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Village People: Quartering De Waterkant in discourse and bricks

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Thesis Presented for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of Environmental and Geographical Science

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

August 2008

## Abstract

### *Village People: Quartering De Waterkant in discourse and bricks*

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Focusing on the urban quarter of Cape Town known as De Waterkant, this thesis examines the product and process of shaping urban space that serves as the locus for the symbolic framing of culture. Through a detailed analysis of human, narrative and visual texts which describe the production and consumption of space, this work demonstrates that there are both utopian and dystopian tropes working in discursive and material ways to shape the identity and form of De Waterkant's quartering. Drawing on Situational Analysis and Actor Network Theory methodologies, this research uses case study, interviews, participant observation, and analysis of texts to identify the discursive and material structures that have contributed to the creation of quartered space. This work combines insights and arguments drawn from a body of literature on place, the city, utopia, and identity—all grounded within the South African urban context that makes De Waterkant's quartering subject to identities, histories, and spatial power structures that may not affect quarterings in other urban settings. The findings show that De Waterkant has undergone a series of quarterings including: an ethnic quartering which was dismantled under *apartheid*; a Bohemian quartering that changed racial dynamics and improved housing stock; a 'gay village' quartering that enacted place making along lines of sexual identity; and most recently a consumer lifestyle quartering that established new notions of citizenship and consumption. The findings further demonstrate that hegemonic discourses of place making drive the shaping and re-shaping of urban quarters that are always 'becoming' while they are stabilised and de-stabilised by the struggle between utopian and dystopian forces. This work further exemplifies the quarter as a locus of identity production and consumption, and a space that enables commodification of the urban experience, all which address a geographical contribution to understanding the mediated discursive and material nature of place making and the resulting utopian and dystopian effects on South African urban space.

## Acknowledgements

A debt of gratitude and special thanks to CIEE—especially to Dr. Stevan Trooboff, Martin Hogan and Adam Rubin for their material and moral support, without which none of this would have been possible. Many thanks to Dr. Sophie Oldfield for guiding me through this adventure, for helping me to find my voice and agency in the narrative, and for showing me how to construct argumentative billboards. Thanks to the African Gender Institute/EGS project *Contesting Body Politics: Insecure Homes, Gendered Relationships and Citizenship in Cape Town and Lusaka* for research funding. Thanks also to Sally Adam for assistance with maps. Thanks to Kenny for your patience, understanding, and for our journey that began in De Waterkant nine years ago. Thanks also to my parents for giving me the tools to fulfil my passion for geography: roots for understanding the comfort of home and wings for exploring the world beyond. I probably got more than my share of wings! And finally, to all those actors in and around De Waterkant who opened their doors, told their stories and shared their invaluable insights: You are the fabric of De Waterkant and an important source of texts on which this research is based. *Enkosi kakhulu, Baie Dankie, Thank You!*

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*To some, De Waterkant is an urban utopia, a quaint enclave with a village-style atmosphere, hemmed in by the swank of the Atlantic Seaboard on one side, the sex of the city with its global ambitions on the other, and the almost perfectly preserved Bo-Kaap that looks down on it from its position on the base of Signal Hill. To others, it is a tourist trap - a cleaned-up, postcard-perfect version of its former slave-quarter self, where astronomical property prices keep locals from living there. Those who do, can never find parking thanks to the see-and-be-seen bright young things who come for designer shopping, skinny lattes, teeth whitening sessions and late-night sashimi. (Indeed, many of the once private homes are now guest houses, B&Bs, self-catering apartments, luxury manors and suites.) The majority, however, are of the opinion that the balance between local flavour and cosmopolitan cool is just right: tourist visitors and foreign homeowners (who the locals call 'swallows', with obvious connotations) lend an international air to De Waterkant; swish restaurants and shops give further credence to Cape Town's claim to being a global style destination; and the comings and goings of disparate groups - from sophisticated trendsetters and low-key locals to gay holidaymakers spending their pink pounds (dollars, euros and yen) - all make De Waterkant the perfect embodiment of the city's eclectic, multicultural character. (Cape Etc. 2008)*

## Chapter 1. THE QUARTERED CITY

When you enter the urban quarter you encounter a distinct cultural landscape: a world that is steps away from the ambient urbanities that surround it, but discursively differentiated. The urban quarter is a space that is the locus for the symbolic framing of culture (Bell and Jayne 2004), a space that offers possibilities for identity production and consumption, and a space that enables commodification of the urban experience. The quarter offers utopian hope in the possibility of a differently-imagined future. The quarter can act as a portal through time and space. It can take you back into history and it can propel you into the future. The quarter can transport you from the city to the 'village', and across borders of race, sexuality and socio-economics. The quarter offers these transformative possibilities while the space itself is subject to constant change.

Cape Town's *De Waterkant* area is one such space; an urban quarter that is at the same time charming, historic, sophisticated and cosmopolitan while it is also controversial and exclusive—some would argue exclusionary. *De Waterkant* occupies a small footprint in the city of Cape Town and has unique characteristics of an enclave that serves as a locus for the symbolic framing of culture. *De Waterkant's* "village-style atmosphere" has been shaped by its own set of actors—its village people. To some *De Waterkant* is a gay quarter, a place that might be home to the "Village People" of 1970s musical fame. To others it is an historic or ethnic quarter, filled with village people that characterise Cape Town's multicultural and racially tenuous past. And yet for others *De Waterkant* is a consumer

lifestyle destination where shopping, dining and entertainment take place in secure, comfortable surroundings—far removed from the fear of crime and violence that infect the city.

There are many ways of understanding De Waterkant, whose identity is built from networks of actors and the meanings they associate with its spaces. The process of shaping De Waterkant's quartered identity is one that is driven by consumer and corporeal desire as well as any number of other social, economic and consumptive practises. It is a process pursued by a heterogeneous network of actors who create De Waterkant through their interactions and relationships with each other. Out of those relational achievements the meanings associated with De Waterkant are forged, and the shape of the quarter is achieved. The competing and conflicting meanings of De Waterkant make it a place with multiple identities that have changed over time.

One of the ways of understanding De Waterkant is as "consolidated gay territory" (Visser 2003a: 128) which is evident in the comments of one respondent when he recalled De Waterkant the "epicentre of queerdom" (de Swardt 2008, personal comments). At the outset of this research I too understood De Waterkant as a gay village; meaning that it is a place organised around actors with a presumably shared "gay" or "queer"<sup>1</sup> identity (Binnie 2004) that is understood to have North American roots as the identity-marked enclave known as the "gay ghetto" (Levine 1979). In spite of the contention that queer people and spaces have long shared the urban landscape outside of the 'closet/ghetto dichotomy' (Knopp 2007) gay villages nonetheless serve as a locus of gay identity performance (Desert 1997) and leisure/consumptive pursuits (Visser 2002; 2003a; 2003b; Elder 2004) that are rich with symbols and meanings of 'otherness' in contrast to the 'ambient heterosexual'

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<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that use of the often-politicised term "queer" is intended to be inclusive of multiple sexual identities including gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender. In spite of this, gay enclaves are, following Levine (1979), often ascribed to a limited cross-section of gay men. In subsequent chapters I also employ the term 'queer', following Browne (2006) beyond a shorthand for sexual dissidents with reference to the ephemeral and fluid nature of place, leading to an understanding of place that lacks fixity in the sense that it is highly mobile. In this way my examination of De Waterkant demonstrates shifting practice, shifting space, and the complicated ways expressed in both the discursive and material creation of place.

(Murray 1995). The notion of a gay village is wrapped-up in debates over gentrification, citizenship and sexuality, and provides the basis for one type of urban quartering.

As discursively and materially different as De Waterkant's quartered identities may be, all are linked in some way to South Africa's deeply scarred history of socio-spatial oppression that was experienced during apartheid and to some extent continues to the present day in the form of economically- or self-imposed segregation. Cape Town, like other South African cities, was the locus of urban spatial policies that separated city-dwellers by race and controlled them through space. To understand the post-apartheid South Africa of today, it is therefore important, as Elder (2003) reminds us, to examine "...the transfer of power [as well as]... a transformation in the meaning of spaces." (2003: 3)

My interest through this research is to focus on both the process and the product of quartering in De Waterkant; to unwrap the notion of De Waterkant as differentiated queer space to get to the heart of that quartered identity and to examine the many other quartered identities around which De Waterkant has been shaped over time. Ultimately, De Waterkant serves to demonstrate the role of discursive place-making in the quartering of South African urban space, and the continual shaping and re-shaping of the quarter by a multitude of actors and the narratives that they produce everyday. De Waterkant's quartering is, however, unique from those examples which emanate from existing literature (Belly and Jayne 2004) in that the context of the South African city is fraught with ghosts of the apartheid past—which begs the question of whether in the end South African quartering provides a space for liberation or a continuation of its spatially-oppressive past. The changes experienced in De Waterkant over time affect the inclusiveness of the city. As such, my interest in the area's many identities focuses on those who can or cannot establish a sense of belonging there.

The area known as De Waterkant<sup>2</sup> is a mixed-use residential, industrial and commercial area of 0.4 square kilometres situated<sup>3</sup> between Cape Town's central business district (CBD) and the residential suburb of Green Point (see figure 1.1) that has a long and colourful history within the socio-cultural<sup>4</sup> context of South Africa's many struggles and transitions. The area is often referred to as 'De Waterkant Village', or simply 'the Village'. Over the history of the area, it has been discursively 'quartered' in a number of ways: as an ethnic quarter; as a Bohemian quarter; as a gay quarter; and more recently as a consumer lifestyle quarter. These various 'quarterings' have been mediated through both utopian and dystopian moments, leading to a variety of ways of seeing and understanding De Waterkant as one of Cape Town's urban places.

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<sup>2</sup> Meaning "Waterside/Waterfront" in the Afrikaans language; and also referring to a street of the same name that transects the area.

<sup>3</sup> For purposes of this study, the research is focused on the area which is officially recognised as De Waterkant by the De Waterkant Civic Association: an area bounded on the east/west by Somerset Road and Strand Street, and on the north/south by Boundary Road and Hudson Street. As De Waterkant has grown in popularity as a leisure zone and an area of high property prices, some have attempted to co-opt the popularity and refer to their business or residential location as "De Waterkant"—which has been challenged by the De Waterkant Civic Association. Defining the borders of De Waterkant in this case is an important starting point for discussion. Further discussion of such border contestation follows in subsequent chapters.

<sup>4</sup> Much of the socio-cultural history is related to race and racial segregation, and most recently of sexual identity. One of the many apartheid legacies is the use of racial designations. There were four racial designations that were used under apartheid-era laws: Black (of African racial origin); Coloured (of mixed racial origin); Indian (of Asian racial origin); and White (of European racial origin). The terms are still in wide use today to reflect one's racial background, and their use within this research should not be taken as derogatory.

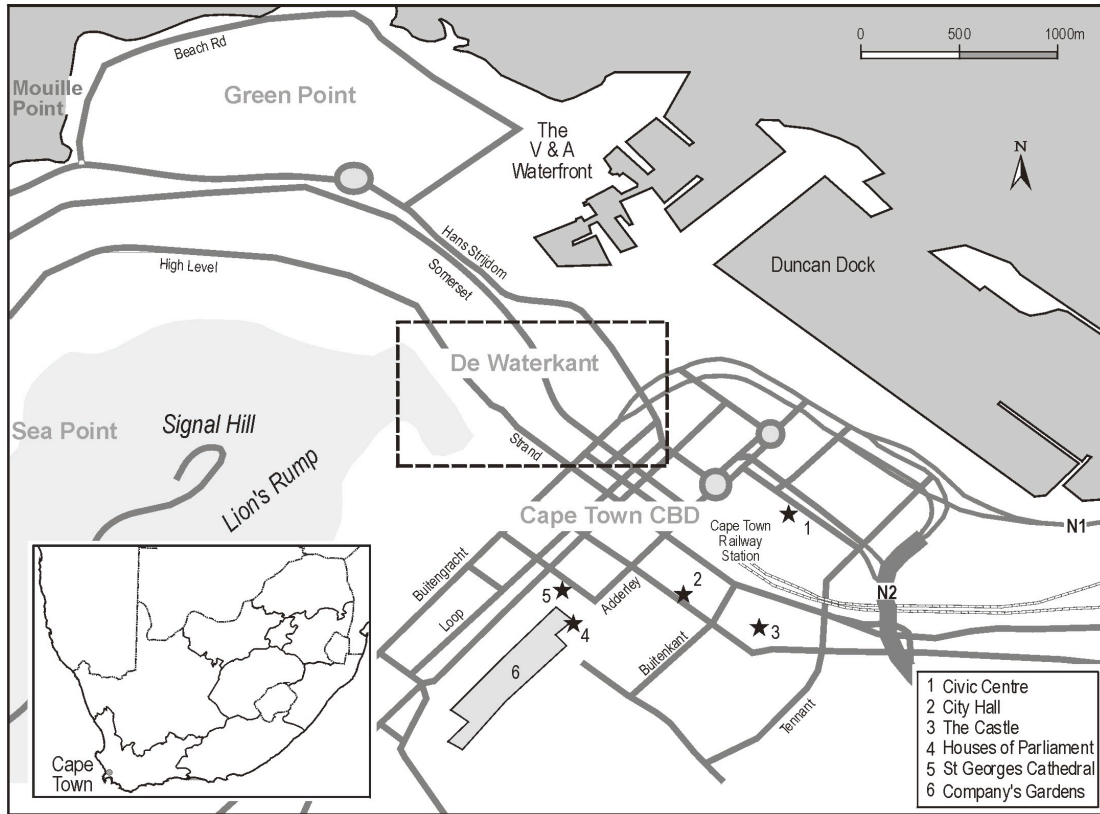


Figure 1.1 De Waterkant and Cape Town

*Quartering as place making*

As a space for the symbolic framing of culture (Bell and Jayne 2004), urban quarters such as De Waterkant serve as deliberate sites of place making. Gay villages are one example of quartered urban space in that they, like other quartered spaces, are culturally and (often) physically positioned apart from the rest of the city. These representational framings are enacted through the built environment, symbols, and the actors themselves by means of ‘relational achievements’ (Knopp 2007; O’Neill and Whatmore 2000), the connections that are made among and between network actors that confer identity, agency and belonging. Networks of actors thus “construct space by using certain forms of calculation and representation” (Murdoch 1995 as quoted in O’Neill and Whatmore, 2000: 125). In this way De Waterkant has been discursively positioned as an urban quarter; not only as a gay village, but also as an ethnic quarter, a Bohemian quarter, and more recently a lifestyle consumer quarter.

The concept of place is dynamic in that identities and meanings about place are always shifting and changing (Cresswell 2004). De Waterkant is no exception, comprised of human actors whose mundane and/or extraordinary mobilities bring a constant flow of new ideas and perspectives. As Mbembe and Nuttall (2004) remind us, African cities such as Cape Town are not as isolated from the rest of the world as our geographical situation may suggest. They note that “[i]ndeed, historically, the continent has been and still is a space of flows, of flux, of translocation, with multiple nexuses of entry and exit points” (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004: 351). Such spatial scales range from local to global and are influenced by a range of actors including ‘transnational elites’; those actors whose socio-economic status affords them agency which has broad geographical reach, as Smith (2003a) suggests.

The area’s identity has thus shifted with the coming and going of the apartheid city, but in the past decade has witnessed a surge of economic and infrastructural development that has given the area the reputation—whether deserved or not—as Cape Town’s gay urban enclave drawing inhabitants and visitors from local and international settings for purposes of work, entertainment and a variety of other consumptive pursuits.

Gay quarters or ‘villages’ form part of the urban landscape and serve not only as a playground or palimpsest for creation of a gay cityscape, but they may also be seen as a modern form of utopianism—place making<sup>5</sup> that is situated at the confluence of space and ideology where performance of a gay identity may (presumably) be freely practised. Gentrified gay enclaves as experienced in other parts of the world haven’t been an element on the South African landscape (Elder, 2004) but have relevance to the modern city in that they are marketed and represented “...as idyllic landscapes to ensure a variety of lifestyle fantasies” (MacLeod and Ward, 2002: 154), while “...providing city stakeholders with much of the pleasurable freedom one might ordinarily associate with urban civic life” (154). Whether or not De Waterkant constitutes a ‘gay enclave’ in the same sense as those found

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<sup>5</sup> Place making in this sense refers to the process which produces an end result of a physical landscape consisting of multitudes of social and cultural artefacts and the creation of ‘community’ in both a physical sense and in a spatially-unbounded group of individuals with aligned interests (Cresswell 2004).

in New York City, San Francisco or London, the extent to which the area is marketed and situated as a site of freedom-seeking performance of transgressive identities and sexualities can be demonstrated through such publications as Cape Town's *Pink Map*—which I will explore in chapter four.

Urban enclaves, however, can also prove exclusionary as they buttress themselves from "...the real and perceived threats of another fiercely hostile, dystopian environment 'out there'" (154). In the South African context, equality of access to and agency in such 'utopian' gay space cannot be assumed (see Elder, 1995; 2004; Gevisser and Cameron, 1994; Visser, 2002; 2003a; 2003b) where a history of spatial control and a policy of racial separateness shaped the city. The case of a gay enclave on the South African landscape is therefore more complex and is infused with other tensions that may not be present in other such urban settings.

Whether a gay quarter, an ethnic quarter, or a lifestyle quarter, the process of quartering is about the production and consumption of place. In that process there are a multitude of discourses that traverse the network of actors through a variety of nodes. Conceptually, this research builds on the notion that 'places' are created through layers of meaning imparted from human and non-human actors onto 'space'. Places are centres of action and intention (Relph 1976) and are the most basic unit in geographical enquiry (Creswell 2004) that allow us to make sense of the world (Sack 1988) and to see it through the many legacies and consequences that inform it (Knopp 2007). The character and identity of places—with particular attention to 'quartered' urban spaces (Bell and Jayne 2004)—is derived from meanings associated with and produced by collective and individual human and non-human actors. The meanings produced by those actors thus can tell us something about how worlds are created; and how those worlds affect human and non-human elements and ideas in different ways.

*Tropes: Mediators of the quarter*

The production of discursive messages about place is not equally shared by all, and those messages do not pass through the network without some degree of mediation. Along the network lie nodes of activity where discourses are produced by pivotal actors, and where discourses are mediated by utopian and dystopian tropes. I have identified six such tropes in the case of De Waterkant: the trope of the spectacle, borders, surveillance, the body, community and consumption. Each of these tropes, in their own way, act to mediate the shape of De Waterkant's quartering. The tropes are rhetorical themes within the discourses that act to shape the quartering of space with both utopian and dystopian effect.

The trope of community builds on a sense of identity and security; a feeling of belonging. This trope is exhibited both in the narratives of De Waterkant residents as well as in the desire of club owners to define a cohesive 'community' around which De Waterkant's gay village quartering is built. The trope of borders constitutes an important device for 'othering' De Waterkant; both for determining physically what is and isn't De Waterkant, and for symbolically framing the quarter itself. Along with the trope of borders is surveillance, a trope that is also a tool for enforcing the exclusionary otherness of borders. Surveillance is used to exclude those whose individual identity doesn't 'fit' into the collective identity of the quarter. Surveillance, for example, keeps the homeless out of De Waterkant's quasi-public *piazza* developments. In parallel, the trope of the spectacle involves symbolic performances such as gay pride parades (Bell and Binnie 2004) that act to imprint culture—and thus a quartered identity—onto place. Yet the spectacle also encompasses the large-scale shopping and entertainment developments known as 'lifestyle centres' which utilise the trope to bring a sense of history into an otherwise ahistorical space. As importantly, the trope of the body mediates much of the gay identity of De Waterkant in terms of the contemporary sexualised body; yet it also governs changes that occurred in De Waterkant during the era of forced removals when the racialised body was a determining factor as to who stayed and who was relocated from the area. And finally the trope of consumption is perhaps the most over-arching of all as it extends throughout all of

De Waterkant's quartered identities and has a mediating affect over the quarter as well as over other tropes.

The mediating effect of these tropes can be seen as either utopian or dystopian. Either a liberating break from the present or a nightmarish descent from the ideal state. De Waterkant's quartering is both stabilised and de-stabilised discursively through such utopian and dystopian moments. The tropes and their utopian or dystopian consequences are rhetorical tools that translate messages across the actor network—between pivotal mediators and those who are consuming the message and therefore consuming and performing the identity of the quarter. Activity on the actor network traverses and is mediated by the utopian/dystopian binary. As they travel the actor network, discourses shape the meaning of space and thus govern the process of quartering. Utopian/dystopian tropes mediate these meanings which result in changes in representation. Kraftl's (2007) utopias of the homely, discomfort and unsettling are an example of how the struggle of representation acts to include, exclude and eventually force change.

The exclusionary space of the quartered enclave is bound with notions of utopia. A utopian framework of analysis provides a rich and complex lens for viewing and understanding the world in general and the city in particular. Utopian experiments have often centred around religious or political ideology (Baeten, 2002), and in more recent times have taken on new forms including gated communities, security parks and other examples of monitored public space in the South African context (Hook and Vrdoljak, 2002; Spocter, 2007). In its many forms and expressions, the "utopian dream" can be characterised by "...notions of abundance, healthiness, rurality, nostalgia, community and social order(ing)..." (Kraftl, 2007: 123). The search for utopia is desire for order, control and ultimately a longing for heaven on earth.

De Waterkant's competing discourses have changed the profile of its quartering: from an ethnic quarter of low-income Cape Malay families, to a gay village of queer quests, to a secure lifestyle quarter that enables consumption in new ways. De Waterkant has not

remained static, and it continues to be quartered in ways that reflect new identity and meaning. Although quartered character is constant, its identity shifts and changes amidst the dynamism of the actor network. It was an ethnic quarter of large families of mixed backgrounds with roots in the social history of Cape Town (a site of slavery, a home to the Scottish regiment, the marginalised such as freed slaves, prostitutes, sailors, etc.), then became an oasis for a young, urban (and predominantly white) group of residents without families, and then a locus of gay pursuits and identity. Following in the wake of improved infrastructure it became a 'guest quarter' where most residents are only short-term visitors. And more recently De Waterkant has become a consumer lifestyle quarter where shopping, dining and entertainment are the focal activities.

The result of quartering urban spaces such as De Waterkant are spaces that, while unique and marketable to a city's image, can result in a fractured urban landscape "...characterized by a patchwork quilt of spaces that are physically proximate but institutionally estranged" (MacLeod and Ward 2002: 164). In the pursuit of the inclusive city, quartering may therefore be a double-edged sword. While such spaces may provide a necessary and dynamic platform for the production and consumption of new forms of urban citizenship, they may nevertheless prove to be exclusionary and interdictory, affecting and shaping the notion of community and the free flow of people and ideas across the cityscape. In the case of De Waterkant, I analyse these tensions as a resulting effect of quartering.

### *Quartering debates in the South African context*

The literature on quartering has referenced Northern debates and examples (Bell and Jayne 2004) and thus there is little that speaks to quartering African cities and their unique spatial contexts. Equally lacking is research in the African context that addresses geographies that intersect with sexual identity (Visser 2003a). While Pirie (2005) has concluded that the majority of studies regarding Cape Town over the period between 1990 and 2004 have dealt with urban processes and the "changing geography of the metropolis" (2005: 341), he further demonstrated that "identity" themes comprised only 38 out of the

1062 published works (2005: 342). This research, therefore, responds to the silence on quartering and identity debates by unpacking notions of gay space and examining the process of quartering in the South African urban context. Furthermore, utopian perspectives on the shaping and transformation of space into place have been suggested as an effective approach in understanding the desires that create cities and the urban processes such as quartering (Bell and Jayne 2004) and gentrification (Pinder 2002: 230) that shape them. Pinder frames this process as involving “the expression of desire for a better way of being and living through the imagining of a different city and a different urban life (2002: 230). I draw on this literature to frame my analysis of identity and quartering.

My intention is to ground this research in the South African context while drawing on broader debates that deal with quartering, place-making and utopia. To paraphrase Battersby (2004), I “look at old topics through new lenses...[to] examine phenomena that are outcomes of economic and social realities of the new South Africa” (Battersby, 2004: 152). Robinson (2006) has also provided impetus for approaching this research with a new urban perspective when she notes that:

The localised production of identities, meanings and economies means that engaging with a particular city can often create new understandings of urbanity and also new ways of responding to cities (254-255).

However, in the case of De Waterkant, the production of identities, meanings and economies is not just localised, but has many distinctly global references in its local frame where the ‘village’ atmosphere takes on European charm, and suggests parity to gay enclaves outside of the African context. As a result, the local to global representations are fraught with the tensions of racial, ethnic, socio-economic and sexual identity performance. These dynamics in the place-making process produce and challenge utopian/dystopian moments and also challenge on a conceptual level our understanding of how identity is produced and consumed within the context of the urban quarter.

While this research reveals the meanings that produce and re-produce the place that is De Waterkant, it is not intended to document the complete history of De Waterkant from its

rise as a residential area in the 1820s (Anonymous 2007c, personal comments) to the present day. That task has been expertly accomplished by Worden *et al* (1998) in their comprehensive tome on the history of Cape Town. Rather, this research explores the meanings associated with De Waterkant and its many quartered identities that are produced and consumed through discourse as well as material forces—in other words through words *and* bricks. At the same time, however, I analyse De Waterkant from the perspective of De Waterkant; from the narratives that it produces about itself and to some extent for itself. This study is not a survey of opinions of De Waterkant from a broad range of stakeholders outside of De Waterkant but about meaning and place as related to those who live it, use it, perform it and sometimes only simply travel through it.

### *Que(e)rying place*

My point of departure with De Waterkant as a space of sexual dissidents also provides a means of understanding the process of its place-making, and ultimately its many quarterings. The fluid, dynamic and spatially-contingent nature of De Waterkant “resonates with both queer experiences and queer theoretical projects, not the least of which is ‘coming out’” (Knopp 2007: 50). De Waterkant’s gay identity developed due to changes in society as much as changes in the discourses upon its network. Its ‘coming out’ was the making of a unique social and spatial world that was “processual” and “in action” (Thrift 2000: 217); that took place over time and found a home in a particular urban space. Thus, the queer identity of De Waterkant—although one of its many—is an entry point to understanding its quartering. At the same time, ‘queering’ geographical enquiry (Knopp 2007) thereby realises the elusive, ephemeral, ever-becoming, and ever-disintegrating nature of place (2007: 50).

However, ‘queering’ place is much more than a focus on the sexual normative. Following Browne (2006), a queer approach takes the analysis beyond the binary (2006: 887).

In other words, queer can offer a different mode of enquiry, one that not only questions the “gay, white, male homosexual” as well as the “gay ghettos” but the very idea (and ideal) of inclusion itself. (Browne 2006: 888)

Browne continues by noting that

Queer in this sense may *now* be attributed to actions, writings and activism that deconstruct dichotomies between homosexuality and heterosexuality or man and women. (Browne 2006: 889)

Inclusion, in the case of the South African context, is central to remapping post-apartheid space (Robinson 1998). In order to understand the product and process of South African urban quarterings therefore, an understanding of the exclusionary past is a pre-requisite. The 'queering' of place in the context of this research involves deconstructing the dichotomies between sexuality and gender as Browne (2006) suggests, but also the dichotomies of rich/poor, white/black, and urban/rural that comprise the South African context.

The interchangeable and 'placeless' nature of gay villages around the world (Elder 2004) does injustice to the unique historical, political and cultural identities of De Waterkant. I thus am uneasy with the contention that De Waterkant is a gay enclave like all the others. Places are only as important and useful as the meanings that we associate with them. More than simply location, place is a discursive construction shaping humans and their lived experience(s) within a particular locality. By 'queering' our understanding of place in this way, by recognising the beauty of incompleteness and the liberating power of fluidity, we can get to the heart of personal and collective geographies, and how those spaces are imagined, lived and contested. Thus, the history of De Waterkant is a source of its early ethnic quartering as well as a discursive device in more recent quarterings that draw on historical tropes. The economic forces that have acted on De Waterkant have much to do with rising property prices and the growing importance of consumer culture. The political and ideological landscape of apartheid ushered in changes that dramatically altered the quartering of De Waterkant—all the while the identities of De Waterkant's actors and the identity of the quarter itself was constantly in the process of becoming. These meanings are played out in the process of performing labour, leisure and domestic activities in the performance of identities related to sexuality, citizenship and gender, and these varied meanings are deployed when seeking to build and maintain a sense of community. The process of situating the many layers and place-making in De Waterkant, moreover occurs at

a time when South African cities struggle with different manifestations of community-building; at a time when cities are being fortified, cordoned-off, gated, or otherwise secured in reaction to growing crime and the uncertainty of life in the “new” South Africa (Spocster 2007). Within the new dispensation, the desire to quarter in defense of identity, safety and lifestyle is strong, and thus quartering seems an ideal solution for a better tomorrow. Yet quartering in the pursuit of preserving identity may also signal a return to spatial segregation of the apartheid past.

Any study that seeks to pinpoint *the meaning(s)* associated with a particular place will have limitations, however, since an exhaustive sampling of all actors on a particular landscape that encompasses all meanings will be nearly impossible. My research is no exception. This research is informed and takes inspiration from feminist approaches to geography which recognize, as Knopp (2007) reminds us “...that all knowledge is situated, partial, and incomplete—and that that is something to celebrate rather than bemoan” (2007:53). While embracing this approach I do not argue that in its fluidity there are no boundaries or limits to social processes. Rather, I argue that the feminist approach is useful in understanding the unfixity of the city and of the social processes such as quartering that shape it. The products and processes of quartering involve shifting practice, shifting space, and sexual identities that are neither pre-constituted nor pre-supposed. Taking these feminist insights into consideration, I have analysed the narratives at the intersections of the tropes discussed above in order to understand those intersections where actors on the network realise ‘relational achievements’, establish discursive and material connections which confer identity, agency and belonging, and therefore act to shape the quarter. Sampling from actors who have had a role in producing and consuming De Waterkant’s quarterings, I unpack the discourses that have shaped the area as an ethnic/historic, bohemian, gay and lifestyle quarter.

