South African context: the effects of the trauma of "obliterations of indigenous peoples" continues to impact contemporary Cape society.[57]

Writing in 1995, Tunbridge and Ashworth asked if this dissonance would be the "Black Man's Burden" or if rapid decolonisation would bring redress. Over 20 years later, both Manetsi and Ndlovu find South African practice has failed to address silenced heritage, a silence that perpetuates exclusion. Manetsi lauds the approach of "oppositional discourses" which, in an "add-on effect", juxtaposes old colonial and new post-colonial heritage and practices to achieve diversity and inclusiveness.[58] However, he finds that it fails to address fundamental transformation in the heritage sector. Ndlovu criticises a "Eurocentric physical approach over an African spiritual approach."[59] Alderman and Inwood explain the danger of these failings: "Within the politics of identity, having a place in a nation's past is often essential to being heard and taken

---

[53] John E Tunbridge and Gregory J. Ashworth, *Dissonant heritage*. *The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester: J. Wiley, 1996).; Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts*, 258.
Deacon, Mngqolo and Prosalendis, "Protecting Our Cultural Capital," 8.; Brenda SA Yeoh, *Contesting Space in Colonial Singapore. Power Relations and etc Urban Built Environment* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003), 9.; Andrew Bank, and Gary Minkley. "Genealogies of space and identity in Cape Town." *Kronos*. Journal of Cape History 25 (1998).

[54] Meskell imports the term, "multiply constituted", from a description of the "immaterial" elements that contributed to the "notion of being" in ancient Egyptian and Maya cultures. Rosemary A Joyce, and Lynn M. Meskell, *Embodied Lives: Figuring Ancient Maya and Egyptian Experience* (Oxon: Routledge, 2003), 21.; Lynn Meskell, *The Nature of Heritage: The New South Africa* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 1.

[55] Laurajane Smith, "Intangible heritage: a challenge to the authorised heritage discourse?" *Revista d'etnologia de Catalunya*, no. 40 (2015): 138.

[56] Tunbridge and Ashworth, *Dissonant heritage*, 223-274.; Nigel Worden, "Contested heritage at the Cape Town waterfront," *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Volume 2, Issue 1-2 (1996): 59-75.

[57] M Adhikari, "A total extinction confidently hoped for: the destruction of Cape San society under Dutch colonial rule, 1700-1795," *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol. 12 Issue 1/2, (March-June 2010): 19.

[58] Thabo Manetsi, "State-prioritised Heritage: governmentality, heritage management and the prioritisation of liberation heritage in post-colonial South Africa," (PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2017), 213.

[59] Ndukuyakhe Ndlovu, "Legislation as an instrument in South African heritage management: Is it effective?." *Conservation and management of archaeological sites* 13, no. 1 (2011): 52.

seriously and asserting that one belongs."[60]

Heritage draws on the past but it is not history.[61] It is an interpretive value-judgement of an aspect of history—objects, places, practices and memories of the past—that is pulled into the present because it carries sufficient significance to inform the production of the future.

## 2.2 Intangible Cultural Heritage / Living Heritage

Intangible cultural heritage, also called living heritage, is a wide-reaching, multi-disciplinary subject that is examined from many theoretical, professional and academic standpoints including: archaeological, architectural, landscape, geographical, sociological, anthropological and the field of museum studies.[62] It describes a spectrum of cultural experience from the ethereal such as beliefs, to the skill of a vernacular craft.[63] It can be described as the non-material or non-physical qualities or values of a place or practice, and embraces the anthropological qualities of heritage—of beliefs, customs and questions of identity.[64]

Significantly, living heritage is concerned with people. South Africa's Department of Arts and Culture identifies it as "the foundation of most communities in S.A. and an essential source of identity and continuity."[65]

This introduces three important concepts in living heritage: *community*, *identity*, *continuity*. These three themes are fundamental to understanding heritage significance values ascribed to living heritage.

Harriet Deacon identifies living heritage's mode of transmission as "from person to person, from

---

[60] Alderman and Inwood, "Landscapes of memory and socially just futures," 191.

[61] Harrison citing Lowenthal in Rodney Harrison, ed., *Understanding the Politics of Heritage,* (Manchester University Press, 2010), 25.

[62] Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) is the term used in most Western international policy and theory. The South African Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) points out that, "In South Africa the term Intangible Cultural Heritage is used interchangeably with the term Living Heritage." Some of its documentation expresses a preference for "living heritage" and the dynamism the term confers. I have largely adopted the local usage, although, at the urging of professional interviewees, chosen not to be too concerned with nomenclature. DAC, Living Heritage, accessed June 1, 2019, http://www.dac.gov.za/content/living-heritage

[63] S Ahmed Kounti, "The authentic illusion. Humanity's intangible cultural heritage, the Moroccan experience," in *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, (London: Routledge, 2009), 77.; Harriet Deacon, Luvuyo Dondolo, Mbulelo Mrubata and Sandra Prosalendis, *The subtle power of intangible heritage : legal and financial instruments for safeguarding intangible heritage* (Cape Town: HSRC, 2004), 27.

[64] Mounir Bouchenaki, "The Interdependency of the Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage," (presented at ICOMOS 14th General Assembly, October 2003).

[65] Department of Arts and Culture, accessed January 21, 2019, http://www.dac.gov.za/content/living-heritage

generation to generation"[66] She says that, "intangible heritage gains its value from communities that practise".[67] Wijesuriya adds to this, finding living heritage in the *use* of heritage *places*, particularly in connection with "'communities' and the 'continuity' of traditions and practices".[68] This association of *place* and *practice* is core to difficulties in the identification and safeguarding of living heritage.

Bouchenaki observes that in striving to understand the *value* of a cultural property it is important to identify the "ethical values, social customs, beliefs or myths" that contributed to its making. Furthermore, each of these values is "connected to questions of identity".[69] Jigyasu, writing of living heritage in the urban landscape, draws attention to *continuity*. He refers to "its dynamic nature, continuously evolving and adapting to changing needs".[70]

Living heritage is often associated with the ancient practices of a homogeneous culture but, as UNESCO notes, it is not only "inherited traditions from the past".[71] It may also be "contemporary urban practices in which diverse cultural groups take part" provided these are recognised as tradition by those who "create, maintain and transmit [them]".[72] This is particularly relevant in the context of this case study of a practicing community in the urban environment.

### *2.2.1 The development of global intangible heritage policy*

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett identifies the somewhat arbitrary way—globally and in South Africa—that notions of the intangible entered legislation and conservation practice as a separate heritage "category" to tangible heritage and natural heritage.[73] The modern concept of intangible heritage originated in post-World War II Japan, which was battling to rebuild, resist globalisation and re-instil a sense nationhood by protecting and celebrating its traditional crafts and craftspeople. This led to the notion that the human "tradition bearer" is a heritage asset, of equal value to the object of their production.[74]

---

[66] Deacon et al., *The subtle power of intangible heritage* , 28.
[67] Ibid., 37.
[68] Gamini Wijesuriya, *Living Heritage: a summary* (Rome: ICCROM, 2015), 1.
[69] Bouchenaki, "The Interdependency of the Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage."
[70] Rohit Jigyasu, "The Intangible Dimension of Urban Heritage," in *Reconnecting the city : the historic urban landscape approach and the future of urban heritage*, eds Francesco Bandarin and Ron van Oers (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015),134.
[71] UNESCO, "What is Intangible Cultural Heritage?" accessed July 9, 2018, https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003
[72] Ibid.
[73] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production," in *Museum International, Intangible heritage*, Vol LVI, n°1-2, (May 2004).; Smith, "Intangible heritage: a challenge to the authorised heritage discourse?," 133–134.
[74] Richard Kurin, "Safeguarding immaterial cultural heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: A critical appraisal," in *Museum International, Intangible heritage*, Vol LVI, n°1-2, (May 2004): 73.

UNESCO's 1972 *Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage* stands as a milestone in heritage agreements. It built on the 1964 Venice Charter for the conservation and restoration of monuments and sites by recasting the earlier document's "monuments and sites" as "cultural heritage" and introducing the idea of the conservation of "natural heritage".[75] A year later Bolivia proposed that folklore also be recognised. This led—via UNESCO's 1989 *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore* and the 1999 *Proclamation of Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity*—to its 2003 *Convention on Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage* (UNESCO 2003).[76]

UNESCO 2003 is the most influential document in current global intangible cultural heritage theory and policy, ratified by 178 countries.[77] However, it is criticised both by local and international theorists for Eurocentrism. First, for "universalising" culture, requiring it to fit measurable criteria for expressions of intangible culture.[78] Secondly, for "othering" non-western heritage by opposing tangible ("Western" sites and monuments) with intangible ("other" traditions and practices).[79] This concept of othering, which draws on several philosophical and theoretical traditions, normalises the self in opposition to the other.[80] In Said's reading, the identity of other/the exotic is pathologised and reduced to a simplified construction. The other, the person for whom the identity has been constructed, is denied agency by the Western power.[81]

Also evolving from UNESCO's 1972 Convention, the seminal *Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter for Places of Cultural Significance* (1979*)* represented the broadening of conservation thinking from positivist, tangible object-based practice to a values-based approach.[82] Driven by the need to address the intangible aspects of Aboriginal Australian heritage, it sought to identify the values of place beyond utilitarian, and advocated the examination and interpretation of a site through a

---

[75] The Venice Charter, International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (1964), adopted by ICOMOS 1965.

[76] Deacon et al., *The subtle power of intangible heritage*, 19.; Kurin, "Safeguarding immaterial cultural heritage," 66-76. Thabo Manetsi, "Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in South Africa: a Critique of the Draft National Policy on Living Heritage*," International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, Vol. 06 (2011): 58-67.

[77] Countries that have not ratified the convention include the USA, the UK and Australia—and South Africa. UNESCO, accessed April 1, 2019, http://www.unesco.org/eri/la/convention.asp?language=E&KO=17116.

[78] Smith, "Intangible heritage: a challenge to the authorised heritage discourse?" 134.; Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 114-136.

[79] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production," 57.; Deacon et al., *The subtle power of intangible heritage*, 60.; Dennis Byrne, "A critique of unfeeling heritage," in *Intangible Heritage*, eds Laurajane Smith and Akagawa, Natsuko (London: Routledge, 2009), 230.; Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 136.

[80] Sune Qvotrup Jensen, "Othering, identity formation and agency," *Qualitative studies* 2, no. 2 (2011): 64.

[81] Edward W Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1975, 1995), 31-73.

[82] The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance, 1979, revised 1999, 1913. Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 145.

*totality* of values, with the aim of identifying and protecting the cultural significance.[83] The values-led approach means that the perspective of people engaged with the site—the social value—had to be seriously considered in heritage management.[84]

The *Nara Document on Authenticity* (Nara 1994) brought this acknowledgement of cultural diversity and collective memory deeper into mainstream thinking.[85] It states: "Conservation of cultural heritage in all its forms and historical periods is rooted in the values attributed to the heritage" and clarifies that it must be considered and judged within its cultural context, with informing values including the distinctly intangible qualities of "use and function," "location and setting," and "spirit and feeling."[86]

### *2.2.2 Resolving the tangible/intangible binary*

Policies and instruments increasingly reject the binary of *tangible/intangible* and international bodies such as ICOMOS and ICCROM take a holistic view of the interdependency of the material asset and its intangible values, avoiding the division of "the West and the rest".[87] This holistic approach also closes the gap created by the failure of UNESCO 2003 to recognise meaningfully what Deacon identifies as "intangible heritage with strong material forms" such as "intangible values associated with heritage objects and places".[88]

This separation of the values associated with tangible and intangible heritages is described by Kurin as "quite artificial and makes little sense" because sometimes "the preservation of the tangible and intangible are intimately conjoined."[89] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett identifies why they are conjoined: it is because intangible heritage "is not only embodied, but also inseparable from the material and social worlds of persons."[90] The "material and social" world of a practicing community of people is fundamental to an understanding of intangible heritage.

---

[83] Poulios citing Mason, Avrami, de la Torre et al., in Ioannis Poulios, "Moving beyond a values-based approach to heritage conservation," *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 12, no. 2 (2010): 170-185.
[84] Margarita Díaz-Andreu, "Heritage Values and the Public," *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage*, 4:1 (2017): 3.
[85] Wijesuriya, "Towards the de-secularisation of heritage," 1.; The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994)
[86] The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994): 47.
[87] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production," 57.
[88] Deacon et al., *The subtle power of intangible heritage* , 28.; Writing more recently, Deacon shares Smith and Campbell's opinion that "intangible values" is tautological. Deacon says, "all values are a human intellectual construct, and thus are by their very nature abstract, immaterial or 'intangible'." Harriet Jane Deacon, "Conceptualising Intangible Heritage in Urban Environments: Challenges for Implementing the HUL Recommendation," *Built Heritage* (2018/4): 77.; Laurajane Smith and Gary Campbell, "The tautology of 'Intangible values' and the misrecognition of intangible cultural heritage," (presented at the Centre for Heritage and Museum Studies, The Australian National University 2017).
[89] Kurin, "Safeguarding immaterial cultural heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention," 70.
[90] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production," 60.

Smith, drawing on the argument that heritage is a process of meaning-making, takes the position is that all heritage is intangible. She says, "It is a process in which we identify the values and cultural and social meanings that help us make sense of our present, our identities and sense of physical and social place."[91] As such, she finds that the value of the *tangible* environment is associative—its significance lies in its meanings—rather than innate.

The *Nara +20* document revises its 1994 predecessor, taking a holistic approach to the identification and management of cultural values.[92] It problematises the notion of universal conservation principles, noting that the perception of values is personal and changeable. It highlights the need to better recognise the voices of the multiple stakeholders and pay particular attention to "those communities with little or no voice."[93] *Nara +20* notes that the acknowledgement of cultural diversity can reveal cultural conflict—conflicts which could be pronounced in a place such as the Grand Parade, with its multiple user-groups and plural controlling authorities.[94] It recommends transparency in process, and a consensus-building approach to heritage practice.

## 2.3 South African Legislative and Policy Framework

The *National Heritage Resources Act 25*, 1999 (NHRA) is the legislation relevant to the identification, assessment and management of South Africa's heritage resources. It aims to "empower civil society" to nurture its heritage such that "it may be bequeathed to future generations".[95] NHRA covers the tangible heritage of artefacts, archaeology, and the built environment comprehensively. However, it is criticised by Bakker and Manetsi for the limited guidelines on intangible heritage, practices, associations and memory, which can result in weak identification, or ineffective interpretation and representation of significance—the determination of *significance* being the foundation of any heritage-related decision.[96]

---

[91] Laurajane Smith, "'Class, Heritage and the Negotiation of Place' Missing Out on Heritage," (presented at Socio–Economic Status and Heritage Participation Conference, English Heritage, March 2009): 1-31.

[92] This document, adopted in October 2014, is the result of a series of international meetings organised by the Agency for Cultural Affairs (Government of Japan) to mark the 20th anniversary of the Nara Document. Japan ICOMOS, Nara +20: On Heritage Practices, Cultural Values and the Concept of Authenticity. Accessed April 14, 2019, http://www.japan-icomos.org/pdf/nara20_final_eng.pdf.

[93] Nara +20, 3. (Although, linguistically, it would be more appropriate if the document noted that the voices were "little heard or unheard" rather than the implied non-existence.)

[94] Ibid.

[95] National Heritage Resources Act, 1999 (NHRA), *Government Gazette*, Vol 406, Cape Town No. 19974, April 28 1999.

[96] Karel Anthonie Bakker and Liana Műller, "Intangible Heritage and Community Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa," *Museum International* 62, no. 1-2 (May 2010): 50.; Thabo Manetsi, "Can Intangibles be Tangible? Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in the New South Africa: Towards Formulating Policy for the Conservation and Sustainable Management of Living Heritage," (MPhil, minor dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2007): 53-54.

Living heritage is defined in NHRA as "the intangible aspects of inherited culture".[97] NHRA states that it "may include" cultural tradition, oral history, performance, ritual, popular memory, skills and techniques, indigenous knowledge systems; and the holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships.[98] However, living heritage is mentioned only five times: in this definition, twice with reference to objects and once with reference to places: "places to which oral traditions are attached or which are *associated with living heritage*" (my emphasis).[99] While criticising the failure of NHRA to address the intangible realm, Ndlovu points out that "the act is not necessarily about the conservation of living heritage. Instead, as a heritage *resources* legislation, it is about protecting and conserving sites that have a connection to living heritage".[100] NHRA defines a resource as "any place or object of cultural significance."[101]

South Africa's NHRA legislation stems from the 1996 Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) Draft White Paper, *All our Legacies, All our Futures*, which outlined a comprehensive institutional framework for post-apartheid South Africa's heritage. This foregrounded a mandate for the identification, recording and protection of the country's previously little-recognised living heritage, asserting: "Attention to living heritage is of paramount importance for the reconstruction and development process in South Africa."[102] Policy was tasked with rebalancing the pre-democracy focus on the colonial-era built heritage and on traditional objects and art works from its "exotic" heritage.[103]

While the Draft White Paper set a high bar for issues of social redress, there has been criticism of NHRA for failing to match its ambition.[104] Ndlovu's critique is that the Act adopted too many pre-existing, apartheid-era, systems and structures and, in so doing, failed entirely to address the neglected socio-cultural matters relevant to identity, practice and tradition.[105] The DAC's 2017 revision of the Draft White Paper does not pull its punches, criticising the timid implementation

---

[97] Department of Arts and Culture. Accessed June 27, 2018. http://www.dac.gov.za/content/living-heritage.; NHRA 1999, 8.
[98] NHRA 1999, S-2 xxi.
[99] NHRA 1999, S-3(i)(ii); S-3 (2)(b). In S-3(i)(ii)
[100] Ndlovu, "Legislation as an instrument in South African heritage management: Is it effective?" 32.
[101] NHRA S-2(xvi), 8.
[102] Department of Arts and Culture, Draft White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, "All Our Legacies, All Our Futures," 20.
[103] Thabo Manetsi, "Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage : towards drafting a policy for the sustainable management and conservation of living heritage : towards national policy for intangible heritage," *South African Museums Association Bulletin*, Volume 32, Issue 1, (Jan 2006): 81.; Deacon et al. *Protecting Our Cultural Capital, A Research Plan for the Heritage Sector,* 15-30.
[104] Ndlovu, "Legislation as an instrument in South African heritage management: Is it effective?" 32.; Manetsi, "Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in South Africa: a Critique of the Draft National Policy on Living Heritage," 59.
[105] Ndlovu, "Legislation as an instrument in South African heritage management: Is it effective?" 32-33.

of its predecessor's aims and the resulting impact on heritage management and practice. While the objective was to dismantle colonial and apartheid structures and build a "decolonised inclusive system based on the narrative of all the people and cultures of the society" the result has been a "patchwork of institutions," which have perpetuated pre-existing priorities and particularly failed to address previously suppressed, erased and falsely presented narratives.[106]

### *2.3.1 Formulating a national policy*

A 2007 independent legal review of heritage legislation commended the policy-making undertaken by various government organisations, which prioritised living heritage. However, it was damning when it addressed implementation, noting that "living or intangible heritage is still at the periphery of the South African national consciousness".[107]

The 2009 *Draft National Policy on South African Living Heritage* expressly sought to address this neglected area.[108] While drawing on UNESCO's 2003 ICH Convention, it opens with a statement of circumstance:

> In South Africa, the necessity for national policy promoting living heritage is created by the historical imbalances in the manner in which the living heritage of different communities has been regarded as well as the need for coordination of living heritage, which is managed by various agencies, including communities.[109]

It clearly identifies the failure of legislation and policy to accommodate historically neglected interests, and the importance of community involvement. The draft also delivers a scathing review of the destructive impact of apartheid heritage practices on cultural expression and social diversity, saying that it has embedded a grading of social groups along lines of race, class and culture.[110] It draws attention to the false dichotomy of *tangible/intangible* heritage and declares that, "Living heritage cannot be abstracted from tangible heritage."[111]

However, Manetsi criticises the 2009 Draft for failing to provide a structural framework or any

---

[106] Department of Arts and Culture*, Revision of the Department of Arts and Culture White Paper 1996*. 4th draft, (October 27, 2017), 26.
[107] HeritageAgencycc, "Review of Heritage Legislation," Department of Arts and Culture, (2006): 36.
[108] South Africa, an active participant during the 2003 development of the UNESCO policy, has not yet ratified it.
[109] Department of Arts and Culture, *National Policy on South African Heritage*. 1st Draft, (March 2009), 8.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid., 10.

clear coordination of institutional responsibilities.[112] He draws attention to the "general tendency to consider the conservation management of intangible forms of heritage through the framework of protecting tangible heritage" and the limitations that imposes.[113]

The 2009 Draft was revised in 2016. Aside from enhancing the definition of living heritage, it is virtually unchanged despite a comprehensive review process.[114] Drawing as it does on UNESCO 2003, it still endorses the segregation of tangible and intangible heritage and perpetuates the UNESCO top-down systems of management-by-inventory.[115] It is now in phased implementation as the *National Policy on South African Living Heritage* by the DAC's new Living Heritage Unit.[116]

It uses the UNESCO 2003 definition of Intangible Cultural Heritage (which Deacon describes as "vague and all-encompassing"):[117]

> The practices, representations, expression, knowledge, skills—as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith—that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.[118]

It continues:

> The definition of intangible cultural heritage has been adopted in this framework, as it encapsulates issues that have been identified as part of living heritage in South Africa. However, the term "living heritage" is preferred in this policy. "Living heritage" refers to

---

[112] Manetsi, "Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in South Africa: a Critique of the Draft National Policy on Living Heritage," 62.
[113] Ibid. 64.
[114] Ibid. 58.
Department of Arts and Culture, *National Policy on South African Heritage* (2016).
[115] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production," 52.; Janet Blake, "UNESCO's 2003 Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage: the implications of community involvement in 'safeguarding'," in *Intangible Heritage*, eds Laurajane Smith and Akagawa, Natsuko, 45-73 (London: Routledge, 2009): 65. Kurin, "Safeguarding immaterial cultural heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention," 68.; Shahid Vawda, Keynote Presentation, (presentation at Association of Professional Heritage Practitioners' Conference, Cape Town, April 5, 2019).
[116] Kgomotso Mokgethi (Director of Heritage Policy, Research and Development at the National Department of Arts and Culture), by email to author, April 11, 2019.
[117] Deacon, "Conceptualising Intangible Heritage in Urban Environments," 75.
[118] DAC, *National Policy on South African Living Heritage* (2016), 18.

> intangible cultural heritage as defined above, with *more emphasis* on dynamism of culture and association of this heritage with both *cultural continuity* and *social meaning*. (My italics.)[119]

### *2.3.2 Local policy: Cape Town*

In 2017 the City of Cape Town implemented its Environment Strategy, which incorporates its earlier Cultural Heritage Strategy of 2005.[120] The Environment Strategy takes a holistic view, foregrounding the notion of Cultural Heritage, which is defined as:

> A tangible or intangible expression of the ways of living developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation, including customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expressions and values.[121]

Its stated intention is the identification and appropriate response (management, conservation) to "heritage resources, structures and landscapes" to "ensure that the memories and values associated [with] such resources are appropriately represented."[122] The policy devolves responsibility for these actions to the Cultural Heritage Strategy (CHS 2005).

CHS 2005 also describes a holistic approach: "Cultural value resides in both tangible and intangible heritage" and, "Living heritage is an integral part of contemporary experience and links social and individual memory to daily life."[123] It draws particular attention to the importance of shifting the focus from the built environment and emphasising "histories not previously identified through heritage policies."[124] In the interests of redress, it acknowledges the heritage legacy of the working-class strata of a post-colonial, creole and migrant city.[125] CHS 2005 has been identified as a model to watch by Francesco Bandarin, a proponent of the Historic Urban Landscape approach to urban conservation.[126]

---

[119] Ibid., 19.

[120] CHS 2005 was drafted as a strategy within the suite of strategies making up the Integrated Metropolitan Environmental Policy (IMEP) 2001. It has been dormant for a period. Attwell, the principle author, says that drafted now, it would focus more on the issue of cultural diversity. Melanie Attwell (Urbanist, Historian and Professional Heritage Practitioner). Interview with author, Cape Town, March 11, 2019.

[121] Environmental Strategy for the City of Cape Town, Policy no. 46612, 24 August 2017: 2.

[122] Ibid., 25.

[123] City of Cape Town, *Cultural Heritage Strategy for the City of Cape Town*, Environmental Resource Management Environmental & Heritage Management Branch, Heritage Resources Section. (Approved October 19, 2005. MC 17/10/05. 170-185): 17.

[124] Ibid., 16.

[125] Ibid., 12.

[126] Francesco Banderín, "Introduction: Urban Conservation and the End of Planning", in *Reconnecting the City : the Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage*, eds. Francesco Banderin and Ron Van Oers (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015): 16.

## 2.4 From Theory to Policy to Practice

New approaches to urban conservation have entered practice in the last decade.[127] People-centred, these consider social sustainability, cultural diversity and community values alongside place, structure, object and urban form. Inherently, they accept change. This makes space for living heritage, which is intrinsically changeable, evolving through time.[128]

One such is the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) recommendation, adopted by UNESCO in 2011, which shifts emphasis from urban conservation to the management of "dynamism". It is a holistic approach, adopted from the field of cultural geography, that integrates the goals of urban heritage conservation and those of social and economic development.[129] No distinction is made between tangible and intangible heritage, which are seen together as "sources of social cohesion, factors of diversity and drivers of creativity, innovation and urban regeneration."[130]

Deacon, while appreciative of HUL, criticises it for conflating aspects of living heritage: *what* (the cultural practice) and *why* (its values).[131] In drawing this distinction she aims, not to create yet another "category," but rather to address the different practical responses that may be required for safeguarding. This distinction helps to address the following living heritage paradox: "If it is truly vital, it doesn't need safeguarding; if it is almost dead, safeguarding will not help."[132]

Living heritage is typically characterised by the fact that it is constantly evolving. This constancy goes to its essence: the continuity of being or using. In its lifetime, it can be understood to have experienced impacts to its place, people, material of creation, and to have adapted and survived.[133] So why should it be protected?[134] Kurin says of such practices, "Whether they survive or flourish depends upon so many things—the freedom and desire of culture bearers, an adequate

---

[127] Including: Francesco Bandarin and Ron van Oers, *Reconnecting the City : the Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage*. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015.; Ioannis Poulios, "Moving beyond a values-based approach to heritage conservation," *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 12, no. 2 (2010): 170-185.; Gamini Wijesuriya, "Living Heritage: A summary," Rome: ICCROM, 2015. Neil Silberman, "Changing Visions of Heritage Value: what Role Should the Experts Play?," *Ethnologies*, 36(1-2), (2014): 433–445.

[128] Jigyasu, "The Intangible Dimension of Urban Heritage," 141.; Wijesureya, *Living Heritage: a summary*, 8.

[129] UNESCO*, New life for historic cities. The historic urban landscape approach explained* (2013). (Accessed March 12, 2019) https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000220957.; Deacon, "Conceptualising Intangible Heritage in Urban Environments," 78-79.; Ken Taylor, "Connecting Concepts of Cultural Landscape and Historic Urban Landscape: The Politics of Similarity," *ANU Research Publications* (2018): 58-59.

[130] UNESCO, *New life for historic cities. The historic urban landscape approach explained* (2013).

[131] Deacon, "Conceptualising Intangible Heritage in Urban Environments," 75.

[132] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production," 56.

[133] Ibid.

[134] A characteristic of intangible cultural heritage thinking, is: *If intangible heritage is dead, it is dead*; the "remanufacture" to engender survival is rejected. Deirdre Prins-Solani, (lecture on Intangible Cultural Heritage, University of Cape Town, January 23, 2017).

environment, a sustaining economic system, a political context within which their very existence is at least tolerated."[135] Deacon's distinction between practice and values show that practice can be safeguarded by ensuring an environment enables it to thrive, while values may be protected through identification and appropriate acknowledgement.

This also resolves how to provide protections without "freezing" expression: if change is an intrinsic aspect of living heritage, what is it that should be protected, and how? Bouchenaki, who wrestles with this, says, "Safeguarding the intangible heritage involves the collection, documentation and archiving of cultural property and the protection and support of its bearers."[136] While recording the values is important, ensuring sustainable viability is essential. Deacon says, "The best way of safeguarding intangible heritage is by supporting cultural activity at the local level."[137]

### *2.4.1 Problems of praxis*

Jigasyu writes that the "complexity and pervasiveness" of intangible values, and their "direct relationship with the physical structure of the city" have been undervalued in urban conservation practice.[138] But he identifies the difficulty:

> True consideration of intangible heritage would necessitate inclusion of all social, cultural and economic parameters that are associated with the intangible heritage of historic urban landscape either on their own merit or in relation to the tangible attributes that are needed as containers for intangible values.[139]

The neglect of intangible heritage qualities of the urban landscape is due in part to what Bakker calls the "link between *praxis* and a philosophical and theoretical base", in other words, failings in on-the-ground application of theory. [140] Bakker and Taylor find that heritage work in cultural landscapes, where there is a close spiritual relationship between society and nature, might sensitively include intangible qualities.[141] But, says Bakker, "the idea has not necessarily been universally embraced."[142] The difficulties are many and he asks:

---

[135] Kurin, "Safeguarding immaterial cultural heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention," 75.
[136] Bouchenaki, "The Interdependency of the Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage," 3.
[137] Deacon et al., *The subtle power of intangible heritage*, 3.
[138] Jigyasu, "The Intangible Dimension of Urban Heritage," 129.
[139] Ibid., 138.
[140] Karel Anthonie Bakker, "Preserving Intangible Heritage Resources: Examples from South Africa," (presented at ICOMOS 14th General Assembly, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, October 2003).
[141] Taylor, "Connecting Concepts of Cultural Landscape and Historic Urban Landscape," 64.; Bakker, "Preserving Intangible Heritage Resources," 3.
[142] Bakker, "Preserving Intangible Heritage Resources," 1.

> [H]ow do you preserve intangible values of places where definitions are contested or compete with one another? When new political visions are enacted, planning codes are written, engineering decisions are made, and stones and buildings are managed over time, how are these definitions incorporated, enacted and sustained? […] In planning environments that value the tangible over the intangible, how then do we practically ensure the retention of the intangible?[143]

Speaking in 2003, Todeschini articulated a counter-opinion: "I would submit that 'intangible cultural heritage' tends to engage with many interesting, but not always necessarily very relevant, heritage conservation discourses."[144] His concern is that: "validity, viability and utility of this relatively recent widening and blurring of the conceptual armoury of heritage conservation thinking and practice tends to *pose more problems* than it solves" (my emphasis).[145] He argues that "work under the banner of intangible heritage is tending to precipitate further neglect and erosion of significant tangible heritage resources that are under threat."[146] Implicit in this is that tangible heritage resources have a greater value to society than intangible heritage, which is presented as difficult to deal with.

Bakker says that practitioners are dissuaded or discouraged from engaging with intangible values that are perceived to be time- and money-wasting in the bigger picture of urban expansion. Consequently, "most development concepts in South Africa show little recognition of the role of memory and meaning of place in the present and for the future".[147] For Bakker, this is a clear failure of policy. He wonders "how to make any definition of the significance of intangible heritage manifest in conservation policies and guidelines, and how to sustain those guidelines in planning and management structures."[148]

As the decolonisation discourse constantly makes clear, the objective is to expose and rebalance, through inclusion, previously neglected areas of heritage.[149] Failing to recognise the marginalised qualities of living heritage is to perpetuate neglect through top-down decision making. Bakker urges the practitioner to "transform their practice, so as to resist being participants in hegemonic

---

[143] Ibid.
[144] Fabio Todeschini, "Some Reflections on Place, Tangible and Intangible Heritage and on Identity Construction," (presented at ICOMOS 14th General Assembly, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, October 2003): 1.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Bakker, "Preserving Intangible Heritage Resources," 6.
[148] Ibid., 7.
[149] Deacon et al., *The subtle power of intangible heritage*, 15.; Manetsi, "Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in South Africa," 57-69.

systems of interpretation and representation of intangible heritage."[150]

However, heritage practitioners express concern that living heritage values can be too easily ascribed, regardless of the underlying merit. This can then lead to inappropriate and excessive "heritagisation," the process through which objects, places and practices are reified as cultural heritage.[151] Described by Lowenthal as "creeping heritage", this "abundance", where everything is heritage, is addressed by Harrison.[152] He identifies seven conditions causing a heritage "boom", all of which boil down to globalisation, urbanisation, and a resulting perception of vulnerability of the familiar, that protection as "heritage" can stabilise.[153] This malleable device can be co-opted to address social vulnerability or unwanted densification.

## 2.5 Place and the Right to the City

*Place*, says Hayden, "is one of the trickiest words in the English language, a suitcase so overfilled one can never shut the lid."[154] Professional and philosophical disciplines interpret it in many different ways.

The NHRA definition of "place" is "an open space, including a public square, street or park". This definition comes from the Burra Charter 1988, at which time "the concept of 'place' denoted a physical aspect only (although views were included)".[155] It did not include "associations" (social values) and "meanings", related to intangible qualities such memory.[156] The Burra Charter has undergone regular updates; its 2013 iteration has taken a holistic heritage conservation approach, with a broadened understanding of *place* as a defining frame of reference. It states that places "may have tangible and intangible dimensions" and a range of values for different individuals and groups.[157] It expressly identifies *use* as a function of place and notes that cultural significance may change over time and with use.[158]

Traditional conservation work assessing place follows the historic, linear timeline. However, the

---

[150] Bakker and Műller, "Intangible Heritage and Community Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa," 54.
[151] Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches,* 75-95.
[152] Ibid., 69.; Also Skounti, who sees it as a result of "large-scale contacts between societies and the relentless, consumerist exploitation of the world's resources." Ahmed Skounti, The authentic illusion," in *Intangible Heritage*, eds Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London: Routledge, 2009), 74.
[153] Ibid., 80-94
[154] Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place : Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge. Mass: MIT Press, 1995), 227.
[155] Bakker, "South African heritage places: expanding current interpretation and presentation," 14-23.
[156] Ibid.
[157] ICOMOS, *The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (Burra Charter 2013):* 1.1. (Italics in original)
[158] Ibid., 1.10; explanatory notes: Article 1.

social practices of living heritage do not follow this path. Rather, time is cyclical, expressed in *continuity* of repeated ritualistic processes and may manifest as constant change.[159] Traditional heritage practice has no easy mechanism to accommodate this, but ICCROM has come up with a change-focussed, people-centred method, the Living Heritage Approach (LHA).[160] This prioritises the needs of a "core community" and identifies communities-of-practice, communities-of-place and communities-of-interest.[161] The continuity is described by Poulios as practice manifest in a place that continues to perform a function for which it was originally created or used.[162]

In the context of the historic built environment, this is an effective way to identify and extract the various differently-experienced layers of heritage. By isolating a core practicing community's values, it is possible to ensure that those are not jeopardised by other exclusionary uses. However, it does not resolve the issue of *whose* heritage is core, which is particularly pertinent where multiple groups may lay a legitimate claim to a place.

### *2.5.1 Living heritage is because people are*

Rahul Mehrotra sees the urban built environment as the *static city* and laid over it, the *kinetic city*, which he says has the capacity to democratise space, allowing claimants to occupy it differently.[163] This resonates with Lefebvre's notion of the spatial triad in the context of urbanism. Lefebvre famously identified three qualities to space: *perceived space* (the tangible city as officially made and used); *conceived space* (master planning of that tangible city); and *lived space*, the intangible everyday space experienced in a multiplicity of ways incorporating cultural memory and meaning.[164] Heritage conservation practice often fails to address this "human experience of space" that includes individual and collective experiential qualities.[165]

A second aspect of Lefebvre's *lived space* is his notion of the right to the city. Now something of a

---

[159] In this context, I am using linear time to mean the chronologically sequential, predominantly "western" notion of time, while cyclical time refers to the notion of time repeating in cycles, as found in numerous Asian philosophies.; Wijesuriya, *Living Heritage: a summary*, 4.; Poulios, "Moving beyond a values-based approach to heritage conservation," 171-172.; Bam-Hutchison (lecture, Critical Heritage Studies, University of Cape Town, July 31, 2017).

[160] Developed by ICCROM, partly in response to UNESCO 2003 in an effort to reconnect people and place values.; Poulios, "Moving beyond a values-based approach to heritage conservation," 170-185.; Court and Wejisuryia, "People-Centred Approaches to the Conservation of Cultural Heritage."

[161] Court, Gamini, "People-Centred Approaches to the Conservation of Cultural Heritage," 3.

[162] Poulios, "Moving beyond a values-based approach to heritage conservation," 175.

[163] Extract of a definition: "Kinetic City is defined as 'spaces that hold associative values and that support their residents' lives and livelihoods [...] it is a temporal articulation and occupation of space." Rahul Mehrotra, "Negotiating the Static and Kinetic Cities," in *Urban Imaginaries,* ed, A. Huyssen, (Durham: NC, 2007), 206.

[164] Michael Leary-Owhin, "A Fresh Look at Lefebvre's Spatial Triad and Differential Space: A Central Place in Planning Theory? " University of the West of England: England (2012): 68-69.

[165] Klaske Havik, *Urban Literacy, Reading and Writing Architecture* (Rotterdam: nai010 Publishers, 2014), 61-62.

rallying cry, it has been interpreted in many ways, but typically suggests an approach that sees users manage urban space for themselves, outside the control of both the state and capitalism.[166] This is similar to Sennett's "open system", which is the "interaction between physical creation and social behaviour".[167] He describes "ambiguous edges", drawing a distinction between the legal spatial *boundaries* that underpin official systems of urban management, and *borders*, which he sees as spaces of interaction, negotiation and transition. These notions of a kinetic city with blurred borders accommodate multiple readings, or makings, of the city by each user group.

### *2.5.2 Whose space?*

Edward Said writes that a post-colonial society is not a decolonised one at all levels. "More subtle and complex is the unending cultural struggle over territory, which necessarily involves overlapping memories, narratives, and physical structures."[168]

Living heritage is *owned* by the practicing community—in the context of public space, tradition establishes a claim to space, it is bordered and defines "insiders" and "outsiders".[169] A public place, such as the Grand Parade, has many valid claimants within its confines. John Lagae, in studying the post-colonial urban African environment, says: "In order to develop a meaningful approach to the colonial built legacy, it is important to focus not only on its tangible aspects […] but also to seriously engage with the complexities of the intangible aspects linked to its history and its embedded memories."[170]

Lagae interrogates the subject of shared heritage/whose heritage? The totemic questions, *whose heritage?* and *who is it for?* demand, in Lagae's opinion, new ways "that seek to establish meaningful but sometimes complex relationships between built fabric, history and memory."[171] I share this opinion and undertook this research in the hope of seeing "a meaningful approach".[172]

---

[166] Henri Lefebvre, "The right to the city," Writings on cities 63181 (1996).
[167] Richard Sennett, "The Open City," in *Critical Practice Reader,* ed. James Soane, (London School of Architecture, 2019), 15.
[168] Edward Said, "Invention, Memory, and Place," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol 26, No 2 (Winter, 2000): 182.
[169] Jigyasu, "The Intangible Dimension of Urban Heritage," 131.
[170] John Lagae, "'Patrimoine Partagé' to 'Whose Heritage'?, Critical reflections on colonial built heritage in the city of Lubumbashi, Democratic Republic of the Congo," in *Remembering, Forgetting and City Builders*, eds Tovi Fenster and Haim Yacobi, (London: Ashgate, 2010): 176.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid.

# 3. CONTEXT

This is a case study into the heritage significance of the Grand Parade bi-weekly market. However, in order to understand the market, it is essential to understand its context, the Grand Parade, a public square in Cape Town. This is a formally-protected Provincial Heritage Site; these protections applying to the *tangible* space only. In order to support my argument that its heritage significance is dependent on the layers of *intangible* heritage, I begin by describing this un-peopled place. Then I introduce the people, events and memories that arise from its past and present use.

## 3.1 The Grand Parade as Architectural Space

The Grand Parade is recorded as "Building" on the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) register of heritage sites, with the 1962 proclamation stating:

> The Grand Parade is one of Cape Town's historical squares and was the military parade ground during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[173]

The City of Cape Town (CoCT) statement of significance identifies its tangible form and additional use qualities:

> One of the oldest public spaces in the City, originally forming part of the parade ground of the Castle, later used as a market/trading space. Landmark space also acting as forecourt to the Town Hall.[174]

### *3.1.1 Locating Place*

The Grand Parade is a large, rectangular open space of approximately 28,500m$^2$. The long sides are bounded, to the north, by Castle Street with the central bus station and, on the south side, by Darling Street with the City Hall (built 1905), Central Library (built as the Volunteer Drill Hall, 1885) and a cluster of commercial buildings. The east is loosely edged by the Castle of Good Hope (1666-1679), and the west has the 10-storey tall General Post Office (1940) and smaller Post Office Annex (1925), now both used for commercial purposes.

[173] SAHRA File no. 9/2/018/0068.
[174] City of Cape Town Map Viewer, accessed January 2019.

The expanse of Grand Parade is largely clear of permanent structures, following a phased restoration plan implemented since 2008, which aims to establish a space "open and free of clutter, facilitating a variety of uses".[175] Two colonial-era monuments, and five immense palm trees planted in the 1930s, line the southern, City Hall, side. The western edge is partly developed with two single story masonry structures and—currently under alteration and partial demolition—a row of small concrete kiosks built in 1982. The northern edge is clear, but for a row of bus shelters. The eastern edge has a low shale and plaster boundary wall, possibly a remnant of the 18th century *graght* system of water channels.[176] The surface is paved and the perimeter marked by round concrete bollards and planted with a double row of stone pine trees.[177]

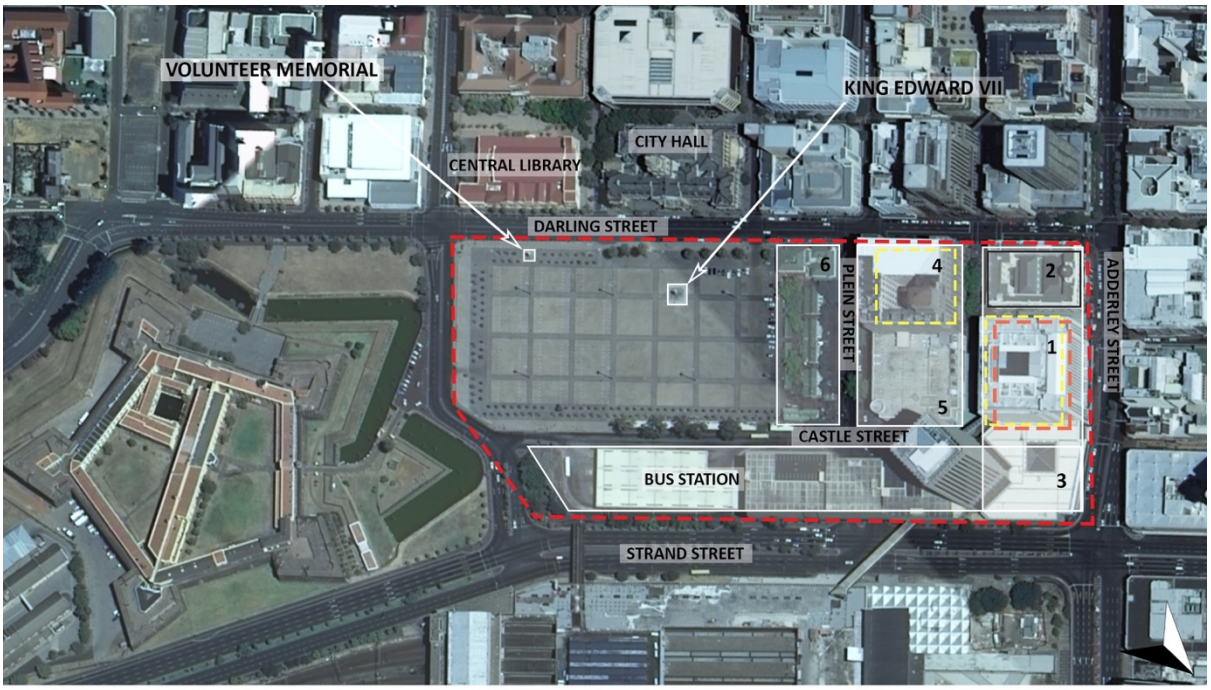



*Figure 1: Diagram showing morphology and current built environment context of Grand Parade. (Base map NGI 331800_19_14_2010_307)*

[175] ILISO Consulting, ARG Design & Urban Scapes, "Revitalisation of the Grand Parade Precinct, Final Conceptual Spatial Development Framework Report," for the City of Cape Town Urban Design Branch, (December 12, 2007): 20.

[176] John Rennie, *The Buildings of Central Cape Town 1978*, Volume Two. (Cape Town: Cape Provincial Institute of Architects, 1978), 285.

[177] These were selected for their shade, visually uncluttered stems and similarity to earlier Scotch pine trees.

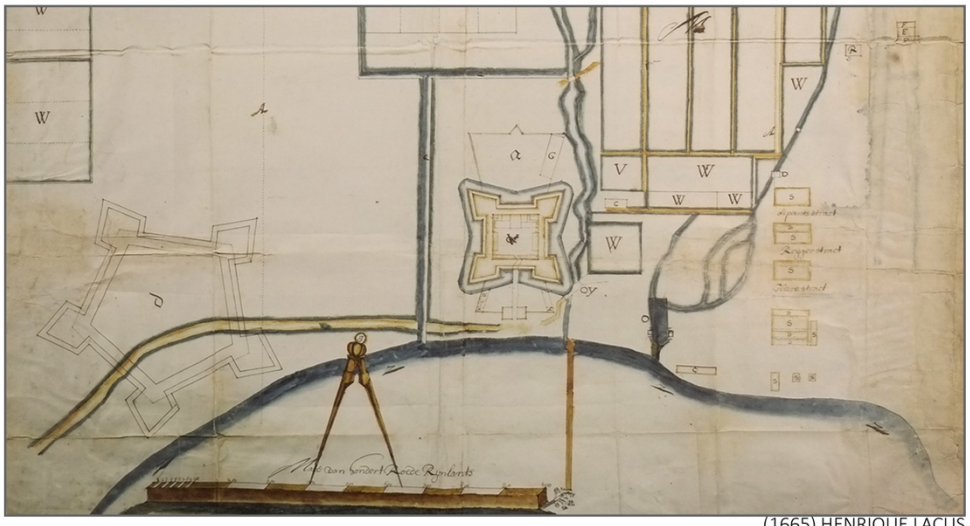
### *3.1.2 Morphology of place*

The morphology of the Grand Parade as a tangible space—layered over an occupied and peopled landscape—tells a story: evolution of power, control and ownership of Cape Town.

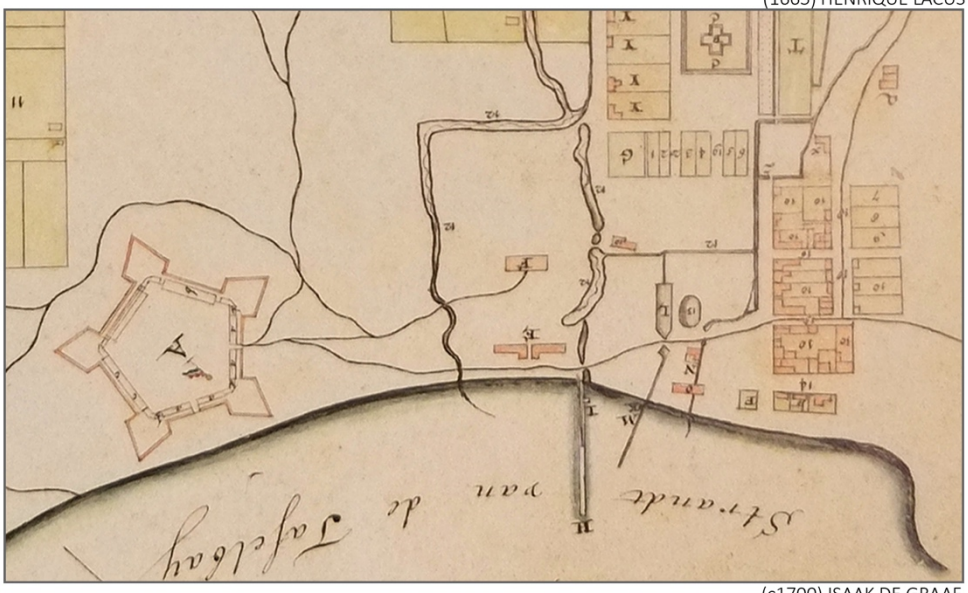
In April 1652 the Dutch East India Company (the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, or VOC) established a European settlement, a refreshment station in Table Bay, at the mid-point of the trade route from Western Europe to South East Asia. In the weeks after landing, the Company built its first mud and stick Fort de Goede Hoop on what is now the north-west sector of the Parade.[178] Strategically positioned close to the defensible shoreline, it captured a perennial stream, coming down from Table Mountain, in its moat. In accordance with Dutch planning norms, *roying* described a perimeter 50 Rhineland roods (approximately 190 metres) around the fort. This buffer zone was kept free of construction, ensuring clear lines of fire to any approaching threat. Typically, this open space was multi-functional, used as public space, military training ground and market place.[179]

With the growth of the settlement, and completion in 1679 of the stone Castle of Good Hope on the eastern edge of the *roying* line, a bounded space was defined. The no-go area remained, but the urban grid could evolve along its western edge, the Heerengraght (now Adderley Street).[180] By 1700 the Keizersgraght (now Darling Street) defined the southern edge, and the expanse was levelled—incorporating the footprint of the original fort, its remnants repurposed or reintegrated into the surface—and recorded in the Dutch administration journal as a *grote parade* of the Cape burghers.[181] Within a decade it was sufficiently a *place* that the Burgher Council proclaimed that no buildings were to be erected on it, now noted on maps variously as "Wapen Pleijn" and "Parade Plaatz".[182]

[178] I use the terms "Grand Parade" and "Parade" interchangeably, as most Capetonians do.
[179] Ron Van Oers, *Dutch town planning overseas during VOC and WIC rule (1600-1800*) (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000), 117.
[180] Ibid., 117-121.
[181] Ibid., 129.; Hymen WJ Picard, *Grand Parade: the Birth of Greater Cape Town, 1850-1913* (Cape Town: Struik, 1969), 55.
[182] Picard, *Grand Parade: the Birth of Greater Cape Town,* 55.; Bea Brommer, *Grote Atlas van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie / Comprehensive Atlas of the Dutch United East India Company*. Vol. V : Afrika / Africa. (Zierikzee: Asia Maior, 2009), 100, 131.



(1665) HENRIQUE LACUS



(c1700) ISAAK DE GRAAF

(c1760 ) CAREL DAVID WENTZEL

*Figure 2: Survey diagrams show the formation of Grand Parade. Top 1665: VOC's Fort de Goede Hoop, projected plan for stone Castle, "A" marks the roying line. Middle c1700: Formation of the space between military and civilian structures. Bottom c1760: Graghte define the Parade's boundaries. (Brommer, Comprehensive Atlas of the Dutch United East India Company, 79, 131, 101)*

As urban debris filled the shallows, the seafront shifted slowly away from the Parade's northern edge and a row of buildings—Company warehouses and store rooms—separated it from the sea. The sandy surface required frequent re-levelling and resurfacing, rutted by constant wagon traffic between the Company Gardens to the south west, the new jetty and the Castle. During the 1740s the Governor ordered all burghers to "send one slave each day" to level and grass the square.[183]

The Wentzel map (c.1760) shows a large terrain, severed from the Castle by a stream, bounded by walled *graghte* and defined by structures, which included the Governor's House in a surveillant position on Keizersgraght, overlooking the Parade. Occasional openings in the low walls allowed passage across bridges onto the square. The surface was levelled again in 1761 and edged with oak trees, with the eastern end reserved for the military, and the rest available to the public. Centrally-located spouts supplied household water.[184]

A 1797-8 journal describing a visit to the Cape records the Parade:

> […] near the shores of the bay and between town and the castle, [it] serves as a parade for exercising the troops. This is an open, airy and extensive plain perfectly level, composed of a bed of firm clay, covered with small hard gravel. It is surrounded by canals or ditches that receive the waters of the town and convey them to the bay. Two of its sides are completely built up with large and handsome houses.[185]

Following 1806, and British takeover from the Batavian Government (successor to the VOC), the town grid and architecture developed rapidly along British colonial lines. The Commercial Exchange, symbolic of imperial order in its neo-classical architecture, was erected in 1819 on the west of the Parade, its "back stoep" open to the public square.[186] Now identified as the Grand Parade, Thompson's 1827 survey shows the ground has expanded east to the Castle edge, with the stream tamed into a walled channel. With its new form defined, a visitor describes the "Grand Parade surrounded on all sides by parallel rows of fir trees".[187]

---

[183] Picard, *Grand Parade,* 57.

[184] Hymen WJ Picard, *Gentleman's Walk. The Romantic Story of Cape Town's Oldest Streets, Lanes and Squares*, (Cape Town: C. Struik PTY Ltd., 1968), 77.

[185] John Barrow, *An account of travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the Years 1797 and 1798* (New York: GF Hopkins, 1802), 14.

[186] This was a contentious development. Owners and residents of the luxury dwellings on Keizersgraght and Heerengraght were opposed to a building of that scale and purpose, fearing it would disrupt privacy and devalue property, saying it was wrong to "grant any parts of the ground of the Grand Parade, a public ornament and pride of this town." Signatories included the widow Thibault. Cape Archives, KAB, CO, 3915, 20; KAB, PAS, 2/597, L19-C-1.

[187] Although published in 1863, the visit that informed this observation was probably made before the 1860

With the city protected by a new network of batteries, the farmlands east of the Castle were developed to provide urgently-needed low-cost housing. This, along with further natural land reclamation from the sea, "relocated" the Parade to a more central position in the growing urban grid. Barracks, Commissariat offices, store houses and the customs house lined the northern edge, creating a maritime arrivals hub, activity spilling on to the Parade.

The completion of the railway line dramatically altered this spatial arrangement; it severed the direct connection with the sea. Surveys from 1860 show the new station building on the north west corner, with the railway line eating into and redefining the Parade's northern edge, while a new harbour shifted port activity westward, to the site of today's Waterfront.

By 1898, development of the south edge, renamed Darling Street, was completed by a central, covered produce market, and the Volunteer Drill Hall. A ragged double row of trees remained on this edge of the Parade only. The western edge was re-drawn and consolidated, as the Commercial Exchange made way for the General Post Office and Standard Bank. Both buildings addressed Adderley Street, turning their backs to the Parade. The Opera House ate deeper into the area, occupying the south west corner, with the remaining open space on the newly defined edge reserved for auction stands.[188]

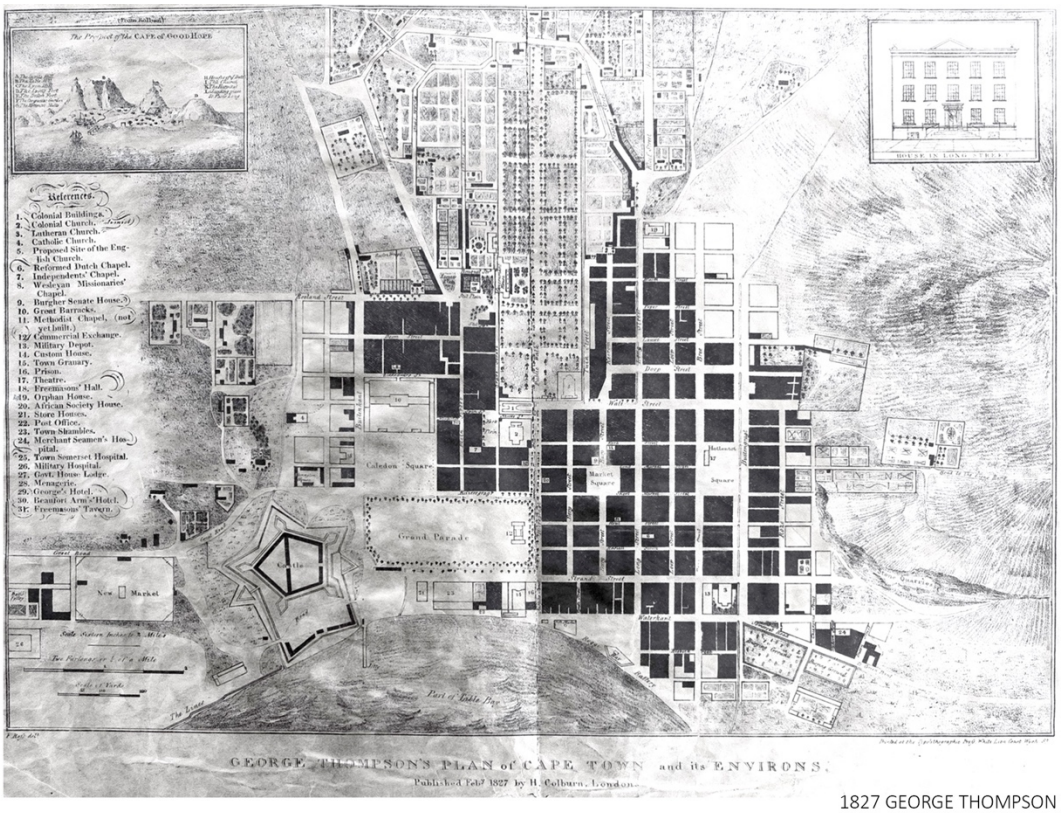
Following the South African War, a memorial to the Cape Colony's fallen volunteers was erected on the Parade beside Plein Street (later relocated opposite the Drill Hall).[189] An imposing statue of King Edward VII was positioned on an axial line with the planned City Hall. In 1905 the City Hall replaced the central market, its form establishing symmetry to the space. It introduced a focal point and initiated a particular point of view—City Hall with Table Mountain as backdrop—that has become a defining representation of the Grand Parade.

---

construction of the railway line. JP Wilmot, *A historical and descriptive account of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope* (London: F Algar, 1863), 38.

[188] Another contentious development: in 1892 a "New Theatre" planned for the site was rejected by members of the ruling class, concerned at the social calibre of theatre audiences. The plan, reinvented as an Opera House, possibly had better appeal. Cape Archives, KAB, LND, 1/311, L-2592. *Cape Times*, (February 22, 1889).

[189] This war of 1899-1902 is known by various names, commonly the Anglo-Boer War. I have chosen this phrasing for its neutrality and inclusivity of the multiplicity of now-South African society involved in it. Dean Allen, *Empire War & Cricket in South Africa* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2015), 316.




1827 GEORGE THOMPSON


1884 T.W. CAIRNCROSS

*Figure 3: The early morphology of Cape Town. 1827 (above) shows the concentration of urban development in the west city. 1884 (below) shows growth of the east city, re-situating the Grand Parade at the city centre. (Thompson, Cape Archives, M1/164; Cairncross, personal collection)*

From 1913 to 1916, following Union in 1910, a battle over the Parade's ownership and land-use raged between national and local government.[190] The City Council was established as the rightful owner and, by way of concession, agreed in 1917 to sell a portion to the Union Government to extend the General Post Office. The title deed for "The Grand Parade" transferred to the City of Cape Town in October 1918.[191]

There has been a recurring tussle between retaining open space and plans to develop the Parade for civic use.[192] As a result, portions have been nibbled and bitten from the edges, while temporary "ugly miscellaneous structures" have come and gone.[193]

### *3.1.2 Declaration and after*

In 1962 Grand Parade was declared a National Monument.[194] The physical boundaries have changed little since, as all plans prioritise the open military expanse as a fundamental criterion of its heritage significance. A 1981 revitalisation plan replaced the fragile, timber, 1920s fruit stalls occupying the western edge in, "An architectural style […] which will relate to the 19th century vernacular of fine scale corrugated iron, slender columns, timber fretwork and decoration".[195] The Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) that informed a 2008 revitalisation plan, currently in phased implementation, called for the removal of these "dated fake Victorian structures", adding, "there should be […] no more large permanent structures on the Parade and no further erosion of civic space."[196]

---

[190] City authorities wanted to build a dedicated central market on the western edge of the Parade, while the new national government wanted to use the same area to extend the General Post Office. In 1914 the Surveyor General of the Department of Lands found that the Grand Parade was Crown Land, specifically identified as such in Section 110 of the Act of 1893. However, later established that the 1913 Unification Ordinance No 19 repealed the Act. Cape Archives, KAB, PAS-2/597; KAB, 3/CT, 4/2/1/1/155, 1008-12. Mayor's Minutes," (Cape Town, 1916), 30-31.

[191] Cape Town Deeds Office, DT-CPF 29-25/1918.

[192] Such as recurring plans from the 1920s-1940s that cast Grand Parade as the site of the city's civic and administrative centre. Available in the Mayor's Minutes and multiple files in the Cape Archives, SAHRA and EHRIC libraries.

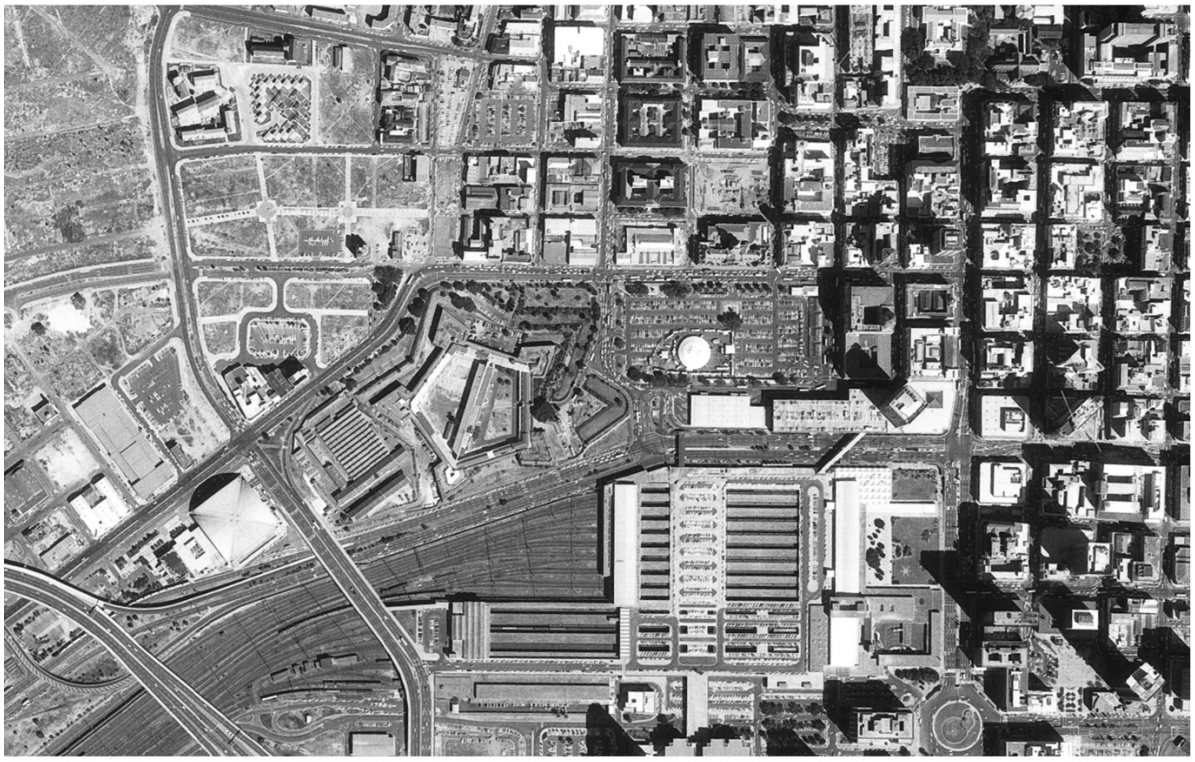
[193] Structures include World War II military stores and service buildings. Quotation from photograph captioned, "The Parade, Cape Town, as it is now, with all its ugly miscellaneous structures," *Cape Times* (Cape Town), November 10, 1928.

[194] Proclamation by the Department of Education, Arts and Science No. 1428. (August 31, 1962).

[195] Aikman et al., City of Cape Town, City Engineer's Department, "A Development Plan for the Grand Parade & its Environs," report no. 60/1981 Ref TP 2/12. (October 1981): 2.8.

[196] Melanie Attwell, "Grand Parade Phase One Heritage Impact Assessment," Unpublished report for the Cape Town Partnership and the City of Cape Town (February, 2006), 58, 63.

1926



1983

*Figure 4: Aerial 1926 (above) shows Grand Parade extending north to Strand Street, the Opera House breaks the rectangular form. District Six is evident to the east of the Parade, early foreshore reclamation is underway. Aerial 1983 (below) shows the vertical growth of the west city and the vacant land of District Six. The Foreshore has been reclaimed and developed. (NGI 1926_06_0869; 1926_08_0884; 1983_498_188_09_0433)*

While its physical attributes have changed little in the past 60 years, the built environment around it has. Cape Town's centre has lurched north and west. In the 1970s, the new Civic Centre and Foreshore development removed the Parade's civic role, while apartheid's "separate development" policies all but destroyed its social role. The recent shift of the city centre further west towards the Waterfront has nudged the Grand Parade from Cape Town's physical heart to a symbolic one. That symbolic value owes more to people, and the way they have used—and use—the space, than to the space itself.

*Figure 5: Grand Parade, view towards west city, September 2014. (Discott, own work, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=35405221)*

## 3.2 The Grand Parade as Lived Space

The highly legible, tangible, fabric that surrounds the Grand Parade articulates its official military and civic role. But place is made through use.[197] The story of use—its deep architecture—is unwritten in the fabric and unrepresented. *This* Grand Parade is excluded from the formal heritage protections.