*“From ghetto, to gay, to gorgeous<sup>6</sup>”: Chapter outline and scope of research*

Before telling De Waterkant’s quartered stories and examining how their discourses act to quarter De Waterkant, I feel it is important to reflect upon what this research intends to achieve—and what it does not. This thesis begins with my research question. That is:

How do human, narrative, and visual discourses of identity and lifestyle produced in and about De Waterkant act in utopian/dystopian ways to produce and mediate the identity and meanings of quartered urban space?

My argument begins with several key assumptions: 1) that ‘place’ and ‘space’ are two interrelated but distinctive geographical concepts; 2) that human and non-human actors have a discursive role in creating ‘place’ out of geographical ‘space’; 3) that urban spaces are filled with dense, overlapping, and often conflicting meanings associated with them; and 4) that utopia is both an imagined place and a way of seeing the world. In asking the research question, I intend to examine De Waterkant through three different streams of discourse: 1) the experiences of human actors who reside, perform labour, consume leisure activities, or simply pass through De Waterkant; 2) the narratives that emanate from sources which are human-driven but ‘voiced’ by means of events, websites, advertisements, windscreen brochures and similar text-based means of communication that also speak for and about De Waterkant; and 3) the visual media that act to convey messages about De Waterkant as urban quartered space, and the presumed identities of those who utilise it. Taken together, I wish to examine how these three streams of discourse act to ‘quarter’ De Waterkant through symbolically framing meanings of its spaces.

The empirical evidence to be presented in the research explores various utopian/dystopian tropes by means of the discourses, and how those discourses conspire in ‘quartered’ place-making at two levels: 1) the production of space: the process of producing discursive and material ‘messages’ about space; and 2) the consumption of space: how the messages are received, interpreted and acted-upon in the process of re-imagining space. I argue that this process of place-making and the tropes that emerge are ‘utopian’ or ‘dystopian’ in the

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<sup>6</sup> One respondent summed-up the stages of De Waterkant’s transformation from a low-income area comprised of a mostly mixed-race inhabitants, to a gay village and finally a lifestyle quarter as “ghetto to gay to gorgeous” (Anonymous 2007f).

way in which they act to create a 'better place' (utopia) while they also impose its opposite (dystopia) on those who don't prescribe to the dominant discourse. The empirical evidence of my research is grounded in a situational mapping of actors who have had a significant discursive role in shaping the quarter of De Waterkant from long-time residents and shop-keepers who have seen the area through various quarterings to club owners, restaurateurs, patrons and shoppers who produce and consume the identity of the area. These actors demonstrate the complex layers of meaning that are present in De Waterkant. Those layers act to create the urban quarter that it is today while connecting it to modern urban debates about, for instance, the fortification of cities, and the changing nature of queer space. The empirical evidence will demonstrate how De Waterkant's quartering helps to create a disintegrated patchwork of *utopian*<sup>7</sup> *microstates*—quarters, zones, piazzas and lifestyle centres—situated within the larger urban, social and governance structures of Cape Town. This provides an example of how urban quarters become places of 'difference' or 'otherness' since they differentiate and position themselves in terms of 'otherness' relative to contiguous urban spaces.

My research centres on the process of symbolically framing urban quarters. Although De Waterkant may appear on the surface as yet another example of gentrification and socio-economic privilege, my research aims to examine the complex shaping and re-shaping of urban space and the role that such urban place-making has in this context and more broadly in South African cities with a unique and fractured socio-spatial past. Quartering is a way of defining unique urban places, but can be problematic if cities become pulled apart into "...an intensely uneven patchwork of utopian spaces that are, to all intents and purposes, physically proximate but institutionally estranged" (MacLeod and Ward 2002: 154)—not unlike the apartheid city of an era gone by. Through my research I wish to demonstrate the process of quartering through the example of De Waterkant to better

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<sup>7</sup> In a more nuanced sense, I argue that such spaces can be referred to as *allotopias* (places of 'otherness') since they position themselves as places of difference or otherness relative to contiguous urban spaces. This takes one step beyond the utopia/dystopian binary to recognise the complexity of symbolically framing the urban quarter in unique ways.

understand issues facing the modern South African city, and how its geographies are imagined, lived and contested by the patchwork quilt of cultures that comprise it.

I will demonstrate how De Waterkant has, over time, become 'quartered' (Bell and Jayne 2004) under various guises. I will further demonstrate how quartering is stabilised and destabilised through discursive utopian and dystopian tropes in that there is a break from the present and a desire to destabilise the dominant social and spatial organisation of space (Pinder 2002). In the context of De Waterkant that break becomes positioned along lines of race and class where utopian/dystopian shifts eventually act to produce fortified urban spaces that become 'secure quarters'. Such quarters become fortified (Ballard 2005; Caldeira 1999, 2000) interdictory (Flusty 2001) spaces such as gated communities, security parks, golf estates or closed public streets or 'lifestyle quarters' that revolve around consumptive pursuits. Most recently De Waterkant has been shaped into a lifestyle quarter that seeks a break from the present in identifiably utopian ways as it shields occupants from 'otherness' (Ballard 2005) and creates a world that is disconnected from hostile streets outside.

Unfolding the story of De Waterkant's many quarterings begins in chapter two with my review of the bodies of literature that inform this research. Those bodies include literature focusing on the city—with particular emphasis on South African urban issues including the legacy of the apartheid past—and the human experience of the city; the literature of utopia—which sets the stage for its use as an analytical framework and mediating device; and the literature on citizenship and identity—a complex set of intersecting research that I will use to understand the forces at-work that mediate notions of belonging, participating and 'being' in the city. These threads inform the creation of the urban quarter of De Waterkant by addressing the ways in which a heterogeneous network of urban actors create a space that resonates with their collective and individual identities. The place-making that results, I will argue, is mediated by utopian and dystopian tropes that shape the way the quarter develops over time and space. There are, however, silences within the literature that make way for the contribution this research makes to the literatures of

quartering and queer space. Those silences are centred upon the complexity of both queer spaces and identities as well as the process of quartering in southern urban spaces like De Waterkant. These silences make way for the contribution that this research promises to make to the literature.

A heterogeneous network of actors such as De Waterkant is fluid and dynamic, just like the place itself. That being the case, I discuss the methodological and conceptual basis of this research in chapter three, as well as describing the processes involved in gathering and analyzing data. I also examine the history and physical setting of De Waterkant as a means of demonstrating the complexity and changing nature of De Waterkant's discursive landscape. In doing so, I make an argument for the use of Actor Network Theory (ANT) and Situational Analysis as methodological toolkits that I employ to understand the relational achievements that create messages across networks of actors while discursively framing and mediating the nature of De Waterkant's quartering through representational tropes. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the incompleteness of knowledge and reflexivity within the framework of this research.

In chapter four I engage an in-depth case study using the *Pink Map*<sup>8</sup> from 1999-2008 as a narrative discourse that locates "pink" Cape Town—including but not limited to De Waterkant—and engages in various ways with the utopian tropes to shape De Waterkant's identity as "a consolidated gay territory" (Visser 2003a: 128). Moreover, I use the *Pink Map* as a means of demonstrating the quartering of De Waterkant as a 'gay village' and how it is mediated by utopian tropes of the body and consumption. The *Pink Map* positions De Waterkant as a consolidated gay territory in that it embodied De Waterkant by literally and figuratively projecting it onto the body while also bringing 'pink' elements of Cape Town's landscape to the fore at the exclusion of all others. Through examples taken from the *Pink Map*, I demonstrate material examples of identity performance and leisure/consumptive pursuits that are constituent of gay villages and how identity becomes projected onto the

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<sup>8</sup> Elder (2004) analyses the 2000 edition of the *Pink Map* to reveal how marketing to gay tourists has the effect of further creating spaces of segregated exclusion.

landscape and depicted in a cartographic format that serves as an archive of this period. One of those shifts involves my own re-framing of De Waterkant as simply a 'gay village' to a place that has been quartered—and re-quartered—over the course of the area's history. These changes have occurred at the hands of multiple actors within the situation of inquiry<sup>9</sup> (Clarke 2005) that is De Waterkant.

Given the complexity of the 'situation of inquiry', I turn my analysis in chapter five to exploring De Waterkant's quarterings that have been shaped through the discourses of various actors whose experiences have produced unique and often divergent meanings of place. These narratives are not meant to represent an exhaustive and complete telling of De Waterkant's story. Rather, they are intended to serve as vignettes of lived experience in De Waterkant that demonstrate various points of departure in producing and consuming meanings of the area. The narratives also illustrate that quartered urban space is not static; that while the particular culture around which an area is framed may change, the area may nonetheless continue to be quartered in new ways. The narratives trace De Waterkant's roots as an ethnic quarter of large families from mixed racial and ethnic backgrounds that eventually made way for a shift into an oasis for a young, urban (and white) group of residents without families. The narratives then describe how De Waterkant became a locus of gay pursuits and identity, and with that a 'guest quarter' where most are only short-term visitors. And finally, the stories describe how De Waterkant has become one of its current identities as a consumer lifestyle quarter.

With a complex network of actors established, I begin chapter six by introducing scalar analysis of De Waterkant and the idea of 'representational tropes' (Jones 1998: 28) that frame the quarter in temporal and spatial ways and ultimately shape how the quarter is produced and consumed. This is a shift from the previous chapter that introduced a multitude of actors who told stories from De Waterkant to looking at how elements of those

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<sup>9</sup> The 'situation of inquiry' is the key unit of analysis in the methodological toolkit known as 'Situational Analysis' (Clarke 2005). The situation of inquiry is constructed by: 1) maps that situate human and non-human discursive actors and their positions relative to the discourse(s); 2) analyses; and 3) memos.

discourses can be framed to reveal representational tropes. These help me analyse how meanings are produced, and consumed through various discursive frameworks across time and space. I argue that scales stabilise and destabilise place and thus act in utopian ways—sometimes comforting and sometimes unsettling—to mediate quartered urban space.

In chapter seven I conclude by turning my analysis to the various streams of discourse in and about De Waterkant, and how they work in utopian ways to produce and mediate the identity and meanings of the 'quartered' space of De Waterkant. I discuss six main utopian tropes that have emerged throughout the previous chapters of empirical data and analysis, and I demonstrate how they act to shape space into quartered place. I focus on how De Waterkant's competing discourses—as historic/ethnic, gay, consumer—have changed the profile of its quartering: from an ethnic quarter of low-income Cape Malay families, to a gay village of queer quests, to a secure lifestyle quarter that enables new regimes of consumption. The effect over time is to create an increasing whiter and more wealthy identity that is mediated by tropes that either stabilise or de-stabilise the shape of the quarter. In closing I summarise my findings and contributions to the understanding of urban, quartered space in the South African context. I argue that De Waterkant provides an example of a place that has shifted actors, identities and meanings over time while continuing to be a quartered urban space; and that owing to the struggle between utopian and dystopian forces, De Waterkant remains quartered in new ways that reflect new identities, meanings, and ideological hegemonies.

The urban quarter provides opportunities for city dwellers to produce and consume new identities. At the same time, cities themselves can engage the quartered experience in marketing urban destinations for tourists and locals alike. The quarter thus becomes a space of possibility where the urban experience becomes commodified, marketed, sold and consumed. The quarter is after all a 'place' that is shaped by humans while it also shapes the human experience—an experience of sexuality, ethnicity, race, and citizenship within the context of the city.

## Chapter 2. LOCATING AN URBAN VILLAGE: Literature that situates the quarter

The story of De Waterkant's quartering is an urban one: situated in a highly mobile African city at the intersection of numerous identity quests related to sexuality, ethnicity, race, and citizenship. As such this study finds itself located at the nexus of literatures that address place, utopia, identity, the city, and consumption. First and foremost, the story of De Waterkant is one of the city: situated in a South African urban setting, inclusive of the spatially-oppressive legacy of the apartheid past. Within the context of the South African city, the quarter is framed symbolically around particular expressions of culture; as a result it is culturally and physically positioned apart from the rest of the city in terms that both exclude for the safe-guarding of identity (Ballard 2005) and highlighted for the purpose of marketing to the rest of the world (Elder 2004). In separating itself physically and culturally from the rest of the city, the quartered urban village of De Waterkant arises from spaces of utopia that strive for a break from the present (Baeten 2002; Harvey 2000; Kraftl 2007; MacLeod and Ward 2002; Pinder 2002, 2005a) but is also situated within the dynamics of the post-apartheid South African city where issues of justice, equality, access and safety have only recently gained hegemony in the post-1994 environment (Parnell 1997; Oldfield *et al* 2004; Spocter 2004, 2007; Pirie 2005, 2007; Lemanski 2006; Pieterse 2006; Ballard 2005; Boraïne *et al* 2006), yet where the socio-spatial injustices of the apartheid city (Robinson 1996) are still an important antecedent toward understanding present realities.

De Waterkant's quartering is not simply a localised issue on the scale of the city, but, like other African urbanities, can be placed within local, regional and global networks (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004; Robinson 2002). As an urban space, the quarter is an important locus of the struggle over citizenship, the fortified (Caldeira 1999, 2000; Ballard 2005) and quartered city (Bell and Jayne 2004; Binnie 2004); and finally the multi-faceted literature on related identity quests within the realm of citizenship—including sexuality, consumption, and community.

In this chapter I review of the bodies of literature that inform this research. These literatures inform the shaping of De Waterkant as an urban quarter by addressing the ways

in which a heterogeneous network of actors create a space that resonates with their collective and individual identities.

### *The quarter as 'place'*

In the introduction to this research I discussed how places are only as important and useful as the meanings that we associate with them. The urban quarter is shaped through meanings, and as both a physical entity and cultural expression is situated 'in-place' and is thus a product of place making. The relevance of place in this research rests in its discursive qualities that connect it to human experience and the weight of individual and collective meanings. The experience of place by individual and collective entities produces meanings (Relph 1976). Those meanings can be expressed, and thus examined, by means of discourses (Clarke 2005). In turn, discourses shape meaning, and enable us to better understand *topos*—whether that be *eu-topos* or *u-topos*<sup>10</sup>.

The concept of 'place' maintains a prime position in the geographical canon in that geography "explores the experience of being situated in the world, of being in *place*." (Sack 1988: 642, emphasis added) Place is the most basic unit of geographical enquiry (Cresswell 2004), and one that can tell us something about the human experience. The importance of 'place' in the realm illustrating the lived experience of humans in their everyday worlds is embedded in today's debates as much as it was in the humanistic and phenomenological traditions that emphasised its importance decades ago (Relph 1976). The concept of place, however, has been further enhanced by feminist and queer geography debates (Knopp 2007) that allow the concept to be "pulled around the postmodern turn"—to use Adele Clarke's (2005) phrase—a shift that highlights the power-geometries (Massey 1994, 1997) that affect individuals' mobility and agency in the process of place-making. When 'place' is "queered" through these approaches, the complexity of the concept can be seen, as Knopp demonstrates:

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<sup>10</sup> The term utopia, derived from Sir Thomas More's (1965 [1615]) elusive island paradise *Utopia* can mean both the 'good place' (eu-topos) and no place (u-topos). The naming as such suggests human beings' never-ending and seemingly fruitless search for happiness.

[Places] are constituted by ever-changing practices and purposes that are both informed by and generative of all kinds of lingering legacies...many of these legacies are themselves products of the interactions between human beings, their material and semiotic creations, and nonhuman forces, in complex networks and relationships (such as those embodied in technologies, institutions, and infrastructures. (Knopp 2007: 50)

Place is the province not only of geographers but also philosophers such as Casey (1997) who traces its importance to understanding the uniqueness of localities and of experiencing those localities. A 'place' thus acts as a "centre of action and intention" (Relph 1976: 42) not unlike the 'situation of inquiry' that is explored by means of Situational Analysis (Clarke 2005). In Clarke's methodology, the situation of inquiry is also a centre of action in that human and non-human discursive actors and their positions relative to the discourse(s) are mapped, analysed and interrogated to construct place.

In his seminal work, Tuan (1977) differentiates 'place' from its related but distinct concept of 'space'. Humans inhabit and conspire in the shaping of geographical space, but it is the notion of connection and meaning associated with that space that grounds us in place.

Tuan further elucidates the distinction between space and place:

"Space" is more abstract than "place." What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value. Architects talk about the spatial qualities of place; they can equally well speak of the locational (place) qualities of space. The ideas "space" and "place" require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. (Tuan 1977: 6)

Place is therefore 'space' that has been invested with meaning in the context of power (Cresswell 2004: 12); and those meanings can be conferred and enforced with language alone (Tuan 1991). As Cresswell notes, "naming is one of the ways space can be given meaning and become place." (2004: 9)

Place provides the means for us to make sense of the world (Sack 1988); through which a cognizant understanding can give us and the places we inhabit a *sense of place* (Relph 1976). Our sense of place, however, is fragmented by modern mobilities that tend to fracture place as Sack (1988) notes:

Places are specific or unique, yet in many senses they appear more generic and alike. Places seem to be "out there," and yet they are humanly constructed. Things occur in and through space, and yet there is less necessity for them to occur in any one place. Our society stores information about places, and yet we have little sense

of place. And the landscapes that result from modern processes appear to be pastiches, disorienting, inauthentic and juxtaposed. (1998: 642)

The discourse of globalisation threatens the very relevance of 'place' in modern debates (Holston and Appadurai 1999). However, in linking place to questions of citizenship, Holston and Appadurai argue that

...place remains fundamental to the problems of membership in society, and that cities...are especially privileged sites for considering the current negotiations of citizenship. (1999: 3)

While humanistic geographers such as Tuan (1977; 1991) and Relph (1976) made significant contributions to our understanding of place, the concept has been brought around the post-modern turn through more recent and vigorous debates, for instance, in debates around sexuality (Knopp 2004), power relationships (Massey 1997), and resistance (Harvey 2000). One such example of taking place beyond humanistic traditions is the concept of placelessness where being firmly 'placed' is not the only desirable human condition; as some seek 'placelessness' and movement in order to fulfil individual quests for identity and citizenship (Knopp 2004) while in the case of the homeless, there is little or no opportunity to fix themselves firmly in place (Creswell 2004). Although fractured and contested it may be, 'place' is the topos of lived experience, and thus serves as a backdrop for the urban setting in which this study is based.

#### *Good place and no place: Utopian frameworks*

In the pursuit of creating and being 'in-place', human actors engage utopian thinking and practice. The pursuit of utopia is therefore a constituent of quartering. The concept of Utopia emanates from the fictional setting of Sir Thomas More's idyllic island paradise (More 1965), but it is also inherently spatial (MacLeod and Ward 2002; Pinder 2002, 2005a) and provides a sense of hope for those resisting the current condition of 'place' (Harvey 2000). As Bauman (2003) states:

'Utopia' refers to *topos*—a 'place'. However imagined, visions of a different and better life portrayed in the description of utopias were always territorially defined: associated with and confined to a clearly defined territory. (1993: 12, emphasis in the original)

MacLeod and Ward (2002) and Pinder (2002, 2005a) demonstrate clearly that utopia is not just a fictional fantasy, but can rather be pursued and practiced in the 'real' world. Utopia

thus lies at the confluence of ideology and space—where the former is used to shape the latter into a particular place which is governed by a specific set of (presumably) shared ideas<sup>11</sup>. The ideas that constitute utopian thinking are imagined to allow a break from the past. Utopian thinking, as Friedmann (2000) sees it, holds:

the capacity to imagine a future that departs significantly from what we know to be a general condition in the present. It is a way of breaking through the barriers of convention into a sphere of the imagination where many things beyond our everyday experience become feasible. (Friedmann 2000: 462)

Utopian thinking and action therefore has a role to play in the shaping of the quarter. Just as quartering creates a separation from present spatial realities, utopianism enables a break from the here-and-now. In its many forms and expressions, the “utopian dream” can be characterised by “...notions of abundance, healthiness, rurality, nostalgia, community and social order(ing)...” (Kraftl 2007: 123). The search for utopia, like the shaping of a quarter, is the desire for order, control and ultimately a longing for heaven on earth.

Renewed interest in utopia has spawned literary collections (Carey 1999) and has been signalled by growing interest amongst the academic, literary and museum worlds (Pinder 2002: 229). Geographers, too, lend their voices to the revival of utopian ways of seeing the world, and they provide a particular point of departure from which to explore utopia’s many spatial facets. While Baeten (2002) notes that recent utopian research has primarily drawn from eighteenth and nineteenth century examples,<sup>12</sup> he also argues that more recent examples and a renewal of utopian theoretical perspectives may be useful for studies of urban phenomena. Although 19<sup>th</sup> Century examples may more often come to mind when pursuing utopian experiments, recent examples of modern, urban life have the benefit of recognizing alternative identities, mobilities, forms of citizenship, and other issues critical to this research such as race, sexuality, and socio-economics.

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<sup>11</sup> Literature on Utopia generally attributes its construction to the confluence of space and ideology by way of the pursuit of the latter within the territory of the former. My previous research (Rink 1998) came to the same conclusion.

<sup>12</sup> This research is informed by eighteenth- and nineteenth century utopian antecedents, but it is not my intention to fully examine those utopian experiments other than to recognise the role of authoritarianism, power, and the inequities of agency in their construction. For further discussion in this regard see Pinder (2002).

MacLeod and Ward (2002) review recent debates within the academy as they interrogate the process of creating utopian and dystopian spaces in the (mostly North American and UK) urban context. Such debates focus on the role of utopian thinking in driving the vision and place-making—what they call *landscaping*—of the contemporary city. They argue that consumer and economic processes have as much to do with the development of contemporary urban spaces as do practices that enact exclusionary control and surveillance on unwanted dystopian elements of modern urban life. MacLeod and Ward ominously point out that the contemporary city “...appears to be manifesting as an intensely uneven patchwork of utopian and dystopian spaces that are, to all intents and purposes, physically proximate but institutionally estranged” (2002: 154).

While *utopia* itself means ‘no place’, the search for perfection—or at least desire for a better life (Pinder 2002: 238)—still drives individuals and groups to create communities around shared ideologies. For Bauman (2003), this quest carries with it the attribute of *finality* to utopia. As he notes,

Utopia was the *topos* that rewarded the hardship of travellers: the end of the pilgrimage that would (albeit retrospectively) make the past trials and tribulations worth the pains they once brought and the exertions needed to fight them back and overcome. (Bauman 2003: 15)

The pilgrimage, in this case, may be seen as the struggle for individual and collective identity—the building of a stable community, what Bauman calls ‘the fortress of certainty and stability’ (2003: 16). Finding the *topos* in utopia, in Bauman’s reading, would result in the end of tension between what is desired and what is feasible—the gratification of desire (Bauman 2003: 16). Therein, we can find further connection of utopia with the city—particularly the performance of desire that finds its home in urban settings.

Envisioning the city and creating utopia are not mutually exclusive processes (Pinder 2005a). As Knopp (1995) notes,

The city and the social processes constituting it are most usefully thought of...as social products in which material forces, the power of ideas and the human desire to ascribe meaning are inseparable (Knopp 1995: 151).

The material forces, the power of ideas and the human desire to ascribe meaning that Knopp describes are inextricably linked to identities and the performance of those

identities by the 'actors' who inhabit the urban environment. Therein lay the tensions that create unique places constituted of the many identities that are a part of the local, and globally connected fabric of our cities. The mobility of modern places combined with the heterogeneity of their inhabitants set the stage for utopia that is anything but stable.

Although utopia can be seen as final destination in the pursuit of desire and the inscription of meaning, the concept and the *topos* of utopia are not without their problems and detractors. Russell Jacoby (1999) signalled the "end of utopia" while Rosemarie Haag Bletter (1993, as quoted in Pinder 2002: 229) expresses pessimism regarding the usefulness of utopian thinking when she notes that utopia "...has been so reified that today utopia (no place) usually has no place in constructive discourse" (Bletter 1993: 48 as quoted in Pinder 2002: 229). Much of the hostility toward utopian thought, according to Pinder (2002), has its roots in failed authoritarian and socialist regimes that have led some thinkers to question any possibility of imagining "alternative visions of the 'good' society". (Pinder 2002: 230). Even if you should agree with utopian ways of seeing the world, utopia may still be fraught with its corollary (and co-constructed) dystopian realities (Munt 1995). One person's utopia may be another's hell (Raban 1988, as quoted in Pinder 2002: 234). Thus, while utopia may seek a more perfect state of being, the results may not be shared equally by all. Perhaps analysis of such inequalities could be the source of South Africa's contribution to the literature of utopia. While there is not an existent literature of utopia *per se*, the body of South African literature contributes richly to debates on the city and its exclusionary inequalities. Such tensions and displacements are inevitable in utopia, and through their examination we have the opportunity to learn more about the process of imagining, creating, and consuming the city.

Although constant reinvention and the search for perfection may appear to be a head-in-the-clouds approach to understanding the world around us, Pinder (2002) argues that:

The break with the here and now that such utopianism enacts can create space for challenging what is, for disrupting dominant assumptions about social and spatial organisation, and for imagining other possibilities and desires (Pinder 2002: 238)

Utopianism in the context of De Waterkant certainly poses such challenges to the dominant (most often heterosexual) narratives about the city. And that utopianism further creates very visible narratives about queer identities on the urban landscape. Building on this literature, this research engages the mediating influence of utopian/dystopian tropes to explore the creation of quartered identities in De Waterkant.

### *Utopia and the city*

Contemporary debates of utopia find their home in urban settings (Pinder 2002, 2005a; MacLeod and Ward 2002), and have traditionally been situated within both urban and architectural imaginations (Bauman 2003; Kraftl 2007). As such, the literature of the city and its built environment—particularly the South African city—is key to situating De Waterkant’s quartering. However, urban studies have tended to emanate from the perspective of “western” cities (Robinson 2002) and through debates emerging from- and within the global North. Rather than situate this study firmly in northern debates, or along the axis of north/south debates, it is positioned firmly within research on the South African city (Pirie 2005, 2007) and the specific historic, economic, and social elements that have contributed to shaping South African cities, especially in the post-apartheid context (Boraine *et al* 2006). Most recently, geographers have analysed the forces acting upon the South African city as not simply matters of social justice and development (Oldfield *et al* 2004), but also of urban change (Pirie 2005), movements of global capital, creation of heritage sites, and the ‘reanimation’ of the central business district (Pirie 2007).

Within the South African context, geographers have thus made rich contributions to debates on the city. Parnell (1997), Oldfield *et al* (2004), Spocter (2004, 2007) Lemanski (2006), Pieterse (2006), Minty (2006), Pirie (2005, 2007) Elder (2004), Leap (2002), and Visser (2002, 2003a, 2003b) position the discussion in specifically South African urbanities. They locate the debate and the cities themselves within a South African and Southern African context. In the case of Kotze and van der Merwe (2000), the South African city (Cape Town in particular) isn’t compared with cities of the North, but is measured from the

perspective of an urban phenomenon (gentrification) that has been most notably experienced in the global North.

Perspectives from 'African' points-of-view bring narratives as diverse as those of urban graffiti artists (Spocter, 2004) and similar marginalised silent actors to the fore while re-imagining space(s) in the South African urban setting (Minty 2006) and furthering an agenda for more "inclusive geographies" that break down previously constrictive boundaries of engagement (Oldfield *et al* 2004). In the end, the focus on South African urban issues does not isolate the debate to the global South (on the contrary as I shall explain below) but more firmly 'situates' the analysis of De Waterkant within a more relevant context that takes into account Cape Town's cultural, historical and socio-economical realities whilst illuminating to other academics and practitioners what research can teach about "urban patterns, processes, problems and policies generally in an increasingly interconnected world" (Pirie 2005: 347). To understand the city and its connections to the world, it is equally important to understand the identities of its citizens. Those identities, like the city itself, are characterised by heterogeneity and subject to ongoing change.

### *South Africa's urban legacy: the apartheid city*

One cannot speak of South African urbanities without recognition of the power of apartheid to shape current notions of socio-spatial inequality. The literature of the apartheid city is thus an important contextual thread to this research. While the apartheid era may have passed with the new democratic dispensation in 1994, the legacy which is left by the oppressive regime of the apartheid state is still apparent in South African cities (Robinson 1996: 219). The manipulation of space under the apartheid regime disrupted the development of South African space on national and local scales; down to the segregation of public buildings and other amenities and spaces within the South African city (Robinson 1998). As Robinson (1998) further notes, apartheid involved

...a conception of space as homogenous, divisible, empty, able to be filled with social content, to be demarcated and subdivided—in short, to be ordered, as well as a significant source of social order (Robinson 1998: 533)

The social ordering of apartheid shaped South African cities, while also shaping and

disrupting the identities of those living within them. The extent to which apartheid moderated mobility as well as controlled individual identities along lines of race is well documented (see Robinson 1996). The apartheid state cynically manipulated space for political reasons through legislation enacted during the period of National Party rule (Robinson 1998). The social control which characterised apartheid legislation extended to gendering South African spaces and to differently controlling mobility based on gender (Elder 2003). As such, the South African city under apartheid—and in its wake—is tied to a history of spatial inequality, oppression, and the discursive and material shaping of space.

The painful history of apartheid may be behind us, but the legacy for South Africans and their cities remains. The struggle to forge new visions of the city is the province of both the former oppressors as well as the oppressed (Robinson 1996: 7) and the history of oppression as well as liberation has a role to play in the present state of the South African city. According to Robinson (1996),

...we cannot easily escape from the entrapment of the already fixed concrete - or less securely, but just as difficult to change, wood, iron, cardboard and mud - form of the city (Robinson 1996: 7)

The struggle against apartheid was not only waged on a grand scale, but also on smaller, everyday contestations of space. These everyday movements and expressions of often contrary urbanism, that Pieterse (2008) calls "insurgent urbanisms", are constituent of understanding and shaping the city. The material quarterings of 'the location'—the urban, black township—would begin with the introduction of labour compounds and hostels in the mining town of Kimberley, and would be followed by the ubiquitous, ordered 'township' (Mabin 1986 as quoted in Robinson 1996: 52) that still today constitutes the South African city.