I contend that the significance of the Grand Parade—the Provincial Heritage Site—has been neglected by heritage processes: the intangible heritage of culture and collective memory is largely invisible and ignored. This dehumanising aspect of erasure and omission contributes to a particular social condition: "Cape Town is a city that remains at war with itself. It is a war that exists through the silences and in the cracks that allow complete histories and realities to slip

[197] In Coetzer's words, "people 'produce' space through their representations in space". Nic Coetzer, "Exploring 'place-making,' city squares & other places: Cape Town's pre-apartheid spatial politics," *South African journal of Art History* 23, no. 1 (2008): 143.

through."[198]

To properly understand the Grand Parade as a cultural landscape, its layers of history and their contribution to sense of place and significance must be identified. The Grand Parade is, and always has been, a peopled space put to a multitude of uses—broadly grouped as military and civic, protest, celebration and quotidian—with users including people whose lives are poorly represented in the official histories.[199]

### *3.2.1 The silencing of genocide*

Beneath the Grand Parade is a lost cultural heritage. Archaeological excavations undertaken at various times—in 1983, the 1990s and the 2000s—trace the first known occupation of the site to the Late Stone Age.[200] The natural environment—a valley floor at the confluence of perennial fresh water streams, vegetation, fishing and hunting—made for a habitable environment. Its occupants were the ancestors of the Khoe and San who first encountered European travellers in the 15th century.[201]

VOC settlement in 1652 rapidly led to contestation and then conflict, with indigenous people trying to retain access to the land.[202] Following the first Khoe-Dutch war of 1659, Commander Jan Van Riebeeck wrote that it had been fairly "won by the sword" and, as such, the Khoe retained no claim.[203] This left them few alternatives: subjugation to orders from the fort, or departure north.[204] Both options led to socio-cultural annihilation by assimilation.[205] Van Sitters, who

---

[198] Henri Yasir and Heidi Grunebaum. "Re-historicising Trauma: Reflections on Violence and Memory in Current-day Cape Town." Direct AcSon Centre for Peace and Memory," 2.

[199] This is my framing, reached by a distillation of various sources such as Attwell's HIA 2006-2008, Worden's various writings on the history of Cape Town, Witz and Rasool's social histories of the city, memoirs, museums and other sources.

[200] Archaeologists believe that separate groups (hunter gatherers and pastoralists) used the land in separate ways, with a "pastoral revolution" taking place around 500CE. The archaeology of 1983, with the follow-up excavations in 1990 and 1991, was "to investigate the presence of indigenous people at the site; to obtain artefactual evidence of seventeenth and eighteenth century trade, economy and material culture at the Cape; to verify, contradict, or supplement written records; and to stimulate public interest and awareness in urban conservation." Gabeda Abrahams, "The Grand Parade, Cape Town: Archaeological Excavations of the Seventeenth Century Fort de Goede Hoop," *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, Vol. 48, No. 157 (June, 1993): 4.

[201] Opinions vary on the nomenclature of the south western indigenous African peoples. I have taken the advice of Dr June Bam Hutchison, Pre-colonial & Heritage Studies Lead Researcher at UCT's Centre for African Studies. She notes that the preferred term within activist networks is *Khoe* and *San* as separated and with the correct spelling. June Bam Hutchison, by email to author, June 27, 2019.; Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford Smith. *Cape Town the Making of a City: An Illustrated Social History*. (Claremont: David Philip Publishers, 1998), 14.

[202] From journal entries by Jan Van Riebeeck, translated and published in 1897. HVC Liebbrandt, *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope Riebeeck's Journal*, etc. Part 2. (Cape Town: WA Richards & Sons, 1897).

[203] Worden, et al., *Cape Town the Making of a City*, 24.

[204] Richard Elphick, *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* (Volumes 48-50): 12.

[205] M Adikari, "A total extinction confidently hoped for: the destruction of Cape San society under Dutch colonial rule,

worked on a cultural project to refigure the precinct to represent this erased society, describes the trauma as still felt.[206] He identifies the Grand Parade as a "haunted space", an "unmarked space", unrecognised for its depth of history: "you see the effects of the silencing."[207]

Meskell's term, *negative heritage*, applies to this "conflictual site that becomes a repository of negative memory in the collective imaginary", negative both in the sense that it articulates a painful heritage, and an absent one.[208]

### *3.2.2 The "erasure" of enslavement*

Enslaved people and convict labourers were imported to build and maintain the young settlement—over 60,000 adults and children over 170 years, mainly from elsewhere in Africa and the VOC's Indian Ocean possessions.[209] These early days are well-documented and archived, however, the hand of the archivist is evident in the erasures and essentialisms. There are many records of the soldiers who paraded on Wapen Pleijn: names, ages, countries of origin, work, dress, ration, social lives, crimes... Less is known of the pre-enslavement lives of the people who levelled it for them, carried water to owners and masters across it—and greatly outnumbered them.[210] This eradication of individuality—personhood—of foreign enslaved persons, and indigenous people drawn into Company service, leaves little from which to retrace a family history or piece together a cultural legacy.[211]

This history is barely represented on the Grand Parade. The Kaapse Klopse carnival can trace is roots to slave heritage and emancipation of 1834, "celebrated here on the Grand Parade—by the elite in the Commercial Exchange, and separately by the former slaves".[212] It, and the Slave Route Challenge, a running event through the streets of the historic Cape Town of the underclass, are held annually.[213]

---

1700-1795," *Journal of Genocide Research* Vol. 12 Issue 1/2, March-June (2010): 19-44.

[206] *Aba te*, meaning "carry me", was a culture educational "edutainment" workshop using a dynamic narrative technique that took place at the Cape Town Castle in 2016. Bradley Van Sitters (lecture, University of Cape Town, July 31, 2017).

[207] Bradley Van Sitters. Interview with author, Cape Town, October 17, 2017.

[208] Lynn Meskell, "Negative Heritage and Past Mastering in Archaeology," *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 75, No. 3. (Summer, 2002): 558.

[209] Attwell, "Grand Parade Phase One Heritage Impact Assessment," 36.

[210] Wayne Cooling, "The Castle: Its place in the history of Cape Town in the VOC Period," in *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, ed. Elizabeth Van Heyningen (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1994), 19.

[211] Susan Newton-King, "Family, friendship and survival among freed slaves," in *Cape Town Between East and West, Social Identities in a Dutch colonial town*, ed Nigel Worden, (Aukland Park: Jacana Media, 2012), 155.

[212] Attwell, "Grand Parade Phase One Heritage Impact Assessment," 36.

[213] Slave Route Challenge, accessed April 25, 2019, https://www.slaveroute.co.za

*Figure 6: Everyone's parade: Women with playing children and pet dog, servants bearing loads, merchants admiring the new Commercial Exchange and an old man wandering away. (Artist unknown, Cape Archives, AG 11078)*

### *3.2.3 Diversity and simultaneity: everyman's heritage*

After the British takeover in 1806, the VOC's system of control was easily absorbed and extended by the colonial government.[214] The heterogeneous society became increasingly segregated along class lines, with landed Dutch burghers and a European mercantile and professional class, outnumbered by a yet more culturally diverse working class. Ex-slaves, black contract labour, prisoners of war from elsewhere in the colony, and immigrants from Europe, often escaping grinding poverty or religious persecution, swelled Cape Town.[215] District Six, abutting the Grand Parade on the south East, and District One, to the north west, became densely populated, with the Parade an in-between everyman's land.

[214] After initial, temporary British Occupation in 1796, the Cape reverted to the Batavian government, with subsequent takeover in 1806.

[215] Such as the Xhosa war, Langeberg Rebellion 1896-7. Elizabeth Van Heyningen, "Public health and society in Cape Town, 1880-1910," (PhD dissertation, UCT, 1989), 113.; Worden et al., *Cape Town The Making of a City*, 89-95.

The Parade was a place of racial and class diversity and intermingling, "Setting of most of the citizens' activities and festivities […] the heart and soul of a striving community pushing ahead on its arduous path towards cityhood."[216] It was simultaneously the place for colonial pomp—celebrations of British Empire such as Queen Victoria's birthday—and the quotidian. Images show parallel worlds of bunting and officials in finery, with working-class people engaged in day-to-day activities.

Rassool's description of the British Royal visit of February 1947 demonstrates this simultaneity.[217]

> It was a typical summer's Saturday and I made my usual pilgrimage to the Grand Parade to browse among the second-hand book stalls when I was attracted by the crowd massing outside the City Hall. Did I turn my back on this display of monarchial splendour? I confess I stood and gazed with the rest.[218]

In Richard Rive's writings, the Parade recurs as the place where people gather.[219] Spilling from the densely populated tenements of District Six, the Parade was a public living room, and setting for the busy late night Cafés de Move-on "for Coloured and Native" people.[220] A 1947 social retelling of Cape history layers the past with its present as it describes the night-time drive-in cafe:

> Native and coloured waiters in neat white caps … You have only to half close your eyes to imagine them in the loose smock of the 18th century slaves who crossed and recrossed the Parade with bundles of firewood, barrels of water, trays of fruit and vegetables, or bearing their mistress in sedan chairs over puddles of water.[221]

---

[216] Picard, *Grand Parade*, ix.
Also, Worden and Picard, in multiple writings that examine the city's social history in depth and Andrew Bank, and Gary Minkley. "Genealogies of space and identity in Cape Town." *Kronos. Journal of Cape History* 25 (1998).

[217] This can be seen in: South Africa's Royal Visit Reel 1 (1947) British Pathé (Published on Apr 13, 2014).

[218] Yusuf Rassool, *District Six-Lest We Forget Recapturing subjugated cultural histories of Cape Town (1897-1956)* (Cape Town: University of the Western Cape: 2000), 122.

[219] Richard Rive, *'Buckingham Palace' District Si*x (Cape Town: David Philip, 1986).

[220] Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 4/1/11/692, 957-1-9. *Cape Argus*, (August 5, 1955).

[221] Barbara Campbell Tait, *Cape Cameos. The Story of Cape Town in a New Way.* (Cape Town: Stewart, 1948),123.


*Figure 7: Everyday activities: tobacco kiosk and herb seller, Tannie Minnie Sampson, with market activities in the background. (Cape Archives J48)*

### *3.2.4 Nation building and liberation heritage*

Following the Act of Union in 1910, the privileging of South Africa's white population continued with Imperial approaches to population management incorporating segregationist Afrikaner influence.[222] The ground was well prepared for the 1948 transition to apartheid domination, for "the corrosive evil of racism […] was intrinsic to the system of colonialism in Southern Africa almost 300 years ago. Racialism has always been the handmaiden of colonialism".[223]

The Grand Parade, already the preferred location for protest—in 1849/50 against the Cape becoming a penal colony, and in 1901 against forced removals of black residents from District One—was the stage for apartheid protest.[224] Events led by Cissie Gool and others in the 1940s and '50s voiced opposition to segregation, pass laws and the *Group Areas Act* (1950), "the Big

[222] Segregationist laws affecting the Cape such as the Native Reserve Location Act 1902, which allowed for the relocation of black residents to locations on the periphery; the Natives Land Act, 1913, prohibited the acquisition of land by black South Africans; the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 imposed influx controls on black South Africans; the Slums Clearance Act 1934, allowed the forcible removals of people. SA History.org, accessed April 19, 2019, https://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/list-laws-land-dispossession-and-segregation

[223] Rassool, *District Six-Lest We Forget,* 134.

[224] Protests of 1901 followed a bubonic plague outbreak and forced relocation to camps on the outskirts of town. Forced relocation as an official response to epidemics was used following the smallpox pandemic of 1882, which coincided with colonial ambitions to "formalise" social organisation. The Public Health Act of 1883, a "sanitation syndrome" provided a legal basis for the relocation of sectors of society. Van Heyningen: "Public Health and Society in Cape Town," 11.

Bertha of the Apartheid weaponry".[225] Activists, such as Rassool and the artist Lionel Davis, attribute their politicisation to events they attended there. Davis wrote, "I would go to Grand Parade and heard people discussing things that were wrong in South Africa. That's when my consciousness started developing."[226]

While City officials were inventing new collective memories around the Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival in 1952, activist groups from across the Cape were mobilising. Meetings on the Grand Parade, attended by five to six thousand people, opposed this event for celebrating "the founding of a 'social and economic system of slavery'".[227]

The declaration of the Parade as a National Monument, specifically for its role as "military parade ground", reinforced a white, Dutch and British, heritage and hegemony in a time of increasing formal control.[228] In 1965 the city centre, including the Parade, was made a White Group Area. From 1964 to 1974 the *Suppression of Communism Act* prohibited "the assembly in the area known as the Grand Parade […] except in bona fide trading or assembly sanctioned by the Magistrate".[229] Access and use by people of colour was limited (but subverted by acts of petty and political defiance, revealed in Chapter 4).

In a joint City-Province initiative, the Parade's role in liberation heritage has recently (2018) been marked by a figurative, polychrome bronze statue of Nelson Mandela installed on the balcony of the City Hall, facing onto the Parade. Mandela chose the Parade for his first public appearance following 27 years in jail, for its position as "the heart of the heart of Cape Town."[230] That day it absorbed a crowd—some say 60,000—larger than anything it had seen before.[231] In 1994, as the venue for Mandela's inaugural presidential address, it was recast as a symbol of a new national identity: the Rainbow Nation, and its successor, "multiculturalism", or "unity in diversity".[232]

---

[225] Zainunnissa Gool was an political campaigner and politician, strongly opposed to segregation and racialism. Rassool, *District Six-Lest We Forget,* 143.

[226] Iziko South Africa National Gallery, "Gathering Strands: Lionel Davis," (exhibition September 2017).

[227] Leslie Witz, "From Langa Market Hall and Rhodes' Estate to the Grand Parade and the Foreshore: Contesting Van Riebeeck's Cape Town," *Kronos*, no. 25 (1998): 464.; Leslie Witz, *Apartheid's Festival : Contesting South Africa's National Pasts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).; Worden quoting Witz & Rassool, "Contesting heritage in a South African city: Cape Town," in *Contested Urban Heritage*, eds Brian J Shaw and Roy Jones, (Hants: Ashgate , 1997), 37.

[228] Instruments such as the Sabotage Act (1962) further reduced civil liberties by increasing the scope of what might be considered a crime.

[229] Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 4/1/11/701, 957/6.

[230] Richard Stengel, "Grand Parade, Cape Town: A Speech for the Ages," in *City Squares: Eighteen Writers on the Spirit and Significance of Squares Around the World*, ed. Catie Marron (New York: Harper Collins, 2016), 217.

[231] Nelson Mandela was released from Victor Verster prison on 11 February 1990. He was taken directly to the City Hall to address the nation from its balcony, which overlooks the Grand Parade.; David Beresford, "Nelson Mandela: A man whose time has come at last," in *The Guardian*, (February 12, 1990).

[232] The national motto of South Africa, !ke e: ǀxarra ǁke means Diverse People Unite, in |Xam.


*Figure 8: Crowds gather on Grand Parade to hear Nelson Mandela's first address following release from Victor Verster Prison, 11 February 1990. (Louise Gubb, UCT Special Collections, islandora:5359)*

Jokilehto describes the making of a city as a combination of place and use. He says:

> All these qualities, together, constitute the common resources that define the character of the historic city, whose significance is the outcome of a series of natural and anthropic events linked to the conformation of the place and the continuous interaction of man and nature with the place itself.[233]

I feel this describes the relationship between the Grand Parade and its people, which is central to the identification of its significance, because it is not the object that is significant but how people feel about it—the ascribed meanings and uses.

[233] Jukka Jokilehto, "Evolution of the Normative Framework," in Reconnecting the City : the *Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage*, eds. Francesco Banderin and Ron Van Oers (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 213.

# 4. CASE: GRAND PARADE MARKET

Of the Grand Parade's many uses, trade has been the most perennial. Pre-contact transactions between nomadic, pastoral peoples at the Cape extended to contact-period barter with passing ships seeking fresh water and meat.[234] Then: 1652 and the VOC's refreshment station, established specifically to facilitate trade—a fresh produce superstore on the route between east and west.

After a difficult start, free burghers farming for the Company stores began producing sufficient that, in 1680, Governor Van der Stel allowed them to sell produce directly to the public, from the Parade.[235] This initiated something of a market day tradition and, plausibly, informal trade took place near to or at these sanctioned sales—sale or exchange of backyard produce, handmade goods, used household items.

The trade in fresh produce grew over the decades to the extent that in 1757 an auctioneer was appointed to manage sales.[236] Auctions have long characterised sales on the Grand Parade. The Dutch auction method came out of the tulip bubble of the early 1600s and was used across the VOC's global network of commercial hubs.[237] The English system was introduced sometime after the first British Occupation in 1795.[238] "Out-of-hand" sales took place alongside the auction sales. This appears to be a uniquely South African term that was in regular use by the late 1800s and refers to a direct, one-to-one sale in which the seller fixes the price (although haggling may be involved).

---

[234] The first recorded Europeans to stop at the Cape were Bartholomeu Dias (1488) and Vasco de Gama (1497), there may have been others. 1510 is the earliest popular record of contact (violent, at that, leading to fatal conflict). In 1647 VOC ship, *Nieuwe Haerlem*, was wrecked off the Cape coast and a group of about 60 crew settled temporarily, farmed and interacted effectively with local people.; South African History, "Vasco da Gama's Voyage of 'Discovery' 1497," (March 21, 2011).; South African History, "Bartolomeu Dias," (February 17, 2011).; Worden, Nigel et al., *Cape Town the Making of a City* (Claremont: David Philip Publishers, 1998), 13.

[235] John R Shorten, *Cape Town: Published Under Authority of the City Council of Cape Town to Mark the Golden Jubilee of the Greater City* (Johannesburg: Shorten, 1963), 501.; Green, whose descriptions can tend to fancy, wrote that sales included "buck and brandy, aloes and ivory, porcupines and tortoises as well as mutton and fruit". Lawrence G Green, *Cape Argus*, (September 28, 1950).

[236] Shorten, *Cape Town,* 501

[237] The Dutch auction is a descending price system. The auctioneer starts with a price well in excess of any expected bid and rapidly it calls down in fixed increments until a buyer makes an offer. At that point the sale is complete. It was a particularly effective way to find the highest price on a homogeneous consignment of goods. Dietmar Rothermund, "The European quest for control in the Indian Ocean," in *The East Asian Mediterranean; maritime crossroads of culture, commerce and human migration*, eds Angela Schottenhammer (Harrassowitz Verlag), 106.

[238] The English auction is a price ascending system. The auctioneer announces the opening price and bidding ascends to the point that no further bids are made. The highest bid wins the item. Cynthia Wall, "The English Auction: Narratives of Dismantlings." *Eighteenth-century studies*. 31, no. 1 (1997).

## 4.1 Continuity and Place

The market location originally selected by Van der Stel, on the western end of the Parade beside the Heerengraght, was a fixture by the 1800s, and the erection of the Commercial Exchange, the seat of the "'organised social and political power bloc'" of Cape Town's merchant class, did not interrupt the habit of outdoor sales.[239] While premium trade took place in its central hall, the back stoep and beyond was the stage for informal sales, described in 1848 as follows: [240]

> The parade-ground, encircled by a belt of Scotch firs, and containing within its limits the public library and commercial room, constitutes also a remarkable feature of the town. Here auctions are continually held in open air, and the most motley groups imaginable are to be seen. The Malay, in his eccentric pyramidal straw hat, or turban; the Hottentot, in his heterogeneous, slovenly attire; the negro (of slave extraction), commonly wearing a red woollen nightcap; the natives of the East, with their various picturesque costumes; the Dutch and English merchants—all mingle together around the stalls.[241]

In this period the Cape was a key international, southern sea trade hub. Raw materials and manufactured goods were brought on shore and warehoused for transfer or sold to speculators, while barrels of wine and fresh produce were traded out of the Cape. Writing in 1858, Irons describes how the Parade sales fitted in to this picture:

> It is to the Cape folk what market days are in England. Hundreds of persons congregate round the auctioneers stands, six of whom are selling at the same time. They do an immense business, disposing of commodities from all parts of the world, damaged cargoes, stale shop goods, clearings-out of warehouses, sea captains' adventures, unlucky speculations, bankrupts' and insolvents' effects, furniture, china, plate, crockery, hardware, paintings and engravings, eatables, confectionary, perfumery, clothes, tools, seeds, trees, horses and carts, carriages and harnesses, wine, oil, hides and skins. Duty paid to the government during the year amounts from £25,000 to £30,000. There are no other gatherings of equal liveliness in Cape Town.[242]

All auctions have a performative quality, a sense of drama, and many of the early photographs of

---

[239] Meltzer quoted in Worden et al., *Cape Town the Making of a City*, 102, 113.
[240] JP Wilmot, *A historical and descriptive account of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope*, 38.
[241] Henry Methuen, *Life in the Wilderness: Or, Wanderings in South Africa* (London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1848), 16.
[242] William Irons, *The settler's guide to the Cape of Good Hope and Colony of Natal* (London : Stanford, 1858).

the Parade market show clusters of people, facing one direction, almost certainly watching, or bidding at, an auction in full swing. Described as "quite a Cape institution", the items for sale—anything "from a pigeon to an elephant"—included unwanted household goods sent to the auctioneer for sale without reserve.[243] These were democratic events providing for every budget. The 1854-1855 Namaqualand copper mining mania turned many of the city's people of all classes into instant speculators and prospectors.[244] A memoir tells us how, "Auctioneer Chauvin the elder shut up shop selling furniture and landed properties, and held auction sales of scrip—scrip and nothing but scrip—on the Parade. He drew immense audiences, especially on Saturdays."[245]

Current traders' legend has it that the market started around 1896, two days per week only, on Wednesdays and Saturdays when the farmers came in from the villages selling bits and pieces. As we see, it certainly predates this—an 1863 account describes "large open air sales" held each Wednesday and Saturday.[246] The Saturday tradition comes from those first farmers, who combined the trip to town for produce delivery with Sunday church services; I have been unable to find the origin of the Wednesday sales tradition.[247]

The Mayor's Minutes of 1899 note, "it was well understood that Wednesdays and Saturdays were the recognised days for sales by public auction, inasmuch as it had long been custom to hold such sales on these days only".[248] Both the days and the times—trading permitted from 7am to 2pm only—were officially fixed.[249]

## 4.2 Control and Subversion—Turn of the 20th Century

The City Treasurer of the Corporation of Cape Town managed all trade, controlling who could sell what and where. Trading pitches were marked on a plan of the Parade, with positions allotted. A Market Master managed on-the-ground issues and a Parade Inspector monitored activities. Police were a strong presence on market days as hundreds of people flocked to the town centre.

---

[243] By a Lady, *Life at the Cape A Hundred Years Ago* (Cape Town: C Struik, 1973), 116.
[244] A memoir of "Prominent events which have occurred ... during the forty years since 1854" RW Murray, *South African Reminiscences*, (Cape Town: Juta, 1894).
[245] Ibid.
[246] Wilmot, *A historical and descriptive account of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope*, 38.
[247] Apparently, cities in ex-British colonies such as Malawi and Ghana also have Wednesday market tradition.
[248] "Mayor's Minutes" (Cape Town, 1899), 54.
[249] Ibid.

*Figure 9: Two views of market day in the late 1800s. (Above, Cape Archives AG593, below, NLSA PHA10600)*

The popular sales brought so many animals to the site—both those attached to supply wagons, and those for sale—that the risk of injury to the auction-attending public caused concern. Because of this the eastern end of the Parade, beside the Castle, was set aside as a trotting circuit, and reserved for livestock and cattle auctions.[250] The western half, close to the commercial centre in Adderley Street, was the site of all other trade.

The market would emerge at first light. Traders set up stalls on trestle tables, stacked items on shipping crates, sold goods off the back of a wagon, or piled merchandise on a tarpaulin on the ground. Some had large umbrellas to shelter themselves and their wares; most did not.[251]

### *4.2.1 Permits, pitches and licences*

Anyone wanting to sell goods at the Grand Parade market needed a general dealer's licence to trade and a permit for a pitch, which was renewable annually. The general dealer's licence was required by, "Every person who carries on the trade or business of selling or offering or exposing for sale, barter or exchange, any goods, ware or merchandise".[252] Two types of pitch permit existed, one for auction stands and another for out-of-hand traders, reflecting different levels of formality.

The *Permit for Auction Stand* was issued by the City Treasurer on provision of a general dealer's licence and an auctioneer's licence. The permit made provision for an existing firm to trade and included the names of partners or employees allowed to manage sales. The auction stands (25 Cape feet, approximately 8 metres) were favoured by general retailers such as furniture suppliers, soft goods dealers and hardware companies, and by firms of auctioneers who would run the cattle, horse and property sales. [253]

A person wanting to trade out-of-hand applied to the Health Department for their general dealer's licence. The Department regulated trade of certain goods (edibles, and after disease epidemics, used bedding and clothing). With a licence in hand, the aspirant trader could apply to the City Treasurer for a *Permit for Stand on Grand Parade for Sales Out of Hand*. Renewable annually, it stated the trader's name, nature of goods to be sold and stand number. It set out the contractual terms of use: trading days and times, the pitch size (limited to 15 Cape feet, approximately 4.5

[250] "Mayor's Minutes," (Cape Town, 1894), 14.; "Mayor's Minutes" (Cape Town, July 1905), 108.
[251] Description drawn from a review of available photographs.
[252] Cape Archives, KAB, T-1027-245.
[253] Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT-4/2/1/1/1354

metres) and the rent, which was paid monthly in advance. It allowed only the named permit holder to trade.[254]

By the late 1800s all 14 allocated pitches were in operation. But a constant flow of applications led the Corporation to add new full and half-sized pitches to the plan; a substantial 33 percent price increase didn't deter interest. The 1902 list of auction stand holders shows 34 stands allocated, with annual rent increasing yet again the following year.[255]

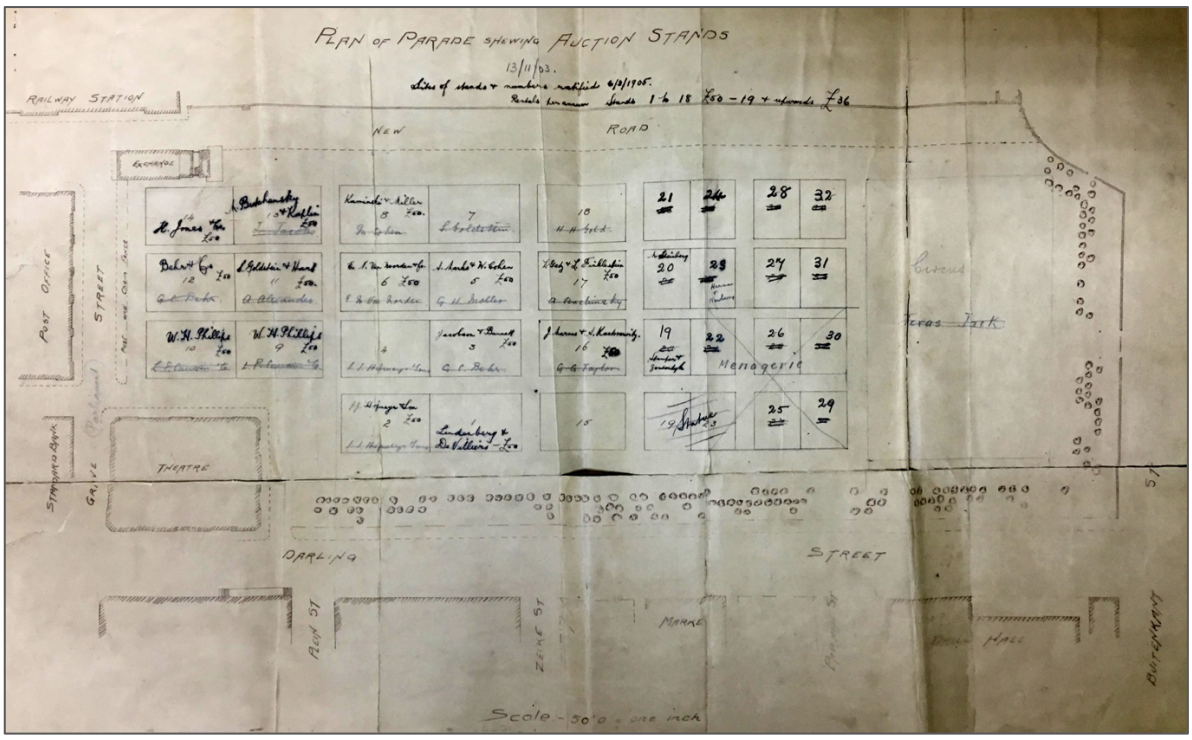



*Figure 10: City plan of Grand Parade showing stall allocation. This is a working document in use, and amended multiple times, from 1903 to 1905. It shows places 19 and 23 making way for the statue of King Edward VII, name changes on pitches and the changing use of the eastern edge (image oriented with north above). (Cape Archives, 3/CT 4/2/1/1/28)*

### *4.2.2 Immigrant impact*

From the late 1800s a mass migration of Jewish people escaping discriminatory laws in the Tzarist Empire added to the complex social and linguistic diversity of working-class Cape Town.[256]

Most new arrivals, Yiddish-speaking from Lithuania, "embarrassed the established Jewish

[254] Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT-4/2/1/1/1354
[255] "Mayor's Minutes," (Cape Town 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903).
[256] Millie Pimstone, and Milton Shain, *The Jews of District 6 : Another Time, Another Place* (Cape Town: Isaac and Jesse Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research, University of Cape Town, 2012), 2.

community", a professional class of people who had fled Germany some decades prior.[257] Often a single family member led the way to establish an income stream, and the availability of cheap accommodation and proximity to work opportunities made District Six a preferred base (as it had for immigrants in earlier decades). The newcomers were not a homogeneous social group, and included artisans and tradesmen, tailors and unskilled people dislocated from opportunity by language barriers. Some operated small shops from their dwelling; others took up informal (sometimes illegal) trade on the Grand Parade. Sufficient was their number that a new word entered the lexicon: *paraduikes*.[258]

By 1902 several of the west city's well-established firms from the Western European mercantile class held auction permits (some for multiple stands) and included J Marcus (general dealer), Jones & Co, WP Gibbons & Co., Lindenberg & De Villiers (cattle auctioneers), A & H Phillips (auctioneers) with addresses in Burg, Long, and Hout Streets.[259]

A second cluster of auctioneers had homes and warehouses in the east city: District Six and Sir Lowry Road. Stand-holders include Kaminsky, Butchinshy & Kaplan, Cohen & Wolfe, Nyeman & Diamond, Kay & Finkelstein. Out-of-hand permits were held by Rabinowitz, Freind, Goldberg, Cohen, Stein, Glitz and Sacks. Their names link the surge in demand for pitches with the influx of Jewish people from Eastern Europe.

### *4.2.3 Class, race and othering*

1907 was a difficult time for the Cape. The Colony was in a deep financial recession as the optimism, expansion and spending that followed the end of the South African War faded. Financial pressure exacerbated social tensions, which played out between Council, ratepayers and traders. A situation in 1907 illuminates issues of class, race, control and subversion as pertinent today as then.

Early in 1907 a new regulation (the result of an administrative misunderstanding) allowed a Parade trader selling out-of-hand to use a hawker's licence instead of the general dealer's licence.[260] The hawker's licence, used by fruit, flower and fish sellers working door-to-door, cost one pound less than that of the general dealer. Out-of-hand traders switched to the hawker licence

[257] Ibid., 25.
[258] Ibid., 41.
[259] Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 4/1/1/144, F163-1.
[260] Cape Archives, KAB, T-1027-245.

while hawkers (many of Indian and slave ancestry) took to Parade sales.[261]

This upset city retail storekeepers, already struggling with the commercial downturn. They petitioned council to abolish out-of-hand sales on the Parade. These hawkers, they said, had an unfair advantage, with no business premises to maintain and stock "obtained in a variety of ways" (by implication not all lawful) so they could keep prices low.[262] It seems that the Parade was doing a roaring trade providing for cash-strapped customers.[263] Only 11 *licensed* out-of-hand traders operated for just 14 hours per week and could surely not have represented such a threat. However, many more people were finding other ways to engage in trade on market days.

The issue was thrashed out in a Chamber of Commerce meeting attended by retailers and auctioneers, reports of which reveal concerns to be based on prejudice, rather than logic. Out-of-hand traders were seen to be abusing an implicit system of behaviour: "Those men had no families in the country" and, "Those unfortunate men engaged in the sales must live, and they all wanted to see them live […] It was never intended that the men should go and sell everything from a suit of clothes to a pin […] It was intended that certain things should be sold there for which an owner no longer had any use."[264]

John William Jagger, a prominent Cape merchant, sought to invoke the *General Dealers Act* to revoke hawkers' trading licences. The "Indian traders", he said, had "extended their operations in the cheap and nasty to what are known as out of hand transactions" and were driving out white traders.[265] Jagger claimed it preferable to have whites "no matter if they are Jews or Gentiles". A chamber member's response, "there are Jews and Jews and Gentiles and Gentiles", reveals that even among those considered white, there was class-based prejudice.[266]

A *Cape Times* news report clarified that the Act was drafted to draw "a distinction not between traders of one colour or another, white, black or brown, but between traders whose standard of living approximated to that of their fellow colonists of Dutch or British descent following the same calling, and traders of a lower standard whose competition crushed out such colonists."[267] This was written in a time of burgeoning Union between the British colonies and the former Boer Republics and points to a complex merging of class-, race- and religion-based identification.

---

[261] Ibid.
[262] *South African News*, (February 12, 1907).
[263] Ibid.
[264] *South African News* (February 12, 1907): 8.
[265] *Cape Times Weekly Edition*, "Regulating trading Comparison to Petticoat Lane," (February 20, 1907).
[266] Ibid.
[267] Ibid.