The materially and discursively differentiated spaces of the apartheid city are themselves a product of quartering. In case of the apartheid city, the basis of quartering was race, and the outcome was differentiated urban landscapes that—while physically proximate—were institutionally estranged as a result of state control. The effect of apartheid was to create

...starkly divided landscapes with sprawling, infrastructurally poor black townships severed from the high-rise commercial city centre and salubrious suburban areas. (Robinson 1996: 30)

Beyond apartheid, in the democratic South Africa of today, the “unstable, indeterminate, and multiple” (Robinson 1998: 547) nature of space is a component of current and future urban realities, and thus is an element of understanding South African urban quarters such as De Waterkant.

### *Identity and the city: Sexuality, consumption, and community*

Quarters are shaped through identity and cultural performance; where both find their place in space. The highly mobile nature of cities allows for the development of networks of diverse individuals and collectives. Cities are thus the site for myriad identity performances. At the same time this research is informed by the meanings and identities that actors ascribe to the city, it is also driven by the identities of the citizens who inhabit them. Therefore, this study also rests within the literature of citizenship and identity—along with the related notions of sexuality, sexual citizenship, consumption and community. Socio-political changes in South African society notwithstanding, research in pursuit of an understanding of De Waterkant calls for new ways of understanding the performance of identity, and the particular complexities that surround the performance of sexuality, the notion of community, the role of citizenship, and the particular importance of consumption in the achievement of all of the above. These concepts are not fixed in time and space, however, and thus I will engage debates on the ‘mobility paradigm’ to discuss how they come together on the urban landscape of De Waterkant.

### *Sex(uality) and the city*

My point of departure for understanding De Waterkant was as a gay village—an urban place that served as a locus for the performance of queer<sup>13</sup> sexualities. The literature of sexuality and space thus provides grounding in understanding De Waterkant’s quartering through the performance of sexual identity and the city (Bell and Valentine 1995; Chetty

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<sup>13</sup> In this instance, the use of the term queer recognises Browne’s (2006) contention that ‘queer’ should go beyond simply a shorthand for sexual dissidents, and should challenge the hegemonic position of ‘the heteronormative’ that remains in-tact with a simplistic use of the term.

1994; Elder 1995, 2004; Gevisser 1994; Munt 1995; Knopp 1992, 1995, 2004, 2007; Binnie 1995, 2004) and therefore is an important constituent in this study. What these key literatures share in common is the notion that queer space is shaped often in the face of oppression and often in opposition to its binary opposite of ambient heterosexual space. In the urban setting of De Waterkant, the sexual politics of the city also become key as the city has frequently been portrayed as the locus of sexual diversity and freedom (Knopp 1995: 149). As sites of 'various sexual codings' (2002: 153) and complex, dynamic social relations, cities allow for divergent meanings over sexuality and space to take shape. The city is thus a magnet for queer quests of many kinds. This being the case, rural to urban migrations in search of sexual freedom are a common theme of many gay life-stories in the North American context (Fellows 1996; Knopp 2004). The context of the city thus provides an opportunity to understand the affect of space on sexual identity. According to Knopp (1995):

The city and the social processes constituting it are most usefully thought of, therefore, as social products in which material forces, the power of ideas and the human desire to ascribe meaning are inseparable. (Knopp 1995: 151)

The city provides fertile ground for the creation of meaning, and the practice of sexuality. Although not essential for the development and practise of same-sex desire, as Fellows (1996) and Elder (1995) show in different non-urbanised settings, the city does provide a basis for identity among individuals and collectives. City spaces—particularly urban enclaves—become desirable if not necessary in the search for queer identity:

For gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transgender and other queers, as for other oppressed groups, this means seeking people, places, relationships, and ways of being that provide the physical and emotional security, the wholeness as individuals and as collectives, and the solidarity that are denied us in the heterosexed world. (Knopp 2004:123)

Knopp urges us to see quests for identity as a process involving actors across a broad network, where the use of the term 'agency' is equally as broad and inclusive of actors both human and otherwise. In the case of De Waterkant, the issue of equal/unequal agency, and issues around racial and ethnic identities, socio-economics, and global/local influence are of great import and central to the analysis of identity formation and place-making in this thesis.

Historically, laws that governed South African cities had a history of enacting spatial barriers to performing sexuality in the city. Apartheid laws brought with them not only forced removals, pass laws and segregation, but also a strict disciplining of same-sex desire in both public and private space (Elder 1995). However, as Elder (1995) notes, the inconsistent response from the State to issues of homosexuality along lines of race was an example of how apartheid-era political leaders struggled to conceptualise more fluid and flexible expressions of sexuality in the multi-racial South African context. Thus South Africans have long defied the dictates of the State to express their sexual identity and same-sex desire (Gevisser 1994). In a similar vein, Leap (2002) demonstrates how South African men of all races were able to subvert State control and enact their same-sex desire in public spaces which themselves were meant to be segregated. By doing so, Leap argues that gay men in South Africa were forerunners in the struggle against apartheid and champions of sexual citizenship. Such notions of citizenship are central to being part of the city. The search for citizenship is, however, complicated by issues of identity, mobility, politics and consumption. These issues situate citizenship, like place, in a state of constant change.

#### *The struggle for citizenship*

The mobile, dynamic context of the city can be seen as the locus of the struggle for citizenship (Bell and Binnie 2004: 1808), and it is within urban spaces where citizens with varying scales of mobility perform and enact their individual and communal urban identities. As a component of identity, citizenship is thus implicated in the framing of the quarter. Cities are not the only arenas of the struggle for- and development of citizenship, but as Holston and Appadurai (1999) contend, cities provide the backdrop for the 'nonlocal', the strange and the mixed to "engage most palpably the tumult of citizenship." (1999: 2). The power of cities to enable and produce citizenship in the midst of a dynamic and mobile landscape is captured, again by Holston and Appadurai:

Their crowds catalyze processes that decisively expand and erode the rules, meanings and practices of citizenship. Their streets conflate identities of territory and contract with those of race, religion, class, culture, and gender to produce the reactive ingredients of both progressive and reactionary political movements. (Holston and Appadurai 1999: 2)

Citizenship takes many forms and is practiced through a variety of means. In this thesis I consider sexual citizenship, the citizen-consumer, and the related but problematic issue of community.

Related to the broader quest for citizenship is the subject position of the 'sexual citizen' (Evans 1993) that has its roots in the development of sexual politics and utilises "the idea of citizenship as a space for thinking about sexual identities, desires and practices." (Bell and Binnie 2006: 869) Debates about sexual citizenship have revolved around questions of geography and have engaged debates about space (Bell and Binnie 2006). These debates include the location of sexual acts within public/private realms (Bell 1997); the effect of national differences across notions of the sexual citizen; and the influence of spatial scale on sexual citizenship, among others (Bell and Binnie 2006). While such debates may be inherently geographical, they are nonetheless characterized by conflicts when played-out in the real world. Such conflicts as Binnie (2004) notes are between those who "favour strategies of assimilation versus those who insist on the rejection of heteronormative values" (Binnie 2004: 167). In this argument he makes a crucial point that mirrors the utopia/dystopia binary, contending:

Like all forms of citizenship, claims for inclusion reproduce exclusions (e.g. 'bad' promiscuous gays, those who do not wish to fight for their country, politicized lesbians, those who do not conform to the couple format (Binnie 2004: 167).

Matters of the city, sexuality and citizenship are evident clearly in the context of urban enclaves such as De Waterkant that are enacted as 'gay villages'. Sexual citizenship is affected by questions of mobilities in the commodification of gay spaces which Bell and Binnie (2004) argue "...can be read as an instance of 'the new homonormativity', producing a global repertoire of themed gay villages, as cities throughout the world weave commodified gay space into their promotional campaigns" (Bell and Binnie 2004: 1808). Sites such as these are central to sexual citizenship, particularly as they are also sites of consumption: an idea that is both central to how citizenship is defined, and implicit in the management and disciplining of the self that occurs through the choices that consumers make (Binnie 2004: 167). Consumption plays a leading role in recent quarterings of De

Waterkant, as such, the citizen-consumer is a central character on De Waterkant's actor network.

### *The citizen-consumer*

With city serving as the locus of the struggle for citizenship (Bell and Binnie 2004), modern urban citizenship is incumbent upon how- and where- the citizen-consumer positions their consumptive practices (Binnie 2004). As Binnie states, "Consumption is now central to how citizenship is defined, and the management and disciplining of the self occurs through choices we make as consumers" (2004: 167). Erkip (2003), for instance, demonstrates how one's self image is achieved for the urban citizen seeking modernity in the Turkish context through the development and use of the shopping mall. Citizens thus seek and find new conceptions of self through consumption. Consumerism is also an assertion of power (Binnie 1995); and in the case of gay economic power, the enactment of consumerism has been understood as a reaction to the powerlessness that many gays and lesbians feel in their own lives (1995: 187).

As a destination for both locals and tourists alike, De Waterkant is one such locus of consumerism; and thus also of the struggle for citizenship. Recent scholarship in gay-related tourism<sup>14</sup> (Elder 2005; Visser 2002, 2003a, 2003b) sheds light on the consumptive practices in De Waterkant, recognising the impact of gay-oriented tourism, the tensions in the process of place-making where race is concerned, and the comparisons and disconnects in holding De Waterkant to standards of gay urban enclaves<sup>15</sup> around the world. The effects of such comparisons, as Elder (2004) notes, can have negative consequences for issues of equality, as he contends:

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<sup>14</sup> Related to the consumption aspect of this research, De Waterkant has been viewed through the lens of tourism (Elder 2005; Visser 2002, 2003a, 2003b), an issue I link to utopian-like place-making through the pursuit of consumption and desire. Rogerson and Visser (2005) have taken a broader view of urban tourism in South Africa, considering the pursuit of leisure, pleasure, or desire as its own form of utopia. Tourism accounts for an ever-increasing percentage of the South African economy. The pursuit of the pink Rand—or Pound, Euro and Dollar—is clearly a part of Cape Town Tourism's strategy, where organisations specifically devoted to the task, such as Galactic (the Gay and Lesbian Association of Cape Town, Tourism, Industry and Commerce) have been created to develop the industry and to cater specifically to the queer consumer.

<sup>15</sup> Elder (2004) argues that South Africa has no examples of the spatialised form of the gay enclave or "ghettos" in the European or North American sense of the term.

...in the evolving gay and lesbian travel geography, we see an apparent homogenization of gay space in efforts to create interchangeable neighborhoods that produce experiences of place similar to Sydney, Amsterdam, or London. What this space creates is a myth of "community," while also masking the life of gay and lesbian people and the material inequalities of globalization (2004: 580).

Those material inequalities include what Binnie (2004) calls "the limits and myths of the pink economy discourse." (2004: 167) As such, queer consumerism must be taken in context of the greater hetero-sexed world, or what Alison Murray calls the 'ambient heterosexual' (1995). Although urban quarters such as De Waterkant may strive to set themselves apart geographically and ideologically in order to promote consumerism (Binnie 2004) and to attract tourism from economically dominant nations (Elder 2004), the pursuits that take place within the area do so within the broader context of the South African economical, political, and social milieu.

Development of gay-oriented tourism and leisure sites has progressed hand-in-hand with socio-political changes in the South African society, whose apartheid past carries a legacy that has affected identities of gay men of all races (Elder 1995). While racial groups suffered varying levels of oppression under the apartheid state, gay men in general (in spite of racial identity) would have experienced restrictions on the performance of their sexual identity (Leap 2002). With the end of the system of apartheid, racial, ethnic and sexual identities of many kinds have enjoyed new rights that have allowed, in principle, both local and transnational queer communities to openly engage in the pursuit of consumption and desire with fewer restrictions than in the past—although many obstacles may still exist (Visser 2003b).

Not all visitors to De Waterkant have the same obstacles. With the growth of international tourism in De Waterkant, the tourist-consumer has a role in place-making as well. Knudsen *et al* (2007) explore the role of the 'tourist gaze' in reading and performing the tourist sites through a landscape approach to conferring and interpreting meaning to/from place. The tourist's role in place-making is dependent on the mediation and construction of 'texts' that they consume (Knudsen *et al* 2007). Furthermore, those meanings are complicated by the degree to which local context is understood. Tourists are part of a broader set of

actors in De Waterkant—in addition to long-time residents, shop-owners, club-goers, and lifestyle-seeking consumers. In some way all could be included in the notion of community within De Waterkant. They are all part of the process of place making, yet contribute in different ways toward building and identifying with community.

### *Unpacking community*

Although mentioned within debates over citizenship and sexuality, the notion of community has yet to be questioned or located within this discussion. Community weaves itself into the shaping of De Waterkant particularly through the creation of the gay village as an inclusive space for gays and lesbians (Elder 2004). The reality of its inclusiveness—of ‘community’—is however limited to gay men only. In her critique of the ‘unquestionable good’ that is community, Miranda Joseph (2002) argues “against the idealization of community as a utopian state of human relatedness” (Joseph 2002: ix). The assumption in pursuing community is that of a singular vision and common goal. While the goals of creating safe and accessible gay space in De Waterkant is a noble one, Visser (2003a; 2003b) has demonstrated how exclusionary forces act in gatekeeping access to De Waterkant’s utopian pleasures. Cultural and economic forces continue to act upon visitors to De Waterkant (Visser 2003a; 2003b) and to ‘pink’ Cape Town generally (Elder 2004) in unequal ways. It is those exclusionary forces, as well as a sense of *otherness*<sup>16</sup> in the village’s representation that separates De Waterkant from its physical setting and ultimately calls the idea of community into question.

By setting itself apart from the world outside, the refrains of otherness in De Waterkant is also an expression of the desire for mobility- creating new places, new connections, testing, exploring, and ultimately liberation (Knopp 2004: 123). Mobility in this sense focuses on consuming at the leading edge of society, establishing personal and symbolic

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<sup>16</sup> The nostalgia these various versions of otherness as expressed in the naming conventions of De Waterkant can be explained as a longing for “the homeland as an almost paranoid and painful desire [which] can be powerfully anxiety inducing and unsettling” (Kraftl, 2007, p. 136). As discussed in the early pages of this review, naming is a powerful tool in the transference of meaning. Places become infused with meaning through language (Tuan 1991) and putting names to place (Cresswell 2004).

connections to other countries and cultures, and going beyond the narrowly defined borders of De Waterkant. Such “mobility practices” are, according to Knopp (2004), “common for many people in contemporary individualistic societies and cultures, especially those with the means to be physically mobile, such as those with class, race, and/or gender privilege” (2004: 123). In sum, such privileges may be masked in the name of community building and may be embedded within a globalised vision of ‘gay spaces’ that are indistinguishable from each other (Elder 2004). The danger in creating such spaces is that they mask inequalities and favour dominant discourses of cultural norms while overlooking local barriers to sexual citizenship and varying expressions of same-sex desire. Whether a notion or myth, the idea of ‘community’ is set within ever-changing scales of mobility as the citizen–sexual or otherwise–traverses urban space and acts to create ‘place’.

#### *The mobility turn and questions of scale*

In our present global context, De Waterkant has been shaped by the hands of actors with differently scaled mobilities; locally, regionally, and globally, and by means of the mundane as well as the extraordinary (Binnie *et al* 2007). Reflecting a paradigm shift in how we understand movements through space and time, the so called ‘mobility turn’ (Binnie *et al* 2007; Sheller and Urry 2006) stands in contrast to the often-held notion that Africa is isolated and disconnected from broader global networks—a perspective that envisions Africa as, “an object *apart from the world.*” (Mbembe and Nuttall 2004: 348, emphasis in the original) As Mbembe and Nuttall (2004) further note:

...the continent we have in mind exists only as a function of circulation and of circuits. It is fundamentally in contact with an *elsewhere*. As such, it is a space that is not only “produced”; it is also a space that circulates, that is constantly in motion (2004: 351, emphasis in the original).

By reading Cape Town as Mbembe and Nuttall (2004) suggest, one can appreciate the often unrecognised connectivity that African cities such as Cape Town have with the rest of the world, and the broader meanings of place that result.

Cape Town’s history has long positioned it as a globally connected city. While not featuring in comparisons with “world cities” such as London and New York (Smith 2003a), and outside

of the 'global core' in recent theoretical debate<sup>17</sup>, it is a city that nonetheless maintains external connections. What Smith (2003b) describes as a 'switching' function (2003b: 576), acts in material ways to transform Cape Town's social, economic and political fabric (Robinson 2006). The actors that 'flip the switches' through Cape Town's broader global connections contribute an 'internationalised' aspect to the production and consumption of the city, especially evident in De Waterkant. These actors contribute to the generic globalisation of the city both through what influences they bring to places like De Waterkant, and through the meanings that they take away. At the same time, they also contribute to the production of homogenised space that seeks to reproduce those of other international destinations (Elder 2004).

By seeing Cape Town as a 'connected' and mobile global city, however, is not to underestimate the agency of local actors whose power to transform and perform their own identities in the contemporary South African context. History, particularly a post-colonial one, and the developing world context play a role in these urban connections (Desai 2002), thus this research recognises those time-space tensions in the process of place-making and the potentially divergent visions of urban utopia that may result. Given South Africa's history of social-spatial polarisation, unequal mobilities within the population of Cape Town affect actors' abilities to shape space.

#### *Mundane and extraordinary mobilities*

Although De Waterkant is shaped by globe-trotting tourists who return to holiday during the season, it is also shaped by the everyday movements of domestic workers passing through it. Like the modern city which is implicated in the process of globalisation through multiple entry/exit points, social entities such as people, products, ideas and information are also subject to a new 'mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry 2006). This 'turn to mobility' sheds a critical light on both the extraordinary (transnational) mobilities that are enacted by foreign tourists on long-haul holidays as well as the more mundane (but no less

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<sup>17</sup> Robinson (2002) places Cape Town (along with other African cities) at the lowest level of connectivity within the world cities networks.

important) quotidian mobilities of those, such as domestic workers, who might only pass through the area en-route to work, home, or simply going about their everyday lives (Binnie *et al* 2007). As Binnie *et al* (2007) contend:

This 'mobility turn' or 'new mobilities paradigm' has appositely identified the flows which make up the spatial and social complexity of the expanding, variegated relationships between people and places and critiqued static, bounded conceptions of place, space and belonging. (Binnie *et al* 2007: 165)

While recognizing the flows that characterize networks of people and places, the mobility turn also critiques debates that are more fixed in space and that have more conventional imaginings of what constitutes mobility. In their criticism of static, sedentary approaches within social science, Sheller and Urry (2006) note that:

[Social science] has not sufficiently examined how, enhanced by various objects and technologies, people move. But also it has not seen how images and communications are also intermittently on the move and those actual and potential movements organise and structure social life. Mobilities in this paradigm is thus used in a broad-ranging generic sense, embracing physical movement such as walking and climbing to movement enhanced by technologies, bikes and buses, cars and trains, ships and planes (Sheller and Urry 2006: 212).

With the increasing tendency for extraordinary mobilities (through more frequent and inexpensive long-haul air travel) to become more mundane (Sheller and Urry 2006: 215-216), such transnational movements often have the impact of redistributing normative international standards on places such as De Waterkant through the exchange of objects, information, styles and ideas (Binnie *et al* 2007: 169). Like the corporeal turn in the 1990s<sup>18</sup> (Cream 1995; Bell and Valentine 1995; Valentine 1999; Fall 2006) that placed an intense focus on the body in space, the mobility turn sheds light on the *moving* body through *real* and *imagined* (*read: virtual*) space and time (Hearn 2006) as it extracts and imposes meaning on the spaces through which that body travels. And, as the body travels, it does so constrained by the power-geometries (Massey 1994, 1997) that affect its movement, and thus its ability to produce, consume and perform place.

While the corporeal turn also explored how gendered and sexualised bodies moved through space, the mobility turn too has bearing on sexualized space and movement through that

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<sup>18</sup> Among those who influenced this turn was Foucault (1977) in his exploration of how bodies are subject to control by human and institutional means, which he argues has a direct effect on how bodies move through space and time.

space (Bell and Binnie 2004). Knopp (2004) argues that mobility to the point of 'placelessness' is the affection of the queer identity, since:

Queers are actively engaged in processes of personal reinvention that intrinsically entail examinations of ourselves and our surroundings. We are keenly aware of the hybrid nature of our existences, and of the highly contingent nature of both our power and the constraints on it. Hence our ambivalent relationships to place and identity, and our affection for placelessness and movement. (2004: 129)

As the sexualised body moves through space, identities are performed and meanings are bestowed on place. Within the modern, mobile society, identity is constituted both by the global (Oswin 2006) and the local—an idea on which Munt (1995) elaborates at the pedestrian scale of the *flâneur*.

The *flâneur* in this sense is a vessel upon which the city is written, and s/he comes to realise the 'mobility of desire' as the urban landscape is traversed. Whereas Munt's *flâneur* passes through the landscape and "...is fascinated, transfixed and thus trapped into representing wishes, without fulfilment" (1995: 116), this research intends to locate and "de-center"—to use Oswin's (2006) term—more engaged and engaging actors as they pursue utopia, community, and desire in De Waterkant, or in some cases as they take part in mundane mobilities as they traverse or otherwise interact with De Waterkant through quotidian movements.

Munt's *flâneur* passes through her landscape challenged by the performance of desire and identity whilst traversing the city. Performance of identity is a topic of inquiry that has often been linked with the seminal work of Judith Butler (1990; 1993) and one that plays a key role in the production of place and community where issues of identity are concerned as they are in De Waterkant. Butler, as well as more recent scholars (Nelson 1999<sup>19</sup>), argues that performance has limitations that reflect identity, positionality, and agency. Yet the performance of identity also hinges on the influence of both temporal and spatial<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The ground-breaking work of Judith Butler (1990) that gave rise to debates of 'performance,' has more recently been revisited by Nelson (1999).

<sup>20</sup> Such movements take place in physical space as mentioned here, but they also take place in the virtual world and electronic communities of cyberspace. One such example of time-space struggle over community has to do with the effect of information and communication technologies (ICTs) on

factors that affect meanings and effects of the process (Bell *et al* 1994). Nelson's (1999) 'cartography of identity' is an important tool to analyse the meaningful and meaning-filled landscape of De Waterkant because it suggests the need to "...map how individuals and/or collective subjects do identity in relation to various discursive processes (e.g. class, race, gender and sexuality), to other subjects, and to layers of institutions and practices—all located concretely in time and space" (Nelson 1999: 348). In looking at De Waterkant and its utopian/dystopian tropes, movements through time and space in the process of place-making and community building are critical.

### *Scaling discourse*

Questions of mobility have also engaged with debates of scale as human experience is affected by issues arising on global, national, regional, community, interpersonal and corporeal scales (Masuda and Crooks 2007). As Masuda and Crooks suggest:

an *experiential* approach to scale can help to move us away from rigid hierarchies toward a use of scale as a representation of micro to macro level phenomena that are salient to people's everyday lives such as the body, home, school, community and nation. Just as the topographic lines on a map represent a complex multidimensional landscape, human experiences of everyday life trace the contours of a much more complex picture of social, cultural, political and economic interconnections across scales. Understanding how such contours are established, maintained and contested assists us in making sense of broader forces manifest in the spaces and places around us, as well as our role in shaping those forces. (Masuda and Crooks 2007: 257)

Critics of the local-to-global verticalisation of scale (Marston *et al* 2005) point to the misuse of scale in placing human experience within a hierarchy that "fails to capture the myriad socio-territorial configurations we encounter" (Marston *et al* 2005: 419) while espousing a 'flows' and 'blockages' approach that recognises the 'horizontal' of interactions between humans and objects across space.

Interactions between humans and objects act to shape 'place', leading to comparisons between the fluidity of place and that of scale (Howitt 2002). While 'place' can be

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the expression of sexual identity and the formation of communities (Hearn 2006; Holleran 2006). The predominance of the internet—and particularly the concept of "netizenship" (Hearn 2006: 946)—has an effect on how communities are accessed and imagined. Routledge (2008) has demonstrated how the Internet acts a mediator of network associations among actors. Mobility in this sense is more complex than simply movements across 'real' space; virtual space is now the province of identity formation and community-building, bringing the debate to much broader scales.

conceptualized as ever-changing and dependent on the numerous interactions that occur within it—in other words, understood as an “event rather than a thing” (Howitt 2002: 304)—it is also possible to conceptualise geographical scale as “a process, a relationship of movement and interaction rather than a discreet ‘thing’” (304).

The mobile, sexualised citizen, therefore, shapes and is shaped by the experience of the city at varying scales of activity and interaction. Mobility and scale then, are two axes along which the struggle for identity and the creation of the city are situated. Framing place in scalar ways results in unique ‘representational tropes’ (Jones 1998) that tell us something about meanings associated with place. These elements conspire in the process of place-making, and create quarters, in turn affecting the city and those who share its space.

*The effects of the quartered city: Identity, exclusion and fortification*

Quartering the city produces urban spaces that differentiate themselves, but are not necessarily physically separated from the surrounding city. At the same time, however, quartering can also lead to physically fortifying urban spaces in the pursuit of ‘otherness’; suggesting that quartering can also lead to isolation and segregation. The quartered city, however, is more than a binary approach to understanding urban spaces through notions of rich versus poor. The city is quartered through agency on the part of the quarter’s inhabitants (Marcuse 1989). Therefore, the concepts of place, identity and utopia are critical to analyse quarters. Quarters attract like communities of people while excluding others at the same time they serve as a locus for the symbolic framing of culture (Bell and Jayne 2004). Cities may be ‘quartered’ through the deliberate conception of artistic, commercial or entertainment zones all the while sharing often the common thread of consumption driven principally by commercial interests (Bell and Jayne 2004). Examples of such urban zones include: ghettos, gentrified residential enclaves, ethnic quarters, red-light zones, creative and cultural quarters, and gay villages (Bell and Jayne 2004: 1).

The ‘gay village’ emerges as one type of quarter that deserves closer scrutiny within the

scope of this research. The concept of a gay enclave goes back to Martin Levine (1979) when he explored the contention that large concentrations of gay men and lesbians were congregating in major urban centres in the USA during the 1970s, including Boston, New York, Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles. What Levine in the late 1970s called 'gay ghettos' were later referred to—perhaps in a more positive light—as 'gay villages' (Binnie 2004). These urban 'villages' define themselves through clusters of venues that are gay-owned and/or focus on serving a gay<sup>21</sup> clientele. Gay villages provide one example of how quarters can serve as specific sites for alternative communal or individual identities (Binnie 2004). These areas not only become a playground or palimpsest for creation of a gay cityscape, they may also be seen as a modern form of utopian control (Murray 2004) as they enact their own racial, gender or economic exclusions (Binnie 2004; Elder 2004; Visser 2002, 2003a, 2003b). Whether subject to control or not, enclaves of this variety often serve as 'safe' spaces for the development and performance of alternative, non-heteronormative identities, as Casey (2004) suggests:

The growth in gay 'ghettos', 'villages' or 'spaces' can allow those who access them to be able to come out and develop their sexual identity/ies in an environment that can act as community and economic base for urban gay men and lesbians. (2004: 447)

Gay villages are example of what Jean-Ulrick Désert calls "queer space" (1997: 20). These villages may only be practiced as "queer space" through activation by the occupant, and through an act of faith that all other spaces 'out there' are actually heterosexual (Désert 1997: 21). It is such individual and collective queer presences that shift the meaning of quartered urban enclaves understood to be gay villages.

Quartering of gay spaces in the South African context creates a 'spatial conundrum' (Elder 2004: 579), however. At the same time the country is emerging from its apartheid past, the attempt to define exclusionary space in the form of a gay ghetto appears to fly in the face of efforts to achieve a "Rainbow Nation". Thus while a post-1994 legal landscape provides freedom of movement and association, the South African gay ghetto, and many other

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<sup>21</sup> While gay villages may presumably intend to serve a broad community of sexual dissidents (gay, lesbian, bi-sexual, transgender), Levine (1979) argued that such places were dominated by gay male presence.

quartering phenomena in South African cities, seems ill-suited to contribute to building inclusive, post-apartheid urban spaces. The exclusionary spaces of the quarter are often achieved through fortification by interdictory means.

*Fortified quarters: The new segregation*

At the same time the South African city is connected to global networks of commerce, migration and ideas, some suggest it is also beginning to shutter itself; to turn-in on itself, buttressing those citizens who can afford it from the ills that plague the urban world 'out there' (Pirie 2007; Spocster 2007; Lemanski 2006; Ballard 2005; Hook and Vrdoljak 2002). Fortified cities engage practices and technologies similar to the ever-vigilant panopticon (Foucault 1977) where the fear of crime and the threat of new social orders taking shape within them cause (mostly) upper classes to retreat to exclusive, fortified enclaves (Caldeira 2000). Those enclaves serve as private cities-within-a-city and shatter urban space into disjointed pieces. The enclaves also serve to shield the psyches of white South Africans who live in gated communities in order to manage the contradiction between the identity to which they aspire and the place in which they live (Ballard 2005). Fortified cities therefore become "a veritable labyrinth of interdictory spaces: barricaded streets, privately administered plazas, police helicopter over-flights, and traffic lights festooned with panning, tilting and zooming video cameras" (Flusty 2001: 658). Ballard (2005) and Hook and Vrdoljak (2002) demonstrate how South African cities are fortifying themselves through a variety of interdictory urban (dis)amenities—to use Flusty's (2001) term—including gated communities, security parks, and private surveillance.

In public and private settings, citizens in South African cities are isolating themselves through the new architecture of urban built environments whose "inward-looking corporate spaces turn their backs to the city" (Pirie 2007: 133) and through gated residential areas that segregate themselves from the 'other' (Lemanski 2006) in order to re-affirm their (white, European) identity (Ballard 2005). Gated communities in particular are read as driven by fear. As Hook and Vrdoljak (2002) contend, "the rationale for building and living in gated communities rests on the assumption that unregulated and uncontrolled space is

dangerous space.” (2002: 196) Though such closures may seem a recent reaction to crime and fear (Caldeira 1999, 2000), Spocter (2007) contends that this closure of public space is not simply a post-apartheid phenomenon, but has been evident in South African cities prior to 1994. The ‘silent closure’ of public space, as he calls it, has occurred through the privatisation and closure of urban public spaces by private interests; of which construction and security were the primary rationale (Spocter 2007: 164) with a fortified city with little spatial justice resulting (167).