It was agreed unanimously that only licensed auctioneers should be allowed permits to trade and that all sales must be conducted by auction.[268] This suited auctioneers who could not only monopolise Parade trade but also maximise income by (illicitly) selling access to a stand to an unlicensed trader. A City Treasurer's review found that this was "a practice that has been going on for years".[269] "Bogus partnerships" enabled auctioneers to subvert the regulation that prevented them from out-of-hand sales; the rule, the report observed "is being broken by nearly every auctioneer, the majority of sales on the Parade being out-of-hand".[270] After its review, City rejected the retailers appeal. The rules for auction and out-of-hand permits remained in place, and continued to be undermined.

The attraction of the direct sale was speed and capacity, particularly for transactions of the "cheap and nasty". An auctioneer could have multiple assistants, or tenants, conducting simultaneous direct sales, with each paying him a commission or rent. The system is described in the Treasurer's report: "The one watches the Corporation foreman and policeman while the other sells". If the foreman is seen approaching, "the buyer is told the reserve price ... and if he replies saying he will buy it the stallholder calls to the auctioneer, who proclaims that '2/- is bid for this hammer. Gone!!!'" Once the foreman passes, trade reverts to direct sale.[271] The buyer appears to be complicit.

Illicit though it was, this system of sub-leasing provided an opportunity for Lithuanian Jewish informal traders, *paraduikes*, many excluded from access to the official channels to legal trade by literacy, language or cost.[272] This "unofficial" market, operating simultaneously from within, facilitated diversity, borne out in the goods for sale. From one single auction stand in late 1907 books, jewellery, music, pot plants, boots, bicycles and ironmongery were sold.[273] From these small beginnings, meaningful commercial enterprises could be built.

Sub-leasing remained illegal in terms of the lease but persisted, having a particularly positive impact during the apartheid era (discussed later) with many new traders acquiring access "on the sly." Foucault identifies that "power is exercised from innumerable points in the interplay of non-

---

[268] A faction felt that auctions should be moved away altogether and the city should instead focus on beatification and tree planting on the north western edge to mitigate the dust kicked up by the paving of Adderley Street. Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 4/2/1/1/53, 115-9.
[269] City Treasurer, CB Martin, "Auction Stands on the Parade" (January 14, 1908), Cape Archives, KAB, T, 1027-245.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Cape Archives, KAB 3/CT 4/2/1/1/91, 53-10.
[272] Pimstone and Shain, *The Jews of District Six*, 41.
[273] Cape Archives, KAB, T, 1027-245; KAB 3/CT 4/2/1/1/91, 53-10.

egalitarian and mobile relations", that people are able to simultaneously to be subjected to power and exercise it.[274] This capacity for a practicing community to self-organise and dynamically adapt confers viability and longevity to living heritage, an informality at odds with official-imposed systems of order and legibility.[275]

*Figure 11: Market day in early 1900s, crowds on the western side. (Cape Archives, E7959)*

[274] Michel Foucault and Colin Gordon, *Power/knowledge : Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1980) 94.
[275] Richard Sennett, "The fight for the city," *Eurozine*, (February 2019): 4.

1910

c1925

c1945

*Figure 12: Space, place and people: continuity over the decades from c1910, c1925, c1945. (Cape Archives E8108, 8301; African News Agency, UCT Special Collections islandora 17165; NLSA PHA10616)*

## 4.3 Becoming Modern—the Mid-Century

By 1939 there were 76 auction stands operating on the Parade. During World War II this was reduced to 39, to allow space for military installations.[276] After the military cleared the site, not all stalls were re-instated. Instead space was allocated to public car parking, a recognition of the ascendance of private motorised transport.

In 1944, management of all trade divested from the City Treasurer's department to a new Markets' Committee. It drafted a new layout plan to accommodate 42 stands for the open-air market and resolved that "no sites additional to those already laid down on the Grand Parade be authorised for any purpose."[277] The City reduced the number further to allow yet more parking. The final number of stands available was fixed at 34, unchanged to this day.

### *4.3.1 Continuity and community*

To apply for a stand, in a process changed little from 1900, the applicant would complete a form, select *auction* or *out-of-hand*, and state the reason for wanting the stall. In all completed applications I found from the post war period, *auction* was never selected. Indeed, by 1948 only six auctioneers still operated stands.[278] The reasons given for wanting a stall covered the same ground: "to make a living", "to increase income", "supplement income", "to augment my old age pension".[279] The names reflect the diversity of Cape society—Herman Scherzer, Ganief Sadan (women's clothing), AJ Benjamin (a nursery), Maurice Cohen a peddler—and the addresses are in working-class areas of the wider city: Mowbray, Crawford, Diep River, Tiervlei.

The city warned applicants that the waiting list was long—years, recall current traders—and that they should make contact annually to restate their interest. Stalls rarely became available.[280] When they did, the person at the top of the list had two weeks to accept the allotted site. Failing this, the offer was made to the next in line.

Despite this rigorous method, people on the waiting list complained that stalls were being unfairly passed on. That's because there were ways of leapfrogging the queue, both authorised and not.

---

[276] Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 4/1/11/703.
[277] Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 4/1/11/167, G6-37-13.
[278] In 1966 an application by Federal Auctioneers for a stand to sell surplus building material was refused, it was no longer city policy to let auction stands to companies. Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 4/1/11/703.
[279] Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 705
[280] Archive evidence shows applicants waiting up to five years (KAB, 3/CT, 4/1/11/703). Some current traders recall their parents waiting up to seven years for a vacancy. Conversations with author (January, February 2019).

While the terms of the lease—in place from 1929—stated that a stall could not be transferred, it could, with the agreement of the city, be assigned to a business partner or family member.[281] Records show a continuity of stallholders' family names, which suggest that city agreement was commonplace. This is a practice which continues into the present, as described by Mogamat Davids:

> What normally happens is that it's a family thing. Before us it was our dad, before Jeff it was his family, his aunts and parents. That's how most of the stalls… There has been a change over the years where somebody falls away and he would bring in a distant relative or a business partner.[282]

Those not fortunate enough to have a relative or business partner with a stand, however, could resort to the long-used system of illicitly sharing a pitch.[283] In an effort to maintain control, attendance was checked in a register. City warned stallholders that their permit would be in jeopardy if the register signature did not match that on the permit. An additional control system, photo permits, was introduced in the 1970s. Davids says:

> We were governed by a very strict lease and they used to have a guy […] he used to come around and the owner had to sign—or the owner's wife or children had to sign that you are present that day.[284]

The use of the Grand Parade for bi-weekly trade—rights acquired either legally or not—tends to confer a sense of ownership. Once a trader has a pitch, the right to that site becomes inviolably connected to the family business. A piece of ground on the Grand Parade is claimed and personalised for 14 hours a week, and as such, it becomes an indelible part of the personal identity of the trader, an asset that can "rightfully" be passed within, and freely managed by, the family.

---

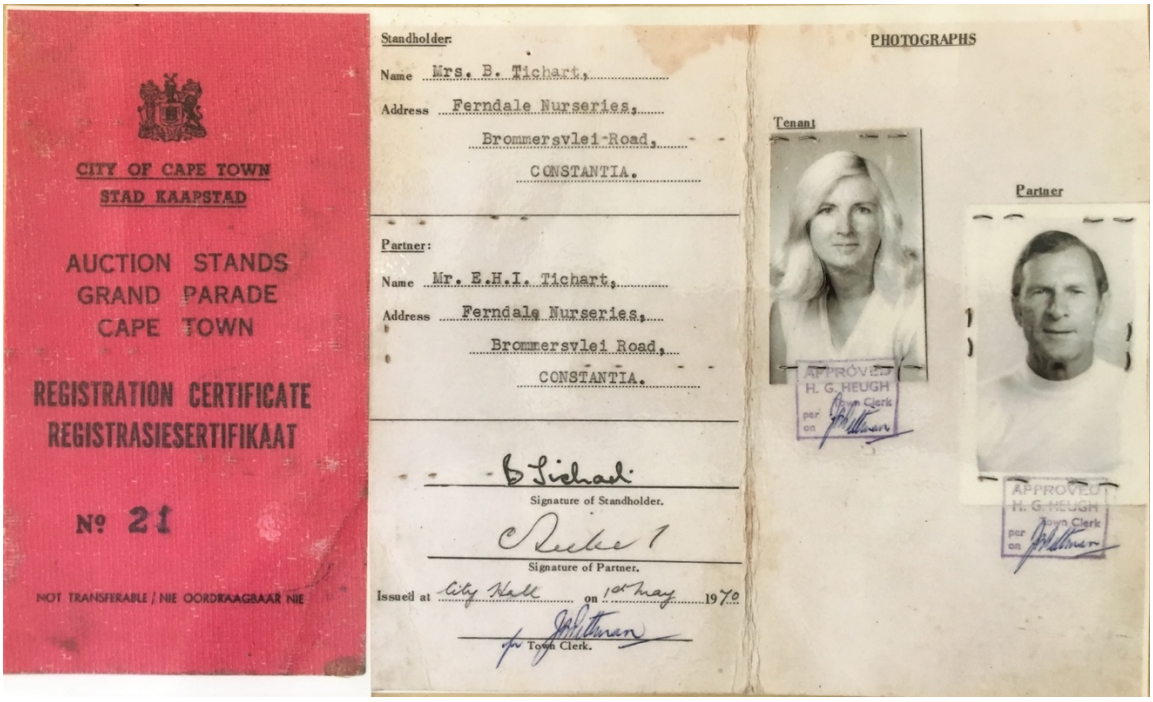
[281] The 1929 lease was otherwise little changed. Saturday trading hours were amended to 7am to 1pm. A regulation instated c1900 as a result of plague and deemed out of date in 1907—that no second-hand bedding or clothing could be sold—was retained.

[282] Mogamat Davids (Grand Parade trader and Grand Parade Trader's Association (GPTA) committee member). Interview with author, Cape Town, January 26, 2019.

[283] Such as long-term trader, Frieda Lock, whose position as a trader was defended by a fellow traders after a person on the waiting list reported her to the City. Cape Archive, 3/CT-4/1/11/703

[284] Mogamat Davids, interview with author, 2019.

*Figure 13: Frieda Locke, subject of a 1950 complaint to City of illicit sales, by trader Feldman, who said, "Miss Frieda Locke is sharing a stall with a Mr Frankel". Frankel denied this, saying she is an assistant and "receives payment on a commission basis." (Cape Archives 3/CT 4/1/11/699, image NLSA PHA10617)*



CITY OF CAPE TOWN
STAD KAAPSTAD

AUCTION STANDS
GRAND PARADE
CAPE TOWN

REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE
REGISTRASIESERTIFIKAAT

No 21

NOT TRANSFERABLE / NIE OORDRAAGBAAR NIE

Standholder:
Name Mrs. B. Tichart,
Address Ferndale Nurseries,
Brommersvlei-Road,
CONSTANTIA.

Partner:
Name Mr. E.H.I. Tichart,
Address Ferndale Nurseries,
Brommersvlei Road,
CONSTANTIA.

B Tichart
Signature of Standholder.
Signature of Partner.
Issued at City Hall on 1st May 1970
for Town Clerk.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Tenant

Partner

APPROVED
H. G. HEUGH
Town Clerk
per
on

*Figure 14: An example of a 1970 traders' photo permit. This belonging to the Tichart family of Ferndale Nurseries who traded on Grand Parade from the 1930s to the 1980s (Errol Tichart, personal collection)*

## 4.4 The Apartheid Impact

Social and racial separation, established during the colonial period, accelerated after the National Party took power in 1948. It began the process of all-encompassing segregationist legislation with the *Population Registration Act* of 1950.

The Grand Parade stood defiant in the early years of apartheid as a place where people from segregated race groups were able to mingle. But once the city (in 1965) and District Six (1966) were proclaimed white areas, the insidious sapping of Grand Parade market and the east city began.[285] Rassool describes it thus: "The haemorrhaging for years was gradual but definite. All that vibrant community scattered and disintegrated, irrevocably pulverised by Apartheid."[286]

### *4.4.1 District Six destruction*

From 1968 the people of District Six, so much part of Grand Parade life, were forcibly moved to various race-specific suburbs on the periphery of the city. Businesses were displaced, livelihoods destroyed and the right of access to the city removed for many. Small businesses, home industry and informal trade, which provided for the market and made up its custom were starved to closure or relocated. The eventual 1980s physical destruction of District Six had a bomb-like impact on the east city and the Grand Parade that cannot be overstated. It gutted the social structure of the city and obliterated patterns of movement and space-use.

Interviewees who had been trading before, during and after the destruction of District Six gave me their recollections of the impact. These reveal nostalgia for the lost social network and frustration at the economic damage:

> It was fantastic with District Six, there used to be thousands of people, you couldn't walk on the market! Also, in those days the Grand Parade was the only market. You didn't have Greenmarket Square yet, and no factory shops, no other markets, nothing, so everyone used to come here.[287]

> Definite impact. You had all your tailors and dressmakers and these people would walk

[285] In terms of the Group Areas Act, 1950.
[286] Rassool, *District Six—Lest We Forget*, 144.
[287] Martin Klein. (Second generation Grand Parade trader). Interview with author, Cape Town, January 30, 2019.

down and those have all changed because there's no one staying there anymore.[288]

Very big impact! Definitely, definitely there was animosity, definitely. Because now the economy dropped a lot in the town itself, that's why most of these big businesses moved out of town because now there's no more people to shop. A lot of our families stayed there, and then they had to move. It used to be, "I get you on the Parade, such and such a time, by so and so's stall." It was a meeting place, family gatherings, and that we really miss that, even up to now I miss it. The people used to know me for a long time being on the Parade and they always used to say, "I'll get you by Magedie's stall", or "I get you by so-and-so's stall" then they know… but now that's all gone.[289]

There was always a laugh going [laughs] there was a rhyme, they were selling crockery and plates, there was a rhyme… there was always… I think, one thing, when they lost District Six they lost their sense of humour… I don't understand… [becomes emotional] I understand why.[290]

### *4.4.2 Invisible histories*

Apartheid regulations prevented people of colour from operating businesses in white areas.[291] While the city's Markets' Division still accepted applications for trading pitches and kept the waiting list, all people of colour were obligated to have an additional permit allowing them to conduct trade activities in a space reserved for the white group.

Application for a permit was made to the Department of Community Development, which had the mandate to carry out the administrative functions of the Group Areas Board, enacting Group Areas regulations. Permits were rarely given; poor health and being the sole breadwinner of a large family proved to be the only effective criteria for appeal.[292]

---

[288] Mogamat Davids, interview with author, 2019.

[289] Magedie Davids.(Grand Parade trader, currently the longest serving). Interview with author, Cape Town, January 26, 2019.

[290] Errol Tichart (ex-Grand Parade trader. Managing Director of Ferndale Nurseries, Constantia). Interview with author, Cape Town, February 11, 2019.

[291] Jonathan Crush, Caroline Skinner and Manal Stulgaitis, "Benign Neglect or Active Destruction? A Critical Analysis of Refugee and Informal Sector Policy and Practice in South Africa," research project funded by UNHCR Geneva, 762.

[292] A 1974 application to the Department of Community Development states that "stands were originally established for the benefit and use of the more needy citizens." This has become lore, although I have found no archival source.

***Chittaranjandas Dahyabhai Chavda:***

On 21 June 1967 Chittaranjandas Dahyabhai Chavda, an embroiderer and tailor trading as Needle Arts, submitted an application to City's Markets' Division for a stand on the Parade, to "earn a living". Correspondence accompanying his application explains that the house and shop he rented in Maitland had been declared a white area and, although he applied to "resettlement", no suitable new premises were available in "Coloured or Indian areas".[293] He had been moved to Cravenby, where there was no electricity so he was unable to continue his home-based business.[294]

The standard annual correspondence followed—1968, 1969, 1970—with City requesting confirmation of continued interest. In September 1970 Chavda's name made it to the top of the waiting list; he was to call in at City Hall with two passport-sized photographs for his registration certificate, and a "group areas" permit to trade in a white area.

Chavda applied to the Department of Community Development for his trading permit and was refused because he was classified Indian. He immediately sent a letter listing nine points of appeal, points one and two being that he was in poor health ("a TB patient") and that he supported a dependent family.[295] However, in a graphic example of apartheid's capacity to displace, and to destroy livelihoods, Chavda's appeal was refused and the case dismissed.

Points five to nine of his letter of appeal are interesting to this study:

> 5. Quite a number of people of different races have been, and still are, trading on the Parade, and their stands have been, and continue to be, patronised by all groups.
>
> 6. No objections to such a harmonious tradition have ever been raised in public. The relationship between various stand holders remains absolutely free of any discord.
>
> 7. History records that trading on the Grand Parade has continued unbroken since far back into the last century. Thousands of overseas and South African tourists flock to the Parade on Wednesdays and Saturday mornings, especially during the summer months,

---

[293] "Resettlement" was a colloquial term for the Department of Community Development, responsible for the administration of the Group Areas Act. It was also called simply, "Group Areas".

[294] Cravenby, on the outskirts of Parow, was farmland developed by the apartheid government to accommodate working-class people designated as belonging to the Indian race group. It was devoid of infrastructure. Zohra Dawood, "Making a Community: Indians in Cape Town, Circa 1900-1980s," (MA thesis, UCT. February 1993).

[295] Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 4/1/11/705.

as part of sight-seeing.

8. It is almost unbelievable that one of the last, if not the last, remaining link with the past is to disappear, where visitors to our shores can still see the happy scene of various classes of South Africans working together in friendly competition and thereby enjoy the service nowhere else to be found in the Mother City.

9. To be the first person to be refused a permit by your Department has shocked me - to be recorded in the history of South Africa as the first Non-White to have this application refused frightens me.[296]

While not specifying *intangible cultural heritage* (these events long-predate its definition) he identified the fundamental qualities of living heritage that apply to the market, which even then had acquired significance value: *continuity*, *community* and *association with place*. They can be seen in the following phrases: "trading on the Grand Parade has continued unbroken" and "last, remaining link with the past" identify the continuity of use associated with place; the "various classes of South Africans working together" points to the notion of a practicing community.

***Hossain Davids and son, Magedie Davids:***

The internal record of Hossain Davids' 1971 permit refusal appeal to the Department of Community Development said, "The applicant (Malay) has applied for a permit to enter into an agreement of lease with the Cape Town City Council, to lease auction stand 11, on the Grand Parade […] From a Group areas point of view it is not feasible." It added that of the 34 auction stands, 30 were occupied by whites "the non-whites who still occupy stands have been in occupation before basic date, 11-6-67."[297]

The following phrase is redacted: "and that the Cape City Council be informed that, as the Grand Parade falls within a White Group Area, only applications i.v.o. White applicants will in future be considered."[298] This suggests the Department's frustration at the City continuing to issue leases for pitches to people of colour despite the Department's continued refusal to issue trading

[296] A handwritten note has this last line underlined, a question mark in the margin, and the words: "He must be behind the times!" Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 4/1/11/705.

[297] A reference to proclamation number 127 declaring the central city a white group area, the actual date of which was 11 June 1965. Refer to Group Areas plan, sheet 4. CoCT Historical Maps Collection.

[298] Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 4/1/11/705. Redacted, perhaps because it was beyond the remit of the DCD to instruct the City Council on its management.

permits.

For its part, City was defiant, saying it followed a strict system: the person at the top of the waiting list, regardless of legislated racial group, would be offered a trading space.[299]

Trader Magedie Davids explains:

> The City granted me the stall, but on condition that I get a permit from the Group Areas Act. I also got refused. So, I contacted an attorney […] and he liaised on my behalf with the City. But then the City said, 'Well we *didn't* refuse'. *They* didn't refuse it, it was the Group Areas thing. And then I made another application and I waited seven years before they granted me. There was only four non-white applicants, now their children are still here.[300]

By 1974 the Department had a two-page application form used for all land-related requests outside of the permitted Group Area, while the City had a system in place to warn applicants requiring a "group areas" permit that: "this is always refused as it is not policy to allow members of the disqualified group to enter a White area for business purposes".[301]

### *4.4.3 Shifting social order*

Despite powerful national legislation and controlling local policy, a social shift was taking place on the Parade. Businesses, started from simple, sometimes, desperate beginnings, had—aided by their owners' white race classification—lifted a family into middle-class financial security, with subsequent generations well-equipped for a professional career.

In part, the Parade market was—and remains, if to a lesser extent—a business incubator. Many of the stallholders expanded their operations from a market stall to fixed premises, with the Parade sales serving to advertise wares, boost income, and in some cases, move excess, old or damaged stock. But with the city gutted of its working-class, suburban life absorbing the middle class, and the business centre relocated to the new Foreshore (1970s), business declined.

A generation of predominantly white leaseholders gradually relinquished their stands, often "on

[299] Cape Archives, KAB, CDC 280, 32/1/4584, 87.
[300] Magedie Davids, interview with author, 2019.
[301] Cape Archives, KAB, CDC 280, 32/1/4584, 87.

the sly", to people of colour, their unofficial stall manager or a favoured supplier.[302] One current trader, now with two stands, acquired his first pitch that way. In Davids' words: "And as the laws was a little bit relaxed, that's how the non-whites seem to infiltrate."[303] The word, "infiltrate", reflects a subversiveness (reminiscent of the 1900s) that gave people of colour access, despite prohibitions in place.

With this shift in traders and customers, the nature of commodities on sale shifted, from antiques, books and bric-a-brac, to fabrics and haberdashery (household goods and toys remained unaffected). Many traders bought stock at textile factory outlets for their clientele, many with garment and soft furnishing CMT (Cut, Make and Trim) micro-factories. But if the impact of apartheid-era segregation and suburbanisation was immense, globalisation dealt an additional blow. It caused, from the 1980s, the slow-motion collapse of the Cape's textile milling and clothing manufacturing industries; the impact is still felt.

Ironically, the repeal of segregationist legislation after 1990 had a negative impact on Parade trade. Shopping facilities in the Cape's agricultural towns and villages opened to all races and farmers no longer brought workers by truck and bus to the Wednesday market. Davids says, "We depended on those people a lot."[304]

Traders, always responsive to conditions, tailor their commodities to customer needs. Various factors—urbanisation from rural areas, growth in suburban shopping malls, collapse of the textile industry—fundamentally changed both the customer base and its needs. Davids reflects on this, describing a direct inversion since 1960 of the racial demographic of his customers (from 70% white, 25% coloured and 5% black to predominantly black) but sees the market activity as unchanged, it is still used by working-class people shopping for low-price goods.[305]

[302] Magedie Davids, interview with author, 2019.
[303] Ibid.
[304] Ibid.
[305] Ibid.

"Variety Parade" 1975 (Eben de Jager, Panorama, March 1975)

Ziyaad Cassiem, 1st generation trader

40 years on the Parade, working with the Klein family

*Figure 15: Grand Parade in colour, (top two) 1975 and (below) June 2019. (Eben de Jager, Panorama 1975; Photos by author, June 2019)*

## 4.5 Sense of Place

The identification of variety and vibrancy—a stage, and a place of accidental encounter—that characterised the Grand Parade market from the earliest descriptions remained a feature of news reporting throughout the 20th century.

A *Cape Times* colour-piece from 1932 describes the performative quality of the market, "frenzy of salesmanship oratory", and quotes traders' sales patter and accents (suggesting British working-class/Cockney): "I'm not 'ere, people, to waste your time or mine. I've been sent to this country by the biggest manufacturers of razors in the world..." It likens Grand Parade market to Petticoat Lane, a 300-year-old mixed-wares market in London's working-class East End, known for performative selling, and includes a description of a Dutch auction in process.[306] Trader Lutfeyyah Salie remembers her father using this sales technique in the 1960s:

> My father used to stand on a table and auction… he used to pick up stuff, whatever they sold at the time, and says, "All of this for ten rand, who wants?" And then somebody would give that, so he'll say, "Who else wants" and then one of the workers would just take it out and put it in his hand or put it in a packet: "There's your five for ten rand, and your five for ten rand, and your five for ten rand."[307]

Born and raised in District Six, trading sisters Zuleiga Bardien and Zubeida Isaacs remember their grandparents taking them to the market of the 1950s, an exciting place:

> All I can say about the Parade market, it was always a very *busy* place. Very busy. And you met such a lot of people coming from all over the show. "Coming to the Parade?", "We going to the Parade". First thing they coming to the city is go to the Parade. It was always exciting coming to the Parade, not just for the stuff we talk about but for the people that you meet here.[308]

Many hoped to surf the wave of Wednesday/Saturday sales popularity. The Markets' Committee

---

[306] JD, *Cape Times*, (Saturday June 18, 1932).; Current traders remember Bernard Fox "the legend", who arrived from Petticoat Lane in 1948, for mastering this performative style. It was not universally liked or adopted. An elderly trader considers the method a dishonest technique and claims never to have used it. It has fallen out of use.

[307] Lutfeyyah Salie. (Grand Parade trader on the market over 50 years. First accompanying her parents as a child, then with her own business). Interview with author, Cape Town, January 23, 2019.

[308] Zubeida Isaacs. (Grand Parade trader since 1960s managing her father's stall. She trades with her older sister, Zuleiga Bardien). Interview with author, Cape Town, February 6, 2019

fielded a steady stream of applications to provide a service on the day: a scale to weigh the public (denied, with the suggestion that it would be better located in the Mayor's garden behind City Hall); a mobile dental hut (also diverted to the Mayor's garden); an electric engraving stand operated by a one-legged man who was unable to get work (denied, not enough space available); performances by a trained dog (denied, it would cause congestion); and an application by a sick, jobless man to play an autoharp. This last application was approved.[309]

*Figure 16: 1940s Dutch-style auction in progress, as identified by Salie. (Cape Archives J74)*

### *4.5.1 Collective identity*

The archives have little on the market customers, an equally essential participant in the practice, but illustrated news reporting helps to fills that gap (examples are included at the end of this chapter).

The social diversity apparent in the 1848 description of "the most motley groups" who "all mingle

[309] Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 4/1/11/699, G57-4.

together" is reflected in a 1907 *Cape Times Weekly Edition* photographic feature, which shows a blend of attire and custom: local indigenous, traditional South East Asian and European high fashion. Its captions, while racially specific—"An Interested Moslem", "Coloured Bargain Hunters"—are unselfconscious.[310] However, a 1931 *Cape Times* feature, "The Parade Market. Cape Town's bi-weekly Auction Mart which has been in existence for over 100 years", has image captions that reflect the euphemisms and assumptions of its time.[311] "Dusky housewives" for two women of colour holding shopping baskets and browsing crockery piled on a tarpaulin; a man of colour in a flat cap in conversation with a white trader is captioned: "How far will my money go?"

*Figure 17: The quality of exhibition and performance is apparent in these photographs of Parade market day from the 1940s. (African News Agency, UCT Special Collections, islandora:17161, islandora:17167)*

A *Cape Times* feature from 1957 describes "hundreds of people […] circulating among the stalls is everyone from the elegantly attired to the—perhaps not so elegantly attired". Despite, or perhaps because of, the national politics of segregation, the Grand Parade market continued to feature as a place of racial diversity, with descriptions suggesting it to be a wild, exotic event: "swirling crowds, stall-owners yelling the advantages of their wares [...] and if you stand there long enough you will see every article known to man pass across the Parade counters […] And it has been that

[310] *Cape Times Weekly Edition*, (April 17, 1907).
[311] *Cape Times*, (July 25, 1931).

way for almost two centuries".[312]

A 1975 magazine feature writes that: "on 'parade day', you see its real character. Then it is that you glimpse the essence of a little bit of the real Cape."[313] It is not clear if the "real character" of "the real Cape" is celebrating a rare instance of integration or the frisson of mingling with an exoticised other. Perhaps both—either way, the writer suggests that the market gives the Parade its sense of place. As with other articles, the supporting images dwell on shoppers' social and racial diversity.

A visitor to the Wednesday/Saturday market today would find themselves in a linguistically diverse—English, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, French, Arabic, and more—socially-interactive, almost ebullient environment. Also, visually colourful. A range of awnings, supported by iron frames anchored to a vans or trucks shelter rails of garments, trestle tables and metal merchandise racks piled high with clothing, textiles, stationery and haberdashery for sale. Tarpaulins spread on the ground display toys and miscellaneous oddments.

"It's a dying market because no one has any money, it's dying slowly," is the opinion of one elderly trader. However, a newcomer who set up in December, taking over the lease of a retiree, has a stall that seems to expand each week selling pots, pans, antiques and junk. He says, "I just see growth and potential."[314]

*Figure 18: Trader Adiel Pasqualli is experimenting with a diverse product range and hopes to introduce an eye-catching quality to his stall. (Photo by author, June 2019)*

[312] *Cape Times Weekend*, "The Grand Parade," (Saturday December 29, 1973).
[313] Eben De Jager, " Variety Parade," *South African Panorama*, (March 1975): 44-45.
[314] Adiel Pasqualli. (Grand Parade trader since 2018). Interview with author, Cape Town, February 6, 2019.

### *4.5.2 Community identity*

In 1951 the traders argued that the "Value of our services to the public as an amenity" was such that City should support them better.[315] Will H Phillips, a third generation Parade auctioneer, led a deputation representing second-hand dealers, florists, tool and hardware dealers, and clothing and soft goods dealers, to discuss issues with the council. This was by no means the first instance of traders identifying as an organised unit. In 1922 and 1932 they successfully petitioned council against relocation to the—less lucrative—eastern side of the Parade.[316] At issue in 1951: their rent comparative to others using the Parade (such as photographers and flower sellers), the reduced size of their trading area, and inadequate security, parking and facilities.

The argument of *value* is borne out by a 1957 statement by the Kloof & Gardens Civic Association. Coming out in defence of the traders under threat from the city's need for more parking, it stated: "We feel that the Parade stalls are part of life of Cape Town and that they should remain."[317]

Events in 1967 reinforce the sentiment that the Parade market was a city asset which contributed a "livingness" to public space. A councillor proposed that the bi-weekly traders should be relocated from Grand Parade to Greenmarket Square, newly cobbled and planted with trees, to enliven it. This caused outrage and took up many column inches in the newspapers. Ospovat, chairman of the Executive Committee said: "Can you imagine moving the Parade markets? They are a heritage of the city. They are something that the city enjoys. You will be taking away something traditional to Cape Town."[318]

Current trader grievances echo those of 1951: security, inadequate customer parking, reduction in trading space, lack of facilities. As in 1951, the traders cite their value to the city as a public amenity, the "oldest and biggest flea market in the Western Cape".[319]

---

[315] Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 4/1/11/702, 26-5-1951. Other traders referred to were fruit sellers in shelters along Plein Street, photographers along Castle Street, flower sellers along Darling Street, cigarette kiosks and herb sellers.

[316] Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 4/2/1/1/314, 57-22 and Cape Archives, KAB 3/CT 4/2/1/1/352, 57-32.

[317] Cape Town office workers had made a bid to City that it close the "Citizens market" early on Wednesdays to allow more parking spaces. The City also rejected the suggestion on the grounds that it would negatively impact trade during the busy lunchtime shopping period. Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 4/1/11/703, 12-3-1957.

[318] *Cape Argus*, (January 31, 1967).

[319] *The Grand Parade*, Facebook. Accessed September 29, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/thegrandparade/

*Figure 19: 1981 Grand Parade market and parking, before the 1982 replacement of the timber and iron kiosks with Grand Parade arcade (partially demolished 2019), with Corporation Street extension severing the market place. The space has since been reconsolidated. (Cape Archives, CA3338, CA3341)*

### *4.5.3 Urban identity*

In 2001 the *Sunday Argus* reported: "The Grand Parade, which went from vibrant hive of activity at the turn of the previous century to a run-down parking lot in the new Millennium is to have a major revamp."[320] The Mayor, Alderman Gerald Morkel, motivated this revitalisation, which received the support of SAHRA, then custodian of the heritage site. SAHRA said it "welcomed the initiative to upgrade the Grand Parade which […] is currently underutilized as a public and civic space and is lost opportunity in terms of its potential."[321] The Morkel plan proposed leasing the Grand Parade to Cape Town Partnership, which would have the authority to manage the renovations and establish and maintain subleases with traders.[322]

At this stage, four distinct groups, each represented by its association, traded from the Parade.[323] Fearing the insecurity of tenure that change might bring, they formed the Grand Parade Markets Forum and hired legal representation. Burned before, the bi-weekly traders had been unable to stop a 1984 lease change from annual to monthly renewal.[324]

The legal argument identified traders as a, "Recognised and important part of the history and cultural heritage of Cape Town and many have been trading on the Grand Parade for over 40

---

[320] Jean Le May, "Grand Parade set to get Grander," *Sunday Argus*, (May 6, 2001).
[321] G Morkel, "Mayoral Project : Grand Parade Revitalisation: Lease of Land," (April 23, 2002): 9. SAHRA 9/2/018/68.
[322] Created in 1999 (dissolved in 2017), Cape Town Partnership was a public-private partnership established to share management of city properties with Cape Town City Council.
[323] Explained below in 4.5.4. Grand Parade Traders' Association (GPTA) represented the 34 "central stalls". Daily markets along the Parade edges were represented by the Grand Parade Pirate Traders Association, the Grand Parade Hanover Street Traders Association and the Grand Parade Bus Terminus Traders Association.
[324] Cape Archives, KAB, 3/CT, 4/1/11/703.

years."[325] The objection was that: "The lease agreement does not contain adequate (or any) protection for the existing traders on the Grand Parade [...] who in some instances have traded on the Grand Parade for several decades." [326] It demanded security of tenure on terms in keeping with historic leases and, "the assurance that the overall character of the Grand Parade market as a local market will not be undermined."[327]

SAHRA, commenting on the argument, wrote:

> Market trading on the Grand Parade is a well-established activity and is inherently bound up with the history of this important landmark […] Furthermore, we wish to advise that the traders of the Grand Parade constitute a *living and cultural resource* which is *protected in terms of the provisions* of the National Heritage Resources Act […] The Act provides, inter alia, that affected communities be consulted and participate in the management of such heritage. [328] (My italics)

Two points made should be examined: the description of the market as a "living and cultural resource" and its protection "in terms of the provisions" of NHRA. SAHRA's comments were drafted in 2001, NHRA was a very new instrument. In its reading, *living heritage* was a *cultural resource* included under the protections of the Act. At some point, policy, practice or common understanding has altered this.