Cities throughout the global South have experienced this phenomenon. Theresa Caldeira (1999) contributes to the debate from a Brazilian perspective when she describes the trend to fortify and ‘close’ cities in the South:

Fortified enclaves are privatized, enclosed, and monitored spaces for residence, consumption, leisure, and work. The fear of violence is one of their main justifications. They appeal to those who are abandoning the traditional public sphere of the streets to the poor, the “marginal,” and the homeless. In cities fragmented by fortified enclaves, it is difficult to maintain the principles of openness and free circulation that have been among the most significant organizing values of modern cities. As a consequence, the character of public space and of citizens’ participation in life changes. (Caldeira 1999: 114)

It follows that when you limit participation in the city, there is certain to be an effect on citizens and notions of community. Fortified cities and their interdictory spaces frame and enforce “otherness” that is limiting to the notion of community (Flusty 2001). As Steven Flusty contends, interdictory space is:

...selectively exclusionary space. Which is not to say, however, that ‘the Others’ making up the bulk of the city are forever banned from interdicted precincts. They are, in fact, often welcomed in. But only so long as they behave appropriately. And what constitutes appropriate behavior in interdicted spaces is rigidly defined and strenuously enforced by management. In short, difference is fine, so long as it is surrendered at the gate (Flusty 2001: 659).

Urban spaces in the fortified city become a patchwork of carceral zones with unequal access. The fortified city disciplines its citizens (Foucault 1977) with a plethora of panopticon-like technologies that enforce conduct, mediate movement, and eliminate encounters with ‘difference’ (Flusty 2001: 664). As such these spaces limit the discourses that can emerge from those spaces, and impact the way cities are experienced. Even if only a reaction to the realities of life within the South African city, the fortification and surveillance of urban spaces and the resulting segregation of its citizens impacts the way

the modern city is imagined, created and performed. De Waterkant provides examples of exclusion, interdiction, and segregation. These effects of managing difference are evident over the course of De Waterkant's many quartered identities.

### *Quartering De Waterkant*

As the locus of the symbolic framing of culture (Bell and Jayne 2004), De Waterkant's quartering emanates from the human experience of being situated in-place (Sack 1998) that is filled with meaning (Cresswell 2004). As places are created through meaning and intention, the practice of place making can be seen as a utopian pursuit in its desire to break from the present (Baeten 2002; Harvey 2000; Kraftl 2007; MacLeod and Ward 2002; Pinder 2002, 2005a). Furthermore, De Waterkant is situated in an urban South African context that brings with it a unique set of power-geometries (Massey 1994, 1997) that affect the agency and mobility of place-making and thus quarter-shaping. De Waterkant is a site of enacted mobilities—both mundane and extraordinary (Binnie *et al* 2007) that shape the quarter through varying scales.

Whereas the quarter takes shape in-place, its identity is formed through symbolic framing of culture that involves expressions of identity, citizenship, and community. The pursuit of identity as played-out on the landscape of De Waterkant shapes the quarter in particular ways that are unique within the scope of the current literature. This research is situated within a number of streams of literature as discussed above, and it builds upon them to demonstrate how quartering in the South African context—with particular relevance to the starting point of a gay village quartering—is more complex and is unaccounted for in the current literature. The product and process of quartering that is evident in De Waterkant is linked to the context of the nation and the city in which it is located. South Africa's apartheid past with its history of spatial inequality and oppression provide an enduring legacy that affects current quartered realities.

In the chapter that follows I build on the foundation of the literature discussed to explain the conceptual and methodological approaches that I have used to demonstrate the

differently positioned discursive and material shaping of De Waterkant as an ethnic, Bohemian, gay and lifestyle quarter, and particularly how one quartering transitions gradually and tenuously to another through multiple transitions by the hands and through the force of multiple actors.

### **Chapter 3. FINDING, FOLLOWING and LISTENING TO THE ACTORS: Methodology and conceptual framework**

The conceptual grounding for this research understands that 'places' are created through layers of meaning imparted from human and non-human actors onto 'space'. Those meanings, in the form of discourses, shape De Waterkant's quartered identities. De Waterkant is comprised of fluid networks of actors and discourses—both of which shift with time and space. Understanding the many quarterings of De Waterkant entails 'following the actors' (Latour 1993), not in a randomly sampled way, but with the understanding of the diverse, multiple networks that exist in the area, and the layers of history and socio-economic context that make it unique.

My approach also begins with an acknowledgement that there is more to De Waterkant than a 'gay village'. Taking that into consideration, my starting point of De Waterkant's quarterings began by unpacking the notion of De Waterkant as a gay village. De Waterkant has been quartered over time from vocal as well as silent human and non-human actors who all contribute—although governed by power-geometries (Massey 1994, 1997)—in some way toward shaping the quarter. The power-geometries within the networks of De Waterkant require that a sampling of actors be something more than random, as degrees of agency and mobility are not equally shared by all.

My approach also recognises that places are in the perpetual state of 'becoming' (Knopp 2007) and that the 'queering' of geographical enquiry (Browne 2006; Knopp 2007) yields new ways of seeing and understanding the worlds we inhabit—particularly the small-scale world of the urban quarter. Queering in this way embraces the multiplicity of place-making and goes beyond the binary of oppressed and oppressor to look at the complexity of the process of quartering. Whereas the quarter takes shape in-place, its identity is formed through symbolic framing of culture that involves expressions of identity, citizenship, and community. The pursuit of identity as played-out on the landscape of De Waterkant shapes the quarter in unique ways strive to create place. Yet quartering may also prove exclusionary in that quartered spaces are culturally and physically positioned apart from

the rest of the city; whether for the safe-guarding of identity (Ballard 2005) or for the purpose of tourism marketing and civic promotion (Elder 2004). In the chapter to follow, I will first present the methods used in this study, after which I will discuss, using a narrative approach, the contextual and conceptual underpinnings that have guided this research.

### *Methodological approach*

The layers of discourse and meaning produced by De Waterkant's actors can be read as texts upon the landscape (McGreevy 1992) and add to the discourses of place which include language, visual imagery, symbols, non-human artefacts, material cultural objects and forms of non-verbal communication (Clarke 2005: 148). Taken together, these discourses lend themselves to an understanding of place. The discursive texts that I extract from data demonstrate how places are produced and consumed; how places are made meaningful through language (Tuan 1991), action and intention (Relph 1976); and how places constitute the most basic unit in geographical enquiry (Creswell 2004) that allow us to make sense of the world (Sack 1988) and to see it through the many legacies and consequences that inform it (Knopp 2007). The role of place making is also central to 'quartering' cities—the act of creating distinctive urban spaces that symbolically frame particular expressions of culture and identity (Bell and Jayne 2004). In this way, urban quarters are one way of examining social processes in the city, and how urban spaces interact with each other.

The empirical evidence to be presented in the research explores how discourses conspire in place-making at two levels: 1) the production of space: the process of producing 'discursive messages' about space; and 2) the consumption of space: how the messages are received, interpreted and acted-upon in the process of re-imagining space. I argue that this process of place-making and the tropes that emerge are 'utopian' or 'dystopian' in the way in which they act to create a 'better place' (utopia) while they also impose its opposite (dystopia) on those who don't prescribe to the dominant discourse.

### *Actor Network Theory*

The complex and fluid nature of place requires an approach that allows for engaging with multiple actors on complex networks. As Knopp (2004) has suggested, the rise of 'new' identities and ontologies may benefit from fresh perspectives and approaches. I employ Situational Analysis (Clarke 2005), but maintain a related conceptual grounding in actor network-theory (ANT)—as introduced by the work of Bruno Latour (1978; 2005) and Michel Serres and Latour (1995)—to investigate actors building their own space (Latour 1999) and the negotiation and performance of that space on the complex urban landscape of De Waterkant<sup>22</sup>. Like Situational Analysis, ANT provides a framework for understanding the factors (human and otherwise) that influence a network of humans, objects, ideas, etc. Like Routledge (2008), my research utilises ANT in order to see the quarter of De Waterkant as

a collection of heterogeneous activities, constantly in motion and conceives of 'sociotechnical' networks as links composed of the circulation of 'immutable mobiles' such as animals, tools, machines, money, people, etc. (Routledge 2008: 200)

Rather than a prescriptive methodology that intends to prescribe the shape of the network (Latour 1999: 21), ANT as it is to be used in this research is, as Hitchings (2003) suggests, a vantage point from which the researcher can interrogate the interaction of various actors and the "ephemeral and precarious outcome[s]" that result (2003: 102). The network is shaped through layers of time and space, and therefore an understanding of these contexts also is crucial as a means of grounding my methodological and conceptual approach.

### *Finding and following the actors: Situational Analysis*

The 'situation' of De Waterkant is awash with discourses of many kinds. As a result, I utilise Adele Clarke's (2005) Situational Analysis in order to "draw together studies of discourse and agency, action and structure, image, text and context, history and the present moment to analyse complex situations of inquiry broadly conceived." (2005: xxii) I chose Clarke's system of situational, social worlds and positional mapping in order to identify key actors in

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<sup>22</sup> Although Serres and Latour (1995) may lay claim to the seminal work in ANT, Knopp (2004, 2007) more directly informs this research due to his use of ANT as a means of queering geographical enquiry generally and understanding the formation of queer identities specifically.

De Waterkant's many networks. Thus, Situation Analysis served to locate key actors while principles of Actor Network theory were utilized to understand interactions between actors and their network structures.

Situational Analysis proved appropriate in this research for several reasons. First, the data I analysed are inherently spatial in that they share a common physical area (within De Waterkant) but their 'situations'—their physical and discursive relationships to other elements—within that space are multiple and many-faceted. The ways in which the elements interact with each other vary widely. Second, the approach of Situational Analysis has a capacity to fracture data and permit multiple analyses; thus contributing to its ability to represent difference(s), complexities and multiplicities (Clarke 2005: 23). As a result, Situational Analysis is more than just a reading of various actors; it allows for the representation of heterogeneity of perspective and thus an understanding of place beyond the assumption of the binary. This focus is particularly relevant given this research's focus on utopian and dystopian tropes that shape the quarter itself.

Although Clarke's work emanates from the field of medical sociology, and the basis of her 'methodological toolkit' is not inherently geographic, the Situational Analysis approach is highly spatial in that it involved three types of maps<sup>23</sup> that are derived from the data and that construct the 'situation of inquiry'. These maps are: 1) situational maps ('messy', 'ordered' and 'relational'); 2) social worlds/arenas maps; and 3) positional maps<sup>24</sup>. The maps are not intended to form final analytical products (Clarke 2005: 83), but to serve as analytical exercises that guide the researcher and provoke deeper analysis. In the scope of this research, Clarke's methodological toolkit crucially allowed me to position the discourses of various human and non-human elements relative to each other.

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<sup>23</sup> In the process of constructing the situation of inquiry, Clarke's situational analysis (2005) asks the following questions: "Who and what are in this situation?; Who and what matters in this situation? ; and What elements 'make a difference' in this situation?" (Clarke 2005: 87)

<sup>24</sup> The three types of situational maps are all part of a strategy for "articulating the elements in the situation and examining relations among them" (Clarke 2005: 86). They correspond to increasingly more complex stages of actor identification and their relationships to each other.

The maps lead to analyses that are comprised of the various discourses that emanate from multiple data sources. This study involves 'multisite research' (Clarke 2005: 146) in that I have combined multiple kinds of data from the 'situation' of De Waterkant through 105 data 'points' comprised of human, narrative and visual texts. There are three main 'streams' of data, or discourses that constitute this study: 1) semi-structured interviews of human actors who reside, perform labour, consume leisure activities, or simply pass through De Waterkant; 2) the narratives that emanate from sources which are human-driven but 'voiced' by means of events, websites, advertisements, The *Pink Map*, windscreen brochures and similar text-based means of communication that also speak for/about De Waterkant and which constitute or are consequential (Clarke 2005: 145) in its identity; and 3) visual media that act to convey messages about De Waterkant as a place, and the presumed identities and/or positions of those who utilise its spaces. Taken together, I wish to examine how these three streams of discourse act to infer, confer, implore, and impart/extract meaning to/from the 'place' that is De Waterkant.

Analysing discourses—and particularly the performance thereof—is done with recognition of the partiality of the knowledge(s) that it produces. Nelson (1999) lends a critical and cautionary reminder when she notes:

How individual and collective subjects negotiate multiple and contradictory discourses, how they *do* identity, is an inherently unstable and partial process. Moreover, although this negotiation, acceptance, or struggle may be conscious, it is never *transparent* because it is always inflected by the unconscious, by repressed desire and difference. Accepting that 'conscious action' is not unmediated, that it is always encumbered with and influenced by (conscious or unconscious) constitutive discourses, is to truly accept the partiality of knowledge and to be rid of the autonomous, transparent subject of Enlightenment thought. (1999: 348, emphasis in the original)

Practitioners of non-representational theory (like ANT) follow Bruno Latour's (1993 as referenced in Hitchings 2003) suggestion that researchers using ANT in their empirical enquiry "...simply follow the actors within research and trace their motivations and objectives and how these impact upon the other entities around them" (Hitchings 2003: 103). In a similar way, Situational Analysis traces the positions of various elements within the situation of inquiry. The selection of research subjects and the gathering of data for this study followed methods consistent with such approaches.

### *Research data*

This research relied on gathering data by means of three methods: 1) In-depth semi-structured interviews (N=21) with human subjects identified through the process of Situational Analysis (situational mapping as detailed above); 2) Participant observation over a period of several years—also known as “deep hanging out” (Clifford 1997); and 3) gathering of visual and narrative ‘texts’ (N=84)- inclusive of an increasing volume of internet-based ‘texts’ due to the changing nature of queer community quests, interaction, dating, hooking-up (Holleran 2006). The data are further situated in a multi-layered descriptive geography based upon study of the built environment and land use of De Waterkant in an effort to understand changes in the physical environment and how those changes affect the movements through and use of the space. Each of these layers of descriptive geography is intended to add to the understanding of the shape of the physical space that constitutes De Waterkant.

### *Narratives of human experience*

The quarter takes shape and can also be traced through the stories of principal actors in De Waterkant’s networks. In order to examine discourses and quarterings that lie outside of the ‘gay village’ view of De Waterkant, I conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with twenty-one key actors who represent critical nodes or junctions in De Waterkant’s quarterings. The actors interviewed were identified using themes and/or elements that emerged from situational maps, such as:

- The subject’s position relative to an existing discourse
- The subject’s relationship to another element in De Waterkant
- The importance of particular discourse(s) to the subject

Out of that process I identified several key actors. Among others, this process yielded: a shop-owner whose family has maintained the same business for over 70 years through the transition from an ethnic enclave through to the present day; a business owner who was part of the Bohemian party scene in the 1980s; long-time residents who purchased property when prices were low and the racial composition had shifted; and an international flight attendant who visited gay villages all around the world but called De Waterkant home. In addition to this I interviewed a host of estate agents, business owners, and other

stakeholders in De Waterkant. In all the cases, interview subjects had some connection to De Waterkant, and held some stake in it. More often than not, the subject's narrative prompted subsequent questions during the interview. As such, each interview took on a different character. Some interviews were conducted in loud, buzzing cafes; some on street corners; and yet others in the comfort of homes within the area<sup>25</sup>. Some research subjects were willing to participate but not willing to sign consent forms or otherwise make 'visible' their participation. Their reluctance to participate had to do with the bureaucratic process of signing forms and the legacy of such processes in the previous authoritarian regime in South Africa. In all cases, the subjects had offered narratives that also contribute to the discourses of De Waterkant<sup>26</sup>.

#### *Visual and narrative texts*

The quarter is also shaped by discourses that take the form of visual and written texts. Over the course of this research, I gathered and analysed 84 separate written and visual textual 'data points'. These texts speak to the culture of the quarter. They represent values, embody ideals, and send messages across the network to other actors and nodes with the hope that the discourse will be received, understood and acted upon. In this way the network is strengthened, the identity is shared, and the quarter takes shape.

I have gathered materials associated with De Waterkant over the past 10 years. This process of 'harvesting' materials has taken shape slowly but has resulted in a rich set of data to inform this study. Of particular importance has been a complete collection of the annual editions of the aforementioned *Pink Map*, which formed the basis of my point-of-departure case study. In addition, photographs of the area over the past three years have

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<sup>25</sup> When the respondent consented, the interviews were recorded using an iPod Nano with an XtremeMac™ Micromemo attachment that allowed for unobtrusive recording of the interview, and thus enabled me to interact with the subject while also taking additional notes. Interview recordings were downloaded as mp3 files which were easily and securely stored. Interviews were then transcribed to Microsoft Word™ documents and then imported as .cra files for further analysis.

<sup>26</sup> While potentially problematic from an ethical point-of-view, the greater ethical dilemma was to consider not having those subjects participate when they were willing, able, and were doing so with full knowledge of the research and their role in it.

yielded insights into the changing face of De Waterkant—specifically with regard to the built environment. Using De Waterkant venues and elements from situational maps as starting points, materials were gathered from local publications, brochures, flyers (including windscreen flyers), advertisements and internet websites that advertise De Waterkant stakeholders including clubs, restaurants, guesthouses, shops and other entertainment venues.

### *Deep hanging in the village*

'Following the actors' was sometimes a methodological cue that I took literally. Aside from interviewing individuals, I also collected data through following the actors through participant observation and 'deep hanging' (Clifford 1997). Participant observation in De Waterkant took the form of many hours spent in De Waterkant clubs, restaurants and public spaces; walking the streets—always with notebook and camera at-hand. De Waterkant's commercial nodes are bustling during the day, while the residential zones are quiet, tree-lined and heavily patrolled. By night, the club scene takes over the area adjacent to Somerset Road, and the darkened streets provide opportunities for actors who are not visible during the day, nor whose discourses are generally part of hegemonic quarterings. Following and observing them illuminated the strength of the informal economy in De Waterkant—which is also less visible during the day. Complicating my data gathering was the fact that De Waterkant at night provides challenging terrain for field research due to inebriated research subjects, dark streets, crowded clubs where recording equipment is unable to capture dialogue. In spite of the challenges, participating and observing the actions within De Waterkant is a rich and fruitful activity, and it was through such observation and participation that the small—but significant—transactions between actors, in the form of comments, actions and images, that the complexity of De Waterkant's actors became apparent. Given my age, sexual identity and race, my presence in De Waterkant seemed to go unnoticed<sup>27</sup>. As a popular tourist destination, it is common to see camera-wielding pedestrians consulting guidebooks and strolling past sidewalk cafes. Being a

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<sup>27</sup> This is a tenuous feeling since my own assumptions of insider knowledge form part of the ontological baggage that I bring to the situation—for better or worse.

'conscious insider' within that scene presents challenges and benefits that I will touch upon further below.

*Pink point of departure: Case study of the Pink Map*

With the goal of focusing on De Waterkant's gay village quartering which served as a point of departure for my reading of the area, I performed an in-depth case study of *The Pink Map*, an annual publication that describes and maps gay- and gay-friendly restaurants, clubs, hotels and services in and around Cape Town. The case study involved analysing 10 years (10 editions) of the *Pink Map*. The *Map* is symbolic of De Waterkant's image as 'queer space' and of the situation of queerness over the spatial and temporal axes of this research. In addition, the *Map* serves as an entry point and a guide for consuming and performing De Waterkant's spaces, and of discursively positioning it as urban quartered space. I will demonstrate how the *Pink Map* is more than just cartographic advertising. Through the case study I will demonstrate how it serves as a significant discursive element in quartering De Waterkant as a gay village as well as a consumer lifestyle destination.

*Data selection and collection: From intellectual wallpaper to situational analysis*

The initial choice of case studies and research subjects was based on my understanding of De Waterkant since 1998. As a frequent visitor, willing participant, and active user of De Waterkant, I began this research with a sense of the major nodes where 'village goers' accessed life, work and/or entertainment in the area. This 'intellectual wallpaper' as Clarke (2005: 85) calls it, is comprised of "information, impressions, and images about topic areas and issues" (2005: 85) and serves as a reflexive tool and starting point for understanding what's happening in the situation. However, my initial reading of De Waterkant was limited to the notion of a 'gay village' and thus the overall project benefited from a more nuanced approach.

Situational Analysis does not assume a *tabula rasa* position of the researcher toward the situation of inquiry. Rather it starts from the perspective that the researcher is already quite knowledgeable about the situation in question (Clarke 2005: 184). With that in mind,

I began by creating a 'messy' situational map of De Waterkant—literally mapping the human and non-human elements within the situation per Clarke (2005) (see figure 3.1), including:

- Human elements: collective and individual actors within the situation (including implicated and silent actors)
- Organisational and institutional elements
- Non-human elements
- Major contested issues
- Local to global elements
- Sociocultural elements
- Symbolic elements
- Popular & other discourses
- Spatial & temporal elements
- Political and economical elements
- Discursive constructions of actors

Along with my reading of Situational Analysis (Clarke 2005), however, I realized that a 'gay' reading of De Waterkant would be potentially limiting given the multiple actors that live, work or simply pass through the area. The process of mapping these elements through Situational Analysis therefore illuminated the *terra incognita* in between networks (Latour 1999)—the "empty spaces in between [that] show the extent of our ignorance and the immense reserve that is open for change" (Latour 1999: 19). Quartering takes shape in the complexity of these elements where discursive messages are produced and consumed between the many human and non-human actors. Out of this process a range of producers and consumers of discourse were revealed (see figure 3.2). From this set of actors, the next step of actor network analysis could begin; and from that an understanding of the discursive shaping of urban quartered space beyond my initial reading of De Waterkant as a gay village.

Situational maps (abstract, messy, then an ordered/working version) were drawn based upon my extant knowledge of De Waterkant; and then expanded using information gathered from sources within the "situation of inquiry" (Clarke 2005) through existing narratives as well as subjects of interviews. From those subjects, further key role players were

identified (both visible and implicated/silent<sup>28</sup>) in order to build a more complete picture of the situation in question and to build a more inclusive picture of De Waterkant and the many human and non-human elements present within.

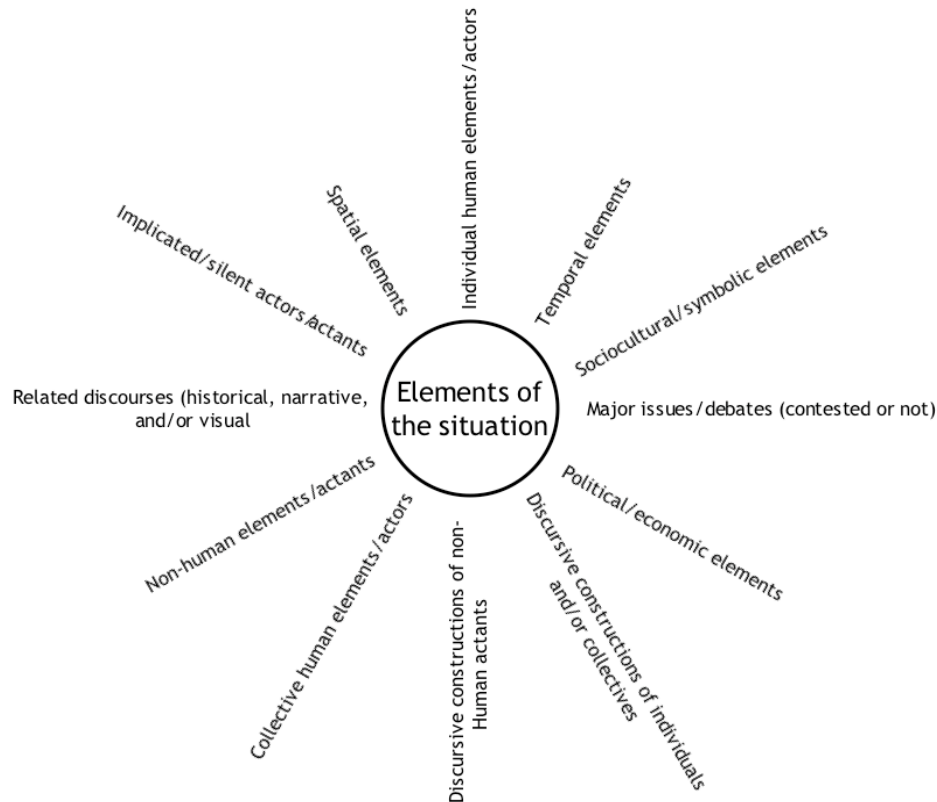


Figure 3.1 Elements of the 'situation of inquiry' per Clarke (2005)

Informed from my initial 'messy' abstract situational mapping exercise, an ordered/working version of the situational map was developed which further directed both the selection of research subjects as well as the issues and questions raised during semi-structured interviews and examined closely in narrative and visual texts. My ordered/working abstract situational map yielded more than 100 discursive actors<sup>29</sup> (see figure 3.2).

<sup>28</sup> Implicated and/or silent elements are those that are less powerful, only discursively 'present' in the situation, and constructed by others for their own purposes (Clarke 2005: 46).

<sup>29</sup> Names of individuals have been omitted from the information presented here for purposes of protecting anonymity, and have been substituted by that individual's role as a stakeholder. However, in the actual maps that I produced, the names of individuals are included in order to demonstrate the roles of various individual stakeholders.

<p><b>Discursive constructions of individuals and/or collectives</b>          Naming conventions          The "village"          The body</p> <p><b>Implicated/silent actors/actants</b>          Street-people ('bergies')          Heterosexuals</p> <p><b>Collective human elements/actors</b>          De Waterkant Civic Association          Car guards (informal economy)          Security guards (formal economy)          Property Developers          Green Point CID          Petrol attendants          Religious organisations          Drug dealers          Clubs &amp; entertainment venues          Saunas          Estate agencies          Hotels/guesthouses/accommodation          Sex workers</p> <p><b>Discursive construction of non-human actants</b>          "European charm"</p> <p><b>Spatial elements</b>          Passage points (literal &amp; symbolic)          Entries and exits          "Quarter" developments          Piazza</p> <p><b>Major issues/debates (contested or not)</b>          Crime/violence          Safety/security          Straight invasion          Boundaries of De Waterkant          Gentrification          Property values</p> <p><b>Related discourses (historical, narrative, and/or visual)</b>          Slave/quarter history          Forced removals          Beautification/improvement</p>	<p><b>Individual human elements/actors</b>          Business owners          Visitors          Club-goers          Residents          Developers          Workers</p> <p><b>Political/economic elements</b>          SAPS          Cape Town City Council          CBD Improvement District          SA Constitution          Investment          Chambers of Commerce</p> <p><b>Temporal elements</b>          The "season" (holiday season)          Day/evening activities          Post-1994</p> <p><b>Sociocultural/symbolic elements</b>          Cape Town Pride Festival          Pink Lights/Pink light district          Pride flag          Pink triangle          Race          Socio-economics          Gay culture          Leather culture          Sexuality          Youth          Virility          The "village"          Gayle language ("moffietaal")</p> <p><b>Non-human elements/actants</b>          Windscreen brochures          Advertising posters          Newsletters          The Pink Map          Websites of stakeholders</p> <p><b>Other elements</b>          Loader Street Mosque          Rubble          Demolition          FIFA 2010</p>
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Figure 3.2 Elements in De Waterkant's situation of inquiry

My initial interest in and focus on De Waterkant was related to the area's identity as a gay leisure zone. Therefore, in the preliminary phases of fieldwork my intention was to focus on case studies of three venues that I understood as important collective actors in De Waterkant: 1) Bronx Action Bar; 2) Café Manhattan; and 3) (the now defunct) Angels. All three of those entities are or were establishments that catered almost exclusively to a gay clientele. However, given the history of De Waterkant, and the diversity and complexity of its many stakeholders that I discovered through the Situational Analysis mapping exercise as described above, the range of actors was expanded to include workers in the formal and

informal economies, long-time residents, shop owners, estate agents, club-goers, non-governmental and religious organisations—among others. The methodological scope of this research was therefore expanded to include other discourses—many seemingly silent actors that have shaped De Waterkant as experienced today.

While the former scope of the research would have also revealed a snapshot of De Waterkant's utopian-like place making, the broader and perhaps more inclusive approach consequently taken is intended to avoid the focus on queer discourses to the exclusion of the hetero-normalised world that most people experience—what Duggan (2002) calls "homo-normalisation"—and to respect the messy nature of urban space as divergent discourses compete to 'quarter' urban space repeatedly through a process of utopian and dystopian tropes, thereby constantly producing and mediating the meanings of place and leaving their legacy on the cityscape.

Once the actors were identified, my research engaged ANT as a means of tracing the inscription of meaning onto De Waterkant and its 'quartering' through myriad layers of discourse over space and time. Those layers of discourse are constituted by heterogeneous actors and their activities that, through mundane and extraordinary mobilities, create and maintain sociotechnical networks (Routledge 2008: 200), that are "links composed of the circulation of 'immutable mobiles' such as animals, tools, machines, money, people, etc." (200). Those network linkages and the relationships they establish, in turn, produce discursive materials that shape identity, place, and ultimately the quarter. This process is demonstrated through relational achievements (Knopp 2007; O'Neill and Whatmore 2000) such as the exchange of information, symbols, ideas and identities of and between its actors.

My use of ANT begins with several assumptions: 1) That De Waterkant is constituted by a variety of actors both human and non-human, and that each has discursive agency; 2) That De Waterkant's actors constitute a network of heterogeneous human, non-human and discursive elements including "immutable mobiles" (Latour 1987 in Smith 2003a); 3) That

the process of *translation*, which is “a process of through which pre-existing discourses of change are contested and new discourses constructed” (O’Neill and Whatmore, 2000: 125) is evident on the network of De Waterkant; and 4) That relational achievements are realised on the network when “Agents draw on relations with others in order to establish the conditions for change. Most often, this involves the imagination of new relations and the ascription of new identities, possibly reconfiguring network performances in new ways.” (2000: 125). Therefore, my use of ANT allows for the analysis of De Waterkant’s networks of actors that “construct space by using certain forms of calculation and representation” (Murdoch 1995 as quoted in O’Neill and Whatmore, 2000: 125). Such representation takes the form of images and text that define the quarter itself: the identities of those who inhabit its spaces and the activities in which they take part.

ANT enables understanding of how humans and their discourses interact within networks across space and is useful for examining the nuances and complexities of identity and agency. Such a methodology “...resonate[s] with and celebrate[s] the richness, diversity, partiality, and incompleteness of human experience rather than focusing on accessing ‘truth’” (Knopp 2004: 124). Given De Waterkant’s many quartered identities over time, this approach allows for an understanding of place in the face of fluidity and change across time and space. Through a framework of ANT, as Hitchings (2003) notes, “...people, objects, plants, animals and ideas all jostle against each other, and it is through these interactions that society takes shape and our understandings of this society find form” (2003: 100)<sup>30</sup>. ANT informs my analysis of the interactions amongst the principal actors and nodes on the network of the De Waterkant’s landscape.

ANT is a useful theoretical point of departure as it attributes agency to actors in the process of influencing networks. ANT also marries to Situational Analysis in that the ‘network’ is a “form of spatiality” (Law 1999: 7) that is fluid and ever-changing (Latour

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<sup>30</sup> Hitchings work serves as a foil to this research in that he examines actors both human and otherwise and their performance at the scale of the private garden—arguably a domestic utopia on a smaller scale than an urban quarter.

1999) within which ANT “[insists] on the performative character of relations and the objects constituted in those relations.” (Law 1999: 7) The use of ANT as a theoretical approach allows this research to consider the physical process of place-making whilst also recognising human agency and performance in that process. The human and non-human actors (including their actions and interactions) examined by qualitative methods provide a human narrative in the form of descriptions and memories of the impact of race, class, place, and identity as they relate to the production and consumption of quartered urban space in De Waterkant. The data collected are intended to answer calls for more “felt, touched, and embodied constructions of knowledge [within the geographic discipline]” (Cragg 2003b: 501) that move the discipline beyond purely quantitative methodologies (Cragg 2002; 2003a; 2003b; 2005).

#### *Data analysis*

##### *Centering Resonance Analysis*

Analysis of the data follow the methods of Situational Analysis (Clarke 2005) whereby common themes among elements are mapped in order to understand the social worlds that are in effect within the situation of inquiry. Rather than use traditional techniques for coding texts, I have employed a software package that performs Centering Resonance Analysis<sup>31</sup>. I utilised “Centering Resonance Analysis” (CRA) through Crawdad™ 2.0, a software package that maps themes in textual data (Corman and Dooley 2006). CRA represents a text as a network of interconnected words, similar to the way in which social worlds/arenas maps represent the interconnectivity of elements within a situation of inquiry under Situational Analysis. Brandes and Corman (2003) further explain:

*Centering Resonance Analysis* (CRA) is a method of network text analysis that is designed for the study of complex discourse systems. This encompasses a wide range of phenomena, including interpersonal conversations, group discussions, interaction in large organizations, the Internet and other mass media, as well as even larger social groups. Though other text analysis methods could be used for studying discourse, CRA offers distinct advantages in that it is a representational method that does not rely on context-specific semantic rules, training sets, or predefined document collections. It produces stand-alone, abstract representations of texts that can be analyzed alone or arbitrarily combined or compared with other CRA representations. (Brandes and Corman 2003: 40)

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<sup>31</sup> Centering Resonance Analysis (CRA) is a patent-pending form of network text analysis from Crawdad Technologies, LLC. For more information, see <http://www.crawdadtch.com>.

The CRA technology in combination with an 'old fashioned' reading of themes from the text through deductive coding, enable my analysis and distillation of meanings that are produced and consumed within De Waterkant.

Centering Resonance Analysis (CRA) was accomplished through the use of Crawdad 2.0™ - a software package that maps themes in textual data (Corman and Dooley 2006). The process of analysing texts through CRA involved several steps:

1. Transcribing human subjects interview data and/or narrative texts into .doc format
2. Preparing the text so that extraneous data was cleaned-up (questions from the interviewer, pauses that are indicated in the text, codes from .html files)
3. Converting the documents into simple .txt format
4. Processing the text through Crawdad 2.0™ into a CRA network file
5. Performing further analyses using CRA network files as the source of input

The process of generating a CRA file allowed me to then 'visualise' the CRA network of text and a tabular summary of influential words and word pairs for one or more CRA files. Word influence rather than frequency measures the extent to which a word or set of words create coherence in a text (Corman and Dooley 2006). In addition to measuring influence of a particular word or pair of words within network of texts, CRA can also measure 'resonance'—the measure of the similarity of structure and content between multiple CRA networks (ibid). In that way, CRA has allowed me to understand the discourses of various elements across the landscape of De Waterkant in an effort to see how they influence the production and consumption of space, and thus the process of quartering.

By way of example, I have included below two examples of CRA network visualisation of data: one that maps a single human subject narrative in my research: the transcript of an interview with an estate agent working in De Waterkant (data code HUM004); and another that is a composite analysis of textual narratives of 12 gay-oriented venues in De Waterkant. For the first example, I have included the CRA network visualisation map as output from the Crawdad™ 2.0 software as well as the tabular summary of influential words and word pairs with their associated influence values.

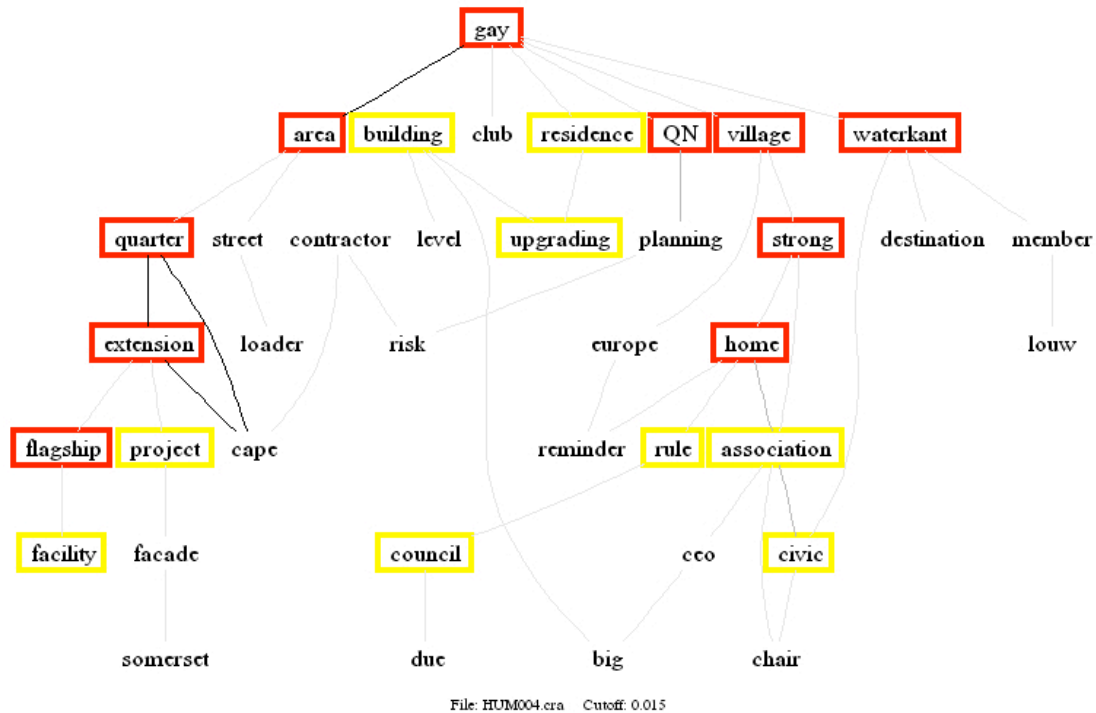


Figure 3.3 CRA network visualisation ‘map’ of human subject interview data

The CRA network visualisation map displays on average 20 or 30 of the most influential nodes and their connections within the network. The most influential words are shown boxed in red, the next most influential words are boxed in yellow, and the next most influential words are boxed in white. The colours of the links indicate the frequency of co-occurrence of the connected words: grey links indicating one co-occurrence; black indicating two co-occurrences; and blue indicating three or more co-occurrences. The most influential words within the network tend to be located near the top of the map (Corman and Dooley 2006).

In addition to the map itself, CRA analyses also include a tabular summary of influential words and word pairs in addition to their influence values. Word influence values above 0.05 are considered very significant and those between 0.01 and 0.05 are considered significant within the Crawdad™ CRA system (Corman and Dooley 2006). The tabular summary of influential words and word pairs can be seen in Table 3.1 below:

<u>Words</u>	<u>Influence</u>	<u>Pairs</u>	<u>Influence</u>
gay	0.52546	gay   area	0.779
area	0.37075	quarter   extension	0.157
village	0.26952	gay   village	0.142
quarter	0.26637	area   quarter	0.099
extension	0.1969	gay   waterkant	0.085
waterkant	0.16254	gay   QN	0.065
strong	0.15626	gay   residence	0.044
home	0.1376	village   strong	0.042
QN	0.12289	quarter   cape	0.036
flagship	0.1108	extension   cape	0.026
rule	0.09444	home   association	0.026
association	0.09311	extension   flagship	0.022
residence	0.08318	strong   home	0.022
building	0.07133	strong   association	0.015
upgrading	0.06814	area   street	0.014
civic	0.0665	home   rule	0.013
council	0.0575	association   civic	0.012
project	0.0575	extension   project	0.011
facility	0.0575	waterkant   civic	0.011
contractor	0.04914	gay   club	0.010
cape	0.0446	QN   planning	0.009
due	0.0388	village   europe	0.008
street	0.0388	waterkant   member	0.006
facade	0.0388	flagship   facility	0.006
member	0.0388	residence   upgrading	0.006
planning	0.03759	gay   need	0.005
europe	0.02914	rule   council	0.005
risk	0.02741	building   upgrading	0.005
ceo	0.02622	area   unit	0.004
big	0.02002	area   need	0.004
level	0.01964	gay   people	0.003

**Table 3.1: Influence analysis of human subject data**  
Data code HUM004

Using the example above, which resulted in 94 nodes on the complete CRA network, the most influential words from the text of the interview were “gay”, “area”, “village” and “quarter”. When searched from within the text of the interview, these influential words were all in reference to describing De Waterkant. The responses suggest the character and meaning of the area from the perspective of the subject interviewed. They were words used to tell the story of De Waterkant from the subject’s perspective. Other words with a strong influence include “residence”, “upgrading”, “building” “home” and “association”—all words of relevance given the fact that the respondent was an estate agent tasked with ‘selling’ the area and maintaining high property values. Some revealing associations are also present in the CRA network visualization map. They include strong association between “gay” and “village”; “gay” and “residence”; and “cape” and “quarter”. There are also associations with ‘quantity’ words (numbers, dates, etc.) that are represented generally as “QN” in the CRA map and influence analysis table. What these

associations suggest are a set of meanings that convey the gay character of the area, and the commercial aspects of the Cape Quarter development. By consulting the original text once again, what some of the other strong word influences and associations also suggest are an impression of the posh, upmarket character of the area—something that is actively supported by the De Waterkant Civic Association.

The analysis above is the most basic exemplar of how I am employing CRA analysis to mine themes and meanings from the data. The analysis can be taken several steps further to include comparisons of similar and/or unique words in a pair of distinct CRA networks, the degree of resonance between one CRA network and a set of other CRA networks, classification of CRA networks whose texts use similar words in similar structural positions, and sequencing of word influence values in a matrix across a set of CRA networks. One example of more advanced analysis is the clustering of common themes among narratives of 12 gay-oriented venues in De Waterkant. The narrative texts were analysed for common words, word-pairs and network connectivity. Among the relationships evident on the CRA map (see figure 3.4) was a strong connection between De Waterkant and Cape Town as 'gay' and 'world' cities. This example led to my conclusions that scalar representation from De Waterkant's gay-oriented venues favours global scales rather than local ones. Such discourses present De Waterkant in global terms, attract capital and tourists from overseas, and thus assist to shape the quartering of De Waterkant in this way.

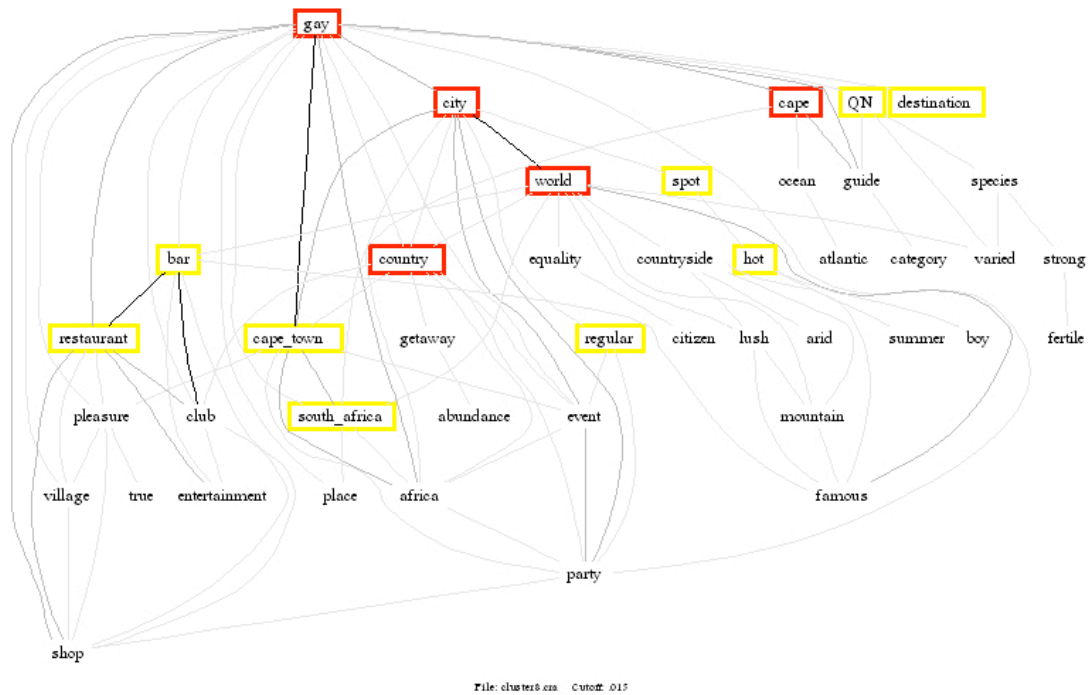


Figure 3.4 CRA Analysis of gay venues in De Waterkant - Clustering of common themes

### Research Ethics

This research follows procedures as approved by both the Department of Environmental and Geographical Science (EGS) and the Graduate Faculty of Humanities at the University of Cape Town. Prior to engaging in interviews, potential human subjects were provided with a *Research Information Sheet* that clearly stated the objectives of the research, the background of the researcher, and the risks, benefits, obligations and rights of the human subject in-question. In addition, a separate *Consent Form* was provided to each human subject in order to verify their consent and understanding the research process. In cases where human subjects knowingly refused to sign the *Consent Form* but were willing to participate in the research—as was the case with some human subjects—the nature of the interview process has been detailed in field notes. Those few cases where subjects refused to sign the *Consent Form* but were willing to participate involved subjects whose interest in participating outweighed their suspicion of the formality of being ‘identified’ through a formal process of forms and authorisations. In all cases the subjects were from marginal socio-economic groups. As the researcher, I felt their participation as a character on the periphery—yet in the centre of action—was key to the outcomes of this study. For that

reason the data collected by such subjects has been used in spite of the deviance from 'normal' processes. In the sub-chapter that follows, I will detail both the process and the pitfalls of ethics in data collection and fieldwork related to this research.

Human Subjects were briefed on their participation in this research (from the Research Information Sheet which appears in-full in Appendix A) in order to inform them of the details regarding the research, the researcher, and the expectations surrounding participant's involvement in the research. The following categories of information were detailed prior to obtaining participant consent and engaging in human subjects interviews<sup>32</sup>:

Participant Involvement

Human subjects participation in this research involved answering semi-structured questions from the researcher that have relevance to the research focus and intentions. There are no additional requirements.

Risks:

There are no foreseeable risks of physical, psychological or social harm to participants that might result from or occur in the course of the research. In the case where a participant(s) sexual identity is disclosed or could be presumed to be disclosed in the course of the research and such disclosure were to be perceived as harmful or unwanted on the part of the participant(s), every effort will be made to maintain anonymity and to prevent such harm from being suffered.

Benefits:

There are no anticipated benefits by participating in this research.

Costs:

There is no cost to participants for participating in this research.

Payment:

There is no payment being offered to participants for their participation in this research.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

Privacy and confidentiality will be guaranteed to participants unless permission to void such clause is granted. Participant name(s) will be changed or name and affiliation and any information that could reasonably lead to identification shall be omitted unless permission to void such clause is granted.

Protection of Data

All data which emanates from this research project shall be safely held and protected by the researcher. In addition, all identifiers will be stripped from data for storage, and human subject identifying codes (e.g.: HUM001, HUM002, etc.) and/or pseudonyms will be used for filing and analytical purposes.

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<sup>32</sup> It should be noted that these categories and this information does not constitute the entire discussion of ethics with regard to this research, but rather is the concise information that was provided to human subjects prior to seeking consent and conducting interviews.

#### Potential for Harm to UCT or Other Institutions

There are no foreseeable risks of harm to UCT or to other institutions (such risks include legal action resulting from the research, the image of the university being affected by association with the research project) that might result from or occur in the course of the research.

#### Ethics

There are no apparent ethical issues that are expected to arise during the course of the research. However, should such issues arise (e.g., with regard to conflicts of interests amongst participants and/or institutions) they will be fully discussed with the participant(s) prior to completing data collection.

#### Consent & Disclosure Of Information

A separate *Consent Form* is provided to verify your understanding and agreement to participate in this research. A copy of this *Information Sheet* will be provided upon request.

#### *The beauty of incompleteness: Fluidity, reflexivity and queer geographies*

The fluid nature of places and the shifting identities of the quarter mean that a snapshot at any point in time will only reveal one part of the greater story. Recognizing the benefit of such incompleteness, this research draws upon feminist approaches that understand all knowledges are partial and incomplete (Clarke 2005), and that “[h]ow individual and collective subjects negotiate multiple and contradictory discourses, how they *do* identity, is an inherently unstable and partial process” (Nelson 1999: 348, emphasis in the original). Therefore, I recognise that none of my data will ever tell ‘the’ definitive story of De Waterkant that encompasses all truths and perspectives. The knowledge(s) produced will therefore always be partial and incomplete. However, they tell a story of a particular time in a particular place.

A degree of incompleteness comes from narratives that could not be captured, which at first I saw as opportunities missed. While planning my fieldwork on the basis of my situational maps, I intended to interview several human subjects who promised to provide fruitful narratives as they were situated at critical nodes of De Waterkant’s networks. However, there were several key informants who would not agree to participate, or who were not available for various reasons<sup>33</sup>. The incompleteness of the knowledges are also

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<sup>33</sup> In at least one case, the prospective informant was concerned with a widely-publicized racial incident in which his establishment was implicated. The incident occurred within the week of our intended meeting. After the incident, our appointment was never scheduled in spite of repeated requests on my part. Therefore, rather than gaining insights from the owner of the establishment, I

embedded in my own identity and reflexivity within the field of research. While I have developed my 'intellectual wallpaper' (Clarke 2005) comprised of "information, impressions, and images about topic areas and issues" (2005: 85) over the course of many years of participation and observation in De Waterkant, I have found myself consciously positioned between my role as researcher and participant, between the spaces of 'field' and 'home'; requiring me to constantly negotiate the borderlands of my identity. Although this position situates me to understand the context of De Waterkant, and often provides unfettered access to stakeholders in the area, the same embedded position also creates the challenge of negotiating the tension between subject(s) and object(s)<sup>34</sup>.

#### *Reflexivity and positionality in the field*

Whether consciously or not, we take our whole selves into the field. The many facets of our multiple identities act both to help and to challenge the research in which we engage. Just like the feminist notion that all knowledge(s) are partial and incomplete (Knopp 2007), so is our own understanding of the positionality that informs and affects our interactions in the field and the knowledge(s) that are produced.

Geographers argue that identity performance and place are closely linked. Knopp (2004) notes that "Identity quests are, after all, very much about discovering and disclosing the self *in and through place*, and about *changing* place in such a way as to facilitate this process." (2004: 127 emphasis in the original) Knopp's argument was made in particular relation to 'queer quests'—the journeys through space and time that gay, lesbian, and transgender people (among others) make in the name of identity. Queer quests are thus closely linked with mobility, space, and place. This interplay between identity and spatiality has given rise to 'sexuality and space' as a rich sub-discipline of cultural geography that explores the dynamics of sexual identity within spatial frameworks. This

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relied on narrative texts from the establishment's website—which themselves proved interesting and consequential.

<sup>34</sup> For a more complete discussion of the challenges of reflexivity see Clarke (2005); with particular reference to the affects that the lack of reflexivity has had on 'writing Africa', see Mbembe and Nuttall (2004).

leads me to illuminate the impact of my own sexuality and sexual identity within the space of this research while questioning how my identity affects the work that I have done.

In her reflection on the role of sexuality in the context of the 'field', Cupples (2002) recognises three reasons why geographers should consider sexuality and erotic subjectivity in field work: Firstly, that it is impossible to escape our own sexuality in the field; Secondly, that the field itself can have a seductive quality; and finally, that even if we don't recognise the impact of our sexualities on our research, that we will still be sexually positioned by the people in the communities where we do our work (2002: 383). As a component of my ethical discussion, I will address Cupples considerations in light of the field work I have performed within the scope of this research in De Waterkant.

The practice of my identity—particularly my own identity as a male, white, gay foreigner living and working in South Africa—is inescapable in everyday life just as it is in the field. As I move into and through the field, the various facets of my identity come with me. The way I enact my own gay identity is contingent upon being located within practised 'gay space' versus in the greater context of the 'ambient heterosexual, and the implicitly homophobic world 'outside' (Murray 1995: 67). As my perception of the field around me changes, so do the ways that I enact my identity, and thus the ways that I have interacted with the subject(s) of my research. Not only does this have an impact on my fieldwork experience; the locations where I conduct my research have an effect on the subjects of my research as well as the research itself (Sin 2003). The fact that my current research is situated in Cape Town's De Waterkant neighbourhood enhances and complicates these issues further.

De Waterkant is comprised of a series of heterogeneous spaces—gay and straight—but functions to a great extent within my research agenda as a practised gay village quarter. Therefore, in order to recognise the inescapability of my sexuality in the field I must also reflect on my own utopian longings and as I experience De Waterkant's gay clubs, lounges and cafes. The frequent interaction that I have with De Waterkant—both when I have acted

in the role of researcher and the role of consumer-citizen—serve as a source of ‘intellectual wallpaper’ that is comprised of “information, impressions, and images about topic areas and issues” (Clarke 2005: 85). The unique patterns of my intellectual wallpaper in De Waterkant are partially comprised of my ability to decode queer spaces and movements based not only on my academic background, but also due to my own queer quests that result from my sexual identity. This understanding of my sexuality and how it mediates my use of space serves as a reflexive tool for better understanding what’s happening in the ‘situation of inquiry’ (Clarke 2005) that comprises my current research field.

Regarding Cupples’ contention of the ‘field’ as a seductive space, I note two ways in which that may be read in relation to my current work. Firstly, there is the tendency to become figuratively ‘seduced’ by a depiction of gay life within the tiny enclave that I study. The life of leisure, entertainment and holiday-making that mark much of the activity within De Waterkant can potentially mask the reality of gay people and spaces removed from such idealised (utopian?) space. If we are to believe the “Pink Map”<sup>35</sup>, then all gay space in Cape Town can be neatly mapped: with discreet locations, map reference numbers, and pride flags over their doors. Queerness also exists in unseen corners of the Cape Peninsula and thrives amidst socioeconomic challenges that make access to De Waterkant’s venues an impossible dream. In spite of this, life in ‘the Village’ (as De Waterkant is known to many) can lead to a sense that all gay spaces are clearly defined and understood in binary opposition to the heterosexual ‘other’; and that those spaces are set within a framework of normality that accepts gay identity within certain limits (Richardson 2004). This tendency to ‘homonormalise’ (Duggan 2002) gay people and spaces can act to marginalise those who don’t fit the mould of the ‘good gay’ (Richardson 2004). In fact, gay people—and those who practise same-sex desire but don’t identify as gay—are part of Cape Town’s multicultural tapestry from Green Point to Gugulethu and beyond. In this way, seduction by a particular landscape can limit our understanding of the field where we work in the context of the broader world.

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<sup>35</sup> *The Pink Map* has been published since 1999 and offers its readers a cartographic representation of gay- and gay-friendly establishments in and around Cape Town.

While it is possible to be figuratively seduced into limiting the scope of sexuality, there may also be many opportunities to be quite literally seduced in the highly sexualised and sexually-charged spaces of the field in which I am working. Dance clubs with bodies in motion, bars full of tourists on the prowl for local flavour, male-to-male massage parlours, and gay bathhouses all act together to create a highly-charged environment in which to conduct fieldwork. Cupples reminds us that “Our sexualities, like other aspects of our positionalities, become a source of knowledge and a resource to be utilized or explored, and the participant observation work we engage in can be invaluable in developing theoretical abstractions on sexuality.” (2002: 384) Becoming an active ‘participant’, however, can be problematic from a personal point of view as well as an ethical one. What insights could I gain by exploring the world of ‘leather’ culture at one of *Bar Code’s* underwear parties? How might I frame both my participation and my interest in collecting data from potential informants? In order to avoid homonormalisation, shouldn’t the centre and the margins of sexuality be explored? Such ethical dilemmas are redolent of Richard Symanski’s 1974 study of brothel prostitution in Nevada (as quoted in Mitchell and Draper 1983), where he knowingly deceived his research subjects regarding the nature of his visit to the brothels. Clearly, there is knowledge to be gained by exploring the mainstream and the margins of the human landscape, but managing the ethical and procedural ramifications must be considered.

To Cupples’ final point, failing to recognise the impact of our sexualities on our research we may still be sexually positioned by the people in the communities where we do our work. In this regard, issues of my gender and sexual identity again come to the fore. That does not only mean that we will become an object of someone else’s sexual desire—although we may—but in my case, a lesbian woman or heterosexual man in the role of research participant may approach me differently or assume my own biases are driving my research agenda. It may be that my intellectual wallpaper creates a different setting for the transfer of knowledge, but the extent to which I ‘straighten-up’—altering my own behaviour, masking certain aspects of my identity, and failing to ‘out’ myself fully can have

potential affects on the research performed. While I address issues of my identity with my research subjects beforehand—in the process of research ethics and consent—I must ask myself to what degree does that shape the narratives they provide?

The extent to which I as the researcher 'out' myself within the scope of my fieldwork and recognize the situatedness of my knowledge(s) in and about De Waterkant present constant challenges at every stage of the research, but especially in the field. While De Waterkant has developed into the locus of my interest in modern day urban geography, it was also a place that I have continued to frequent over the past decade. By being consciously positioned as both a researcher and a participant myself—and often an implicit outsider by others—I recognise the benefits that accrue to my work: a richly-informed context in which to place my understanding of De Waterkant; a wide array of observations that can serve as an epistemological point of departure; and a familiarity within the area that lends itself to accessing stakeholders relevant to my study. The benefits notwithstanding, there are challenges as well that I have mentioned. The same position that 'embeds' me within the area also creates the challenge of separating myself from the discourses that I seek to examine. My own identities have, without doubt, given me access to some discourses while keeping me from others—whether consciously or unconsciously.

Returning to Knopp's comment about identity quests, I would contend that researchers—no matter their sexual or other identities—might want to frame their own process of engaging with the field as the 'queer quests' of which Knopp writes. If we are to fully engage with the field, knowing all of the biases and positionalities that affect the knowledge(s) we intend to seek, then I believe it would serve us well to remember that our own quests for knowledge(s) in the field should also be about discovering and disclosing the self *in and through the place which is our field of study* and about *recognising our own positionality* so as to facilitate the process. In this way, we may go forth into the field with a better understanding of ourselves, and emerge with a better understanding of the knowledge(s) we are trying to seek.

*Location, location*

Another consideration in my data collection was the location of interviews. Whereas focus groups may have also been a useful tool for gathering information, I opted to collect data *in situ*, within the particular temporal and spatial frameworks of De Waterkant. As Sin (2003) demonstrates, place does matter in the interview process. He contends:

It is clear that the feedback between the spatiality of the interview site and the construction of data in the context of an interview is a two-way process that is ongoing throughout the duration of the interview....Simultaneously the exchange between interviewer and interviewee, itself a process influenced by the spatiality of the interview site, can recast the appreciation and understanding of the spatial context of interview. The meanings and symbols invested in social space are never singular and can change even within the time span of an interview. (Sin 2003: 311)

While the dynamics of *in situ* interviews did pose challenges in my field research, the unique temporal and spatial frameworks of De Waterkant promised more clearly-situated understanding of space and place. In addition, my research and the particular locus of my research area complicates the effect that my sexual identity has within the context of fieldwork, as Cupples (2002) has demonstrated. My identity as a foreign, gay, white male has undoubtedly opened some doors to understanding De Waterkant while also closing others. Reflecting on my identity within my research fieldwork is not a 'problem' to be corrected, but an issue that that requires recognition and understanding in light of the situatedness of knowledge and the fluidity of place making.

The ephemeral and fluid nature of place emanates from feminist and queer notions of place (Knopp 2007). However, the 'queer' approach from the standpoint of the gay village also informed a more broadly-stated 'queer geography' entry point for examining De Waterkant beyond traditional conceptions of the term. Using Knopp's (2007) notion of the elusive, ephemeral, ever-becoming and ever-disintegrating nature of place (2007: 50), and Browne's (2006) contention that 'queering' is about breaking down dichotomies, I have sought to analyse a more inclusive conception of post-apartheid South African urban space where the binaries of rich/poor, white/black, and urban/rural may not be taken for granted in search of multi-faceted place-making. Quartering in the South African context concerns shifting identities, shifting practice, shifting space, and the complicated ways this is expressed in the discursive and material construction of place.