Current practice limits the "resources" to which the Act refers, to tangible assets. Hart explains, "The heritage Act doesn't deal very much with intangible and that was actually done on purpose, I think, when the Act was written, and that's why it's called the Heritage *Resources* Act."[329] Townsend agrees, saying, "There's no place anywhere in the Act that you can invent a protection for it [living heritage]. But it is the National Heritage *Resources* Act and the resources are all *things*, they are things you can touch and identify."[330]

The 2016 *National Policy on South African Living Heritage* says that "living heritage associated with heritage resources (monument, sites and objects) and places was protected under the

---

[325] SAHRA, 9/2/018/68.
[326] Ibid.
[327] Ibid.
[328] Ibid.
[329] David Hart. (Principal Professional: Heritage Resources Section - Environmental Management Department Spatial Planning and Environment, CoCT). Interview with author, Cape Town, February 27, 2019.
[330] Stephen Townsend. (Architect and Professional Heritage practitioner). Interview with author, Cape Town, February 25, 2019.

National Heritage Resources Act".[331] This reflects SAHRA's 2001 reading. But Hart says, "When it [NHRA] was written it was very much conceived to be dealing with actual objects and places, and talks about places *associated* with living heritage. But it's the *place* that's important."[332] This ambiguity, or shift in the reading of NHRA's meaning and scope of "resources", is interesting and may clear the path for a wider interpretation that explicitly accommodates living heritage.

As it turned out, the traders prevailed. The 2002 Revitalisation Plan for the Grand Parade moved forward in a much-altered form. No additional steps were taken to recognise the heritage value of the market or tease out appropriate conditions for its safeguarding.

### *4.5.4 Identity merged*

In 1991 a new Act repealed restrictive laws on informal trade activities across South Africa.[333] In Cape Town, stalls mushroomed on city streets and the Parade. With legal barriers relaxed, unwritten rules, in place so many years, were challenged. A trader explains:

> The smaller markets […] came about when the government changed over, just before the government changed over, 24 years ago. They started putting up stalls all along, into the aisles and it took us running backwards and forwards to the City and telling them it's not acceptable […] because everybody was now trading in the aisles.[334]

"They" are daily traders, each operating solo from a small steel-frame and awning stall. These "outsiders" (like in 1907) were not abiding by the unwritten social code of Parade trading. Only with the help of the City, with its capacity to implement regulations, could bi-weekly traders regain the status quo. It was resolved that the daily traders would occupy the periphery (hence the name, *peripheral market*, used by City officials and traders) on the far east side of the Grand Parade.[335] Around this time, the bi-weekly traders formed the Grand Parade Traders' Association (GPTA) to manage their interests.

In 2001, partly in response to storekeepers' complaints, City used new street trading by-laws to move informal traders from Adderley Street to the periphery of the Grand Parade.[336] They were

---

[331] DAC, National Policy on South African *Living* Heritage (2016), 1.2.2, 10.
[332] Hart, Interview with author, 2019.
[333] Businesses Act 71 of 1991. Crush et al., "Benign Neglect or Active Destruction?" 762-763.
[334] Mogamat Davids, interview with author, 2019.
[335] The term "peripheral market" is used by the City and by trader associations to collectively describe those markets which are not the central, bi-weekly market. The daily peripheral markets occupy the periphery of the Grand Parade.
[336] The Businesses Amendment Act 186 (1993) allowed local government to restrict places of informal trade.

joined in 2009 by the Green Point weekend market traders moved to make way for the new FIFA World Cup stadium. There are now five independent market groups, all selling clothing (new and used), accessories, soft goods or miscellaneous electronics, surrounding the central portion of the site, which is reserved for the bi-weekly market.

The peripheral markets are predominantly manned by traders from elsewhere in Africa. The coexistence is uncomfortable. Bi-weekly traders say, "It's only street traders, really. You go to anywhere on the streets and you'll get the same product. There's no attraction really". A bi-weekly trader says, "We've got very strict controls […] We don't sell pirated stuff or stolen stuff…". Laced through the discord is the sense that perceived rights to the space have been violated. It is revealed through comments such as:

> I'm not against these people, they have a right to trade also, but put them elsewhere. And leave the market as it was.

> We're not gunning anyone down there on that side of the peripheral market but there's a difference between them and us because we are selling stuff that we used to sell *that* time.

> They messed up everything with this. You know the people look into the market they just see them without us—they can't even see us.[337]

A representative of one peripheral market explains that his traders have no alternative income, while most bi-weekly traders have other financial resources, are not dependent on the market, and should make space.[338] He is aware of the market as heritage, but sees any value that may have as being secondary to *his* traders' immediate economic needs.

The merging has necessitated the clumsy Wednesday/Saturday suffix, used to distinguish between the central, or original, bi-weekly market and the daily trading peripheral market. I asked bi-weekly traders what they call it:

> The Grand Parade. That's it.[339]

---

[337] Interviews with author, 2019. I have chosen to anonymise these quotations to avoid exposure in what is a somewhat acrimonious relationship.
[338] Anonymous. Conversation with author, Cape Town, April 7, 2019.
[339] Salie, interview with author, 2019.

> Just the Parade […] we say "we're going to the Parade" and people say "You still on the Parade?" or "Oh, you're not on the Parade today?"[340]

> It's called the Grand Parade. [Pause] Grand Parade Wednesday Saturday market. We have to put Wednesday Saturday…[341]

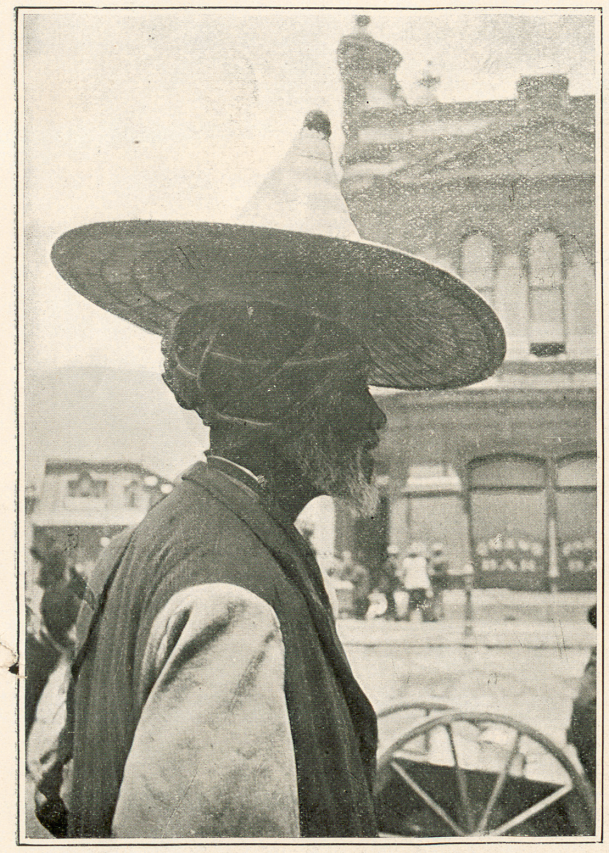
The identity of the bi-weekly market is indelible from its place on the Parade, the claim is such that the market's Facebook page is, *The Grand Parade*, with the description: "Landmark and Historical Place. The Grand Parade Wednesday and Saturday market is the oldest and biggest flea market in the Western Cape."[342] Exposing this heritage value might reignite Grand Parade as a *destination*; all markets trading would benefit.

### *4.5.5 The "Grand Parade" featured*

The following four-page insert shows *Cape Times* photographic features from 1907, 1931, 1957 and 1973. It provides an opportunity to see the perception of the market and its place in the city through the lens of the time in which each spread was produced.

[340] Isaacs, interview with author, 2019.
[341] Jeff Klein (Second generation trader and brother to Martin Klein. Grand Parade Traders' Association Committee Member). Interview with author, Cape Town, February 30, 2019.
[342] *The Grand Parade*. Facebook. Accessed September 29, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/pg/thegrandparade/

# PARADE AUCTIONS.—SATURDAY MORNING SCENES.



An Interested Moslem.

Shirts Going Cheap.

Keen Inspection.

Dolls for the Children.

Driving a Bargain.

Is it Wool?

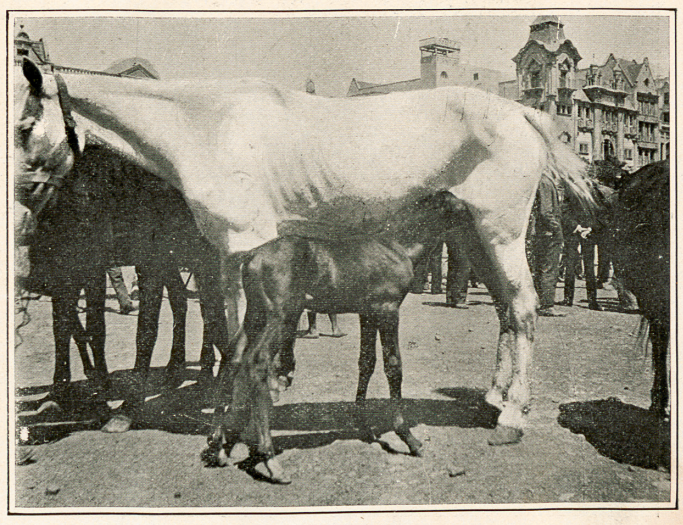
A Job Lot in Literature.

Wants More.

"Three Boxes of Choice Cigars! How much do you say?"

An Eloquent Vendor.

Coloured Bargain Hunters.



Amongst the Horses.

*(All Blocks reproduced by "The Cape Times" Process.)*

# THE PARADE MARKET

CAPE TOWN'S PICTURESQUE BI-WEEKLY AUCTION MART, which has been in existence for over a hundred years.

[*All photos by Cape Times Service.*

"THE ART CRITIC."

"BOOKWORMS."

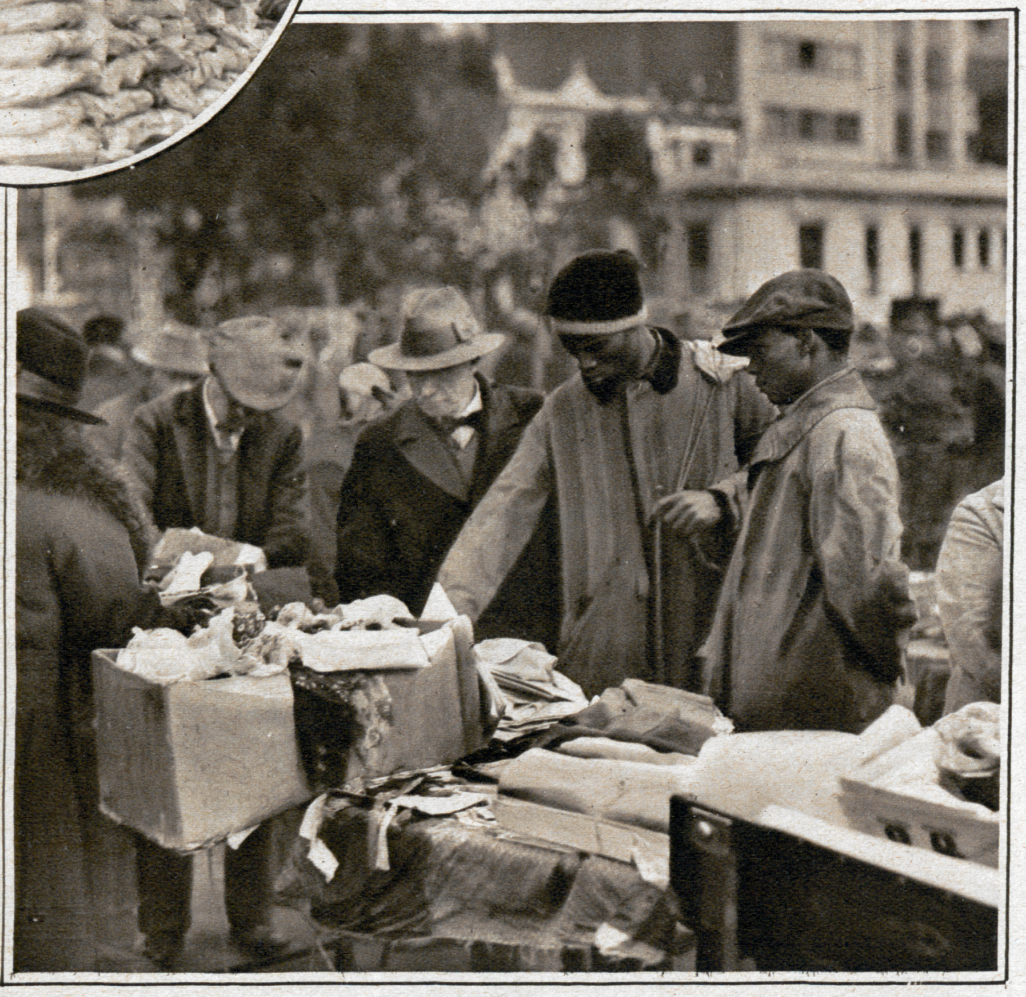
"BITS AND PIECES."

"PANDORA'S BOX."

(*Above*) "DUSKY HOUSEWIVES."
(*In oval*) "SOMETHING FOR NOTHING."—The "old firm," with over 30 years' experience of Parade customers.

"FOND MAMMA."

"HOW FAR WILL MY MONEY GO?"



"UP FROM THE COUNTRY."

# Some come to buy—others just to look

Now let's see . . . a pair of brass candlesticks? . . . a porcelain statuette? . . . or maybe a flower vase? The laughing Buddha sits enjoying life in the sun. Will anyone ever buy him?

EVERY Wednesday and Saturday, hundreds of people visit the stalls of the Caledonian Market at the Grand Parade, Cape Town. They come to buy, to bargain or just to look round. On sale is everything from books to bedroom suites, from pyjamas to pot plants.

And circulating among the stalls is everyone from the elegantly attired to the—perhaps not so elegantly attired. In these candid pictures are seen some of those who go to Cape Town's open-air department store—and some of the things on view.

*Pictures:* Robert Key

Will these seedlings do well in that empty corner behind the convent . . . or is there too much shade there? Like all other salesmen, the nurseryman has to be patient.

What shall it be? . . . a Peter Cheyney? . . . a Spanish-English dictionary? . . . or a 1952 Railways timetable? They're all here—and so cheap too.

↑ There you are, my dear, that vase . . . just the thing for the stoep.

An elderly Malay examines a builder's trowel. No . . . too expensive. →

↑ There is a special section for the man with green fingers . . . fruit trees, plants for the conservatory, seedlings for the market garden.

Smartly dressed, she wanders from stall to stall. What does she want? . . . something on cookery? . . . an absorbing novel? →


Books have a universal appeal. The man on the right examines *I Might Have Been Queen*, by the Duchess of Windsor. The African next to him is interested in *The Book of Mormon*.

What about a fishing rod? . . . that one at home is pretty ancient . . . how much did you say? . . . no, too expensive.

A spare half hour passes quickly when there are a pile of magazines to browse through.

Serve yourself in the clothing department . . . these overalls are just the thing to impress the foreman. But will they fit? The man on the right seems to think not.

## TAKE it from ME

**By Alan Forrest**

IT is understandable that the Londoners were a bit peeved at Willie Toweel giving Charnley a belting, because, to tell the truth, what happened to Charnley was what has happened to all their sporting hopes for the last 20 years.

They have been trying to find a real champ all these years at any sport but every time they give a local a big build-up in the Press, down he falls with a thud that is heard all over the world. Tragic, really.

Dai Dower travelled all the way to S. America to get a fearful hiding from Pascuel Perez, and what Marciano did to Cockell was a shame. They haven't had anyone who would stay perpendicular since the days of the Scot, Benny Lynch.

More recently they built-up Christine Truman, the 16-year-old tenniser, only to see her pulverised by Althea Gibson. It is the same with golf, fencing, rugby and even international soccer.

*POOR OLD UNION JACK! EVERYONE WOULD LIKE TO SEE AGAIN A GOOD OLD ROAST-BEEF CHAMP—AT ANYTHING.*

★

From a New York paper:

FRANK SCALISE, racketeer buddy of exiled drug-gang leader Lucky Luciano, lies dead as a doornail in yellow cotton trousers in New York's police mortuary after being shot up and down in the street. The assassin is unknown.

★

Moira Linden was telling me that her husband Perry brought home a nylon the other day and said: "Well, there's the first leg."

★

SHE WAS ONLY A SAFE-BLOWER'S DAUGHTER BUT SHE WAS DYNAMITE.

★

I am having refreshment on Tuesday in distinguished surroundings (with one foot on the rail) and chatting to Basil Lucker about this and that. Along comes a local high-powered executive who enters into a long report on his recent trip to Europe.

He said: "I went all over the place in Britain and nobody knew who I was."

Said Basil (sourly): "And who WERE you?"

★

The new Nevil Shute novel "On the Beach" has the most terrific concluding chapter of any book I have read. The early chapters tell you about a month-long war in Europe in which the explosion of cobalt bombs has destroyed everyone in the world with the exception of an area around Sydney, and gradually, the deadly radiation outfall arrives there, too.

In the last chapter we see a young couple, Mr. and Mrs. Peter Holmes and their baby daughter getting ready for death. Mary Holmes and the baby, Jennifer, are very sick. Peter brings his wife in front of a big fire he has made in the living room. She is cold and trembling. He gives her a hot brandy and she holds the glass with both hands to get warm.

He sends her upstairs to bed while he shuts the house up. "Remember," says Mary, "to turn off the electricity at the main." He gives Jennifer an injection he has got from the chemist and the baby dies. He undresses and puts on clean pyjamas, puts all the lights out and lights a candle by the bedside.

They lie down together and hold hands in the darkness. "I've had a lovely time since we got married, Peter," says Mary. "Thank you for everything."

He takes the capsules he has ready for this moment and they each take one in a glass of water. He draws his wife close to him and kisses her. "I've had a grand time too," he says—and they close their eyes in death.

★

There has been an outbreak of "princes" in the news columns. All the sons of the late Aga Khan have suddenly got titles and their wives are all "princesses". But, of course, they haven't got a title between them, although the new Aga Khan continues the title given his father by the British Government.

★

I was reading about Hugh Fraser, the millionaire Scottish draper who buys shops by the dozen and employs a brigade of slinky mannequins. Hugh says his favourite size woman has 56-in. hips and that is where I agree with him. Thin, wispy women are all right in a cocktail bar but what use are they at cooking sausage and mash for a hungry man? Phooey! They give me the willies.

★

Alice Cowie, of Bredasdorp, was telling me about the two women who were chatting about their offspring. One woman said her little boy was learning Latin. "Latin," said the other, "but that's a dead language." "That's right," said the first woman, "he's going to be an undertaker."

★

I was reading about a New York jockey named Billy Pearson who won £37,000 on a TV quiz about a year ago. Billy spent the lot in a year.

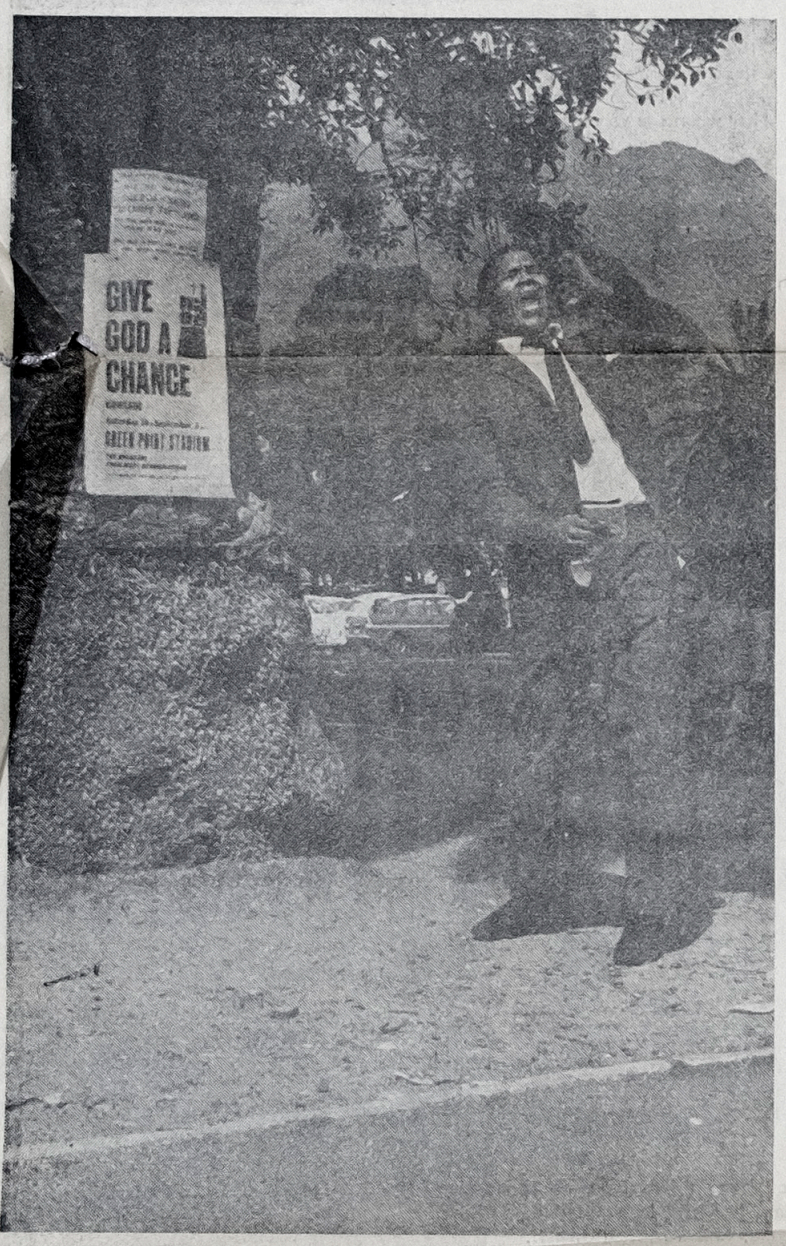
So?

So Billy went back into the TV booth and won £11,000. This time the money went into a trust fund. It cost him a lot to learn the value of thrift. Some people never do learn it.

★

Don't know about you, but when they tell me on the radio that they are now broadcasting on so many meters and so many megacycles, it leaves me unmoved. To tell you the truth, gentlemen, I wouldn't recognize a megacycle if I passed one in the street. And meters are things you put shillings in when you want more gas.

# The Grand Parade...



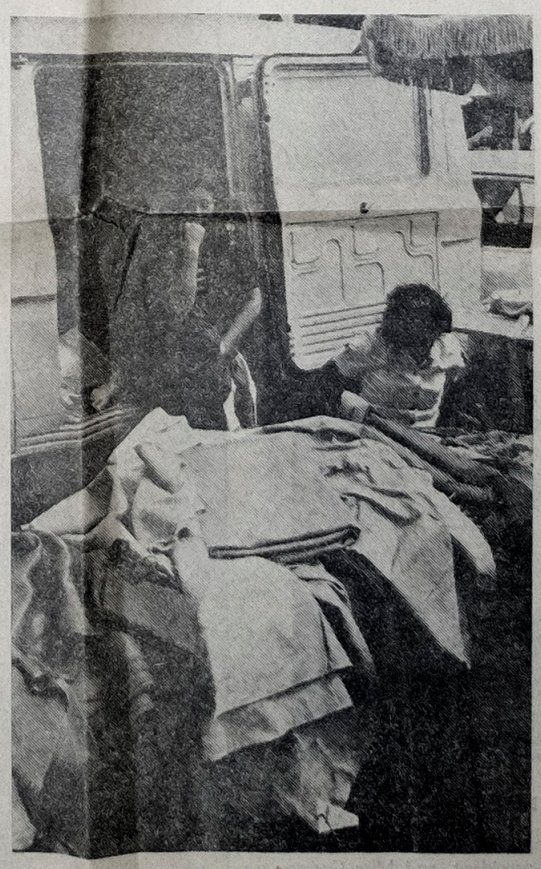

IF you want to buy a tuba, a print of Queen Victoria, a statue, a rare stamp or a flower vase, you will get it on the Parade.

For part of the week the Parade is the city's largest single-level car park, but on Wednesday and Saturday mornings it comes alive — swirling crowds, stall-owners yelling the advantages of their wares, fruit, vegetable and flower stalls, second - hand books, gramophone records, pots and pans, glassware, white elephants, material and clothing.

And it has been that way for almost two centuries. Auction sales were first held on the Parade in 1748. By the middle of the 19th century horse and cattle fairs were commonplace.

Today goods sold on the Parade need only one attribute — portability, and if you stand there long enough you will see every article known to man pass across the Parade counters.

Pictures by Colin Jooste



# 5. CASE: GRAND PARADE MARKET—A LIVING HERITAGE

In the previous chapters I have shown that the Grand Parade is a public place of historic significance to Cape Town, its use as an open-air market place is well-entrenched, and the tradition of trading in a range of non-consumable produce can be traced back to the 1800s and, arguably, beyond. It is an intangible layer of the history of the Grand Parade as public space. However, as the literature suggests, to be living heritage it must be claimed as such and identified as significant by the practicing community, the voices of the present.

I interviewed ten current traders and one past—including the oldest, the longest serving, the youngest, and the newest, and the Association committee—to get a range of points of view. My questions were thematic: to find out about the traders' relationship with the market, their understanding of it as heritage (personal and collective), and their vision for its future.

## 5.1 Grand Parade Market: Is It Heritage?

*Definitely*, was the one-word answer given by everyone asked of the bi-weekly market: "Is it heritage?". Drilling into *why* it is so *definitely* heritage reveals a nuanced interpretation of the qualities that contribute significance and make heritage. They include its age and association with place, family lineage, association with slavery and "spirit and feeling".[343]

> Klein: "It is a historical market, it's the oldest market in South Africa."[344]
>
> Cassiem: "It's heritage because it's been here for so, so long, it's been part and parcel of the Grand Parade […] we should be here to stay, because without us here, the Parade won't be anything."[345]
>
> Salie: "I just feel that the idea of having the Grand Parade here, which is the ground *plus* the stalls that's been here for so, so many years, that is part of heritage […] We don't have a closed building but the structures are here and we are here, and being so many years

[343] "Spirit and feeling" is a quality introduced by Nara 1994 that has made its way into UNESCO's 2017 procedure guidelines for the World Heritage Charter 1972. Described by UNESCO in 2008 as "important indicators of character and sense of place, for example, in communities maintaining tradition and cultural continuity". Deacon, "Conceptualising Intangible Heritage in Urban Environments," 74.

[344] Jeff Klein, interview with author, 2019.

[345] Ziyada Cassiem (First generation Grand Parade trader and Traders' Association Committee Member). Interview with author, Cape Town, January 26, 2019.

here, I think we're part of it."[346]

Soeker: "I feel like it's heritage because of the people, and how we've been growing up here, so I feel like it's still heritage growing and it's going to continue growing it will just thrive the way it is."[347]

Isaacs: "It's there from *those* years and it's still there. In former years they used to sell slaves here, that's what the Parade was for. Because if you think, there was the Castle, and the Parade. This is where they sold slaves!"[348]

Isaacs, who sees the Parade and market as one and the same, is concerned that slave history is unrepresented on the site. She says, "I'm sure they have it in the archives. That can all be taken out and exposed."[349]

Tichart, who no longer trades on the market, finds the subject deeply evocative and the memories emotive:

Definitely! We in this country have so little history that we need to preserve everything! There's the history of Cape Town, the Malay Quarter, District Six; you know, if they can't rebuild it (even if they had plans), you can't create that atmosphere. […] We *need* these things, all over […] we lose that and then you start losing the essence of the place.[350]

The literature review identified *heritage* as a paradoxical term, personal and collective, official and subversive. I concluded that it could be described as a value-judgement of an aspect of the past—object, place, practice, memory—pulled in to the present because it carries sufficient significance to inform the production of the future.

Age, rarity, contextual importance and social significance—these value criteria are familiar in heritage work in the built environment and reflect the meanings that research seeks to tease out

---

[346] Salie, interview with author, 2019.
[347] Mahdi Soeker. (Third generation Grand Parade trader). Interview with author, Cape Town, February 27, 2019.
[348] Isaacs, interview with author, 2019. Her assertion regarding the sale of slaves is backed up by the HIA 2006-2008 which says, "Some slaves were auctioned at the jetty soon after landing". Attwell, "Grand Parade Phase One Heritage Impact Assessment," 36.; Also by an anecdotal reference: "Otto Landsberg could easily recall the marshalling of the slaves on tables on the Parade, so that 'points' for and against might be noted. He himself bought a cook there for six hundred six-dollars." In Lawrence G Green, *I Heard the Old Men Say,* (Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1964), 31.
[349] Isaacs, interview with author, 2019.
[350] Tichart, interview with author, 2019.

in heritage assessments. However, a living heritage value assessment goes beyond a fixed framework, to find values identified by the practicing community such as the continuity expressed by Soeker, and threats to those values. The nostalgia and fear of loss that Tichart feels, go to Harrison's argument that the threat of urbanisation pressures have triggered an "abundance" of heritage. Living heritage theory finds that meaningful engagement will tease out significance qualities to be safeguarded as heritage.

## 5.2 Significance Value

Deacon identified an important distinction in the study of living heritage between *what* people do (the practice) and *why* they do it (the value ascribed), which helps to identify significance and vulnerabilities.[351] Interviews reveal the significance values of the living heritage of Grand Parade market as the relationship with place; inheritance and identity; and community and family.

### *5.2.1 Association-with-place*

*"District Six ceiling boards… and I'm trading with it"*

**Zuleiga Bardien and Zubeida Isaacs:**
Abdu Ragman Isaacs was the last of the four "non-white" traders who entered into a lease with the city before the Group Areas Act-related cut-off, following the declaration of the Parade as part of a White Area. Isaacs, then working for the Public Works department, submitted an application on a whim and joined the waiting list. His daughters Zuleiga Bardien and Zubeida Isaacs operate the stand, now running 52 years, selling haberdashery, jewellery and second-hand clothing patterns. The sisters were born at 101 Constitution Street, District Six. The family of nine moved to Salt River when the sisters were teenagers, pre-empting forced removals, then to Mannenberg, until finally settling in Strandfontein. Market attendance has been one constant. Isaacs:

> I started here when I was 18, standing with one little table, because at the time when my father got the stall he was still working and obviously I was at home. And he brought me through in the morning, put up the long table and we sold old stuff, bric-a-brac, that is how we started. He always had radio parts because he and a friend of his, they started this thing, fixing radios. And that was his part-time. He didn't even think that he would get the stall on the Parade because in former years it was just Jewish that got the stalls

[351] Deacon, "Conceptualising Intangible Heritage in Urban Environments," 72-81.

here. Coloureds, anybody else…

Then later years the other guys started telling him, "Why do you sell that? Go into materials, go into haberdashery, go around to factories", they actually taught him how to go about things, you know, the guys that were here already. And that is how he expanded his business. Going to all the factories that was here in Cape Town. He got old and not so healthy and he said he won't give it up, but because I was here all the years with him—from the very beginning I was with him—and then he said, "Ok, you know how the business is, you know what to do, you know where to get the stuff, you take the stall."

I don't think my children are going to go into this… they actually want me also to stop with this. They're telling me, "Mommy you're so old already why must you still go on the Parade?" I say, "Because it's in my blood, man." Sometimes I don't feel like going in anymore because the business is not like it used to be. Sometimes you sit the whole day in the sun and you know, I can sit at home the whole day. But I don't *want* to really, it's *in me* man, it's *my Parade*.

It's in my blood [becomes emotional] I mean I was 18 when I started here man, and now I'm 70 so… It's a lot of years, [laughs] a lot of years you know.

This is old Parade, like the Parade must be. Like we're so proud to say, this tables that we have, [lifts cloth cover. Bardiem, embarrassed, "Oh my word!"] this comes from the ceilings of District Six, from the house that we moved out of, the ceilings. My father would take the wood and take it home. He made our tables from it. When we open up in the morning I tell my sister, "Hmm we must get other tables" but we can't get to it. And then when I put up in the morning I quickly put something over, it's terrible, all broken up and whatever... but it's fun having it like that. District Six ceiling boards, I'm trading with it. [soft smile]

We are a family on this Parade. I'm talking about the old market… the Wednesday Saturday Parade. You know when we walk around, they say, "Oh, here the Mayors of the Parade come" because we are so long here. We are really like a family.