### *Conceptual approach*

#### *Layers of history, layers of discourse*

Although the focus of my research is contemporary quarterings of De Waterkant, it is a place with a contested history that has left behind layers of discourse evident in people, place, and built environment. In order to get beyond a limited gay village reading of De Waterkant, my study returns to those layers of discourse that begin with De Waterkant's early 19<sup>th</sup> Century history, and carry forward to the present through a heterogeneous set of actors. In addition to the layers of discursive history, the physical setting too has a role to play in the quartering of De Waterkant. De Waterkant's history and physical setting are co-opted in pursuit of its quartering. The tropes that act to shape De Waterkant reference the area's colourful past and its unique setting on the edge of the CBD within easy reach of mountains and beaches. In this sense, the history and setting of De Waterkant are not simply a backdrop to the story, but they drive the approach to identifying actors and reading discourses that have shaped its many quarterings.

#### *History matters*

The history of De Waterkant is also the history of the city of Cape Town in which it is located. Situated on a narrow peninsula between the Atlantic Ocean, Table Bay, and False Bay, Cape Town has long had important connections to the sea and to the African hinterland beyond<sup>36</sup>. With the reputation as a crossroads for Africa and the world beyond, Cape Town has developed into a city with many distinctive urban and suburban neighbourhoods with unique characters of their own. The city's development is also set within a history complicated by colonial rule, apartheid segregation, socio-economical inequality, and the struggle for transformation.

As Cape Town expanded due to an influx of European immigration in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century, a new generation of urban elites developed open land bordering the city's bustling central

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<sup>36</sup> Within the larger city, De Waterkant itself sits between the docks that helped to give Cape Town its reputation as the "Tavern of the Seas" (Worden 1998) and the Cape Malay enclave known as the Bo-Kaap.

area that extended from the docks through the Company Gardens and up toward Table Mountain. The urban elites that purchased tracts of land and developed them for residential<sup>37</sup> and commercial use have left their legacies on the landscape through the streets that were named after them<sup>38</sup> (Cape Quarter 2007) (see figure 3.5).

One name that doesn't appear in 19<sup>th</sup> Century narratives is 'De Waterkant' itself. Neither of the comprehensive texts from Worden *et al* (1998) or Bickford-Smith (1999) make mention of it for good reason. Although Waterkant is the name of a street in the area, the name De Waterkant as applied to the area itself is the construction of a community of like-minded property owners who wanted to create a unique neighbourhood in the heart of the city. The name De Waterkant<sup>39</sup> was chosen by the neighbourhood Civic Association in the early 1980s, and refers directly to a street of the same name that runs through the area. While it was not known as "De Waterkant" until the 1980s, the area has a history all of its own that is eagerly recollected and shared by residents, innkeepers and shop owners alike.

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<sup>37</sup> The history of De Waterkant is one of many competing interests. Contrary to popular belief, according to a former chair of De Waterkant's Civic Association (DWCA), De Waterkant is not a place with a slave quarter history; but rather an area whose unique architectural style is being conserved by residents (Anonymous 2007c personal comments). According to a local historian who resides in De Waterkant, the first people to settle in the area—which was then on the edge of the city's port and the burgeoning city centre—were the Scottish Regiment in the 1820s. Cottages were built for the Regiment's soldiers in Loader Street as they returned from the Napoleonic wars during the late 1820s and into the decade of the 1830s (Anonymous 2007c personal comments). The flurry of building that occurred during that period gave De Waterkant its Georgian architecture that today lends much of the character and sense of history to the area. The cottages in De Waterkant were built in long rows along narrow plots—suitable enough for the Regiment's soldiers to occupy. It wasn't simply soldiers and other European immigrants that prompted the need for additional low-cost rental accommodation. The emancipation of slaves in 1838 was also a contributing factor (Cape Quarter 2007), as additional housing stock was required to accommodate those who were free to seek their own homes rather than those in which they were indentured. Accordingly, by account of a former DWCA chairman, De Waterkant should be seen as a conservation area, not an historical site. There is an important distinction between the two: a conservation area would compel the area's property owners to respect architectural character and scale while still allowing development and change. Whereas an historical site would imply the need to prohibit—or at least severely limit—development, and thus place the area in a time capsule.

<sup>38</sup> Surnames such as Vos, Dixon, and Hudson refer to property developers of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. See figure 3.5.

<sup>39</sup> The name, however, is Dutch. Though Dutch and Afrikaans are similar, the article "De" in front of Waterkant (Waterside or Waterfront) would be "Die" in Afrikaans. The name itself suggests a European influence or character, and figuratively situates De Waterkant within a particular historical and spatial discourse that is outside of its South African context.

Waterkant Street, for instance offers narratives of a colourful, underclass history. The block dwellings and tradesmen's shops that jostled for space in the crowded alleyways that extended from Waterkant Street were known for their mixed classes of mostly impoverished city residents (Cape Quarter 2007). The trendy commercial zone that is De Waterkant today once had a reputation for poverty and squalor:

...indeed, anyone desiring to see life in about its lowest aspect could not do better than pay a visit, if he could summon up sufficient courage, to some of the horrible byways which branch off from Waterkant St, where a stream of moral pollution is constantly flowing. (*Cape Times* 8 January 1876 as quoted in Worden *et al* 1998: 219)

The area that is now known as De Waterkant was not simply the home of underclass city dwellers; it also developed into a commercial area in its own right. Not only did the tradesmen's shops lend an air of commerce; so too did the proliferation of breweries, wine & spirit dealers, and drinking establishments that emerged in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Cape Quarter 2007). Although breweries and drinking establishments also lent a seedy reputation to the area, the legacies of early commercial pioneers are still visible on De Waterkant's landscape, with the name of proprietors such as E. K. Green & Company<sup>40</sup> appear on the façades of buildings in the area.

De Waterkant's quarterings are built from such layers of history and discourse. This contextual grounding illuminates the heterogeneity of its actors, and leads to a deeper understanding of the tropes that shape its quartered identity. The history and physical situation of De Waterkant are referenced by and constructed around the tropes of the body, surveillance, borders, spectacle, consumption and community. The heterogeneous actor networks of De Waterkant thus emerge from an understanding of the past and a firm grounding in its physical setting.

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<sup>40</sup> The façade of E.K. Green & Company's original establishment along Somerset Road is one of the few that have been kept in-tact in the midst of the Cape Quarter Extension development. While history is seemingly in-tact with the façade, the modern shopping centre that is being built beneath its brick exterior hints to more recent consumer lifestyle quartering.



Figure 3.5 De Waterkant Borders and Street Plan

*Relational Achievements: Discursive interactions between actors*

All of the elements that constitute De Waterkant’s situation of inquiry interact in some way or another with each other. As the actors and their discourses interact, they negotiate relationships with each other. These relationships can be interrogated to reveal the “relational achievements” (Knopp 2007) that shape the meanings in De Waterkant and ultimately the quarter itself.

Relational achievements arise out of the interactions between human and non-human discursive materials when they relate to each other over a network of human and non-human actors on the landscape. Relational achievements are the discursive connective

tissue of the actor network, and constitute the basis of producing and consuming space. Relational achievements are the building blocks to producing meanings about space; the achievement of the relationship between actors is the consumption of those meanings; and acting upon those achievements fulfils the performance of those meanings.

De Waterkant's perpetual state of 'becoming' is evident in the discourses of its heterogeneous networks of actors that shape the quarter. Recognition of the partial and incomplete knowledges that result from this process is also an understanding of the fluidity of place making and demonstrates the how such dynamic spatial change enables quartering. The quarter results from discourses that take our understanding of such spaces beyond superficial readings. To begin this analysis, however, I will concentrate in chapter four on one such superficial reading of De Waterkant that drove my initial impressions and understanding of its spaces. The archive of the *Pink Map* provides an entry point into understanding the power of discourse and the process of quartering.

University of Cape Town

#### Chapter 4. QUE(E)RYING CAPE TOWN: Queer quests and the *Pink Map*

*Cape Town is a Gay Friendly City and Cape Town Tourism welcomes you...*  
--Cape Town Tourism, *Pink Map* 1999 edition

*The Pink Map records rather than predicts...it is an archive.*  
--Philip Todres, Publisher of the *Pink Map*

The *Pink Map* represents De Waterkant in the way that I first understood it to be, like Visser (2003) suggests as “consolidated gay territory” (Visser 2003a: 128). De Waterkant presents itself through the discourses of its many bars, clubs and guest houses as an urban quartered ‘gay village’ in that it is a locus of a presumably shared “gay” or “queer” identity built upon North American conceptualizations of such spaces (Levine 1979). Visser (2002a, 2002b, 2003) and Elder (2004) have demonstrated that a variety of gay leisure pursuits take place in De Waterkant which lead to such conclusions. Whether or not it is valid to conclude that De Waterkant is in fact a gay enclave like those in North America and Europe, the *Pink Map* demonstrates that De Waterkant is the locus of gay identity performance and leisure/consumptive pursuits that constitute the urban quartering known as the ‘gay village’. The resulting meanings associated with De Waterkant are therefore rich with symbols of ‘otherness’ in contrast to the ‘ambient heterosexual’ (Murray 1995) outside. The *Pink Map* enables us to see how De Waterkant’s quartered identity is both produced and consumed.

Cape Town Tourism’s vision of the city in 1999 may have potential visitors dreaming of a queer utopia; a place where the freedoms afforded in the South African Constitution have finally been realised on the ground. While Cape Town has had a long history of tolerance for some expressions of gay identity, particularly from within the coloured community (Chetty 1994), it may be a tall order to expect a city without a hint of homophobia a mere five years after the end of apartheid, or anytime thereafter. Although all of Cape Town is meant to be gay friendly according to Cape Town Tourism, for the first-time gay visitor to Cape Town, the *Pink Map* is intended to show the way toward venues that are welcoming to a gay clientele, as well as a guide to the “creative side” of Cape Town (Todres 2008, personal comments).

The cover of the 2007 edition of the *Pink Map* suggests the utility—even the necessity—of the map, as it contains an image of a “pink passport” from “The Republic of Cape Town”. Such imagery promises to open the borderlands of pink Cape Town to a willing audience while it differentiates gay space and excludes straight space, presumably in order to ensure a pleasant stay by filtering out the gay landscape from all the rest<sup>41</sup>. Locating gay space assumes that those areas not ‘mapped’ don’t have the possibility of being gay. The map implicitly assumes for its reader that all space is hetero-sexualised space unless otherwise indicated.

In addition to being a commercial publication that advertises and locates gay- and gay friendly accommodation, restaurants, bars, clubs, services, and shopping, I argue, true to the sentiments of the *Maps’* publisher, that the *Pink Map* also serves an archival purpose in recording changes on the pink landscape of Cape Town. What I demonstrate in the pages to follow are some of the shifts in the ‘pink landscape’ that occur between 1999 and 2008 as visualized through the *Pink Map* that may be indicative of changes not only generally across Cape Town, but more specifically within De Waterkant. As I will show, the ‘archive’ that is provided by a decade of the *Pink Map* positions De Waterkant as a gay village in the urban, quartered sense while revealing several key findings: 1) How the maps situate the body within a ‘pink’ framework; 2) How tensions of race, identity, sexuality—including the location of lesbian space—are dealt with; 3) How the map positions Cape Town on local, regional (African) and global scales; 4) How over time the map becomes de-sexualised; and 5) How the map situates practices of consumption and the nature of the citizen-consumer through material examples of identity performance, leisure and other consumptive pursuits. What I explore in the analysis that follows is how the journey that one takes while holding the *Pink Map* is illustrative of events taking place on the landscape that the map depicts. I use the cartographical representations and shifts evident in the *Pink Map* to trace the discursive situating of De Waterkant as one type of urban quartered space: the gay village.

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<sup>41</sup> A similar analysis was concluded by Elder (2004) in his decoding of the *Pink Map*.

*'Coming out' with the map*

The *Pink Map* grew out of publisher Philip Todres' work with special-interest maps. An art collector and dealer by trade, Todres began by publishing a map in 1988 that guided users along an "arts and crafts" route through the Western Cape. Todres explained his motivations thus:

I had a very specific motivation. I ran a gallery, and a colleague of mine ran a pottery gallery and studio. And we wanted people to know where we were. And you've got to realize, it was the end of the 80s...tourism was more of a concept than a reality. So doing something like that was a little kind of crazy, but we thought "how else do people know what there is?" Of course I was well known in the art gallery field, so it was a relatively simple matter of phoning around and saying "guys, this is what we want to do". We worked out at the time we needed about 40 entries or 45 to make it economically viable...We got about 36 people who wanted to be on the map and we were short of a few so we decided that what we would do is have a column called "Food Stops" any places where you could go for lunch or tea or coffee. And within minutes we had the extra eight or ten people that we needed to make it viable, and we did our first Arts and Crafts Map. (Todres 2008, personal comments)

What began as a means of leading patrons to a friend's pottery studio with stops en-route for refreshment and entertainment lead to a publishing company that produces a range of specialised maps; including the aforementioned Arts & Crafts Map, the Antique Map, the Food Map, Victoria Falls Map, B&B Map, Rainy Day Map, Sports & Leisure Map, and the Museum Map for Johannesburg. The original map that guided users along an arts and crafts route led to the name of his publishing company, A&C (Arts and Crafts) Maps.

Eventually, in the post-1994 environment events like the Mother City Queer Projects<sup>42</sup> (MCQP) annual queer costume party and the new constitutional dispensation were allowing gays and lesbians throughout South Africa more visibility and legal—if not actual—freedom to express their sexual identities in the open. Driven by his interest in other 'routes', his

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<sup>42</sup> Mother City Queer Projects (MCQP) is a Cape Town-based organisation that hosts an annual queer costume party held in December and featuring a new theme each year. The party began in 1994 and each year draws more and more gay and straight revellers to take part in the event. Tourism officials say that the party was influential in putting 'pink Cape Town' on the map, and highlighting the city's desire to be seen as a gay-friendly tourist destination. According to MCQP promotional materials, "MCQP headed-up the need to showcase Queer Culture [sic]" with its 1994 'Locker Room' party and has since "become an annual event on the international gay party circuit calendar" (MCQP 2001: unpaginated). The themes for each year's party are meant to inspire costumes with various interpretations of queerness such as: Secret Garden (1995); Twinkly Sea (1996); Shopping Trolley (1997); Safari Camp (1998); Heavenly Bodies (1999); and Toybox (2000).

connections to the gay community in Cape Town, and his understanding of the emergence of Cape Town on the gay scene, he was inspired to develop a specialized map for gay tourists. As he noted:

It was 1994, and then we had things like the MCQP Party. Cape Town was changing very dramatically, and when it came to any gay literature it was always sort of like 'under the counter', kind of sleazy. The sort of tacky, little one-colour, very unprofessional kind of stuff that you were getting around. And, I thought this is ridiculous. Let's have a gay map to Cape Town on the condition that it was equivalent in every way to the other maps that we were producing. It had to be as professional, it was well laid-out, designer-oriented, and the whole thing. And that was the decision. (Todres 2008, personal comments)

So, the conditions were ripe according to Todres to bring queer Cape Town out from under the counter, and to lend a design-oriented, respectable face to a queer-oriented publication. The metaphor of the *Pink Map's* emergence on the scene as a 'coming out' is fitting, as it mimics the journey of self-discovery and eventual 'coming out' that gays, lesbians and bi-sexuals experience. Thus, the *Pink Map* was born. While the *Pink Map* may not be solely responsible for bringing queer Cape Town out of the closet, it at least offered broader visibility to the existence of queer spaces and sites of same-sex desire—that had existed long before the *Pink Map* was published.

The *Pink Map* is a free publication that relies on advertising revenue from the clubs, restaurants, entertainment venues and service providers listed within the map. More than simply a commercial venture, however, the *Map* also provides relevant information to queer communities that it is intended to serve. That includes information such as the gay, lesbian & bisexual helplines, HIV/AIDS support groups, gay-friendly places of worship, and other gay media outlets. While it intends to serve queer communities within Cape Town, Todres doesn't see it as an exclusively gay or lesbian publication. In fact, as the arbiter of content, Philip Todres works with business owners who list their venues in the *Map* to avoid such exclusivity. As he says,

...one of the things that we had concerns about were establishments that claimed to be "exclusively gay" and I thought that was a very derogatory thing to have on our maps. I still insist that "exclusively gay" is something that we would not like to have. As far as I'm concerned it's as bad as saying "exclusively white" or "exclusively whatever." Constitutionally it just doesn't sit well with me. It's "gay owned", "gay friendly", it's a gay men's guesthouse, but that doesn't mean to say that you would per-se then exclude anybody who wanted to stay there. So I think the use of the word "exclusively gay" or something like that just might be

bothersome and we try to avoid that kind of distinction. (Todres 2008, personal comments)

The distinction that Todres and his *Pink Map* have sought, however, is making visible and—in some sense—mainstreaming queer Cape Town for a broader audience while not putting forth an exclusionary discourse that would symbolically frame those ‘gay only’ spaces as unwelcoming to outsiders. The tension of normalising queerness whilst also setting it apart—by mapping it differentially as a ‘pink’—is something that will, over time, begin to change the map itself. Central to the visibility and getting the message out, however, is distribution of the map itself. The *Pink Map* is distributed nationally at venues that advertise within the publication, and at tourist centres including Cape Town Tourism. Wider distribution of the Map has been made possible more recently through sponsorship of distribution through South Africa’s *Mail & Guardian*, a weekly newspaper distributed nationally and regionally. However, owing to the concentration of newspaper distribution in Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban, the *Pink Map*’s national distribution is focused on those metropolitan areas. With a small distribution channel to overseas markets, the map also has a global reach beyond the international visitors who collect it after arriving in South Africa.

As Todres sees it, the *Pink Map* put gay Cape Town ‘on the map’. And that ‘coming out’ was celebrated by some, and reviled by others. As Todres noted:

It was also supported by Cape Town Tourism who were perfectly happy about having their name associated with it. It was putting gay Cape Town very iconically on the map. Our maps are about putting you “on the map”. And certainly it was as clear as that. It was a very nice, clear, clean, uncomplicated message about Cape Town being regarded as a gay and welcoming city. (Todres 2008, personal comments)

Not everyone was welcoming or appreciative of the *Pink Map*. A local church<sup>43</sup> sent numerous letters to editors of area newspapers, condemning the *Map* and those it was intended to serve. What surprised Todres most was the intolerance exhibited in such negative sentiments in the post-apartheid context; and the fact that such letters could be published when the same letters, with the language against ‘gays’ and ‘lesbians’

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<sup>43</sup> “His People Church” from Goodwood (Cape Town) objected to the *Pink Map*’s positive framing of homosexuality which they see as a sin. The church wrote letters to the editors of local newspapers expressing their condemnation.

substituted by designators of race or ethnicity would not have been published. Acceptance, even tolerance, was a struggle as the *Map* presented Cape Town as a gay-friendly and welcoming city. As Todres reminisced:

It's interesting to me, because we're talking about post-apartheid democratic South Africa. Any of those letters [to the newspaper] or concerns [the church objecting for instance] if you took out the word 'gay' and substitute say 'black', I don't think those letters would have been printed in the newspaper. And the same applies today. Despite our constitutional dispensation and all of that, people feel very comfortable about being bigoted in terms of sexual preferences, maybe slightly less so but almost equally in terms of gender, and religion. Any person who writes in a newspaper and says "God says..." feels it gives him an inalienable right to be as bigoted, or as illogical as they wish to be.

This evidence of intolerance and bigotry serves as a reminder that the *Pink Map* doesn't exist in a vacuum, and that it does share often-tenuous borders with the ambient heterosexual world against which it situates itself. While the *Map* has attempted to bring 'queer' closer to 'normality' and thus acceptance and respectability, it does so by setting 'pink' space apart from 'other' space. 'Pink' in this case can be read as 'queer': as much gay and lesbian as it is beyond the 'normal', outside of the ordinary. What this does is to set pink spaces such as De Waterkant apart from the rest of the city while not advocating pure exclusivity. This serves to 'quarter' spaces such as De Waterkant by framing them in a particular cultural context, and making them sites of distinctive cultural expression. "Pink" in the *Pink Map* suggests 'otherness' more than it does exclusivity. In this sense, Todres' narration of the map describes a 'queer' state of mind perhaps more than it does a gay or lesbian identity. As he noted,

The interesting thing is that...as a publication it's also picked up by, very specifically, non-gay people seeing it as probably an introduction to the creative side. It's *not* strictly a gay guide. For instance there was a lot of anti-feeling against MCQP becoming too straight, and I think it's a *huge* compliment. Andre went out there to make 'queer' normal; to celebrate a state of mind, to celebrate a whole other universe out there. And the fact that it's been embraced by a non-gay community as well, I think is a huge tribute to that state of freedom, creativity, whatever, and the laissez-faire that exists in Cape Town, where "who cares?" So, I don't see that as a problem. (Todres 2008, personal comments)

As an archival tool to understanding the developments in queer Cape Town, the *Map* is quite useful. As the *Map's* publisher noted, the *Pink Map* "records rather than predicts" what is happening on the ground (Todres 2008, personal comments). I will argue in the pages to follow that, through a close reading of the *Pink Map* over the past decade, the state of 'queerness' in Cape Town can be traced and positioned vis-à-vis the content,

layout, and imagery on the map. And, in turn those symbolic cultural positionings help to situate De Waterkant as urban quartered space while they demonstrate material examples of identity performance and leisure/consumptive pursuits that are constituent of gay villages around the world.

### *Situating pink Cape Town*

#### *The trope of the body: De Waterkant's embodied landscape*

While the *Pink Map* doesn't focus exclusively on De Waterkant, the 'capital of gay Cape Town' as one respondent suggested (Kirstein 2007, personal comments) is represented prominently on the map. The prominence appears as a dense concentration of venues that have been designated as 'pink' through the *Map*, and located within De Waterkant's borders. Examining the concentration of venues along Somerset Road or along any of De Waterkant's narrow cobbled streets tells the story. Of all of the map-referenced listings within the *Pink Map* from 1999 through 2008, between 10.4% (the low in 2003) and 22.6% (the high in 2002) of the 'pink' venues are located within the boundaries of De Waterkant<sup>44</sup>. Relative to other venues in the *Maps*, the concentration within De Waterkant is unmatched. In spite of the *Pink Map's* lack of precise or consistent use of cartographic scale—after all it is more of a graphic representation of location to guide visitors rather than one precise geo-referencing—the visual concentration of venues within De Waterkant is clear throughout the decade of the *Pink Map* thus-far. For example, it is rare to find two or more venues situated on the same road or within the same suburban area in any of the *Maps*. From the 'City Centre' inset maps of the early editions to the 'Cape Peninsula & Surrounds' maps of later editions, the prevalence of pink in De Waterkant stands out. Using the *Pink Map* as your guide, it would be logical to assume De Waterkant as the 'capital' of gay Cape Town.

While the notion of De Waterkant as the capital of gay Cape Town may suggest it also has the character of a gay enclave like New York's Greenwich Village, London's Soho or San

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<sup>44</sup> Owing to the fact that De Waterkant comprises an area of 0.4km<sup>2</sup>, the high percentage of venues within its borders also infers a dense geographic concentration.

Francisco's Castro amongst others, the comparison is not supported by evidence. South Africa doesn't have a history of gay enclaves like in European or North American contexts (Elder 2004) and the pioneers in Cape Town's 'gay village' of De Waterkant didn't plan to create a dense conglomeration of gay venues that eventually characterised the area<sup>45</sup> (Shapiro 2007, personal comments).

While a close study of the maps will go a long way toward demonstrating the concentration of gay venues in De Waterkant, nowhere is the prominence of De Waterkant as the heart of 'pink' Cape Town so evident as in the 2001 edition of the *Pink Map* where a portion of De Waterkant is quite literally mapped on the body of the cover model (see figure 4.1). The image on the cover of the 2001 edition features a white male, seemingly naked, with dark hair and hairy chest and a "six pack" of abdominal muscles. The cover model is looking 'south'—both literally in a southerly direction on the actual plane of the map and figuratively toward the nether-regions of his own corporeal geography. In this position, most of the model's face is obscured, lending an air of anonymity, while focusing and objectifying the gaze on the contours of his embodied 'map'.

In the midst of his 'navel gazing', De Waterkant venues are superimposed over the model's upper body—from the top of his abdominal muscles to the area just above his pubis. The venues are imposed as if on a map, with the model's body being the landscape of De Waterkant. The venues are located relative to each other as they are on the actual landscape of De Waterkant, with the midline connective tissue of the *rectus abdominus* muscle serving as the cartographic depiction of Somerset Road, the busiest thoroughfare of the area that also serves as its eastern boundary with Cape Town's CBD. The eye of the viewer is drawn down the bodily landscape from thorax to pubis and includes stops at the Hothouse (a gay male bathhouse); Café Manhattan (a gay-owned restaurant and bar that is very popular with a gay clientele); Club 55 (a now-defunct dance-club); Bronx (a gay 'action bar' that features dancing and cruising); Detour (a gay dance club); Angels (a now-

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<sup>45</sup> In spite of this, it still remains from the view of the *Pink Map* that De Waterkant stands above other areas of the city as the gay Mecca.

defunct gay club that was popular with a gay coloured clientele); Bar Soho (a now-defunct gay bar); On Broadway (a gay-owned cabaret); and Bar Code (a gay bar that caters to 'leather' and fetish aficionados) that is, perhaps owing to its geographic location and perhaps symbolically due to its transgressive sexuality, situated at the lowest point on the verge of the pubis.

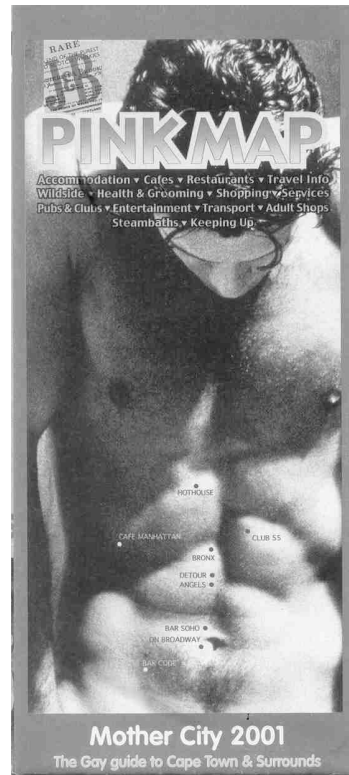


Figure 4.1 *Pink Map* 2001 edition - cover image  
Used with permission of A&C Maps

The corporeal cartography that is depicted on the cover of the 2001 edition sexualises the landscape of De Waterkant and compels the viewer to imagine his (or her) own path along the map. The contours of the body become the contours of De Waterkant's landscape, and the journey through both is positioned as one in the same. This is perhaps the most overt example of how the *Pink Map* sexualises gay space in Cape Town generally, and De Waterkant specifically.

The body played a visible role in early editions of the *Map* whether depicted on the cover or not. Within the folds of the *Pink Map*, the body also traces the contours of pink Cape Town. Whether through grooming the body, feeding the body, or satisfying corporeal

desires the *Pink Map* literally embodies Cape Town within its pages. In reference to a listing for Discreet M2M Studio (*Pink Map* 1999) under the “Wildlife” section is a photograph of two naked men: one straddling the other giving a massage to the man lying on the bed. The man lying is turned to his side with his back/buttocks facing the camera. The masseur is working his right hand over the other’s left buttocks while holding the recumbent man’s left leg with his other hand. The room is lit with the romantic glow of candles. These and other images in the 1999 editions caused a stir, according to Todres:

For instance in the first map we had one or two bare bums showing—it was really as innocuous as that. And there was a degree of hysteria about it, which was really quite bizarre. And I kept pointing out that any women’s magazine or even family-oriented magazine on the shelves had more overt nudity than on the *Pink Map*. I think there were two bottoms visible. And that’s what was regarded as lewd. (Todres 2008, personal comments)

The Map and its embodiment of all things pink continued in 2002 when the cover featured a real ‘naked chef’ in the form of Graeme Shapiro from ‘The Restaurant’, an award-winning establishment on Somerset Road in De Waterkant. In the photograph Chef Shapiro stands in a kitchen holding a large, whole fish that has been hand-coloured pink. This is clearly not the same scene of seduction and objectivity that we saw in the previous edition, however, according to the map’s publisher, it was the most contentious cover yet in the history of the publication. He holds the fish in his right arm, with the tail at the top and the head extending down to just below his knees (see figure 4.2). Looking directly into the camera, he stands with his feet apart with the body of the fish covering the center of his body from his abdominal area through to his genitals and inner thighs. The chef has a hairy body, a shaved and/or balding head, wears a wedding band on his left ring finger and a diving watch on his left wrist. This image conveys a different type of seductive mystery than in the 2001 edition, and there is no map to guide the viewer along an erotic path. Yet, the body is still central to the imagery of the map, and the ‘queerness’ of a naked man holding a large fish sets the map apart from the ordinary. So, while the cover of 2002 edition deviates from connecting what is ‘pink’ from De Waterkant, the trend of enticing the viewer with provocative images and positioning ‘pink’ as out of the ordinary continues.



**Figure 4.2 *Pink Map* 2002 edition - cover image**  
Used with permission of A&C Maps

Though the 2002 edition is less prescriptive than the previous edition in guiding the viewer, I argue that the *Pink Maps* act as a gateway to understanding Cape Town from a sexualised, corporeal perspective. They not only direct the viewer toward gay- and gay-friendly venues, they also suggest that desires can be satisfied by doing so.

Whether the embodiment of Cape Town is sexualised or not through the *Pink Map*, the bodies that inhabit its spaces must be cared for, and on that score the map doesn't disappoint. The health and grooming of those bodies has been a concern of the *Pink Map* since its inception, although the nature of those listings has changed. The number of "health & grooming" listings has fluctuated over the years, and has experienced a slight decline since 1999 in spite of a trend toward spas, 'manscaping' and general wellness that appeals to broad audiences. Changes are evidenced too in the type of listings under categories such as "health & grooming". In the 1999 edition, the listings under the category of "health & grooming" included: two general practitioners; a hair stylist; a pharmacy; and a non-surgical facelift consultant. These services can be characterised as fairly utilitarian health and grooming—with the exception of facelifts. By contrast in the

2008 edition, the listings under the category of “health & grooming” included: the same pharmacy as is 1999 but with the inclusion of offering a “Good selection of sex aids and poppers” and a “Large range of designer men’s underwear: Calvin Klein, 2(x)ist, Rips, Bruno Banani and many others.”; a wellness centre that offers “...a wide range of treatments including shiatsu, reiki, reflexology, manicures and more.”; a “grooming station” with treatments from an “international skincare guru”; and a laser eye centre (*Pink Map* 2008). Like shopping that has become ‘therapeutic’, health and grooming has also become complicated by sexual function, style, and the assistance of laser technology.