***Identity:***

The use of ceiling boards from the sisters' first home in District Six is a subtly defiant gesture, an act of claim. Despite displacements endured by the family, twice weekly a profound but private

process occurs: a tangible claim is made to a place in the city. Isaacs identifies the bond between place and identity, which is clearly deeply felt: "it's in my blood, man" and "it's my Parade". This is not only a private and personal place-identity, but one also recognised by the broader community, describing the sisters as "the Mayors of the Parade."

***Social networks:***

The blurred identity of the bi-weekly market caused by the peripheral market mentioned in the previous chapter, distresses the sisters. They qualify descriptions: "I'm talking about the old market… the Wednesday Saturday Parade." Their experiential space remains "old Parade". It is their table and gazebo, the social interaction with neighbours and with customers, and in the dense network of relationships that can be mapped to a single market day, as follows:

*Regardless of the weather, the sisters take the 5am bus from Strandfontein to the Parade. They wait for the neighbouring stallholder to arrive with his truck and unpack the sisters' tables and stock which is stored by him. In exchange, he gets to use half of their pitch. Morning greetings and quiet chatter accompanies metal clinking as stalls are set up. Zuleiga's university student granddaughter makes a fleeting visit, she's in town for an interview. A regular customer arrives for curtain tape bought specifically for him from a factory supplier. A retired customer stops by for a chat and to replenish the sisters' stock by donating haberdashery and patterns now no longer needed. A fashion college student is excited by the 1980s women's magazines; she'll be back with friends.*[352]

Living heritage theory shows that a community of practice is sustained by its established inner workings, its social networks and connections, but made vulnerable by changes to the wider environment. These networks can be mapped—interdependencies of place and practice identified—to show the vulnerabilities that threaten the living heritage.

[352] Observations drawn from field notes made in the course of a typical market day visit.

*Figure 20: Sisters Zuleiga Bardien and Zubeida Isaacs at their table, June 2019. Below: Early 1980s at the Parade stall with Abdu Ragman Isaacs and Zuleiga Bardien's daughter. (Top: Photo by author, June 2019. Below: Bardien personal collection)*

### *5.2.2 Continuity-of-practice*

*"it's the same market, it's just new people"*

**Mahdi Soeker:**

Mahdi Soeker, at 25, is the youngest trader. His grandfather, like Isaacs senior, secured a stand before 1965. The youngest son of seven, his siblings have other interests and professions, Soeker is left holding a family legacy and feels that he has to carry it on: "It's not an obligation, but someone had to." Soeker:

> It's been brought down from my grandfather who started out, he had buttons and zips, then started to buy offcuts pieces, fabrics, suit lengths, then it was passed on to my dad and he incorporated more of the fabric and stuff. And now he's getting old, he's still here, it's still his stall, but I'm running it now on a Wednesday and Saturday.
>
> Dad was always working, he would buy certain stocks in, but he wouldn't order from a shop, he'd wait on a parcel, on an auction and get in a good buy… we wait for a good buy so we can sell at a good price, that's the only thing, that's how the market works, I feel that's how the family thrives.
>
> When I was younger, I won't lie, I was a bit more shy and embarrassed to say that my dad worked on the market, or he was broking on the Parade. As a kid growing up, in the generation I grew up, it felt almost as if I was lower class because of that. "Oh, my dad's an engineer", but "My dad's a broker on the Parade." As a kid, it would give me the mindset I wouldn't want to tell the next person. But grown up now, I'm more proud to say, "Oh yes, I work on the Parade." Although the people on the outside would have the mindset I had when I was a kid. "Oh, he works on the Parade, just the Parade."
>
> I grew up here running through the stalls, playing at the toy stall there, it's all like family, walk around in the morning greeting our—we call it neighbours now, everyone's a neighbour here—and we're like family on the Parade here. It's been going on for generations. I know a few younger children on *that* side of the Parade where they also still busy and it's amazing to see everyone all grown up and we're all still here, like it hasn't changed much from when we were young, it still feels for me like it's the same market, it's just new people.

> So it has been like a family thing, and it feels like it's heritage, it's rooted in me, the Parade, and it's going to be rooted in me for the rest of my life and I'll probably pass it on too. If I don't have kids, I'll pass it on to my nieces and nephews.

***Continuity:***

Soeker is articulating the values he associates with continuity of practice, a key signifier of intangible heritage. He (and many other traders) value the generational continuity: "brought down from my grandfather", "If I don't have kids I'll pass it on to my nieces and nephews", and "It's been going on for generations." An organic, dynamic *living* quality is revealed in phrases such as "it's rooted in me" and "that's how the family thrives."

By choosing to continue the tradition, Soeker contributes to the bigger story too, to the collective of traders: "it's amazing to see everyone all grown up and we're all still here."

Cassiem, a first-generation trader, has observed this sense of responsibility. He says, "It's been passed down from family generations. The family passed down the stalls and their children were willing to come and trade on the Grand Parade just to keep it alive." He identifies a factor that contributes to longevity: "And you know, it makes it easier, because it's Wednesday and Saturday, so if they've got a job and they can work Wednesday and Saturday or just get someone to work Wednesday, and then Saturday they're here, so it's easier to keep it afloat, keep it going."[353]

***Change:***

When asked how the market had changed, interviewees were of one mind: Oh, but it hasn't changed at all! "Nothing has changed" says Magedie Davids, and on reflection, "except the customers".[354] Salie says, "This is like from one generation to another generation, nothing has changed."[355] Soeker's words make the point: "it hasn't changed […] it's the same market, it's just new people."

These observations go to the heart of intangible heritage: continuity and change, simultaneous and constant. The identity of the market lies in the practice as a collective. While clearly there has been change—the management structure, commodities on sale, traders, buyers and visitors—this quality of being *unchanged* while in a constant but incremental state of change defines the market as living heritage.

---

[353] Cassiem, interview with author, 2019.
[354] Magedie Davids, interview with author, 2019.
[355] Salie, interview with author, 2019.

*Figure 21: Mahdi Soeker at the family fabric stall. (Photo by author, June 2019)*

### *5.2.3 Practicing community*

*"We're family! We're Jews, we're whites, we're coloureds, we're Africans (whatever they call us)…"*

**Lutfeyyah Salie:**

Lutfeyyah Salie remembers, as a child, "standing on a Saturday, helping out." Her father and oldest brother started trading on the Parade on 28 September 1960. The family lived in Walmer Estate and the "opportunity arose that there was space available, so they grabbed it."[356] Of the family of eight, six trade on the Parade. Some have started businesses from there, others have studied further, but "the Wednesday and Saturday is still in our blood."[357] Salie operates her stall with her husband and says of the market, "This I would call heritage, for sure!" Salie:

> We started with small things and now we sell garments, we used make our own garments, we're still making our own garments, good prices that fits the Parade. I have a brother who sells fabric and then we manufacture it. We have a CMT type of thing, but now we mostly buy in, because CMT has become—the '80s thing—it's harder to make a

[356] Magedie Davids, interview with author, 2019.
[357] Mogamet Davids, interview with author, 2019.

garment than to buy a ready-made in.[358]

I'm very passionate about this place because I grew up on this place… I'm getting old on this place… and I always say to the customers when they ask me, "Are you still here?" then I say to them "I'll die here." We're all different generations here, and all mixed, blacks, coloureds, whites, whatever, but I mean, we're all African and this is… You see I think it's because we're so passionate about this place. It's been the only place in South Africa that has stood so many years without an argument, without a fight, without a disagreement. So do you want to tell me that it's not real? It is real! We take it to heart, this place, because it's something we carry over from our parents.

This is for like, for the working class, it's for the everyday people, it's for the poor people, it's for the people that comes in with the train and the taxi that cannot afford to buy at the malls and that is why we are here, and we are here to stay.

We cater for the rand and the rand is the people from your home town, which is Cape Town, which is the working class.

We're actually not just workers or stallholders, we're family! We're Jews, we're whites, we're coloureds, we're Africans (whatever they call us), we all together, we work for 60 odd years as a family. The old people that was here, our parents, the old people… we're now the children, the next generation, and we would like—I personally would like—the next generation to carry on this, because this I call a legacy.[359]

***Community:***

In interviews, my suggestion that the collective of traders was a "community" of some sort was rebuffed. *Family*, as demonstrated in excerpts above, is the word preferred to describe the body of active traders as a group. I was unable to establish a reason for the preference. It may be that *family* captures a stronger sense of bond, or that *community*, a much-used word in the media on social inequality, is more politicised and implies protest, vulnerability or lack of agency.

Despite her word preference, Salie is articulating the notions of *communities of practice* and

[358] CMT is *Cut Make Trim*, small scale garment and soft goods manufacture to order. The '80s reference is to the collapse of the textile and garment industry in Cape Town.
[359] Salie, interviewed with author, 2019.

*communities of place*. The trader body is a *community of practice*, a collective with a shared goal, as revealed in Isaacs words about her father, "they actually taught him how to go about things […] And that is how he expanded his business".

The *community of place* can be seen in the broader collective of traders and customers, "the everyday people", "that cannot afford to buy at the malls", "the working class" and the relationship that plays out on the Parade. "Our people" is the phrase used most frequently in interviews in reference to the market as an operational whole. Cassiem says, "The vibe of the market—you can see, it's all our people, the locals who shop here—so all our people […] our local Grand Parade customers and our local people that come here."[360]

This identity as a practicing community of place is set in opposition to "people on the outside", as referred to by Soeker. The words "insiders" and "outsiders" were frequently used in interviews. "Outsiders" means, variously, foreigners from the peripheral market, and those not seen to be part of the bi-weekly market activity.

***Diversity:***

Chavda's 1970 letter of appeal to the Department of Community Development quoted in the last chapter included phrases that echo Salie above. Chavda wrote, "a number of people of different races have been, and still are, trading on the Parade". His phrase, "the happy scene of various classes of South Africans working together" resonates with Salie who says it is "the only place in South Africa that has stood so many years without an argument, without a fight, without a disagreement".

These readings are as revisionist as they are utopian. Prejudice-based petty complaints to City appear in archive material, and my interviews and conversations with traders (particularly those who have witnessed two major political shifts, to and from the Apartheid State) exposed very real race, religion and class divisions. However, there is a dynamic and self-sustaining system that exists within this diversity. Soeker describes an "ecosystem" of traders, customers and stall assistants, and alludes to persisting social stratification: "everyone helps out each other to work and keep the Parade going" but "we're higher chain, I would say, and they're lower chain".[361] This quality of *ecosystem* is an important element in the sustainability of living heritage.

[360] Cassiem, interview with author, 2019.
[361] Soeker, interview with author, 2019.

*Figure 22: Lutfeyyah Salie at her clothing stall. (Photo by author, June 2019)*

### *5.2.4 Social capital*

> *"When I left varsity he said to me he's now tired, he needs help so I joined the business."*

**Errol Tichart:**

Errol Tichart is the Managing Director of the family business, Ferndale Nurseries, in the upmarket suburb of Constantia. The business began on the Grand Parade. Tichart's father, one of 10 children, left school at age 13. He delivered bread, then became a telegram messenger, which led to employment as a postman at the General Post Office in the 1930s. Crossing the Parade on Wednesdays, he would see Herbie Nash of Bedford's Nursery trading in plants and seedlings, handling wads of notes and, in an "I can do that too" moment, revised his side income effort in dog, rabbit and chicken breeding to that of nurseryman. Tichart:

> He'd take my mum—they grew plants—load her in the post office van in the morning, leave for the work, drop her off at the Parade then go across and do his work, then pick her up with the van and take her home in the evenings. […] He found an old motor car

and he cut the back off and he turned it into a truck and then he used to take her in on that and then eventually he decided at the age of 32 that he thinks now he can support himself and so he left the Post Office and then the two started Ferndale Nurseries.

He said the best customers were women and then of course, in those early days, we had a lot of non-white customers and they loved dahlias and they loved bulbs. I used to go from when I was 12 on a Saturday because there wasn't any school, it was nice to go to the Parade with dad, and…[pause]… (sorry, it's a bit emotional sometimes). When I left varsity he said to me he's now tired, he needs help so I joined the business. Then I used to go every Wednesday and Saturday. I used to get up in the morning at half past four and take the van through and pack it all on the Parade out and then as the people came to work they bought.

And eventually I got tired of it and my other brother took it over and then eventually my third brother was there. And then the whole atmosphere changed. There was the guy that sold hardware, you could get a hammer and a nail and things like that, and then he left, and then Freddie Viveros, he had also junk and all sorts of things, then he packed up. Eventually I said—you know, with all the problems of packing the van the day before and going there and unpacking and you have a bad day and—I said to my dad, "Quite frankly, we could use that staff better at the nursery" […] so then I decided enough was enough and then we stopped going, stopped doing it.[362]

***Business incubator:***

Over two generations, a single stall on the Grand Parade pulled a family into tertiary education, financial security and social standing. In the South African context, any history that looks at class cannot be decoupled from race. The white working-class of the first half of the 20th century, privileged by race, built a sound financial base. They vacated the space allowing people of colour, whose earning potential and business efforts had been stymied by colonial attitudes and apartheid legislation, to fill those spaces.

The continuity—passing the baton—that takes place within the family structure is also evident at a wider scale, within the community of traders. Currently, most stallholders have several assistants, some representative of the Cape's poorest, historically most racially-disadvantaged

[362] Tichart, interview with author, 2019.

residents. Will the baton continue to pass along the line and this quality of continuity in urban living heritage persist?

*Figure 23: Ferndale Nurseries 1961. Tichart senior in conversation with a customer. (Errol Tichart personal collection)*

## 5.3 Case Conclusion

Is the Grand Parade Wednesday/Saturday market an example of living heritage?

In the preceding chapters I have shown that it has a long, unbroken history. It is a community practice characterised by continuity, and which has accumulated meaning. The significance attached to the practice is attached to the place and adds a layer of significance to the Grand Parade. Therefore, the intangible values include its longevity, its relationship with the Parade as a physical and experiential place; its capacity to confer a profound sense of personal and collective belonging; the generational and social continuity; the social diversity of the "family"; and the sense of role in the future.

It is clearly living heritage.

# 6. CASE ANALYSIS

The case study findings make a strong argument for the identification of the market as living heritage, but what does that mean for its practicing community and its location, a Provincial Heritage Site? How can that living heritage be recognised now, and into the future. Should it be somehow safeguarded? And if so, how?

## 6.1 Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Urban Environment: Now What?

The Grand Parade's bi-weekly market is living heritage: how might it be addressed? For David Hart:

> Without doubt in my mind it's part of the heritage of Grand Parade and in some form one needs to try and ensure that it continues. […] It's an integral part of the story of Grand Parade and one wants to keep activities carrying on through.[363]

Having built an argument that the market is, indeed, "an integral part of the story of Grand Parade", I have grappled with what it means to "keep activities carrying on". The market is already regulated, both from within as a self-organising group and by the City, which manages its place of activity and has done since its earliest days of operation. Traders fear that an identification as "heritage" will introduce restrictions. Mogamat Davids says:

> The only problem with heritage sites is there's rules and regulations and we've already got a set of rules as well as a lease in place. If there's still a heritage… There'll be more boundaries, there'll be much more boundaries.[364]

Many theorists and practitioners, while willing to acknowledge the presence of living heritage, baulk at the idea of legislating for it on several grounds. Townsend has concerns regarding state manipulation and control, while Hart says "in reality our legislation, and probably correctly, can only protect the tangible aspects. The days of apartheid come to mind when you look at trying to reserve areas for people".[365]

---

[363] Hart, interview with author, 2019.
[364] Mogamat Davids, interview with author, 2019.
[365] Townsend, interview with author, 2019.; Hart, interview with author, 2019.

In the case of the market, bureaucracy has been manipulating and controlling it, and managing its operational space, for well over a century. An additional layer of heritage management could potentially cause its destruction, as imposed regulations or structures alter inherent systems—the market is *denaturalised*.[366] However, as worrisome is that failure to acknowledge living heritage can destroy a practice through the obliteration of that which makes it viable—it is *decontextualised*.[367] A practicing community can effectively be shut out from its cultural place of practice, initiating the dissipation of its associated values.[368]

The case of Place Jemaa el-Fna in Marrakech, Morocco highlights factors relevant to the Grand Parade.[369] In 2001, this large public square in the centre of the medina was one of the first sites inscribed by UNESCO on its list recognising intangible heritage.[370] Declared a National Monument in 1922, proclaimed a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1985, it was identified in 2001 as a "cultural space" of the people of Marrakech.[371] Long-used as a market place, performance space, place for protest, for story-telling and for religious expression, it was then under pressure from urban development.[372]

At the outset, protection of the performers was motivated and managed in a top-down way by UNESCO and government "middle men".[373] The programme objectified and anonymised the practitioners, describing aesthetics, colour and spectacle in promotional and educational material.[374] Although well-intentioned, it failed to engage meaningfully with the practicing community to identify *their* significance values (such as family legacy and livelihood). The precinct was protected by building height and signage limitations, structures that had encroached on the square were demolished, and vehicles routed away—the city's central coach, bus and taxi stops were relocated. The result, described as "purification", removed the square from its central

---

366 UNESCO, *Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, (Paris, June 22-24, 2010).

367 Ibid.

368 Hart, interview with author, 2019.

369 An interesting case addressed by several academics. Writings by Skounti and Beardslee give a good overview. Thomas Beardslee, "Whom does heritage empower, and whom does it silence? Intangible cultural heritage at the Jemaa el Fnaa, Marrakech," *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 22:2 (2016): 89-101.; Ahmed Skounti, "The authentic illusion. Humanity's intangible cultural heritage, the Moroccan experience," In *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, (London: Routledge, 2009): 74-92

370 Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. This was introduced to respond urgently to the perceived need to protect intangible heritage, but was in place only briefly. The use of the word "masterpiece" was found to be too subjective and the concept too elitist. Ahmed Skounti, "The authentic illusion. Humanity's intangible cultural heritage, the Moroccan experience," in *Intangible Heritage*, ed Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London: Routledge 2009): 81.

371 This initiated the inclusion of "cultural space" in ICH. UNESCO, "Cultural space of Jemaa el-Fna Square."

372 Skounti, "The authentic illusion. Humanity's intangible cultural heritage, the Moroccan experience," 74-92.

373 Ibid., 83.; Beardslee, "Whom does heritage empower, and whom does it silence?," 93.

374 Beardslee, "Whom does heritage empower, and whom does it silence?," 94-99.

role in everyday city life and recast it as tourist destination, a "vast, hot, empty space".[375] The process has both denaturalised and decontextualised the living heritage it sought to protect.

Meskell asks: "What happens when the directive to conserve results in a cultural construal of loss? If heritage must be problematized through the lens of cultural difference, then the related antithetical concepts of conservation and destruction also have to be rethought."[376] This destruction can be the result of efforts to conserve intangible culture and also—in what I think plagues the Grand Parade—of those to protect the tangible realm. The effort to conserve the known heritage of the "previous two and a half centuries" as a "historic open civic space" is at odds with the valid palimpsest of Grand Parade's other histories.[377]

## 6.2 Grand Parade, Provincial Heritage Site: the Conservation Lens

Regular users, traders and the City share the opinion that the Grand Parade is performing poorly as a public space; all ascribe this to crime, drugs, vagrancy and vandalism. Tyrone Africa, City of Cape Town Facilities Manager, says, "We need to fix it. And it *is* broken."[378]

The Grand Parade has repeatedly fallen into a state of disrepair.[379] Numerous revitalisation plans have been drafted and enacted to put the "grand" back in Grand Parade. Since 1962, all plans have operated within the heritage legislation of their time. Each has considered the market, but none has reviewed its intangible, social qualities in any depth, instead focussing on its aesthetics. The 1981 Plan identified it as a "valuable source of colour and activity", similarly, the 2003 Appraisal said, "Markets can and should be colourful and add to the spectacle of things".[380] The 2006-2008 Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) acknowledged, "The principle and tradition of trading and markets on the Parade is entrenched from a heritage perspective" and, "The continuity of use by descendants of traders contributes to the regional character of the Parade".[381]

The use of language should be problematised. "[S]ource of colour" and "regional character" can be seen as othering, a denial of personhood of those people being described. This correlates with

---

[375] Ibid., 96.
[376] Meskell, "Negative Heritage and Past Mastering in Archaeology," 565.
[377] Aikman et al., "A Development Plan for the Grand Parade," 5.1. and Rennie Scurr Adendorff, "Grand Parade Appraisal," 3.
[378] Tyrone Africa, (City of Cape Town Facilities Manager). Interview with author, Cape Town, Friday March 1, 2019.
[379] The reasons why warrant an independent study.
[380] Aikman et al., "A Development Plan for the Grand Parade & its Environs," report no. 60/1981 Ref TP 2/12, October 1981.; Rennie Scurr Adendorff Architects, "Grand Parade Appraisal," 8.
[381] Attwell, "Grand Parade Phase One Heritage Impact Assessment," 58.

the denial of agency resulting from top-down, expert-driven heritage practice, and legislation that prioritises the aesthetics of the historic tangible resources over the cultural practices in that environment.

The 2006-2008 HIA (which informed the 2008 Revitalisation, a phased plan, still in the process of implementation), looked to the history and morphology of the Grand Parade to identify heritage significance and extract design indicators.[382] It found that the Grand Parade has always been a multi-functional space—"circuses, military parades, protests, concerts, trading".[383] It recognised within the multiplicity of uses, its "social and amenity value". Public meetings with interested parties and stakeholder groups (including market traders), as stipulated by the HIA process, teased out heritage values related to history, interpretation, memorials and links to the Castle and events.[384] However, working within its legally-mandated scope in terms of the NHRA, the process failed to meaningfully respond to these living heritage values associated with the site.

### *6.2.1 Outside in the cold*

While the NHRA fails to adequately address cultural traditions or provide any mechanisms for doing so in professional practice, it is a clearly understood criterion of national living heritage policy. This says, "Living heritage […] must be seen as safeguarding the logic of continuity of what all communities or social groups regard as their valuable heritage".[385] This is framed within its central mandate to address social cohesion and redress:

> The living heritage of people indigenous to Africa, and of slaves brought to this country, was affected by dramatic changes in land ownership, livelihoods, language use, and social structure. In democratising the heritage landscape after 1994, it has thus been very important to recognise the significance of living heritage and to safeguard it for future generations.[386]

But the national policy gives no structural framework or institutional arrangement for co-ordinating the care of living heritage.[387] At present, the responsibility falls between institutions,

---

[382] Ibid.
[383] Melanie Attwell (Town Planner, Historian and Professional Heritage Practitioner). Interview with author, Cape Town, March 11, 2019.
[384] Melanie Attwell & Associates, "Grand Parade Phase Two Heritage Impact Assessment," Prepared for the City of Cape Town and Heritage Western Cape, (February 2008): 13-15.
[385] DAC, National Policy on South African Living Heritage (2016), 2.2.3, 19.
[386] DAC, National Policy on South African Living Heritage (2016), 1.1.4, 9.
[387] Manetsi "Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in South Africa," 62.

with no one specifically tasked with its identification and management.[388] This lack of clarity has effectively removed the living heritage qualities of the market from conservation considerations affecting the Grand Parade. In so doing, against the ambitions of legislation, policy and practice, a layer of the cultural significance is made invisible.

## 6.3 Grand Parade Market: the Living Heritage Lens

The primary intangible heritage significance of Grand Parade market revealed through this study of its history, both documented and remembered, is one of continuity: the continuity of use of a place for a practice, and the resulting contribution of cultural identity, social and economic value, and *genius loci,* the "soul" of place.

Tangible and intangible heritage are intertwined. With this interdependence in mind, Deacon recommends differentiating between "fabric, cultural practices and heritage significance (or values) in order to identify and sustain heritage values."[389]

In this case: The *tangible fabric* entwined with the market is the Grand Parade. Arguably, its wider associations are also part of that fabric: the historic architecture overlooking it, which establish the scale and aesthetic of space, Table Mountain, its backdrop, and the transport network of roads and rail that brings the people to the place.

The *cultural practice* is the bi-weekly ritual of making a market place, the activity and interaction between traders, shoppers and passers-by.

The *heritage values* are the longevity of the practice (over 180 years); its association with a site of multiple significances; its quality as a destination; its capacity to confer a sense of personal, generational, collective and social identity; the qualities of social capital and sustainability; the social diversity; its capacity to inspire spirit and feeling and sense of place.

The fundamental objective in safeguarding living heritage is to ensure viability. Currently, the market is in poor health, its viability is under threat. This is not the result of neglect or lack of interest on the part of any stakeholder. External pressures such as globalisation and its impact on commodity acquisition, urbanisation and a changing market, crime and the resulting drop in

[388] David Hart, by email to author, March 12, 2019.; Manetsi, "Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage," 84
[389] Deacon, "Conceptualising Intangible Heritage in Urban Environments," 73.

visitor numbers, and the City's agenda for the space have taken a toll. Then add to this a degree of self-harm, resulting from a protectionist response to the changing environment.

To identify appropriate safeguarding methods, Prins-Solani recommends a study of threats and risks to viability of both the living cultural practice and the intangible heritage values, and an analysis of conditions that mitigate, remove or invert these.[390] What follows is such a study, taking the criteria of living heritage and looking at threats experienced and mitigation tactics. Inevitably, this process exposes contradictions—the mitigation of one threat is an aggravation to another—but as a result of this system of identification, priorities for action can be identified.

### *6.3.1 Identity value*

For much of its life, the Wednesday/Saturday market shared the Parade with other informal commercial activities on its periphery: iced-drinks stands; photographers' booths (replaced by bus shelters); herb sellers, and flower sellers. These activities complemented the mixed-goods market, contributing to a holistic experience for the visitor. Success as a *destination* spawned numerous additional services and entertainments—snake charmer, soap-box preacher, shoe-shine stand, one-man-band—which, in simple commercial terms, would have increased visitor numbers and the duration of a visit. Apartheid's impact on the city destroyed these activities, while booths and sellers were lost to the revitalisation plan of the 1980s.

The performative, destination quality of the bi-weekly market—along with its distinct identity—is all but lost. For a customer today, unaware of the legacy, the remaining stalls merge with the growing number of day-traders on the periphery.

The growing presence, since the mid-1990s, of the peripheral markets begs the question: If the practice of market trading on the Grand Parade is the heritage, are these daily-traders not part of that? Bi-weekly traders point out that the recently-established markets have no cultural connection and could relocate, with no negative impact to the Grand Parade or to their collective identity, unlike those whose practice and heritage value is powerfully associated with place. In addressing their loss of identity, some suggest a spatial rethink of the periphery to clarify the heritage of the Wednesday/Saturday traders. Others recommend some form of public interpretation—exhibition—of the heritage significance.

---

[390] Deirdre Prins-Solani (Intangible Cultural Heritage and Education Consultant). Interview with author, Cape Town, April 26, 2019.

Van Oers writes of the importance to distinguish between recently-established traditions, which serve primarily commercial purposes, and those that evolve from a culture of local traditions. The latter, if nurtured, confers a collective identity to the city, while additional benefits might be derived from social and economic sustainability and tourist interest.[391]

### *6.3.2 Continuity and social capital value*

Chapter 4 showed the social shifts in the market over the 20th century which brought European immigrants and, later, people of colour to the tables. Currently the stalls are predominantly run by their descendants, many with the financial security of brick-and-mortar businesses grown from their initial activity on the Parade. Generally, the third generation, qualified professionals, have little need or desire to continue the practice.

An exchange between the Klein brothers reveals two opposing views of continuity:

> Martin Klein: It's dying out because there's no one taking our place, you know what I mean, the generations, in other words…
>
> Jeff Klein: … No, but there's always going to be somebody who might want to come and trade…
>
> Martin Klein: Yes, I know, but by force of numbers, these *other people* are going start coming…
>
> Jeff Klein: Yes, well it'll keep going if somebody else comes. But it just depends…[392]

The notion of continuity of practice in living heritage carries with it certain norms such as generational continuity (typically, the measure of a practice as living heritage is three generations).[393] However, the urban context is disruptive to blood-family bonds, replacing them with social bonds. The market is such an example. Where there is no generational or extended family heir, the lease of the pitch (and sometimes the business itself), is passed to an employee, supplier, or begins a new chain. In this way, continuity rests in the wider practicing community.

---

[391] Van Oers, "The Way Forward: An Agenda for Reconnecting the City," 320.
[392] Martin Klein and Jeff Klein, interview with author, 2019.
[393] Deirdre Prins-Solani (Intangible Cultural Heritage and Education Consultant). Interview with author. Cape Town, April 26, 2019.

Living heritage *values* (generational continuity) are able to adapt and alter to serve the *practice* (market as a collective).[394] Living heritage rests in the continuity of the market practice as a whole—the Wednesday/Saturday ritual of traders and customers coming together—not only in the individual family. Therefore, the baton can continue to meaningfully pass to "other people", "outsiders", without a social legacy in the market. The naturally-occurring business incubator model described by the continuity of practice creates an *economic scaffold* that enables sustainable economic upliftment.[395] As one family is lifted into financial security, access to upliftment is transferred to a new beneficiary.

The UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach and ICOMOS's Living Heritage Approach (LHA) both highlight the importance of this social capital. Jigyasu describes it as "social networks or norms" having the power to sustain existing social structures and identities and contribute to the social value of living heritage sites.[396]

### *6.3.3 Sense of place value*

The City's urban revitalisation project aims to make the Grand Parade precinct part of a cultural tourism hub incorporating the Castle and City Hall.[397] The plan is to better connect the Parade to City Hall with decorative paving, creating a tourist "buffer" zone (which implies a managed space) between City Hall and the market activities.[398]

Tourism and heritage cohabit awkwardly, and the traders have a mixed response to tourism. They imagine real benefit from additional footfall and say that they might adapt their stock to include tourist-centric items. But equally they have fears that City actions will "sterilise" the market, that it will become like Greenmarket Square (this "sterilisation" is reminiscent of "purification" of Place Jemaa el-Fna).[399]

---

[394] Ibid.
[395] Ibid.
[396] Jigyasu, "The Intangible Dimension of Urban Heritage," 131.
[397] The relationship of tourism (particularly cultural tourism) to living heritage and issues of gentrification is a vast and important topic. At present tourism is secondary to the market, but will almost certainly impact its future. Sadly it was beyond the scope of this project to meaningfully unpack the subject.
[398] The interpretive paving, part of a landscape plan, will include phrases from Mandela speeches. Hart, interview with author, 2019.
[399] Sterilised is the word used by a trader about the city's plans: "As far as I'm concerned they're trying to sterilise this market." Interview with author, 2019.; From c1970-2000, Greenmarket Square was leased by the City to a single business (two successive leaseholders) who sublet sites to traders. The market, held daily Mondays to Saturdays, traded in antiques, bric-a-brac, crafts and clothing, with some traders holding a pitch at both Grand Parade Wednesday/Saturday and Greenmarket Square. During this period, Grand Parade bi-weekly was a "working class" market frequented by people of colour, while Greenmarket Square targeted a white, urban middle-class clientele. In the 2000s, City revoked the Greenmarket Square lease and traders now hold individual leases with the City, renewed monthly.

Cassiem explains:

> Greenmarket Square used to be a market like ours but the city's changed them so much that it became only a place for foreigners to come sit and eat, but the traders there are suffering.[400] The foreigners are not necessarily going to shop by us, they don't even shop at Greenmarket Square in terms of the stuff they want to take home, they're only here to take photos and memories, that's what the foreigners do.[401]

A global trend towards *cultural tourism* shows visitor preference for participatory cultural experience, over an observational one.[402] The legacy and "authenticity" of the historic working-class market is a city asset that the traders could exploit to positive effect, not by creating an artificial past, but by ensuring that it remains highly relevant to the present.[403]

Cassiem, looking to the past to see what might serve the future, sees product diversity and entertainment as ways to reignite the destination-quality of the bi-weekly event. Traders who remember a time before the destruction of District Six and the east city when, "there used to be thousands of people" agree activation is needed.[404] Their suggestions include a performance space, a "speaker's corner" and services relevant to the current generation of customers.[405]

### *6.3.4 Provincial Heritage Site and practice*

In the City's view, the Grand Parade is an events space—a venue—utilised for a range of functions including trading.[406] The Parade is rented out for filming, concerts, and sports events, which typically take place at the weekend and take precedence over regular activities. The Parade is "closed" to other uses, and no compensation is paid to traders for loss of income. Trade may take

---

[400] I discussed this view with traders on Greenmarket Square. Most are recent immigrants to Cape Town and unable to draw comparisons, but confirm that it is a "tourist market". A trader who has worked on the square for over 20 years, agrees with Cassiem's view that it was, and is no longer, a "locals market". Anonymous, conversation with author, Cape Town, April 3, 2019.

[401] Cassiem, interview with author, 2019.

[402] Julian Smith, "Civic Engagement Tools for Urban Conservation." In *Reconnecting the City: the Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage*, edited by Francesco Bandarin and Ron Van Oers (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 231.; Cultural tourism is a wide topic of study and discussion dealt with in numerous books and publications. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett looks at "Destination culture", Ciraj Rassool and Sabine Marschall address it in the context of post-colonial South Africa; it is often cited, and critiqued, as a "tool" for local development. It is a complex subject that cannot be dealt with meaningfully in this context.

[403] The notion of authenticity is avoided in living heritage as it is considered inappropriate to cast one practitioner's method of expression or mode of practice as being "more authentic" than that of another. Prins-Solani, interview with author, 2019.

[404] Martin Klein, interview with author, 2019.

[405] Such as tool sharpening, shoe and bag repairs, beauty treatments (henna, hair braiding), tailoring and more.

[406] Africa, interview with author, 2019.

place on an alternative week day instead, but the habit of Wednesday/Saturday is entrenched for both trader and customer. Livelihoods are damaged and resentment is high.

Then there is crime. Every trader I spoke to said (unprompted) that drugs, drug-related crime and antisocial behaviour have an immensely negative impact on trade. From the City's point of view, this is an expensive problem that, despite being prioritised, persists. It's not new. "You can have your picture taken, to say nothing of your wallet," was the wry commentary in a 1940 Pathé Pictures film on the market.[407] Various strategies have been undertaken over the decades. In 1996 a temporary surveillance tower was erected on the Parade, removed only because its presence contravened heritage protections of the National Monument as open space.[408]

For Tyrone Africa, the difficulty is that he has no access control.[409] A study, commissioned to investigate the viability of fencing the entire area, concluded that this would contravene its heritage significance.[410] But Africa points out that the first action taken by an event tenant is to install temporary fencing and monitor access. Africa is optimistic that plans underway (a surveillance platform, increased law enforcement staff) will solve the problem, although some traders feel that the issue of crime cannot be solved by a single solution (such as surveillance).

Like many reports before it, the 2006-2008 HIA identified the use of the Grand Parade for parking as hostile to public space and inappropriate to the heritage asset.[411] The Grand Parade was consequently closed as a public parking area.[412] Unfortunately, this destroyed pedestrian activity with bad effect. First, the removal of day-to-day human activity—without replacing it with an alternative—stripped the Parade of a key lived quality, possibly contributing to increased crime. Also, parking users were market customers, either by intention or by accident, as they walked through the stands from car to destination and back. Traders have offered to manage a reopened parking area; City has refused (reasons were not given).

The fissure between management of the tangible heritage resource and the needs of living heritage practice is also evident in the long-contentious issue of traders' vehicles. In the early 1900s the Market Master battled to keep wagons and horses off the Parade, while in the mid-

---

[407] British Pathé, Caledonian Market S.A. Aka Cape Town's Caledonian Market 1940, (February 1, 1940), ID 1284.19.
[408] SAHRA, W/C Box 182.
[409] Africa, interview with author, 2019.
[410] Reason for the study: "Loitering, uncontrolled trading, crime and anti-social behavior [sic] have rendered the primary public square in Cape Town an unkempt, shabby, and unsafe space." Andrew Berman, "MEMO: Upgrading the Grand Parade," for Urban Design Services cc, (October 20, 2017).
[411] Attwell, "Grand Parade Phase One Heritage Impact Assessment," 9, 11, 14.
[412] The 2008 Revitalisation Plan did recommend the parking area be open for Wednesday/Saturday trade. ILISO Consulting, ARG Design & Urban Scapes, "Revitalisation of the Grand Parade Precinct," 30.

century, only nurserymen were allowed vehicles on their stands to protect their stock from wind and weather. Over the years the regulation forbidding vehicles fell into abeyance (rather than being revoked). Traders' vans, parked on their pitch, serve a multitude of functions: a place to conduct meetings, charge mobile phones, hold spare stock, take a break and, significantly, a place to tie down a stall against the wind. Says Salie:

> We come here and work in the morning and it's beautiful weather. Within one hour it rains, within the next hour it storms, within the next hour the wind blows. Where are we going to fasten our stall? We've got no structure that we can fasten.[413]

However, City has issued fresh instructions forbidding vehicles on stands.[414] There is a definite aesthetic and security benefit to be had—visibility of, and through, the market is enhanced without vans—but the directive to remove the vehicles, without first addressing their function and assessing alternatives, is frustrating to traders. The problem can be solved (as demonstrated by outdoor markets around the world), with wind impact countered by inserting anchors in the ground. But this would be a permanent fixture in a Provincial Heritage Site; permission to alter the site is required. Says Africa, "Heritage is a tedious and long process. If they [HWC] give us the go-ahead by all means, let's get the hooks in". But with the market unrecognised as a heritage asset, opportunities to enable it go unaddressed.

It is difficult to unscramble the issue of "ownership" of space: City versus civilian. While City officials labour under the responsibility to protect the heritage site and the safety of the citizens, their efforts enshrine a paternalistic relationship, with users playing a passive (or subversive) role. Lefebvre's notion of the "right to the city" and Sennett's "open city" both address this (albeit somewhat differently) by advocating agency for the user of the city and accepting the resulting dissonance and messiness.

### *6.3.5 Change and the future*

Traditional heritage management is often confounded by the dynamic, adaptive nature of living cultural practices. However, this is generally incremental change, with its pace guided by the keepers of the heritage.[415] Indeed, a resilient community practice can, in the opinion of

---

[413] Salie, interview with author, 2019.

[414] The reason given is safety: the risk of the spontaneous combustion of a trader's van, and the obstruction of pedestrian movement in the event of disaster. Traders feel these are spurious arguments, saying that if it was active policy it would be applied to other markets such as Milnerton and Muizenberg. It points, in their opinion, to a City plan to sanitise the Parade.

[415] Wijesuriya, "Living Heritage: A summary," 1.

Wijesuriya, "contain capacities and assets that outlast political or professional structures."[416]

But living heritage is vulnerable to sudden or frequent change. Suburbanisation of the middle classes, the collapse of the Cape garment and textile industry and the impact of immigrant urbanisation have changed the market's supplier and customer dynamic.

Added to that, the City, struggling with an increase in informal trade and multiple leaseholders, engaged the traders' Association in a pilot project in the mid-2000s. It divested responsibility to the Association, which is now the sole lease-holder for the 34 stalls, subletting to the traders. The four-member committee attends meetings with the City and manages a private security guard, gate operator and cleaning team. Traders pay rent to the Association, which also keeps the "waiting list". While it can be seen as a move that confers autonomy and self-determination to the practicing community, it upset a long-standing and embedded system of informal self-organisation, and imposed a top-down structure on something that was dynamic and fluid.

Surviving these rapid, same-generation impacts requires resilience and re-invention. The bi-weekly nature of the market has contributed to its longevity. In times of plenty, the trader is able to use income from the market to develop a business; in the lean times, that business supports market trade. However, the last 15 years trading on the Grand Parade, characterised by financial uncertainty and a sense of insecurity of tenure, have taken their toll. At present, several pitches are paid for but not utilised as traders focus on other income streams.

Change, other than naturally occurring evolution, must be carefully considered. Jigyasu suggests that official planning structures should allow for cultural significance and diversity to be recognised, and just as threats to the integrity of tangible fabric are monitored and managed, the integrity of intangible aspects of the urban landscape should be treated with care, to ensure a viable environment for the activity.[417]

This fits with the traders' view that change is normal, but *nothing about us without us*.[418] Salie explains:

> I don't want to be surprised by change. And surprised by the *City* deciding for *us* what to

[416] Court and Wijesuriya, "People-Centred Approaches to the Conservation of Cultural Heritage," 3.
[417] Jigyasu, "The Intangible Dimension of Urban Heritage," 142.
[418] With its origins in Latin, the saying is used to express self-determination and identity politics, and was popularised during the 1990s disability rights movement.

do. We would like to change it ourselves. Because it is important for us because we're here on the ground, we know what is going on. I don't want the City to come and say do this, do that, you can't do this, you can't do that because they have no idea, they have *no* idea.

Change is sometimes very good, but it depends what kind of change. […] But always consider us. Because we are the people of the land and we too need to be aware of what your discussions are, and what *you've* decided that *you* feel is good for us is not always good for us.[419]

### *6.3.6 The everyday space*

Adam Gopnik describes city squares as falling into two categories: the "declamatory" and the "domestic".[420] Domestic squares are smaller, often formed organically as a city grows around it, while the declamatory square is conceived as the scene of civic events, tracing the authorised history and politics of a place. Design guidelines of the 2006-2008 HIA, and their interpretation by the Revitalisation plan, recognised the importance to facilitate trading activities. However, implementation (so far) has focused on "purification" of the tangible elements of the built environment (removing spatial clutter, rationalising surfaces, planting and lighting), with results that speak only to the declamatory qualities of the square.[421]

The form and formal function of the Grand Parade represents nationhood: colonial, apartheid and now, democratic South Africa. The lived and temporal qualities and diversity that might "domesticate" the site are stringently controlled within the parameters of its heritage status, which de-peoples the Grand Parade.

## 6.4 What to do with the Grand Parade Market

The Grand Parade has multiple formal stakeholders from two spheres of government involved in its management. CoCT competencies are informal trade, managed by Economic Development; stallholder leases, managed by Property Management; while the usage of space is a Facilities Management affair. Provincial Heritage Western Cape is custodian of the physical heritage.

---

[419] Salie, interview with author, 2019.

[420] Adam Gopnik, "Place des Voges, Paris: A Private Place" in *City Squares: Eighteen Writers on the Spirit and Significance of Squares Around the World*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2016), 39.

[421] ILISO Consulting, ARG Design & Urban Scapes, "Revitalisation of the Grand Parade Precinct Final Conceptual Spatial Development Framework Report," for the City of Cape Town Urban Design Branch (December 2007): 30.

Intangible heritage has no representation.

While the tangible and intangible qualities of place are indivisible, the mechanism of identification and response can be very different. The significance of a built environment asset might be retained through preservation, rehabilitation or adaptation, while living heritage significance might need safeguarding, celebration, enablement or memorialisation.

But, what do you do with living heritage whose viability is under threat? How do you enable the stakeholder? Living heritage has the capacity to be self-sustaining—economically and socially contributory, even—if it is given a supporting environment. Which authority is responsible for creating that environment? With three spheres of government and multiple, sometimes contradictory, policies there is no clear answer.

Bwasiri observes that South Africa is the only Southern African country that *has* legislated for living cultural heritage. However, he argues that legislation without the political will and administrative capacity is not enough. He cites successful efforts in Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, working without a legislative framework, that follow a "participatory approach" where all stakeholders "work together to negotiate the delegation of responsibilities for all aspects of the management process".[422] But the historic urban context has multiple claimants. Heritage professionals and decision-makers surely *need* a formal framework to negotiate dissonance.

In 2003, Deacon wrote: "The definition of intangible heritage should become part of a holistic definition of heritage that includes both tangible and intangible forms. There is no reason why national governments should not safeguard tangible and intangible heritage by means of the same instrument."[423] Andrew Hall, a co-author of NHRA, has intimated that a redraft is due.[424] Hart, too, feels a revision of the Act might bring together notions of heritage places and maintenance of custom.[425]

Bakker, concerned by the "formalistic approach embedded in heritage" whereby the tangible qualities of place are entrenched in the NHRA, called for a better definition of *place* as a "mental

[422] Emmanuel J Bwasiri, "The Challenge of Managing Intangible Heritage: Problems in Tanzanian Legislation and Administration." *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, Vol. 66, No. 194 (December 2011): 133.
[423] Deacon, The Subtle Power of Intangible Heritage, 34.
[424] Andrew Hall, ("The Integrated City," seminar, African Centre for Cities, University of Cape Town, August 18, 2018).
[425] Hart, interview with author, 2019.

and cultural construct" rather than a "physical entity".[426] I wonder if a broader definition of *resources* as "mental and cultural constructs" might contribute a more inclusive way of reading the layers of significance value in the heritage environment? A *resource* (arguably as rich in meaning as *place)* can be understood as a "source of information"; a "reserve of materials, people, or some other asset"; the "collective means possessed by a country or region for its own enrichment".[427] These are intangible qualities.

### *6.4.1 Re-looking: remap, reinterpret, represent*

A 2019 conference of the Association of Professional Heritage Practitioners (APHP) identified the lacuna between policy *intentions* and practical *implementation* that left social history and living heritage poorly addressed by the heritage process.[428] It noted that there has been a failure to listen to the voices from below.[429] Similarly, a 2018 seminar on *The Integrated City* at the University of Cape Town's African Centre for Cities examined the contradictions, conflicts and gaps that exist in local cultural policy, governance and sustainable integrated urban development.[430] It identified a disconnect—an environment of mistrust—born of the legacy of paternalistic governance and an excluded citizenry.[431]

While the sentiment of cultural heritage professionals might be to address this gap, Silberman observes that "most existing heritage laws, conventions and charters standing at the very core of heritage conservation and management deal with formal categories of significance and states of physical preservation, not wider economic, social or political aims."[432] However, two recent (2018, 2019) local cases—in Bo Kaap and in Woodstock, and both driven by activist actions—demonstrate the change in sentiment towards a recognition of the living heritage qualities of place.

Bo Kaap is a historic and fairly architecturally and socially homogeneous precinct of Cape Town. Its central location has put it under pressure both to densify and diversify. It has long been subject

---

[426] Bakker, "South African heritage places: expanding current interpretation and presentation," 2.
[427] Oxford English Dictionary, Oxford University Press. Accessed June 20, 2019. https://www.oed.com.
[428] Association of Professional Heritage Practitioners, "Reconnecting Heritage: Unpacking heritage dissonance," at District Six Homecoming Centre, Cape Town, April, 5-7, 2019.
[429] Referencing the notion of "history from below", a social history approach to recording seldom heard voices of the oppressed and ignored.
[430] African Centre for Cities, "The Integrated City," at the University of Cape Town, August 18, 2018.
[431] Andrew Hall, Mark Morgan, Avril Joffe, ("The Integrated City," seminar, African Centre for Cities, University of Cape Town, August 18, 2018).
[432] Neil Silberman, "Changing Visions of Heritage Value: what Role Should the Experts Play?," *Ethnologies*, 36 (1-2), (2014): 435.

to heritage protections that focus on the built fabric, structures over 60 years of age or those designated Provincial Heritage Sites.[433] However, relatively little of the fabric is authentic or intact, which has led to successful heritage-based arguments for allowing new developments. That was, until recent activist actions demonstrated the vulnerability of the precinct's *living heritage* to these changes, with the result that a long-proposed Heritage Protection Overlay Zone (HPOZ), recognising *these* values, has been agreed to by City and residents—and implemented.

The second case is located in an existing HPOZ in Woodstock, a precinct experiencing rapid urban development and gentrification. The site for the WEX2 multi-storey mixed-used development, while relatively small, is made up of several erven, necessitating a NHRA application under Section 38, which calls for an HIA study.[434] The findings of the mandated Social Impact study identified the need to mitigate socially exclusionary development. For the developer, the recommendations were financially onerous and minimally implemented in plans. This led HWC to demand a re-examination of the site's "living heritage and 'memory of community'".[435] The outcome of this case might give insight into methods to include living heritage significance in formal heritage studies of the built environment.[436]

In the Bo Kaap case, the responsible authority, CoCT Heritage Resources Section, turned to the recently reinstated Cultural Heritage Strategy 2005 for guidance.[437] This policy marks a dramatic shift from conservation of the built environment to a heritage management system that stresses "the significance of the layering of histories, perceptions and interventions".[438] It looks to the wider historic and cultural context for conservation indicators and prioritises community participation as a "knowledge resource", which has the capacity to better communicate ideas of identity.[439]

CHS 2005 incorporates 15 policy statements and a series of mechanisms and commitments for the City.[440] If applied to the Grand Parade market, this would recognise it and provide for its practice. One policy motivates City to promote an awareness of significant heritage previously

---

[433] General protections apply to structures over 60 years of age (NHRA S-34), while formal protections (NHRA S-27) apply to Provincial Heritage Sites.
[434] Had the site not triggered S-38, the criteria of S-34, with its less prescriptive study requirements, would apply.
[435] This is in line with the provisions of NHRAS-38(3).
[436] Steve Kretzman, "Heritage body pushes Woodstock developers back," *GroundUp* (June 18, 2019).
[437] Hart, interview with author, 2019.
[438] CoCT, Cultural Heritage Strategy for the City of Cape Town. Environmental Resource Management Environmental & Heritage Management Branch, Heritage Resources Section. (Approved October 19, 2005), 9.
[439] Ibid., 14.
[440] Attwell, interview with author, 2019.

excluded by heritage policy.[441] Another addresses context and scale, noting the relevance of social contexts in heritage-related decisions. Cultural diversity is recognised as important, particularly as it relates to traditional practices and heritage places.[442] Policies motivate integrating heritage practices into City planning, and the recognition and interpretation of those practices.[443]

CHS 2005 has not yet been widely incorporated in local heritage process and how it might integrate with the existing provincial protections that apply to the Grand Parade (where in terms of heritage legislation, City of Cape Town is a commenting authority) is unclear to me.

The Woodstock case reveals the tensions between—using Lefebvre's reading of space—representation of space (the conceptual design plan), spatial practice (zoning and management), and the lived, emotional space of the everyday.[444] Approaches such as the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) and Living Heritage Approach (LHA) might shed light on alternative, holistic ways to manage cultural urban spaces.

The LHA's people-centred approach is concerned with developing strategies for effective community engagement.[445] Importantly, it prioritises knowledge-sharing between conservation professionals and stakeholder groups. To answer the question: "whose heritage?" it is essential to involve a practicing community in the identification and management of living heritage. Historically, the language of the profession has been exclusionary, with methods of identification and evaluation prescribed by a set of institutionally dictated criteria (such as the HIA). The result is described by Vawda as epistemic injustice, meaning the practicing community is unable to participate in a "knowing" way, not having the agency or the language to interpret what is known differently—which he describes as silencing.[446] In a participatory approach, all voices are heard and conflict and contestation become a very real possibility (even within one group there may be diverse and divergent views), but this "messiness" is described as an important part of a process to tease out real meaning and value.[447]

Comprehensive mapping, suggested by the HUL approach, has the capacity to reveal value

---

[441] Ibid. 16.
[442] CoCT, *Cultural Heritage Strategy for the City of Cape Town* (2005), 15.
[443] Ibid. 13-18.
[444] Michael Leary-Owhin, "A Fresh Look at Lefebvre's Spatial Triad and Differential Space: A Central Place in Planning Theory?," University of the West of England: England (2012).
[445] Smith, "Civic Engagement Tools for Urban Conservation," 224-234.
[446] Shahid Vawda, Keynote Presentation, (conference, Association of Professional Heritage Practitioners, Cape Town, April 5, 2019.
[447] Deirdre Prins-Solani, ("The Integrated City," seminar, African Centre for Cities, University of Cape Town, August 18, 2018).

hierarchies and discrepancies of meaning.[448] For example, Tyrone Africa, City Facilities Manager, sees "Grand Parade" defined by its legal boundaries (a perceived space), with a threshold to City Hall and a problematic obstruction in the form of the statue of King Edward VII. Trader Salie sees "Grand Parade" as the area defined by the bi-weekly market (her lived space), while the eastern half of the Parade is "the parking". Mapping what another sees might go towards understanding and then resolving the inevitable conflicts and contestations that come with diversity.

The importance of living heritage to social redress, and to rebalancing the representation of the historic city is, in Hart's view, critical. He says, "In the South African context, where we're not a homogeneous society, it is a fantastic opportunity for education and making bridges between different groups within the city."[449]

### *6.4.2 In summary*

The shift from "urban conservation" to "urban heritage" is part of the post-colonial process. Silberman describes a move from essentialised criteria (significance, authenticity, place) to "local, relational construction of collective memory" based on social, cultural and economic activities.[450] This may, as some predict, lead to a new paradigm.[451] Or, the prevailing law might be tested in the courts. The Gees Judgement of 2016 broadened the scope of NHRA Section 34 (general protections of a structure over 60 years) calling for an assessment of the impact of development to the broader context, beyond the physical boundaries of a site. Might case law drive the recognition of living heritage in a similar way?[452]

A clear and familiar system of identification, assessment and action protects our tangible and built heritage. An equivalent is needed for living heritage. I have looked at the various approaches and certain activities appear core. They are the following.

The *identification of values* happens through historic and social research in the archive, and through active and empathetic listening to the practicing community. This process can tease out *threats to viability* which can be addressed through effective integration with city planning. This

---

[448] Cultural mapping, drawn from cultural landscape work, is described as, "exploring, discovering, documenting, examining, analysing, interpreting, presenting and sharing" information related to the people, practice and place. Taylor, "Cities as Cultural Landscapes," 202.; Both HUL and the LHA are being tested in various contexts in Africa and worldwide.

[449] Hart, interview with author, 2019.

[450] Neil Silberman, "Changing Visions of Heritage Value," 441.

[451] Francesco Banderin and Ron Van Oers, Rohit Jigyasu, Ionnis Poulios, Gamini Wejisuriya, Neil Silberman, Harriet Deacon, Ken Taylor, Julian Smith and others.

[452] Gees v Provincial Minister of Cultural affairs and Sport, Western Cape and Others (974/2015) [2016] ZASCA 136; 2017 (1) SA 1 (SCA) (29 September 2016)

needs *inclusionary language,* and an inclusionary approach *facilitating informality*.

Living memories should be *documented* and, looking to the wider context, *interpreted.* Awareness-raising, by making living heritage accessible to, and understood by, the broader society, can solicit a supportive coexistence that contributes to sustainable practise.

Heritage work is multidisciplinary. At the APHP conference, the notion of a *trans-disciplinary* approach was mooted. This can be defined as "different disciplines working jointly to […] move beyond discipline-specific approaches to address a common problem."[453] A trans-disciplinary approach might allow a more holistic method of identification, management and acknowledgement of cultural heritage assets. This could provide a framework for knowledge sharing and education among professional practitioners, which encourages and facilitates heritage professionals from different disciplines to share expertise, understanding and language. If extended to community stakeholders and representatives of the city, a robust knowledge base of great depth can be built.

[453] Harvard, "Harvard Transdisciplinary Research," accessed May 20, 2019. http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/trec/aboutus/definitions.

# 7. CONCLUSION

I stated at the outset that I intended to find out if the Grand Parade bi-weekly market was living heritage. The historical research and the interviews with past and present traders show that it is.

I also said that I would find out how conservation practice should respond to living heritage in the built environment. This has been very difficult to answer, not least, because my research has taken place in an environment where official responses are changing.

Writing in 2001, David Harvey found that "heritage" (being as it is, about the past, for the future, in the present) "has always been with us and has always been produced by people according to their contemporary concerns and experiences."[454] Contemporary South African heritage concerns, driven both from the top-down and bottom-up, are widening the focus from conservation of the tangible elements of the environment to include living heritage. A rising impatience to recognise memories, traditions, and cultural spaces as valid is driven by their capacity to address social and spatial inequality.

I have found that legislation provides poorly for the recognition of living heritage, and National Policy gives little guidance on strategies for safeguarding it. Local policy is still little-known outside of the City of Cape Town's offices, and there are few examples of best practice to follow, particularly in the historic urban landscape.

The Grand Parade bi-weekly market is a small, but important piece of Cape Town's history. This living heritage exists within, and is dependent on, its tangible realm but cannot be managed in the same way as the tangible heritage. A traditional practice should not be regulated, but it should be regulated *for*. Legislation that requires the heritage significance values of a cultural practice to be identified, and the threats to viability of the values and the practice to be monitored, would set a framework for appropriate actions.

However, the actions that such an instrument enables might clash with those designed to protect other activities or places. This is not a new problem in urbanism and heritage, as the work of the urban theorists Henri Lefebvre, Jane Jacobs, Richard Sennett and Rahul Mehrotra attest. Each has explored and embraced this dissonance. Similarly, the holistic approaches to management of the

[454] David C. Harvey, "Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies," *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7:4 (2001): 320.

historic urban landscape find this messiness to be an unavoidable, even essential, element of creating urban spaces that accommodate the interconnected social, economic, environmental and cultural needs of a heterogeneous society.

But, crucially, this depends on the active and equal involvement of all stakeholders. The *Nara +20* document notes that cultural heritage is in continuous evolution, which creates challenges for heritage management. It suggests that new processes and methodologies must accommodate diversity in the interpretation of cultural value, and emphasises stakeholder involvement.[455] It identifies a very real stumbling block applicable to local conditions: "the imbalance of power among stakeholders, often determined by heritage legislation, decision-making mechanisms, and economic interests."[456] Only a process of profound listening that gives agency to the practitioners of the tradition (its experts) could rebalance this.

The keepers of a heritage tradition, the developers building the city, the officials charged with decision making and the professional heritage practitioners who work to inform those decisions need to craft a well-understood, well-respected response to living heritage in the historic urban environment.

Grand Parade's bi-weekly market is living heritage. It is an important layer of significance to the Grand Parade. It deserves to be identified, documented, interpreted and enabled, to ensure viability and to allow it to thrive and give depth to the Cape cultural landscape.

[455] Japan ICOMOS, "Nara +20: On Heritage Practices, Cultural Values and the Concept of Authenticity," (2014).
[456] Ibid.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY


Abrahams, Gabeda. "The Grand Parade, Cape Town: Archaeological Excavations of the Seventeenth Century Fort de Goede Hoop." *African Archaeological Bulletin 48* (1993): 3-15. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527250600604639

Adell, Nicholas, Regina Bendix, Chiara Bortolotto, and Markus Tauschek. *Between Imagined Communities and Communities of Practice*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen (2015).

Adikari, M. "A total extinction confidently hoped for: the destruction of Cape San society under Dutch colonial rule, 1700-1795." *Journal of Genocide Research* Vol. 12 Issue 1/2, (March-June 2010): 19-44.

Aikman et al., City of Cape Town, City Engineer's Department. "A Development Plan for the Grand Parade & its Environs." Report no. 60/1981 Ref TP 2/12. October 1981.

Ahmad, Yahaya. "The Scope and Definition of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible." In *International Journal of Heritage Studies* Volume 12, Number 3, (May 2006): 292-300.

Alderman, Derek H., and Joshua FJ Inwood. "Landscapes of memory and socially just futures." In *The Wiley-Blackwell companion to cultural geography,* 186-197 Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2013.

Alexander, Christopher, Ishikawa, Sara, and Silverstein, Murray. *A pattern language : towns, buildings, construction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Allen, John, Dorreen Massey, and Michael Pryke. *Unsettling cities : movement/settlement*. London: Routledge, 1999.

Andrag, Bettina. "Transport and Trade. A critical analysis of the informal sector at the Cape Town Station." (Thesis, LSE Cities Programme, August 30, 2011).

Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG). "A report of the Arts and Culture Task Group." Department of Arts and Culture, June, 1995.

Ashworth, G. J., Brian Graham, and J.E. Tunbridge. *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*. London: Pluto Press, 2007.

Association of Critical Heritage Studies. Accessed July 7, 2018. http://www.criticalheritagestudies.org.

Attwell, Melanie. "Grand Parade Phase One Heritage Impact Assessment." Unpublished report for the Cape Town Partnership and the City of Cape Town, (February, 2006).

Attwell, Melanie and Associates. "Phase One Grand Parade Heritage Impact Assessment." Draft (November 2005).

Attwell, Melanie and Graham Jacobs. "Grand Parade, Phase Two Heritage Impact Assessment." Prepared for the City of Cape Town. (February, 2008).

Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, *The Burra Charter*, 2013.

Avrami, Erica, Randall Mason, and Marta de la Torre. *Values and Heritage Conservation*. Research Report. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2000.

Bakker, Karel Anthonie, and Műller, Liana. "Intangible Heritage and Community Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa." *Museum International* 62, no. 1-2 (May 2010): 48–54.

Bakker, Karel Anthonie. "Preserving Intangible Heritage Resources: Examples from South Africa." Paper presented at ICOMOS 14th General Assembly, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, (October 2003).

Bakker, Karel A. "South African heritage places: expanding current interpretation and presentation." *SAJAH*, volume 22, number 2, (2007): 14-23. Accessed July 1 2018. http://journals.co.za.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/docserver/fulltext/sajah/22/2/sajah_v22_n2_a3.pdf?

Bandarin, Francesco and Ron van Oers. *Reconnecting the City : the Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage.* Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015.

Bank, Andrew, and Gary Minkley. "Genealogies of space and identity in Cape Town." *Kronos. Journal of*

*Cape History* 25 (1998).

Beardslee, Thomas. "Whom does heritage empower, and whom does it silence? Intangible cultural heritage at the Jemaa el Fnaa, Marrakech." *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 22:2 (2016): 89-101. DOI: 10.1080/13527258.2015.1037333

Berman, Andrew. "MEMO: Upgrading the Grand Parade." For Urban Design Services cc, (October 20, 2017).

Bhattacharya, Sabyasachi. "'History from Below'." *Social Scientist*, Vol 11, No 4 (April 1983): 3-20.

Bickford-Smith, Vivian, E Van Heyningen, and Nigel Worden. *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century: an Illustrated Social History.* Claremont, South Africa: David Philip, 1999.

Blake, Janet. "Seven Years of Implementing UNESCO's 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention—Honeymoon Period or the 'Seven-Year Itch'?" *International Journal of Cultural Property*, Vol.21(3), (2014): 291-304.

Bouchenaki, Mounir. "The Interdependency of the Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage." From Place – memory – meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites. Paper presented at ICOMOS 14th General Assembly, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, (October 2003).

Bogues, A. "And What about the Human?: Freedom, Human Emancipation, and the Radical Imagination." *Boundary* 2 (Fall 2012): 29-46.

Brommer, Bea. *Grote Atlas van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie / Comprehensive Atlas of the Dutch United East India Company*. Vol. V : Afrika / Africa. Zierikzee: Asia Maior, 2009.

Butler, Chris (Chris Adrian). *Henri Lefebvre : spatial politics, everyday life and the right to the city*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012.

Bwasiri, Emmanuel J. "The Challenge of Managing Intangible Heritage: Problems in Tanzanian Legislation and Administration." *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, Vol. 66, No. 194 (December 2011): 129-135. Accessed June 7, 2019, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23631415.

By a Lady. *Life at the Cape A Hundred Years Ago*. Cape Town: C Struik, 1973.

Byrne, Dennis. "A critique of unfeeling heritage." In *Intangible Heritage*, edited by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 229-252. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Carlyle, Stewart. "Cape Town's Grand Parade in for a face-lift." *Drakenstein Buletin* (April 2008): 13-14.

Charles, Marvin. "Woodstock developers told to consider gentrification when redesigning plans." *Cape Argus*, June 14, 2019.

Charles, Marvin. "Developers told to alter plans." *Cape Argus*, June 14 2019.

City of Cape Town. City Engineer's Department. *A Development Plan for the Grand Parade & its Environs.* (Report no. 60/1981 Ref TP 2/12). October 1981.

City of Cape Town. *Environmental Strategy for the City of Cape Town* (No. 46612), Approved by Council, August 24, 2017. C05/08/17.

City of Cape Town. *Cultural Heritage Strategy for the City of Cape Town. Environmental Resource Management Environmental & Heritage Management Branch, Heritage Resources Section*. Approved October 19, 2005. MC 17/10/05.

City of Cape Town. *Informal Trading Policy (No. 12664).* Approved by Council September 26, 2013. C06/09/13

City of Cape Town. *Spatial Development Plan and Environmental Management Framework*. October 2012.

City Engineer's Department. *Outline Development Plan for Grand Parade and Environs*. September 25, 1974.

City Planner's Department. *Central City Urban Design Studies*. Cape Town City Council, 1995.

Court, Sarah and Gamini Wijesuriya. "People-Centred Approaches to the Conservation of Cultural Heritage: Living Heritage." International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property. Rome: ICCROM, (2015).

Crush, Jonathan, Caroline Skinner, and Manal Stulgaitis. “Benign Neglect or Active Destruction? A Critical Analysis of Refugee and Informal Sector Policy and Practice in South Africa.” *African Human Mobility Review* 3 (2017): 751-782.

Daniels, DG. “Public Open Space in the Central Business District of Cape Town.” MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1973.

Dawood, Zohra, “Making a Community: Indians in Cape Town, Circa 1900-1980s,” MA thesis, University of Cape Town, 1993.

Deacon, Harriet, Luvuyo Dondolo, Mbulelo Mrubata and Sandra Prosalendis. *The subtle power of intangible heritage : legal and financial instruments for safeguarding intangible heritage.* Cape Town, South Africa: Human Sciences Research Council, 2004.

Deacon, Harriet, Sephai Mngqolo and Sandra Prosalendis. *Protecting Our Cultural Capital, A Research Plan for the Heritage Sector*. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council, 2003. Accessed July 1, 2018. http://www.archivalplatform.org/images/resources/Protecting_our_Cultural_Capital_-_Protecting_our_Cultural_Capital_-_Entire_eBook.pdf

Deacon, Harriet Jane. “Conceptualising Intangible Heritage in Urban Environments: Challenges for Implementing the HUL Recommendation.” *Built Heritage* (2018/4): 72-81.

Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*. Pretoria, June 4, 1996.

Department of Arts and Culture. *National Policy on South African Living Heritage*. First Draft, March 2009.

Department of Arts and Culture. *National Policy on South African Living Heritage*. 2016.

Department of Arts and Culture. *Revision of the Department of Arts and Culture White Paper 1996*. Forth draft, October 27, 2017.

Díaz-Andreu, Margarita. “Heritage Values and the Public.” *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage*, 4:1 (2017): 2-6. DOI: 10.1080/20518196.2016.1228213

Erasmus, Zimitri. “Re-imagining Coloured Identities in Post-Apartheid South Africa.” In *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place : Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town*, ed Zimitri Erasmus. Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001.

Editor. “Regulating trading Comparison to Petticoat Lane.” *Cape Times Weekly Edition*, February 20, 1907.