These practices of health and grooming can be seen as a type corporeal self-discipline, in the way that Foucault (1977) suggests that citizens invigilate themselves, their bodies, and their movements through space. The bodily practices range from laser hair removal that ‘tames’ the wildness from the beast, with images of before and after (*Pink Map* 1999) to non-surgical face lift consultants that promise to “reverse the ravages of time” while also “[softening] lines and wrinkles, bringing back natural glow and texture to leave your face looking younger and less stressed.” (*Pink Map* 2001) Through changes in the *Pink Map* over time, one gets the sense that health and grooming practices become more than simply finding a general practitioner, a chemist, and a hair stylist—as was the case in the 1999 edition. Caring for your body later becomes an issue of ‘wellness’ that involves crystals, pendulums, and elaborate settings that feel “like entering a submarine from the newest James Bond movie” (*Pink Map* 2008)—all the while overseen not by a mere medical practitioner, but by an internationally renowned ‘guru’ of skincare (*Pink Map* 2008).

The body is thus central to the identity of the *Map* and by extension to the identity of pink quartered space in Cape Town. The contours of the body mimic the contours of the landscape, and distinct parts of the city—such as De Waterkant—thus become sexualised, eroticized, and consumable. Idealised images of perfectly-toned bodies (and some less-so) moderate the meanings associated with the corporeal landscape; and health gurus can bring the same body to you the viewer. Caring for the body is both a gateway toward achieving wholeness and is also a service to be consumed. In keeping with the commercial

nature of the *Pink Map*, the information within is intended to guide users ultimately toward consumptive practices, whether that be goods, services, or the body itself—which alone must be serviced, and can be consumed as mediated by definitions of race and space.

The body is central to mapping De Waterkant in discursive ways in terms of how actors relate to its spaces. As the previous examples show, the body serves as a means of entry into De Waterkant, and provides a cartographic example of the journey to be taken. The body is also engaged when it comes to issues of race and identity.

*The bathhouse and journeys across race, place and identity*

Bodies are the currency of the gay bathhouse, where men gather for sexual encounters, companionship, and relaxation. The Hot House Steam & Leisure, a gay bathhouse on Jarvis Street in the heart of De Waterkant, opened at the same time the *Pink Map* was launched in 1999. It describes itself as:

Situated in the heart of Cape Town's gay area, the HOTHOUSE offers what you'd expect from a steambath: an enormous steamroom, sauna, 2 spa baths, 3 video lounges, maze, showers, darkrooms and cabins. But also 2 bars, a restaurant, private cabins, with or without its own TV and video channel, luxurious double volume lounges, fireplace and a sundeck with the most spectacular views over the harbour, downtown and Table Mountain.

Whether it's a hot summers [sic] day or a rainy winters [sic] one, with close to 1000 sq m to play in, you're bound to find something to blow up your skirt - it's not for nothing that the HOTHOUSE is described as a mindblowing experience. (Hot House 2008)

Gay bathhouses—in South Africa and elsewhere—are not exclusively gay spaces; rather, they are spaces where men meet for sexual encounters and for the expression of same-sex desire—which may not have any connection to the question of a 'gay' identity. Therefore, gay bathhouses are the province of "men who have sex with men" (MSM) rather than exclusively of men who call themselves 'gay'. In a South African context, with myriad cultures and cultural expressions that may not resonate with the European and North American concept of a gay identity, the imagery from the *Pink Map* that references the Hot House is interesting for its crossing of racial boundaries.

The Hot House quite literally made its first splash in the first edition of the *Pink Map* in 1999. Under the listing for The Hothouse Steam & Leisure (map reference 51 under “Wildlife”) is a photograph of three men in a spa bath. Two white men are sitting facing the camera, submerged to their shoulders, while a naked black man sits perched in an elevated position on the edge of the spa holding a cocktail in a tall glass garnished with a large slice of lemon. His feet are in the water, while his back is to the camera, facing the two other men in the spa. The two white men look at each other while the black man’s gaze is clearly focused on the two men in the spa.

In his historical look at the bathhouse, Tattelman (1997) focuses on some of the key elements that constitute the unique, sexualised spaces of the bathhouse. The perception of the baths, he notes, are about the lack of limits or prohibition; while the strategy of their spaces was “to prioritize sex over all else.” (Tattelman 1997: 394) Such limitlessness opened new relations between men and erased the boundaries between people from different socio-economic and racial backgrounds. Bathhouses are therefore sites of boundary-crossing and social equalisation as Tattelman demonstrates:

The principle of the bathhouse was that you brought nothing inside with you. Ideally the bathhouse tried to erase the boundaries that divide people; clothing was removed, and issues of class were left at the lockers. By stripping bare, new experiences became possible. (Tattelman 1997: 394)

These elements are evident on the *Pink Map*. Reflecting back on the first images of gay bathhouses in 1999, the power of the bathhouse to potentially overcome boundaries becomes clear. The image of the men in the spa bath becomes more interesting in light of this. The naked black man fixing his gaze on the two white men submerged in the water is unique amongst the many in the *Pink Map*. While their gazes don’t seem to meet in the image, it is one of only two images within 10 years of the *Pink Map* where men of different races are positioned in a sexually-charged position. The other image is also for the Hot House and appears in the 2000 through 2002 editions. While that may be notable, what I argue is more important is that the encounter between races happens in a bathhouse, which, as discussed above is possible in a gay space where the rules of race, class, and sexuality can be transgressed. Thus a gay space versus the ambient heterosexual and less-easily transgressed space

In later images of *The Hot House*, from 2000-2002 we see a similar trio of two white men and one black man, who appear stripped bare except for the same white towels. The interior spaces of the *Hot House* may then act as the 'playground' for which they are intended; a playground that, according to Tattelman (1997) should allow greater latitude of fulfilled desire than in the streets outside<sup>46</sup>. Nevertheless, when the images of the *Pink Map* over 10 years are examined, it is only in this singular instance where the possibility of transgressing race can be seen. Using the *Pink Map* as your guide, it would appear that the gay bathhouse is the vehicle for crossing those boundaries. However, later editions of the *Map* depict *The Hot House* in a narrower light, showing images of young, well-toned white men, which limits the expectations for the participation in such liberating spaces—whether in regard to issues of race or of corporeal self-discipline (Valentine 1999) in the name of desirability. This example, in addition to a broad examination of gay leisure spaces within the *Pink Map* would corroborate Visser's (2003a) contention that, in the history of gay Cape Town, there has been little public interaction between gay communities across racial lines.

#### *Locating lesbian space*

While crossing racial boundaries within 'Pink' Cape Town may be enabled by the bathhouse as exhibited by racial inclusion, gender inclusion within the *Pink Map* proves to be much more difficult. After all, as seen above, the landscape of De Waterkant has been depicted as one superimposed upon and positioned relative to the male body. The lack of lesbian space on the landscape of South African cities like Cape Town is not a new phenomenon, however. While gay men were forming a visible gay subculture in post-World War II South Africa, the lack of a strong feminist or bohemian subculture led to lesbian communities being less visible than their male counterparts (Gevisser 1994).

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<sup>46</sup> Elder's (2004) analysis concludes that the experience of the gay bathhouse as depicted in the *Pink Map* runs counter to the unprescribed, liberating experience that Tattelman (1997) attributes to such spaces. Elder's reading concludes that the *Pink Map* provides limited possibilities for participation in the bathhouse experience unless you are white, twenty-something, and well defined.

When a female image first appeared on the cover of the 2000 edition of the *Map*, it was actually the image of a drag queen in a blonde wig striking a pose, an image that suggests the female form and gender, but is clearly not. Since its inception, the *Pink Map* has been dominated by “pink” venues that cater explicitly to a gay male clientele rather than to lesbians, bi-sexuals or other transgressive sexualities. Of the listings that appear in the map over years 1999-2008, only eight are from venues, services, or accommodation that specifically serves a lesbian or female clientele.

Lesbians appear on the Map in 2001, identifiably locating lesbian space for the first time on the map. Up to this point, lesbian spaces were less visible on the *Map* and on the landscape of Cape Town itself. This reflects the contention that lesbian subcultures are less visible than those of gay men due to, *inter alia*, economic disparity with men (Rothenberg 1995: 168). Furthermore, as Rothenberg suggests, gay men as opposed to lesbians may feel more threatened by society’s limitations on the depth of relationships with other men and thus may have a greater need for their own territory and ‘safe haven’ (Rothenberg 1995: 167). As Munt (1995) demonstrates, lesbian space is fluid space, and created as lesbian bodies move through rather than remain static in space and time:

Lesbian identity is constructed in the temporal and linguistic mobilization of space, as we move through space we imprint utopian and dystopian moments upon urban life...in an instant, a freeze-frame, a lesbian is occupying space as it occupies her. Space teems with possibilities, positions, intersections, passages, detours, u-turns, dead-ends, and one-way streets; it is never still. (Munt 1995: 125)

A heterosexist bias toward positioning women only in relation to—not as distinct from men and children—is to blame in the lack of visibility and understanding of identity formation among women in spaces outside of work and the home (Wolfe 1997: 302). Not only does gender bias affect lesbian women in public space, but disparities in access to economic capital (Wolfe 1997) also affect the possibility of lesbian women fixing their location on the landscape.

When women first become visible on the *Pink Map*, it is by way of a monthly event called “Brenda’s Bash”. Like the lesbian space that Munt (1995) describes, Brenda’s Bash is a seemingly fluid space that, while fixed in time “on the 1<sup>st</sup> Saturday of each month from

09h00 until late” (*Pink Map* 2001), is seemingly without a fixed space. Whether due to concerns over safety or the challenge of finding monthly venues, Brenda’s Bash (map reference 69), which announces itself as an “all women party only!” (*Pink Map* 2001), locates itself only generally in “Milnerton”, a northern suburb of Cape Town on the shores of Table Bay. The listing is short on locational details, with no map reference provided. A telephone number is provided for potential party-goers to locate the venue, along with a reminder that “cash” is the only means of payment accepted. Brenda’s Bash mimicked the early years of socializing within the lesbian community in Johannesburg, when social life revolved around private parties in flats, and when—perhaps similar to Brenda herself—cliques developed around the party-givers themselves (Gevisser 1994: 20).

“The Habit” brings lesbians onto the map once again in 2003 and 2004 with their “stylish, hip and happening women’s night held at the trendy Cohibar, Café Bardeli, Long Street Studio’s [sic], on the last Saturday of each month.” (*Pink Map* 2003) While The Habit party does finally put the “post-babydyke generation” of women on the map—and within a ‘trendy’ and locatable space, the event is still ephemeral in that it only occurs on the last Saturday of each month.

Wanderwomen, a travel service exclusively for women, first appears in the 2003 edition, and carries-on as a listing in the map through the 2007 edition. Wanderwomen sets itself apart from the rest of the male-dominated spaces in the *Pink Map* while it provides a one-stop service for lesbian travelers. As their entry in the 2004 *Pink Map* states:

Word is out that the Sisters are doing it for themselves in sunny South Africa! Cape Town’s first complete lesbian vacation planning and facilitation service offering accommodation, tours and transportation...for lesbians by lesbians. (*Pink Map* 2004)

Wanderwomen is not alone in establishing exclusionary space for females. In 2001 the first women-only accommodation hits the map. Brenda’s Place advertises itself as a place for “Women only” who are visiting Cape Town and need a place to stay in the Milnerton area (*Pink Map* 2001). In addition to being a ‘good bet’ according to the Map, they also only accept cash as payment. Another women-only accommodation listing appears in 2005. In that edition Colette’s Bed & Breakfast for Women advertises itself as a “...home from home

[sic] where women travellers can be relaxed, comfortable and private” (*Pink Map* 2005). The notion of ‘privacy and relaxation’ is in contrast to much of the accommodation serving a gay male clientele that promises “pulsating night-life” and the “buzz” of the Atlantic Seaboard (*Pink Map* 2005). In this way, the *Pink Map* suggests that lesbian spaces are more about a supportive, relaxing and communal environment of the ‘home’ rather than the chaotic buzz of the ‘streets’.

Lipstick Lounge makes a brief appearance in the 2006 *Map*, and then disappears from the map and from the streets. Its fleeting existence for a single imprint of the *Map* is less noteworthy than the fact that it was situated in dedicated premises on the periphery of De Waterkant—the first dedicated lesbian establishment in De Waterkant up to that point. Whereas the Lipstick Lounge overcame the barrier of fixed physical location, there is still a sense that, from an economic and transactional perspective, lesbian spaces like the Lounge, Brenda’s Place and Brenda’s Bash before it only accepted cash as payment. The reason for this can be attributed to the transitory nature of lesbian space. Payment by other means such as credit cards require fixity of location—including physical addresses, telephone lines and sufficient capital to invest in fixed infrastructure of any kind. Given the ephemeral nature of lesbian social space, the need to only accept cash as payment is understandable. The Lipstick Lounge, whose name is derived from a lesbian subculture of women who accentuate their hyper-femininity through their appearance (such as using make-up), promoted itself as a “Safe, upmarket environment exclusively for women” (*Pink Map* 2006 emphasis added). The safety of bodies—particularly women’s bodies—is a consideration of lesbian social spaces within the *Pink Map* as well as the wider discourse of lesbian spatiality (Rothenberg 1995: 175).

The desire for lesbians to have a space, whether temporary or not, in which to socialize as well as a focus on the economics of it all is echoed in the comments of one De Waterkant business owner when he said:

[Lesbians are] a very difficult market...Again, they’re not going to be ripped-off...But the older ladies definitely want a venue to go to. They want to have [social functions] totally organised because they do it so seldom. Otherwise they

do house parties. They do a lot of house parties. (Shapiro 2007, personal comments)

The safety of women's bodies and the desire to have a fixed space are refrains often heard in the context of Beulah Bar—a bar that opened on the periphery of De Waterkant (corner of Somerset Road and Cobern Street) in 2007. Beulah Bar is owned and operated by Myrna Andrews, a key actor in the development of lesbian leisure space on Cape Town's landscape.

Myrna Andrews opened Beulah Bar after a successful run with her "Lush Parties" for lesbians. As she put it:

About 8 years ago [1999] I started doing parties for lesbians [the Lush Parties]. It was never about making money, or anything like that. It was purely that there was a need for something for women only, not that I particularly wanted a women only space, but some of the girls are a quite strange in that way, and feel a need to be away from the guys and stuff like that. (Andrews 2007, personal comments)

The Lush Parties, which began in 1999 as "Events for women who love womyn [sic]" (*Pink Map* 2007), first appeared on the *Pink Map* in 2007, with a map reference number, the lack of a map location, but with the very broad geographical description of "Cape Town Area". However, consistent with the literature on lesbian social spaces, Lush continued to be displaced, and to displace itself as Andrews reminisced:

My brother owned a straight club called Fat Boys, and he offered it to me on a Thursday night, and that's how we got started. And basically what I did was that when that closed down I moved to a venue called "Valve", then I moved to Chill and Lime, which was a straight club also upstairs. Then I moved to Sliver upstairs and then they shut down I moved to Junction Café. And it was always a case of I would take the door and pay the bouncers and the DJ, and the club would take the barmen, so it was never about making money. It was about giving a space to lesbians. (Andrews 2007, personal comments)

Contrary to what many patrons believe to be the case, Myrna didn't open Beulah as an exclusively lesbian venue—even though many see it in those terms. She rather saw it as an opportunity to open a place for gay men as well as lesbians; but importantly a place where lesbians could feel 'safe'. She notes:

Well, you know what I think it is: it *isn't* a lesbian space, but it is certainly a space where lesbians feel safe and comfortable. They all know because I've tried to tell as many of them that it's very difficult for us to stop somebody at the door without good reason. But that they need to know that should anybody make them feel *remotely* uncomfortable—be it by too long a look or any kind of physical approach, all they have to do is to tell me and I will have them removed. We have a right of admission. And I think it's important that they have a space where they feel safe. As I say, this is their space only because I look out for them. And it's important to

me. You know, I was married, so I don't have a problem with men. I've never been abused in my life. If I have a problem with a guy coming on to me, I'll tell him in no uncertain terms to get out of my face or I will have him removed. Whereas a lot of the girls that have been abused get completely freaked out by it. So it's something that I try and stop unless they keep me informed. (Andrews 2007, personal comments)

Beulah Bar becomes located in the pink space of the *Pink Map* in 2008, where, consistent with Myrna's narrative, it describes itself as "a bar, with a lounge, and a dance floor that caters for the entire gay community." (*Pink Map* 2008) With that, lesbian space becomes located, while also being dislocated into a more inclusive queer space of gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and others.

### *Out of Africa*

When the *Pink Map* was launched in 1999, it had a firm foothold in Africa, or at the very least in African motifs. The inside of the map featured a white leopard-spot motif on the border edge with a zebra skin watermark under the subsections named "Wildlife" and "Adult Shops". Although, in the case of the former, it wasn't a reference to Africa's 'big five' game animals, but rather to four male-to-male massage parlours, a male-to-male chat line, and a gay male bathhouse. The safari motif could also be related to the 1998 MCQP theme "Safari Camp" - a play on words of the double entendre "camp" for cruising and "camp" for a safari encampment. The organisers invited party-goers to:

Come camp with African Queens, jolly jocks of the Bushveld, gorgeous gay gnus, large lesbian lionesses, pretty pink flamingos, bedazzling Bantu Barbies, funky Voortrekkers, brave bushwackers, and anything from our Amazing Animal Kingdom. (*Pink Map* 1999)

The safari theme continues in the images used in the various listings. Under the caption "State of the art hair removal by Dr. Craig Ress" are 'before' and 'after' photographs of a man's back that has been presumably 'tamed' from the hairy wilds through the process of laser hair removal. In another listing for Sea Point Dispensary under "Health & Grooming" is a photograph of old-fashioned grooming products (comb, brush, shaving mug, shaving brush and razor) along with a bottle of Ralph Lauren's 'Safari for Men' *eau du toilette*. In reference to Evita se Perron (map reference 45 under "Pubs, Clubs, Entertainment") is a

photograph of Pieter-Dirk Uys<sup>47</sup> as Evita Bezuidenhout dressed in traditional dress. And finally, in reference to Mnandi Textiles is a photograph of a black man wearing a zebra-striped shirt holding animal-skin motif fabrics next to a carved bust with an African motif and a woven basket.

Africanness in the 1999 *Map* is depicted as wild, colourful, rugged and untamed. It is also wildly sexual, as echoed in sexual references within the imagery and narratives of the listings. For example, in reference to the listing for Detour is a photograph of two white men, one embracing the other from behind, who appear to be dressed in fetish gear. The caption of the photo is: "Detour where 'no limits' apply." In reference to the listing for Wylde Oscar is a photograph of a man in profile from the waist-down. He is shirtless, and wearing tight green pants. He is holding his right buttock with his right hand while grasping a pineapple that he is holding between his legs with his left hand. The pineapple is suggestive of a phallus. Both examples suggest the wildness of nightlife beyond the boundaries of everyday urban life. In the name of "Detour" alone, there is a sense that what you will find inside will be a deviation from the 'normal'; an adventure in limitlessness, a lack of borders that normally confine sexual expression. The pineapple, on the other hand, unequivocally positions the phallus relative to a tropical fruit. Here the wildness of Africa's tropics is set against the virility of a young man in tight pants. Both are powerful, sexual, and seemingly capable of fulfilling desire. Discourses of desire, sensuality, and sexuality are centrepieces of the early years of the *Map*. This, along with the use of African motifs and symbols position the *Pink Map* in way that sexualises it and the spaces that it depicts. While this was the case in the early years, the editions to follow would witness a gradual but identifiable transition away from overt sexuality.

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<sup>47</sup> Pieter-Dirk Uys is a popular South African performer and satirist who became known for his character "Evita Bezuidenhout", a liberal, politically-connected white South African during apartheid. Uys transforms himself into the female character of Evita and pokes fun at the apartheid regime and those who fought against it.

### De-sexing the Map

The sexualised imagery of the 2001 edition lent an air of seduction and transgression to the map; and thus to the areas mapped. Looking at the Maps over time, however, one can see a gradual de-sexualising—call it neutering—of the *Map*. One example of the neutering of the *Pink Map* is evident in the listings for The Barracks Man-To-Man (M2M) studio. The photograph accompanying the listing for The Barracks in the 2001 edition featured a naked, well-toned male sitting facing the camera (see figure 4.3). Wrapped around his shoulders and chest is a white rope—for what purpose is unclear: perhaps for tying himself or someone else up. The image is explicit with the base of the model’s genitals visible. While that may be titillating and intended to draw attention to the business, what is more telling is how the image gets ‘snipped’ in future editions of the *Map*. In 2002, 2003, and 2004—the final year when The Barracks appears on the map—the photograph gets cropped at the model’s waist, leaving the model without the proverbial tools of his trade.

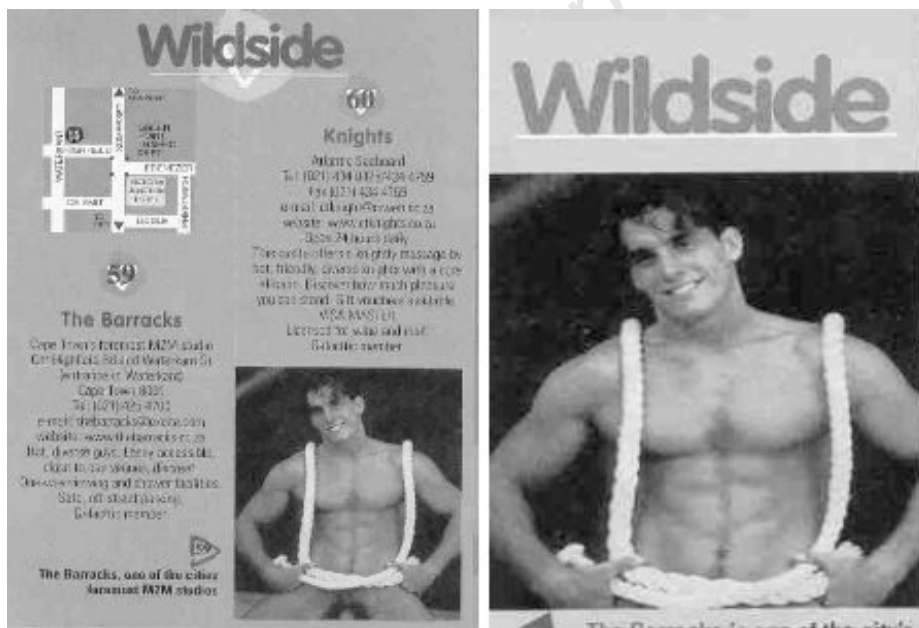


Figure 4.3 The wildside in 2001 and 2004

The case of The Barracks is just one in a series of changes of imagery used in the Maps: from the overtly sexual corporeal cartography of the 2001 edition to a more commercial and perhaps more broadly palatable used of imagery in the 2008 edition. After the drag queen of 2000 edition, the corporeal cartography of the 2001 edition, and the naked chef

Shapiro with his big fish of the 2002 edition, the Maps to follow would feature increasingly less-risky, non-corporeal imagery and artwork.

The covers of the 2003 and 2004 editions feature an image of a tattoo with red roses, red hearts and ivy/greenery imposed over a light pink triangle on a dark (2003 edition) or light (2004 edition) pink background (see figure 4.4). Written in three wrap-around banners over the flowers/hearts are the words “Love”, “Mother”, and “City”. The ‘pink’ in the *Pink Map* is still alive and well in this edition, and the iconography of the overlapping pink triangles in the background of the cover image maintain a strong connection to one of the most widely recognised symbols of queer identity. 2004 continues with the same imagery, with only slight changes in colour tones to differentiate it from the previous imprint.



**Figure 4.4 *Pink Map* 2004 edition - cover image**  
Used with permission of A&C Maps

2005 heralds a return to ‘African’ imagery, with a photograph of a Streetwires beaded wire elephant imposed on a stylized triangular outline of Table Mountain floating on a dark pink triangle on a medium pink background. At the same time these images re-centre the map within Capetonian and African geographies, they also deflate the sexual energy of previous editions.

Deflation of one's sexual energy is one thing, but being wiped off the map is another. A curious thing happens to the category of venues and events listed on the map as "Wildside" in the 2006 edition. By 2006 this category has dwindled, apparently losing most of its wildness. Moreover, the two remaining entries in the category are not located on the map at all. The category becomes a sidebar next to the "Cape Peninsula & Outlying Areas" map, yet EP Executive Partners and Knights lose their map reference numbers and any sign of their existence on the maps themselves. By 2007 and 2008, the wildness is nearly gone completely from the map, as the one remaining listing gains its map reference once again, as it stands alone in its transgression where the extremes of the pink landscape—those areas furthest from the notion of the "good gay" (Richardson 2004) become less and less visible.

In between those years, the images and iconography used both on the cover and within the *Maps* changes. In 2007, for example, the icons that point to the map reference numbers change from the iconic pink triangles to simple squares. The pink triangle is a recognizable symbol for many gays and lesbians around the world, but perhaps not as universally understood or identifiable to the broader audience to whom the *Map* may appeal. The unambiguously queer symbolism and iconography of previous editions that helped to frame pink spaces in a certain way make way for graphics that will appeal to a broader audience of heterosexual and well as homosexual readers. There are further changes that can be seen in the use of cartographic symbols. From 1999 to 2005, editions of the *Pink Map* featured a North arrow in the shape of a pink triangle icon in several stylistic variations. The arrow served its function of indicating "north" on the Map, and in all cases between 1999 and 2005 was positioned so that it pointed directly toward De Waterkant in the "city centre" maps (*Pink Map* 1999-2005 editions). From 2006 onward, the symbol was changed in favour of a traditional compass rose.

Then we arrive at the 2008 *Pink Map*. The cover of 2008 edition features an image of a woman submerged in a brandy snifter (cocktail glass) adorned with a pink lily on the rim

(see figure 4.5). The woman is holding her breath, and holding a bird cage in her right hand with a pink “goldfish” inside. Although she appears to be wearing very little, if no clothing, the woman’s body is obscured, covered by a wispy underwater sea of white feathers. The glass is set on a pink surface with the image of a sunset (over Camps Bay—perhaps owing to the sponsor, Paranga restaurant which is located in Camps Bay) in the background. Below the image is the logomark for Paranga, and its map reference number (no. 1). At the top of the map is written in a pink background “A&C maps”, which was replaced by the Mail & Guardian logomark on the small-format pocket version, with the title underneath: “The *Pink Map*/Gay Guide/2008”. At the bottom of the page is the familiar subtitle “Cape Town & Surrounds”. There is a lack of overtly gay or lesbian iconography or symbolism in the 2008 edition. The image is one that conveys a sense of luxury (brandy snifter) and exclusivity (Camps Bay) without directing suggesting that a gay or lesbian identity is connected to those notions or spaces. The pink fish adds a whimsical touch, but doesn’t by itself suggest other sexualities.

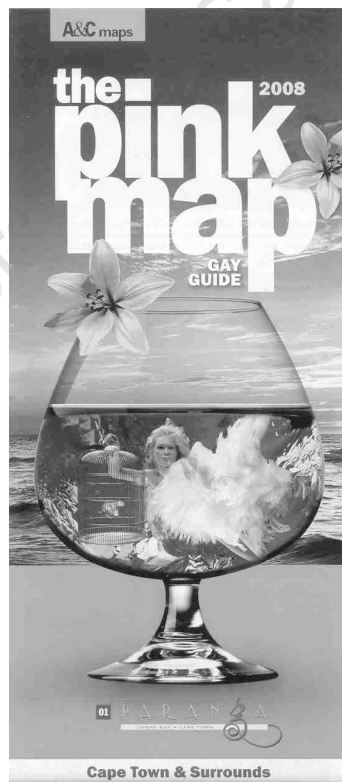


Figure 4.5 *Pink Map* 2008 edition - cover image  
Used with permission of A&C Maps

The 2008 version stands in stark contrast to the sexualised and highly embodied and cartographic image of the 2001 and other earlier versions. These changes are as much

about changes in the way the publisher saw his role as they point to transitions happening in De Waterkant and in South African society. These transitions include a broader acceptance of gays and lesbians in society as a whole and an increasingly 'mixed' (gay and straight) following in De Waterkant's clubs, bars and restaurants. Previous covers of the *Pink Map* brought criticism and praise to its publisher. Some objected to nudity in the early versions, even the partial nudity of Chef Shapiro and his big fish. As sentiments changed, and the pink market expanded, however, the publisher looked for something completely different. So, when a high-profile Cape Town restaurant with an upmarket clientele wanted to sponsor the cover, the *Pink Map* opened itself up to new possibilities. For Todres, it was a signal of the recognition of the value of the 'pink' constituency, and a sign that Cape Town had become more liberated. It could also be understood as a symbol of De Waterkant's re-framing from a gay village to that of a consumer lifestyle quarter that appeals to and attracts a broad audience in terms of sexual identity. Clearly, the quartered identity of De Waterkant is not static, but rather it shifts and changes according to the dominant discourse.

Shying away from transgressive or overly sexualised imagery in the *Pink Map* doesn't mean that transgressive sexualities have been silenced. Rather, they are still evident in the area surrounding De Waterkant even though they have been pushed to the periphery.