Ewart, James. *James Ewart’s Journal Covering his stay at the Cape of Good Hope (1811-1814).* Cape Town: C Struik Pty. Ltd., 1970.

Field, Sean. *Oral History, Community, and Displacement Imagining Memories in Post Apartheid South Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Fleming Andrew and Bulelwa Makalima-Ngewana. “Cape Town’s central city development: A strategy of partnership and inclusion.” Planning Africa 2012 Congress. 526_Article Text-1058-2-1020170621.pdf.

Foucault, Michel, and Gordon, Colin. *Power/knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977.* Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1980.

Gees v Provincial Minister of Cultural affairs and Sport, Western Cape and Others (974/2015) [2016] ZASCA 136; 2017 (1) SA 1 (SCA) (29 September 2016). Accessed June 10, 2019. http://www.saflii.org/za/cases/ZASCA/2016/136.html

Geldenhuys, Henriette. “Moves are afoot to relocate hawkers to Grand Parade.” *Cape Times*, May 24, 2001.

Gillham, Bill. *Case Study Research Methods*. London: Continuum, 2000.

Gopnik, Adam. “Place des Voges, Paris: A Private Place” in *City Squares: Eighteen Writers on the Spirit and Significance of Squares Around the World*, 39-49. New York: Harper Collins, 2016.

Graham, B. J., and Peter Howard. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008.

Green, Lawrence G. *I Heard the Old Men Say*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins, 1964.

Hall, Stuart. "Un-settling 'the heritage', re-imagining the post-nation Whose heritage?." *Third Text*, 13:49, 3-13, (1999). DOI: 10.1080/09528829908576818

Hamilton, Carolyn, Verne Harris, Michèle Pickover, Graeme Reid, Razia Saleh, and Jane Taylor, eds. *Refiguring the archive.* Springer Science & Business Media, 2012.

British Association Reception Committee. *Handbook of Cape Town and Suburbs*. Cape Town: 1905.

Harrison, Rodney. *Heritage: Critical Approaches.* London: Routledge, 2013.

Harrison, Rodney. "What is heritage." In *Understanding the politics of heritage*, ed Rodney Harrison, 5-42. Manchester: University Press, 2010.

Harvey, David C. "The history of heritage." In *The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity,* eds. Brian J Graham and Peter Howard, 19-36. Ashgate Publishing, 2008.

Harvey, David C. "Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies." *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 7:4 (2001): 319-338 DOI: 10.1080/13581650120105534

Harvey, David. "The right to the city." (2008): 23-40. Accessed April 23, 2019, https://kompreser.espivblogs.net/files/2012/11/David-Harvey-The-Right-To-The-City-full.pdf

Havik, Klaske. *Urban Literacy, Reading and Writing Architecture*. Rotterdam: nai010 Publishers, 2014.

Hayden, Dolores. *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. Cambridge. Mass: MIT Press, 1995.

HeritageAgencycc. "Review of Heritage Legislation." Final report. Department of Arts and Culture, (2007).

Heritage Western Cape. *Guide to Grading in Terms of NHRA*. Version 13, June 10, 2015.

Hodes, Rebecca. "Free Fight on the Grand Parade": Resistance to the Greyshirts in 1930s South Africa." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (2014):185-208. Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/24393404

Hyslop, Jonathan. "South African Social History and the New Non-Fiction." *Safundi* 13, no. 1-2 (2012): 59-71.

International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property. ICCROM. Accessed January 7 2019, https://www.iccrom.org/

ILISO Consulting, ARG Design & Urban Scapes. "Revitalisation of the Grand Parade Precinct Final Conceptual Spatial Development Framework Report." For The City of Cape Town Urban Design Branch, (December 12, 2007).

Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Penguin: Great Britain, 1994.

Jamaâ El Fna. Accessed July 18, 2018. http://www.jemaa-el-fna.com/en/historical/

Jamal, Tazim, and Steve Hill. "Developing a framework for indicators of authenticity: The place and space of cultural and heritage tourism." *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* 9, no. 4 (2004): 353-372. DOI: 10.1080/1094166042000311246

Janesick, V. J. "Oral History as a Social Justice Project: Issues for the Qualitative Researcher." *The Qualitative Report*, 12(1) (2007): 111-121. Accessed June 29, 2019. https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol12/iss1/8

Japan ICOMOS. "Nara +20: On Heritage Practices, Cultural Values and the Concept of Authenticity." Accessed April 14, 2019, http://www.japan-icomos.org/pdf/nara20_final_eng.pdf.

Jensen, Sune Qvotrup. "Othering, identity formation and agency." *Qualitative studies* 2, no. 2 (2011): 63-78.

Jigyasu, Rohit. "The Intangible Dimension of Urban Heritage." In *Reconnecting the city : the historic urban landscape approach and the future of urban heritage*, edited by Francesco Bandarin and Ron van Oers, 129-147. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015.

Johns, Lynette. "Return to Glory beackons for Grand Parade." (April 24, 2002).

Jokilehto, Jukka. "Evolution of the Normative Framework." In Reconnecting the City: the Historic Urban

Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage, edited by Francesco Banderin and Ron Van Oers, 205-219. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015.

Jones, Siân. "Wrestling with the Social Value of Heritage: Problems, Dilemmas and Opportunities," *Journal of community archaeology & heritage*, Vol. 4 No. 1, (February, 2017): 21–37. DOI 10.1080/20518196.2016.1193996

Karp, Ivan, Corrine Kratz, Lynn Szwaja and Tomas Ybarra-Frausto, editors. *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*. Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2006.

Kretzman, Steve. "Heritage body pushes Woodstock developers back." *GroundUp*, June 18, 2019. Accessed June 20, 2019, https://www.groundup.org.za/article/heritage-body-pushes-woodstock-developers-back/.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production." In *Museum International, Intangible heritage*, Vol LVI, n°1-2, (May 2004): 52-64.

Kurin, Richard. "Safeguarding immaterial cultural heritage in the 2003 UNESCO Convention: A critical appraisal." In *Museum International, Intangible heritage*, Vol LVI, n°1-2, (May 2004): 66-76.

Kymäläinen, Päivi and Paulina Nordström. "Temporary geographies of the city: the experienced spaces of asylum seekers in the City of Turku, Finland." *Fennia* 188: 1 (2010): 76–90.

Le May, Jean. "Grand Parade set to get Grander." *Sunday Argus*, May 6, 2001.

Leary-Owhin, Michael. "A Fresh Look at Lefebvre's Spatial Triad and Differential Space: A Central Place in Planning Theory?" University of the West of England: England (2012): 68-73.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991.

Legae, John. "'Patrimoine Partagé' to 'Whose Heritage?' Critical Reflections on Colonial Built Heritage in the City of Lubumbashi, Democratic Republic of Congo." In *Remembering and Forgetting City Builders*, edited by Haim Yacobi and Tovi Fenster. Routledge: London, 2010.

Legassick, Martin, and Gary Minkley. "Current Trends in the production of South African history." *Alternation* 5, no. 1 (1998): 98-129.

Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country - Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Luxen, Jean-Louis. "The Intangible dimension of monuments and sites with reference to the UNESCO World Heritage List." Paper presented at ICOMOS 14th General Assembly, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, (October 2003).

Manetsi, Thabo. "State-prioritised Heritage: governmentality, heritage management and the prioritisation of liberation heritage in post-colonial South Africa." PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2017.

Manetsi, Thabo. "Can Intangibles be Tangible? Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in the New South Africa: Towards Formulating Policy for the Conservation and Sustainable Management of Living Heritage." MPhil minor dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2007.

Manetsi, Thabo. "Safeguarding Intangible Heritage in South Africa: a Critique of the Draft National Policy on Living Heritage." *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, Vol. 06 (2011): 57-69.

Manetsi, Thabo, "Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage: towards drafting a policy for the sustainable management and conservation of living heritage." *South African Museums Association Bulletin*, Volume 32, Issue 1, (Jan 2006): 80-84.

Marschall, Sabine. "Articulating Cultural Pluralism through Public Art as Heritage in South Africa." *Visual Anthropology* 23, no. 2 (February 4, 2010): 77–97.

Marschall, Sabine. "'Personal memory tourism' and a wider exploration of the tourism–memory nexus." *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 10:4, (2012): 321-335.

Marschall, Sabine. "Memory and Identity in South Africa: Contradictions and Ambiguities in the Process of Post-apartheid Memorialization." *Visual Anthropology*, 25:3, (2012): 189-204.

Macmillan, Fiona. "Contemporary Intangible Cultural Heritage: Between Community and Market." Forthcoming in *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Culture*, edited by C Waelde, M

Pavis and H Enright. Edward Elgar 2017.

Marvin, Charles. “Informal traders to meet City of Cape Town over stadium relocation plan.” *Cape Argus*, March 19, 2019, accessed March 20, 2019, https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/news/informal-traders-to-meet-city-of-cape-town-over-stadium-relocation-plan-19968635

Mehrotra, Rahul. “Conservation and Change: Questions for Conservation Education in Urban India.” *Built Environment* 33, no. 3 (November 2007): 342–356.

Mehrotra, Rahul. “Negotiating the Static and Kinetic Cities.” In *Urban Imaginaries*, edited by A. Huyssen, 205-218. Durham: NC, 2007.

Mehrotra, Rahul. “Kinetic City, Emerging Urbanism in India”. Accessed July 18, 2018, http://rmaarchitects.com/files/Kinetic-City_Essay-for-BSR.pdf

Mentzel, O. F. *Description of the Cape*. Translated by H.J. Mandelbrote. Part 1. Cape Town: The van Riebeek Society, 1921.

Meskell, Lynn. “Negative Heritage and Past Mastering in Archaeology.” *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 75, No. 3. (Summer, 2002): 557-574.

Meskell, Lynn. “Living in the Past. Historic Futures in Double Time.” In *Desire Lines, Space Memory and identity in the post-apartheid city*, edited by Noëlene Murray, Nick Shepherd and Martin Hall, 165-181. Oxon: Routledge, 2007.

Methuen, Henry. *Life in the Wilderness: Or, Wanderings in South Africa*. London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1848.

Montgomery Martin, Robert. *The British colonies; their history, extent, condition, and resources*. Vol III. London: The London Publishing and Printing Company, c.1855.

Morris, SS. *Cape Town city for the people: a plan to improve the pedestrian environment of the central city*. City of Cape Town, 1975.

Morris, SS. “Metropolis in the Making.” Paper presented at the 47th Conference of Municipal Engineers of South Africa.

Mortlock, Monique. “Woodstock Developers urged to consider community's living heritage and memory." *Eye Witness News*, June 13, 2019.

Mortlock, Monique. “District 6: Failed by Government Again,” *Eye Witness News*, April 15, 2019. Accessed April 15, 2019, https://ewn.co.za/2019/04/15/district-6-failed-by-government-again

Mossop, Judy. “Monuments body may veto plans for Parade.” *Cape Times*, October 3, 1974.

Murray, RW. *South African Reminiscences.* Cape Town: Juta, 1894.

Museum International. *Intangible heritage*. Vol LVI, n°1-2, Blackwell Publishing: May 2004.

National Heritage Resources Act, 1999 (NHRA), Government Gazette, Vol 406, Cape Town No. 19974, April 28 1999.

Ndlovu, Ndukuyakhe. “Legislation as an instrument in South African heritage management: Is it effective?” *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 13, no. 1 (2011): 31-57.

Ngcelwane, Nomvuyo. *Sala Kahle District Six. An African Woman’s Perspective*. Cape Town: Kwela Books, 1998.

Nic Craith, Máiréad. “Intangible Heritage - Why should we care?” TEDx Heriot Watt University, (October 16, 2015). Video, 13:34.

Nicol, M. “A History of Garment and Tailoring Workers in Cape Town (1900-1939).” PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1984.

Nieftagodien, Noor. “The Place of ‘The Local’ in History Workshop's Local History.” *African Studies* 69:1, (2010): 41-61. DOI: 10.1080/00020181003647181

Nora, Pierre. "General Introduction: Between Memory and History." In *Realms of Memory: the Construction of the French Past*, trans Arthur Goldhammer, Volume 1. New York: Colombia University Press, 1996-8.

Nora, Pierre. "Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire." *Representations* (1989): 7-24.

Norberg-Schulz, Christian. *Genius Loci : Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*. London: Academy Editions, 1980.

Noyes, Dorothy. "Traditional Culture: How Does it Work?." *Museum Anthropology Review* 5, no. 1-2 (2011): 39-47.

Ntloko, Vuyo. "Grand Parade." September 18, 2000.

O'Connell, Siona. "Apartheid Afterlives." *Third Text*, 32:1, (2018): 32-45, DOI: 10.1080/09528822.2018.1449465

Oral History Association of South Africa. http://www.ohasa.org.za

Pathé Pictures. "Caledonian Market S.A. Aka Cape Town's Caledonian Market 1940." (February 1, 1940). ID 1284.19. Accessed January 20, 2019, https://www.britishpathe.com/video/caledonian-market-s-a-aka-cape-towns-caledonian

Pathé Pictures. "Royal visit to South Africa in 1947." ID 1365.07. Accessed February 20, 2019, https://www.britishpathe.com/video/south-africas-royal-visit-reel-1

Picard, Hymen WJ. *Gentleman's Walk*. Cape Town: C. Struik, 1968.

Picard, Hymen Willem Johannes. *Grand Parade : the Birth of Greater Cape Town, 1850-1913.* Cape Town: C. Struik, 1969.

Pimstone, Millie, and Shain Milton. *The Jews of District 6: Another Time, Another Place*. Cape Town: Isaac and Jesse Kaplan Centre for Jewish Studies and Research, University of Cape Town, 2012.

Pink, Sarah. *Doing Visual Ethnography*. Second Edition. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd, 2007.

Plane, Albert. *Treasury of the Cape.* Cape Town: H. Timmins, 1976.

Prins-Solani, Deirdre, "An Introduction to Intangible Cultural Heritage." Lecture, University of Cape Town, January 23, 2017.

Ponterotto, Joseph G. "Brief note on the origins, evolution, and meaning of the qualitative research concept thick description." *The Qualitative Report* 11, no. 3 (2006): 538-549.

Poulios, Ioannis. *The Past in the Present: A Living Heritage Approach—Meteora, Greece*. London: Ubiquity Press, 2014.

Poulios, Ioannis. "Moving beyond a values-based approach to heritage conservation." *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 12, no. 2 (2010): 170-185.

Purdue Owl. *Chicago Manual of Style*. Purdue University. Accessed 2019, https://owl.purdue.edu/owl/research_and_citation/chicago_manual_17th_edition/cmos_formatting_and_style_guide/chicago_manual_of_style_17th_edition.html

Rassool, Ciraj. "Power, knowledge and the politics of public pasts." *African Studies* 69, no. 1 (2010): 79-101.

Rassool, Ciraj. "The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstitution of History in South Africa." *Kronos* No. 26 (August 2000): 1-21. Accessed August 17, 2017. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41056407

Rassool, Yousuf. *District Six - Lest We Forget. Recapturing subjugated cultural histories of Cape Town (1897-1956)*. Cape Town: University of the Western Cape: 2000.

Reinventing Cities. *Grand Parade Competition*. 2018. ssr_Cape Town_Grand Parade_13d58.pdf.

Rennie, John. *The Buildings of Central Cape Town 1978*. VolumeTwo. Cape Town: Cape Provincial Institute of Architects, 1978.

Rennie Scurr Adendorff Architects. "Grand Parade Appraisal." Report prepared for Director Planning and Economic Development, Cape Town Administration (August 21, 2003).

Reporter. "The Grand Parade." *Cape Times Weekend Magazine*, December 29, 1973.

Rive, Richard. *'Buckingham Palace' District Six*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1986.

Robinson, Jennifer. "Developing Ordinary Cities: City Visioning Processes in Durban and Johannesburg."

*Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 40, no. 1 (January 2008): 74–87. doi:10.1068/a39127.

Rogerson, CM and D M Hart. "The struggle for the streets: Deregulation and hawking in South Africa's major urban areas." *Social Dynamics*, 15:1, (1989): 29-45. DOI:10.1080/02533958908458459

Rosenthal, Gerald. *Walking Cape Town*. Cape Town: Struik Publishers Pty. Ltd., 1999.

Rothermund, Dietmar. "The European quest for control in the Indian Ocean." In *The East Asian Mediterranean; maritime crossroads of culture, commerce and human migration*, edited by Angela Schottenhammer and Harrassowitz Verlag, Vol. 6, 103-112. Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008.

SAHRA. *Criteria Applied by the National Monuments Council in the motivation for the protection of squares and open spaces in South Africa*. Cape Town: SAHRA, 2005.

Said, Edward W. "Invention, Memory and Place." In *The People, Place and Space Reader*, edited by Jen Jack Gieseking and William Mangold, 361-371. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995.

Sennett, Richard. "The Open City." Richard Sennett, Essays. Accessed June 6, 2019. https://www.richardsennett.com.

Sennett, Richard. "The Open City." In *Critical Practice Reader*, compiled by James Soane, 12-18. London: London School of Architecture, 2018.

Sennett, Richard. "The fight for the city." *Eurozine*, (February 2019): 1-8.

Shaw, Brian J, and Ray Jones. *Contested Urban Heritage: Voices from the Periphery*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997.

Shepherd, Nick. "Heritage." In *New South African Keywords* edited by Nick Shepherd and Steven Robbins, 16-128. Johannesburg, Jacana Media, 2008.

Shorten, John R. *Cape Town: Published Under Authority of the City Council of Cape Town to Mark the Golden Jubilee of the Greater City*. Johannesburg: Shorten, 1963.

Silberman, N. "Changing Visions of Heritage Value: what Role Should the Experts Play?" *Ethnologies*, 36 (1-2), (2014) 433–445. https://doi.org/10.7202/1037616ar

Skounti, Ahmed. "The authentic illusion. Humanity's intangible cultural heritage, the Moroccan experience." In *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, 74-92. London: Routledge, 2009.

Smeets, Rieks and Harriet Deacon. "The examination of nomination files under the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage." In *The Routledge Companion to Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Routledge, 2016

Smith, Julian. "Civic Engagement Tools for Urban Conservation." In *Reconnecting the City: the Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage*, edited by Francesco Bandarin and Ron Van Oers, 221-244. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015.

Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*. Oxford: Routledge, 2006.

Smith, Laurajane. "Editorial." *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19(4), (2013): 325-326. doi:10.1080/13527258.2013.798453

Smith, Laurajane, and G Campbell. "Nostalgia for the future: memory, nostalgia and the politics of class." In *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 23(7), ( 2017): 612–627. doi:10.1080/13527258.2017.1321034

Smith, Laurajane, and Akagawa, Natsuko. *Intangible Heritage*. London: Routledge, 2009.

Smith, Laurajane and Gary Campbell. "The elephant in the room: heritage, affect and emotion." To be published in: W. Logan, M Nic Craith, U. Kockel. *A Companion to Heritage Studies*. Wiley-Balckwell, 2015.

Smith, L. "'Class, Heritage and the Negotiation of Place' Missing Out on Heritage." Socio–Economic Status and Heritage Participation Conference, English Heritage, (March 2009): 1-31.

Smith, Laurajane. “Intangible heritage: a challenge to the authorised heritage discourse?” *Revista d’etnologia de Catalunya*, no. 40 (2015): 133–142. Accessed July 1, 2018. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/oaiart?codigo=5348335

Socio Economic Rights Institute (SERI). *Towards Recommendations on the Regulation of Informal Trade at Local Government Level*. Discussion Document, June 2018. Accessed July 2018 http://www.serisa.org/images/SERI_SALGA_Informal_Trade_Discussion_Doc_WEB.pdf

Sørensen, Marie Louise Stig, and John Carman. *Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches*. London: Routledge, 2009.

South African History Online, "Vasco da Gama’s Voyage of ‘Discovery’ 1497," (March 21, 2011), accessed June 28, 2019, https://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/vasco-da-gamas-voyage-discovery-1497

South African History Online, "Bartolomeu Dias," (February 17, 2011), accessed June 28, 2019, https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/bartolomeu-dias

Stadsverslaggewer. "'n Smerige Plak. Parade 'n doring in oog van menige stadsvader." *Die Burger*, August 12, 1960.

Stadsverlslaggewer. "Nog 'n stuk kleurrijke ou Kaap verdwyn." *Die Burger*, July 18, 1973.

Stadsverslaggewer. "Van Riebeeck se fort 'herleef' op Parade." *Die Burger*, November 5, 1981.

Stead, Stephen and Robert Fincham. "Why raising the bar in Environmental Impact Assessments is critical to enhance social and ecological justice in South Africa." *Daily Maverick*, June 11, 2019. Accessed June 14, 2019, https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-06-11-why-raising-the-bar-in-environmental-impact-assessments-is-critical-to-enhance-social-and-ecological-justice-in-south-africa/

Stengel, Richard. “Grand Parade, Cape Town: A Speech for the Ages.” In *City Squares: Eighteen Writers on the Spirit and Significance of Squares Around the World*, edited by Catie Marron, 215-225. New York: Harper Collins, 2016.

Tait, Barbara Campbell. *Cape Cameos. The Story of Cape Town in a New Way.* Cape Town: Stewart, 1948.

Taylor, Ken. “Cities as Cultural Landscapes.” In *Reconnecting the City: the Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage*, edited by Francesco Bandarin and Ron Van Oers, 179-202. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015.

Taylor, Ken. “Connecting Concepts of Cultural Landscape and Historic Urban Landscape: The Politics of Similarity.” *ANU Research Publications* (2018). http://hdl.handle.net/1885/162522

The Archival Platform. http://www.archivalplatform.org/

The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, 2013. Accessed 2018. https://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf

The Grand Parade. Accessed September 29, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/pg/thegrandparade/

Todeschini, Fabio. “Some Reflections on Place, Tangible and Intangible Heritage and on Identity Construction.” Paper presented at ICOMOS 14th General Assembly, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, (October 2003).

Townsend, Stephen Stewart. “Development Rights and Conservation Constraints. Urban Conservation-Oriented Controls in the City of Cape Town.” PhD dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2003.

Townsend, Lesley Freedman. “Local conservation and community participation.” Paper presented at Conference, “Myths, Monuments and Museums,” Wits University (16-18 July 1992). http://hdl.handle.net/10539/8116

Trotter, H. “Trauma and Memory: The Impact of Apartheid-Era Forced Removals on Coloured Identity in Cape Town.” In *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*, edited by M Adhikari, 49-78. Cape Town: UCT Press, 2009.

Tunbridge, John E., and Gregory J. Ashworth. *“Dissonant heritage.” The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict.* Chichester: J. Wiley, 1996.

University of Cape Town. “EBE Ethics in Research Handbook.” Faculty of Engineering & the Built Environment. Revision 5.1, (March 19, 2018).

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). http://www.unesco.org

UNESCO, “What is Intangible Cultural Heritage?” Accessed July 9, 2018. https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003

UNESCO. *Report on the preliminary study on the advisability of regulating internationally, through a new standard-setting instrument, the protection of traditional culture and folklore*. 161 EX/15, Paris: May 16, 2001.

UNESCO. *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Paris: October 17, 2003.

UNESCO. *Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Paris: June 22 -24, 2010.

UNESCO. “The Cultural Space of Jemaa el-Fna Square.” *Inscriptions on the Representative List*. Multimedia Archives eServices, 2008. Accessed July 4 2018, http://www.unesco.org/archives/multimedia/?pg=33&s=films_details&id=1749

UNESCO. *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*. Paris: November 10, 2011. Accessed April 12, 2019, https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-638-98.pdf

UNESCO. *New life for historic cities. The historic urban landscape approach explained*. 2013. Accessed March 12, 2019, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000220957

Van Heyningen, Elizabeth. “Public health and society in Cape Town, 1880-1910.” PhD dissertation, UCT, 1989.

Van Oers, Ron. *Dutch town planning overseas during VOC and WIC rule (1600-1800)*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000.

Van Oers, Ron. “The Way Forward: An Agenda for Reconnecting the City.” In *Reconnecting the City : the Historic Urban Landscape Approach and the Future of Urban Heritage*, edited by Francesco Bandarin and Ron Van Oers, 301-332. Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015.

Vecco, Marilena. “A definition of cultural heritage: From the tangible to the intangible.” *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11 (2010): 321–324. doi:10.1016/j.culher.2010.01.006

Wang Yuan. “The conservation of intangible cultural heritage in historic areas.” ICOMOS archive (2008). Accessed March 2019, https://www.icomos.org/quebec2008/cd/toindex/77_pdf/77-TDHE-42.pdf

Wain, Alison. “Conservation of the intangible: a continuing challenge.” *AICCM Bulletin* Volume 35, 2014. DOI: 10.1179/bac.2014.35.1.006

Wall, Cynthia. “The English Auction: Narratives of Dismantlings,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1, In Circulation (Fall, 1997): 1-25. Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/30053642

Waterton, E, and L Smith. “The Recognition and Misrecognition of Community Heritage.” In *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Volume 16, Number 1-2 (2010): 4-15

Waterton, Emma, Smith, Laurajane and Gary Campbell. “The Utility of Discourse Analysis to Heritage Studies: The Burra Charter and Social Inclusion.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12:4, (2006): 339-355, DOI: 10.1080/13527250600727000

Waterton, Emma and Steve Watson, eds. *Heritage and community engagement: collaboration or contestation?.* Routledge, 2013.

Wijesuriya, Gamini. “Living Heritage: A summary.” ICCROM. Accessed July 20, 2018. https://www.iccrom.org/wp-content/uploads/PCA_Annexe-1.pdf

Wijesuriya, Gamini. “Towards the de-secularisation of heritage.” *Built Heritage* 2 (2017): 1-15. Accessed April 1, 2019, http://openarchive.icomos.org/1811/1/Towards_the_De-secularisation_of_Heritag.pdf

Williams, Murray. “City to Reclaim Adderley St from Hawkers.” *Saturday Argus*, May 19, 2001.

Wilmot, J.P. *A historical and descriptive account of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope*. London: F Algar,

1863.

Witz, Leslie and Ciraj Rassool. “The Dog, the Rabbit and the Reluctant Historians.” *South African Historical Journal*, 27:1 (1992): 238-242, DOI: 10.1080/02582479208671748

Witz, Leslie. *Apartheid’s Festival : Contesting South Africa’s National Pasts.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003.

Zinn, Christy. “An air of nostalgia at Cape Town’s Grand Parade.” *UrbanAfrica.net*, June 27. 2014. Accessed April 1, 2019, https://www.urbanafrica.net/urban-voices/air-nostalgia-cape-towns-grand-parade/

Worden, Nigel. “Contesting Heritage in a South African City: Cape Town.” In *Contested Urban Heritage: Voices from the Periphery*, eds Brian J Shaw and Ray Jones, 31-61. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997.

Worden, Nigel. “Contested Heritage at the Cape Town Waterfront.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Volume 2, Issue 1-2 (1996): 59-75.

Worden, Nigel. *Cape Town Between East and West : Social Identities in a Dutch Colonial Town*. Auckland Park, South Africa : Jacana Media, 2012.

Worden, Nigel, E Van Heyningen, and Vivian Bickford-Smith. *Cape Town : the Making of a City : an Illustrated Social History*. Claremont, South Africa: D. Philip, 1998.

Henri, Yasir and Heidi Grunebaum. “Re-historicising Trauma: Reflections on Violence and Memory in Current-day Cape Town.” Direct AcSon Centre for Peace and Memory.

Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research : Design and Methods.* 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2003.

Zainal, Zaidah. “Case study as a research method.” *Jurnal Kemanusiaan* bil.9, (Jun 2007).

Zucker, Donna M., “How to Do Case Study Research.” *Teaching Research Methods in the Social Sciences*. 2 (2009). Accessed July 20, 2018, https://scholarworks.umass.edu/nursing_faculty_pubs/2

# APPENDIX: SCHEDULE OF INTERVIEWS

## 1. Interviews with Market Traders

**Magedie Davids, interviewed Saturday January 26, 2019, Grand Parade Market.**

Davids is the longest serving trading trader on the Grand Parade Market, having opened his stall with his father, a tailor whose application for a stall to sell garments and fabric was successful. They opened on 28 September 1960. Davids is the oldest of a family dynasty—four siblings—currently with stalls; he hasn't given much thought to his retirement or the next generation, but says it'll surely be passed on "in house", meaning, within the family. He trades in textiles and curtains and has two to three assistants serving his customers.

**Mogamet Davids, interviewed Saturday January 26, 2019, Grand Parade Market.**

Mogamet Davids, is one of four committee members of the Grand Parade Trader's Association (GPTA). The interview was conducted with co-executive, Jeff Klein and Davids' brother Magedie Davids, whose stall we occupied. Mogamet Davids trades in garments and has a shop and factory in Wynberg.

**Ziyaad Cassiem, interviewed Saturday January 26, 2019, Grand Parade Market.**

Ziyaad Cassiem is one of four committee members of the Grand Parade Trader's Association (GPTA). He is a first generation trader, having been on the Parade five years. He is in his 30s, energetic and a natural leader. He runs a large stall, Real Clothing Co, with a branded gazebo, and sells a mix of clothing items. His stall is always busy and run by a team of people. Ziyaad began The Grand Parade market Facebook page, which includes numerous archive photos. He has many innovative ideas which look to the market history to invigorate its public appeal as a destination. These are well-respected by Tyrone Africa, City Facilities Manager, who shares this ambition and has a vision for the Parade as well-used public space.

**Zubeida Isaacs and Zuleiga Bardien, interviewed Wednesday February 6, 2019, Grand Parade Market.**

Zuleiga Bardien age 73, has spent 40 years on the Parade operating a small, somewhat rickety stand with her sister, Zubeida Isaacs, selling used magazines, haberdashery and knickknacks. Zubeida ran her father's stall from age 18 (52 years). The sisters grew up in District Six and have fond memories of life at 101 Constitution Street, before moving away as teenagers. They reach the market by bus, coming in from home in Strandfontein and, come wind or rain, they never miss a day's trading as they love the conversations and the people.

**Jeff Klein and Martin Klein, interviewed Wednesday February 27, 2019, Grand Parade Market.**

Jeff Klein is one of four committee members of the Grand Parade Trader's Association (GPTA). He and his brother Martin Klein operate a curtaining stall (their brother also has a stand on the Grand Parade, and is assisted by women of the same families that assisted the Klein brothers' parents from the 1950s). The family trading tradition began with their parents who emigrated from London, post-World War II, at the insistence of their uncle, a London Petticoat Lane trader who had relocated to Cape Town and taken up a Parade stall (still run by his son/their cousin). The brothers have been trading all their lives. They have a shop on Buitenkant Street.

**Adiel Pasqualli, interviewed Wednesday February 6, 2019, Grand Parade Market**

Aged about 35-40, Pasqualli is one of the newest traders on the Parade and was brought in by the GPTA to introduce some diversity of product. From a long family of traders, he started at Green Point (market now closed) and also trades in Parow and at Milnerton weekend market. He sells cast iron pots, used appliances, and bric-a-brac. He is assisted by his daughter and a friend.

**Lutfeyyah Salie, interviewed Wednesday January 23, 2019, Grand Parade Market.**

Lutfeyyah Salie and her siblings grew up in Walmer Estate. She now lives in Rondebosch East. From age six, she attended the market with her parents, and began her own stall at age 18. She and her husband (from Bo Kaap) operate a large pitch, beside her sister and brothers' stands selling clothing. Both are now past retirement age, and Salie hopes that one of their adult daughters (both professionals, a medical doctor and a lawyer) will continue the tradition.

**Mahdi Soeker, interviewed Wednesday February 27, 2019, Grand Parade Market**

Age 25, Soeker is one of the younger traders and third generation, operating a stall begun by his grandfather. His memories of trading days go back to babyhood and sleeping in a bassinet beneath the tables and getting his entertainment at the toy stalls. The stall operation was a family business, with both parents and older siblings selling quality fabrics, buttons and suit lengths. The family had a shop in Woodstock, now closed, and use their home as a base. Soeker sees the business as a family legacy to be continued.

**Errol Tichart, interviewed Monday February 11, 2019, at Ferndale Nurseries, Brommersvlei Road, Constantia.**

Tichart's father began Ferndale Nurseries from a plant stand on the Parade in the 1930s. Born in 1943, Tichart ran the business with his father after leaving college, and later took it over from his father. The family maintained the market stall while also opening several small stalls in city supermarkets. Following the 1980s decline in Parade trade, he closed the stand and concentrated on the growing Constantia family business, which he runs with his nephew, Paul Gordon and siblings.

## 2. Interviews with Experts and Professionals

Tyrone Africa. City of Cape Town Facilities Manager (Strategic Assets, Property Management, Economic Opportunities and Assets).
Interviewed Cape Town, Friday, March 1, 2019.

Melanie Attwell. Urban planner, historian and professional heritage practitioner.
Interviewed Cape Town, Monday 11 March 2019.

David Hart. Principal Professional, Heritage Resources Section, Environmental Management Department Spatial Planning and Environment, CoCT.
Interviewed Cape Town, February 27, 2019

Deirdre Prins-Solani. UNESCO-accredited Intangible Cultural Heritage expert and educator.
Interviewed Cape Town, April 26, 2019.

Stephen S. Townsend. Professional architect and heritage practitioner.
Interviewed, Cape Town, Monday 25 February 2019.