Figure 4.6 Bar Code: 'good/bad gay'

One example of transgression and movement 'off the map' is Bar Code, an establishment that describes itself as "cape town's ONLY men only leather rubber uniform & jeans bar" (Bar Code 2008, emphasis in the original) and "in the gay village of cape town/18 cobern street/(off somerset road)/green point [sic]" (see figure 4.6). Bar Code's transgression comes from the degree that it positions itself relative to Richardson's (2004) 'good gay'. The 'good gay' in the form of the normal lesbian/gay citizen,

is in the process of being materialized primarily through an adherence to dominant intimate norms. That is, by lesbians and gay men demonstrating at both individual and collective levels a desire for, and commitment to, loving, stable, marital-style couple relationships (Richardson 2004: 397)

Bar Code positions itself as a site of sexual play, exploration and fetishism—contrary to the normative intimacy that is suggested by the definition above. Examples of this can be seen in the advertisements that Bar Code creates for its weekly themed events (see figure 4.7). In those advertisements—both in print posters and on their websites, images of leather and fetish attire, bondage and role playing set the venue aside from other bars in the area, and situate it outside of Richardson's definition of a 'good gay' space. Yet the narrative and visual discourses from Bar Code also open the possibility for alternative expressions of sexuality that could be potentially emancipatory, and therefore part of a utopian quest.



Figure 4.7 Fetish and Leather at Bar Code

Therefore, while in general the *Pink Map* begins to shift toward focusing on a more heterosexual audience, there are still spaces where those who aspire to alternative notions

of sexuality can turn. Still, the shift toward appealing to a heterosexual audience is evident in the way information and finding yourself is depicted on the *Map*.

*'Keeping up': Locating information and finding yourself*

More than anything, maps are intended to convey information. The *Pink Map* does this through its commercial listings for restaurants, bars, clubs and similar venues that appeal to the *Map's* constituencies. But the *Map* also explicitly informs its readers with a section that it alternately calls "Keeping Up" or "Keep Up". Like other sections of the *Map*, the degree to which one is able to continue 'keeping up' varies from year to year. In addition to listing websites of additional sources of information, the section also includes useful contact numbers for other organizations or services that tend to be along the lines of support, community outreach, churches and information.

Through the organizations and services listed in the 'Keeping Up' section, the *Pink Map* serves a 'public service' function in providing free access to information that supports their constituent communities. Changes in the profile of those services, and the clients they serve are evident over the decade of the *Pink Map* examined here. In the first year of the *Map*, useful information was comprised by a gay, lesbian & bi-sexual helpline; three agencies that provide HIV/AIDS training, counselling and support; two gay- or gay-supportive church organizations; a gay film festival; and a gay sporting group (*Pink Map* 1999). By 2007, there were two gay & lesbian helplines; a gay & lesbian library; a gay and lesbian legal support project; a gay men's alcoholic support group; four separate organizations that provide HIV/AIDS training, counselling and support; a support group those who are HIV-positive; and four religious-affiliated gay organizations including a gay Muslim group (*Pink Map* 2007).



Figure 4.8 The Inner Circle at Cape Town Pride, 2008

Queer Muslims first become part of the pink cartographic landscape in 2005, with a brief informational entry for The Inner Circle, a queer Muslim Organization<sup>48</sup>. Their appearance in the Map signals an expanding notion of 'pink' possibilities as well as the growing voices of marginalised queer communities in Cape Town. They become visible on the map as they also become visible on the streets as they did in the 2008 Cape Town Pride parade (see figure 4.8).

In 2006 the section was at its peak, with 23 entries encompassing services and organisations as diverse as Alcoholics Anonymous for Gay Men, Triangle Project (an NGO serving the needs of GLBT communities throughout South Africa), Good Hope Metropolitan Community Church (a gay and lesbian church), Gay & Lesbian Film Festival, and Wolanani (an HIV/AIDS service agency). The number of non-commercial listings waxes and wanes over the past decade of the *Pink Map*. However, as the listings have changed, they do indicate shifts in the queer community. Although the shifts have not been dramatic, there are noticeable trends over time. While there has been a continuing focus on HIV/AIDS testing, counselling and support, more recently the queer community is being offered support for living 'pozitively' [sic] with HIV as a manageable chronic condition, ancillary support services

<sup>48</sup> The Inner Circle is an organisation of gay, lesbian and bi-sexual Muslims based in Cape Town. The group advocates for the minority within the minority of the Islamic faith, and supports queer Muslims in reconciling their sexual identities and their faith.

(other than simply for being gay or lesbian) such as alcoholics anonymous, and visibility for gay Muslims.

Clearly there are constraints on space that drive the publishing of each issue, and the competing interests of *pro-bono* 'useful' information and paying customers who list their businesses. The utility of such information in an age where the internet and other mass-media can unleash a flood of information at your fingertips is debatable. In spite of that, with the publishing of the 2008 edition of the *Pink Map*, these useful numbers are eliminated, and again the landscape of pink Cape Town is depicted in a changing light. This signals a shift both in the readership of the *Map* to being more inclusive of heterosexuals, as well as the increasingly more acceptable nature of queer identities and the perception that support services are no longer a central need of the queer community. It also signals changes in the basis of the community that the *Map* serves: from one based on sexual citizenship to one based on consumer-citizenship.

#### *Consuming queerness: From sexual to consumer citizenship*

Shifts in consumption patterns, and the nature of the citizen-consumer his/herself can be seen through changes in listings that are present in the *Map*. Pink visitors appear to be eating more, and transgressing less. Among the trends is a growth in restaurant listings: from nine listings in 1999 to 27 listings in 2008; and a decline in shopping that is labelled specifically 'pink'. Consumerism itself has changed its name, and perhaps its role in society: from the utilitarian yet descriptive "shopping" from 1999 through 2005 it was elevated to "retail therapy" from 2006 onward. This gives the sense that being a consumer-citizen is more than just buying your daily bread, or rather your Diesel footwear "for successful living" (*Pink Map* 2000), but actually engaging in an act of healing and self-preservation. The act of shopping gains a level of respect and importance in one's daily life that seems implicitly necessary for well-being.

Consuming pink Cape Town, however, means more than just shoes and clubs. It also means consuming for the body, and of the body in the form of food and sex. Some of the changes

in pink Cape Town that can be traced through the *Pink Map* are evident in how consumers are apparently intended to consume both food and sex. Not only has the imagery changed. So too have the venues themselves, the services they offer, and how those services are presented. As proof of this, take the example of “Execpartners”, a male escort service for male clientele. “Execpartners” moved from a ‘Service’ in 2002—alongside a laundry, attorney, estate agency and a hairstylist—to the ‘Wildside’ (as “EP Executive Partners”) in 2006. Furthermore, the “Wildlife” section in the 1999 edition became the “Wildside” from 2000 onward.

While the *Wildside* and *Steambaths* may be waning in their presence on the map, sex is still alive and well...in food: Col’Cacchio, a local chain of pizzerias, goes from one small listing in 2005, where it is described as “A funky vibey restaurant that is often quoted as ‘making the best pizza, pasta and salads in the world’.” (*Pink Map* 2005) to 2006 where it describes its name as “...the loose Italian slang for ‘up yours’ which echoes the restaurants [sic] wonderfully simple dining and carefree, laid-back atmosphere.” In the 2007 edition it splashes out on six listings and an overall advertisement in which they mention their achievement of being the first pizzeria in South Africa to be approved by the Heart Foundation as offering a healthy alternative; and 2008 where the line between “restaurants” and “wildside” becomes blurred as they note:

It’s not only *size*, but the combination of taste and flavour sensations that makes Col’Cacchio Pizzeria stand out in the crowd. *Hunky* pizzas, *satisfying* pastas and *sexy* salads plus great locations and friendly service add up to a fun and relaxed good food experience. (*Pink Map* 2008 emphasis added)

Sexual innuendos aside, they continue to stress the corporeal nature of the dining experience as they inform readers about their Heart Foundation endorsement by noting that “They care about you and your bod [sic]!” (*Pink Map* 2008 emphasis added)

From sex to food, ways in which the *Map* situates desire have clearly changed. “Hot”, “Friendly”, “Diverse”, “Pleasure”, “Licensed for wine and malt” describe Knights M2M (male-to-male) massage in the 1999 edition; while “Size”, “Hunky”, “Satisfying”, and “Sexy” describe Col’Cacchio Pizzeria in the 2008 edition. One might be forgiven for mistaking which of the words described culinary desire, and which described corporeal

desire. It seems that the lines have been blurred. A male-to-male massage parlour in 1999 could be confused for a pizza parlour in 2008; yet the overt sexuality of the map—at least in visual imagery—seems to have dwindled. The overall effect however is to sexualise the entire landscape, even the culinary one, through the use deliberate double-entendres. One desire may not replace the other, but they both drive the consumer-citizen to empty their pockets in the pursuit of corporeal fulfilment.

There are also changes evident in how the *Pink Map* readership consumes whatever they choose to consume, and the technologies and techniques that they choose to employ in doing so. The 1999 edition contained an entry for “Guys on Line”, which billed itself as a “National Chat Line wherever you are...Come together.” (*Pink Map* 1999) What may have served as an innovative and anonymous means of social and/or sexual connection in 1999 has been overshadowed by more complex technologies more recently. The 1999 *Pink Map* contrasts with the 2008 edition where ‘hooking-up’ has moved from phone lines to cyberspace with “The Only Social Club” Executive Dating service. Whereas a ‘club’ in 1999 may have been a bricks-and-mortar establishment where face-to-face interactions take place over a drink; in 2008 the club has been taken into virtual space where logging-on in the privacy of your home may result in a good match without all of the small talk.

It would seem that the entire *Map* has a presence in cyberspace, since all but three of the 76 entries listed in the 2008 edition provide a website or email address in their contact details. What may have been a novelty in 1999 has become *de-rigueur* in 2008 as consumers connect with the rest of the world via text messages, email, and social networking sites. As technology has changed, so too has the reach of the *Map*, the perspectives of its users, and the impacts it potentially holds.

### *The map as discursive archive*

Although much of the *Pink Map* is overtly and unapologetically commercial, it maintains a tongue-in-cheek, playful attitude, and is intended to be a practical and welcoming guide for visitors and locals. Although the implication is that The *Pink Map* archives all that is

queer in Cape Town, it clearly cannot. Queerness and same-sex desire finds fulfilment in the extraordinary as well as the mundane spaces of Cape Town, as Leap (2002) has demonstrated. So, although it doesn't tell the entire story, the *Pink Map* narrates one part of it and thus provides a discursive archive of queerness.

That discursive archive is part of the cartographic tradition. Cartographers seek to 'ground truth' their data by ensuring that the story told through the map—as displayed by symbols, landmarks and physical features—is reflected in the reality on the ground. In a similar way, the narrative of the *Pink Map*—what it says (and doesn't say) about Cape Town—demonstrates the trends that are happening within the city and within De Waterkant: The *Map* reveals that consumption is increasingly depicted as a necessary pathway to citizenship and wellness. It also demonstrates that queerness has become 'normalised' both in the sense that gays and lesbians have achieved greater acceptance in the ambient heterosexual world with a new generation of gays and lesbians seeing no need to codify exclusionary queer space. In addition, the parameters of what is acceptable as the 'good gay' (Richardson 2004) have become more narrow. The borders that shape 'pink' space are both defined through the map and then again transgressed as the cyberworld takes queerness to another dimension. Queerness becomes linked less to physical spaces than before as cyberspace becomes active and fertile ground for socialising, 'hooking-up', or exploring sexuality at the margins of transgression.

Lesbian-coded spaces and events continue to be difficult to find, and much of what the *Map* depicts as "pink" is no longer solely intended for a gay male audience of consumers. Non-commercial listings that are meant to guide users to support and queer community information have disappeared, perhaps owing to the proliferation of information on websites, and in the broader media, or perhaps because the *Map* targets a new clientele who don't need such support.

In this way, the *Pink Map* does have some "ground truth". From a cartographic perspective, what is depicted on the map is happening on-the-ground: while gayness has long been

present in the areas not indicated on the map, the geographical dispersion of openly gay- and gay friendly venues has spread to areas beyond De Waterkant and beyond greater Cape Town; the transgressive nature of queerness has been pushed to the margins, in favour of the normative notion of a sexual citizen (Richardson 2004), a citizen that, in spite of being gay, lesbian or bi-sexual, subscribes to and conforms with heterosexual patterns of committed, stable, marital-style couple relationships. The “wildside” of the *Pink Map* has diminished since its peak in 2004, and now only one venue amongst the 76 listings in the 2008 edition characterises itself in that way (*Pink Map* 2008). The ‘pink identity’ as expressed in the map has changed from the consumption of same-sex desire to the consumption of goods and services that seem to have less and less to do with one’s sexuality and more to do with an identity as citizen-consumer. The changes could have been generational, editorial and perhaps driven by limits imposed by advertisers who might not want to be associated with transgressive sexualities. Likely a combination of all of the above, the changes demonstrate a variety of shifts taking place in society that deal with citizenship—both the sexual- and the consumer-citizen.

In spite of the inherent ground truth of the *Pink Map*, the notion of locating pink (read: queer) space in a static environment is at best complicated, and at worst a denial of same-sex desire on broader geographical and socio-economical scales. As Polchin (1997) reminds us, “Queer space cannot be located within a particular place because it does not necessarily represent defined boundaries, but rather exists through a presentation of queer bodies and desires” (Polchin 1997: 386). Despite the *Map*’s attempts to outline those shifting boundaries, queerness is still located within the *Pink Map* in the sense that it guides, disciplines, and frames Cape Town for its user while it also outlines narratives of sexuality, the body, race, identity, scale, and consumer trends. Although it may not provide its user with a full accounting of queerness on Cape Town’s landscape, I argue that over a decade of the *Pink Map*’s existence, it demonstrates some of the major issues that mediate the production and consumption of pink/queer space in the Mother City and De Waterkant. Through a critical reading of its changes over time, the *Pink Map* demonstrates

how place is infused with meaning, and how in particular the spaces of De Waterkant are constantly being deployed and re-imagined through those processes.

The *Pink Map* serves as an entry point for queer visitors to Cape Town. It is one way of understanding De Waterkant. The *Map* positioned De Waterkant as an urban quarter under the guise of a 'gay village' by discursively framing particular cultural symbols of gay life and identity upon the landscape. In the process of framing, it has engaged the body, issues of race, identity and gender, in addition to scalar representation of 'pink' venues in order to support the quartered identity. The *Pink Map* brought to the fore pink elements of the landscape to the exclusion of all others, and demonstrated material examples of identity performance and leisure/consumptive pursuits that are constituent of gay urban quarters. The *Pink Map* is clearly not the only way of understanding De Waterkant, but it provides a point of departure for seeing the myriad narratives that continue to shape its space.

That point of departure, however, only tells one part of De Waterkant's story. The *Pink Map* eventually told us that not all is pink in Cape Town. To think otherwise limits our understanding of place. Similarly, a queer reading of De Waterkant limits the scope of understanding its actors, its spaces, the many other quarterings that it has undergone. Places are created through layer upon layer of meaning and discourse, and by only seeing the pink layer of De Waterkant's meaning, we underestimate and undervalue the agency of many additional actors and the meanings that they confer and consume. Reading De Waterkant only as a gay village masks a number of dystopian moments that brought forced removals, opportunities for large-scale real estate development, a flurry of renovation, and the turning-over of the area's racial profile. The fluid nature of place demands that we examine closely the intermediate steps and the mediating factors that caused the 'ghetto' quarter to transform into a 'gay' quarter' and more recently transition to a 'gorgeous' quarter. Given these many changes and the heterogeneous nature of De Waterkant's actor networks, there are other stories to tell about De Waterkant, and thus other quarterings that may be observed. Those myriad narratives and the quarterings that they shape,

examined chapters five and six, are important for telling a more complete story of De Waterkant beyond the gay village.

## Chapter 5. VILLAGE PEOPLE: Everyday quartering

Like other South African cities, Cape Town is undergoing multiple and often contradictory transformations: becoming more cosmopolitan, developing property within the CBD, and attempting to restore justice to those forcibly removed under the brutality of apartheid. Just as the discursive archive of the *Pink Map* grew out of an environment of legal recognition of formerly deviant sexualities, other discourses have taken root in the evolving urbanities of South African cities, and the utopian search for a better tomorrow (Pinder 2002) that many of those urbanities exhibit. The quartering of De Waterkant arises from this period of change and transformation and is constitutive of varied discourses of security, identity, and community, among others. Those discourses conspire in quartering De Waterkant and shaping its many identities over time. While the *Pink Map* literally traces the outlines of De Waterkant through multiple queer discourses, it also figuratively traces discursive messages about the spaces that lie within its borders. The discursive archive of the *Pink Map* shapes space in particularly queer ways. Similarly, discourses provided by other actors within De Waterkant's networks—residents, business owners, club-goers—constitute a parallel archive that shapes the quarter beyond that of a gay village.

The many narratives of De Waterkant share one thing in common: they speak to various ways of 'quartering' the city. The narratives trace changes in how De Waterkant may be seen as a quarter and its transformation from an ethnic quarter of low-income Cape Malay families, to a gay village of queer quests, to a secure lifestyle quarter that enables consumption in way that is stylish, upmarket, safe, and convenient. The quartered identity of De Waterkant changes markedly through the course of these narratives. The changes demonstrate shifts in the notion of community and are most visible along the axes of race and socio-economics. Over time, the effect is to create an increasingly whiter and wealthier quartered profile. What was once an ethnic quarter of large families from mixed backgrounds reflecting the social history in this area of Cape Town (ex-soldiers, tradesmen, freed slaves, prostitutes, sailors, etc.) became an oasis for a young, urban (and white) group of residents without families through the dystopian process of forced removals under the Group Areas Act. That eventually made way for the renovation and conservation of the

area's heritage under the watchful eye of the Civic Association. This Bohemian and creative community gradually made way for the area becoming a locus of gay pursuits and identity in the post-1994 environment. At the same time large numbers of properties were purchased as a 'guest village' that further transformed the profile of residents—from locals to a large number of international guests on holiday. Then, the development of the 'guest village' was met by the addition of 'lifestyle centres', thus adding the consumer lifestyle as the area's most recent form of quartering.

### *Queering beyond the binary*

The shifts in De Waterkant's identity demonstrate that quartered urban space is not static, nor is comprised by a tension of binary-opposites such as rich/poor, and straight/gay. Rather, the quarter is created from a process of interaction among myriad actors, discourses and materiality that is the 'queering' of space. This queering of space is more than dissident sexualities. The quarter is a constantly changing site of identity and place making that responds to the dominant discourse driven by legislation enacting forced removals; by architectural preservation, with De Waterkant's designation as a conservation area; by identity, in its reputation as a gay village; and by economics with the re-development of large tracts of land for lifestyle centres. De Waterkant's quartering, like the *Pink Map*, is an archive of its time, an archive of the hopes, fears and aspirations of individuals and groups of city dwellers and visitors that demonstrates utopian visions of the future as well as dystopian effects for those who do not subscribe to the hegemonic discourse of the day. Quartering is place making on a small and intensive scale. It is a process that is fraught with tensions and contestations, and one that has many faces. These are the substance of the chapter, examined through De Waterkant's ethnic, Bohemian, gay, and finally its consumer lifestyle quartering. Through the shifting identities of De Waterkant, I demonstrate that both the process and the product of quartering are shifting, ephemeral and contested.

*Loader Street, Louder Street: Ethnic quartering*

We could read De Waterkant as simply a gay village that emerged from a process of gentrification, replacing previous layers of history and discourse. The process of quartering and re-quartering tends to selectively bury—without completely erasing—the past, while sometimes drawing upon historical references to discursive advantage in the process<sup>49</sup>. Quartering is filled with utopian moments where the search for new possibilities overcomes present realities.

Before De Waterkant was even known as such, however, the area was shaped by actors whose discourses are buried beneath layers of more recent quarterings. Traces of previous quarterings are unearthed by De Waterkant area shopkeepers such as Mrs. Da Silva<sup>50</sup> who waxes nostalgic when she thinks of the ‘good old days’ of the 1960s and 1970s. During those decades she, like others, used to define the area by one colourful but notorious street: Loader Street, which with a laugh she recalled as “Louder Street” due to the masses of rambunctious children that used to play up and down the busy lane. Those children were discursive quarter-shapers in their own right; juvenile actors whose families comprised a colourful ethnic diaspora<sup>51</sup>, and whose everyday movements along the streets at in the area shops helped to shape an all but forgotten quartered identity of De Waterkant (see figure 5.1).

The current image of De Waterkant as a stylish urban village utopia is far-removed from that of an ethnic quarter. Reaching this utopian state, however, involved dystopian moments that further quartered the area through implementation of the Group Areas Act.

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<sup>49</sup> Property developers have revived historical tropes in the marketing of De Waterkant, as is demonstrated through CRA analysis of narrative texts from the developer of the Cape Quarter. In that analysis, reference to the area’s “Malay” past, unique architecture, and merchant legacy appear of high relevance in the discourse.

<sup>50</sup> Not her real name.

<sup>51</sup> The area’s proximity to Cape Town’s port as well as the Muslim neighbourhood of the Bo-Kaap meant that Loader Street was comprised of families of working class background. As one respondent noted, the racial and ethnic diversity of the area was drawn from a cross-section of African, European and Asian origins.

The Group Areas Act of 1950 (Act No. 41 of 1950)<sup>52</sup> had a devastating effect on the social, political and cultural landscape of South Africa, and is apparent in De Waterkant. The forced removal of families and their business hit communities hard, and few if any people of colour were immune. One such family to be threatened with eviction and forced removal was the Allie family, who operated a shop—a general store of sorts, called a ‘corner café’<sup>53</sup> or ‘bappi shop’ on the corner of Strand and Vos Streets on the edge of De Waterkant. Mr. Abbas Allie’s story is both an immigrant’s tale as well as one caught-up in the dynamics of racial segregation during South Africa’s apartheid years. His personal and family history reflects more changes in De Waterkant than any of his contemporaries. Mr. Allie’s reading of De Waterkant highlights it as a former ethnic quarter that has since been overcome by the pace of change.

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<sup>52</sup> The Group Areas Act determined where residents from the various racial groups (European, Indian, Coloured, and African) could legally reside. While the Act was set into law in 1950, its implementation took place over decades, and changed the racial profiles of South African urban areas in particular.

<sup>53</sup> In South Africa a ‘café’ (pronounced ‘ka fe with an emphasis on the first syllable) is a name used to describe a general merchant that sells household essentials such as bread and milk, as well as prepared foods, newspapers, etc. For many residents, corner cafes acted like modern-day convenience stores and used to be the mainstay of many Cape Town neighbourhoods. Such shops are also known locally as ‘bappi shops’ from the fact that many were owned and/or operated by South Africans of Indian origin. Bappi is a term of Indian origin that refers to a male elder. According to one café owner, De Waterkant has seen a sharp decrease in the number of such shops (Allie 2008 personal comments) as the profile of residents has changed—from a high of thirteen shops in the 1970s to only one in 2008.



Figure 5.1 De Waterkant’s ethnic quarter

Abbas Allie’s father—the senior Mr. Allie—was an immigrant from India, arriving in South Africa in 1935 to pursue their own utopian break from the past in search of a promising future. Soon after settling in Cape Town, the senior Mr. Allie set up a café at the corner of Vos and Strand Streets, only steps from the Loader Street mosque. Allie’s Corner Shop was born. The Allie’s shop was one of thirteen such cafés that once catered to the residents and labourers in De Waterkant. Not long after the birth of the shop, Abbas Allie was born. Abbas was joined by six brothers and two sisters in total. As a family, the Allies of multiple generations have been involved in the business from the beginning. Mr. Allie recalls:

My father used to run the business, then my eldest brother, then myself. And now my son is doing it. You know, it’s a long time. I’ve been in it a long time. Many years...

We carried on, and then my father took a break also...in 1947. He took the whole family to India where he comes from. My father is from India. Then my second eldest and my eldest brother they got married in India at that time. We came back after a couple of years. And we carried on. Then my eldest brother took over and he ran the business until about 1960. And after than I took over from then on until now. I've been....I officially took over the business over in 1962. It was registered in my name. I leased it from my father for 10 years. In that period my father also passed on. And then somehow we carried on until you know the Group Areas Act came around. And they hassle and bustle you to get out of here, but I managed to hold on; to hold on tight. (Allie 2008, personal comments)

The Allie's story as shopkeepers does not follow a simple path, nor does it unfold easily. Throughout Abbas Allie's narrative and recollections, the idea of 'carrying on' weighs heavy. In describing both the family's and the business' history on the corner of Vos Street, Mr. Allie uses the term 'carrying on' to characterise their ongoing effort to keep their café and to remain in De Waterkant. That effort was often fraught with pitfalls and difficult decisions such as continual harassment by police and visits back to their native India that raised the possibility of quitting South Africa for good. In spite of it all, however, the Allies and their shop did 'carry on'. Evidence of their victory over the challenges lies in the fact that 73 years later, their shop is the only one that still stands in De Waterkant; on the same street corner, and driven by the same bloodline.



Figure 5.2 Allie's Corner Shop

Mr. Allie's narrative traces a number of changes in De Waterkant's identity; not the least of which is the area's name itself. He recalls:

If you want to know the story of Loader Street and De Waterkant. Well, I tell you it wasn't called De Waterkant. It only came *now* De Waterkant in the last 10 years.

It was just called Loader Street—the main street with all kind people here; all personalities. (Allie 2008, personal comments)

The multi-cultural landscape that constituted the area around Loader Street was comprised of immigrants and South Africans from myriad backgrounds.

We had Italians here, we had Portuguese—we still have Portuguese here. We had Africans here—I don't mean Africans<sup>54</sup>...but there were Africans here, the Christian people here, Muslim people here, and Indian shop owners here. (Allie 2008, personal comments)

The network of actors during the days when De Waterkant was simply known as the 'Loader Street' area was thus racially diverse and built in large part around relationships between shop owners and families. Mr. Allie's recollection of De Waterkant's ethnically-quartered days speaks to Joseph's (2002) traditional notions of community as a "utopian state of human relatedness" (2002: ix). The community that Mr. Allie served as shopkeeper in the 1960s and 1970s focused on people not products. Over time, however the trajectory of Allie's shop changed, reflecting shifts in community as well as consumption.

Hand-in-hand with the changes in De Waterkant's ethnic profile came changes in its consumer profile. And the corner café was in the middle of those shifts. At its height, Mr. Allie remembers, "In this area—the Waterkant area—we were 13 shops. Thirteen. There was a shop on every corner. Everybody used to make a living" (Allie 2008, personal comments). And that business was brisk, partly due to how people in De Waterkant shopped to fulfil their daily needs.

There were no supermarkets at that time; just the corner shops. People used to leave their orders on a Friday morning, collect their orders on a Friday evening or Saturday. We used to deliver orders to the houses. (Allie 2008, personal comments)

The connections amongst the network's actors were thus mediated by the daily interactions with shop owners as the demand for daily consumer needs were met. The corner shop therefore served as a robust node on the network of De Waterkant where information and goods were exchanged.

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<sup>54</sup>His use of the term "African" in the first instance refers to black South Africans. In correcting himself, he is implying that the African residents were from other parts of Africa, not South Africa. His reference implies that the ethnic diaspora was rich, but that it excluded some.

However, the vibrant café business was about to change abruptly; not for the lack of demand for bread, eggs, or Cape Malay delicacies such as samoosas and koeksisters<sup>55</sup>, but rather due to the forced removals of residents and shop owners themselves under the Group Areas Act. Mr. Allie remembers that "...with the Group Areas Act they moved almost everybody out: myself and the one shop further up the road, Adams and Company. They held on until they also moved" (Allie 2008, personal comments). The building that once housed Adams and Company was eventually demolished in the 1980s, and soon after in its place a *piazza*<sup>56</sup> was built (Allie 2008, personal comments).

Dystopian forces thus destroyed the ethnic quarter in Loader Street. This is a notable re-shaping of the quarter, where a shop that was part of the fabric of the area was demolished after its residents were forcibly removed to make way for an Italian-style *piazza* that situates itself in another historical time and cultural space altogether. It is shifts like these that re-cast the quarter of De Waterkant through a struggle between utopian and dystopian practices. This transformation was already underway as Mr. Allie returned in 1971 after a hiatus in India.

The area that Mr. Allie knew before he left for India and that which greeted him when he returned was different than the vibrant, multi-cultural neighbourhood that it used to be. The life and lifestyle that he once knew and enjoyed in De Waterkant had been completely erased in a matter of a few years.

When I came back from India...I left in '69 when I came back in 1971...I found the whole area *empty*. Everybody has moved out of the area. (Allie 2008, personal comments)

Like every other non-white family in the area, the Allies were also pressured and harassed by the implementation of the Group Areas Act, but held firm.

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<sup>55</sup> Samoosas are savoury treats made of meat or vegetable-filled pastry; Koeksisters of the kind sold in Malay shops are sweet-spiced doughnuts warmed in syrup and rolled in coconut. Both are typical of Cape Malay cuisine and are still a staple of corner cafés such as Allie's.

<sup>56</sup> The piazza is a public square on Loader Street that was established by the De Waterkant Civic Association. It is distinct from more recent 'piazza-style' commercial developments in De Waterkant, such as the Cape Quarter, that are centrepieces for shopping, dining and entertainment.

We were hassled by the Group Areas because they wanted you out at the time. Then I took also a break in 1969. I took my wife and my daughter and we went to India. Then I was away for 20 months. My eldest brother managed the shop for me. And then when I came back I took the shop back from my brother. And, when my lease expired in 1972, we put this place on auction, because the family wanted to sell. Obviously at that time, you know, things were not right. And we couldn't find a *good* buyer. We had a buyer but the price was ridiculous. Now you, obviously you know, understand what I'm saying. Because it was owned by *our* family, ne? (Allie 2008, personal comments)

The subtext of Mr. Allie's final comment was that a "good" buyer couldn't be found, and therefore a good price couldn't be had because the Allie family wasn't white. The Group Areas Act re-balanced the property market, weighing the advantage on the side of white property buyers (or speculators) who could afford to offer less for properties that were in areas being designated as 'white'. In effect, the Group Areas Act invisibly built an exclusionary border around De Waterkant that resulted in a rapid transition of the area in terms of race, ethnicity, and creed. It thus served a decisively mediating role in the network of De Waterkant, shaping the possibilities for change in De Waterkant and imposing a relational achievement that at once changed the nature of the people and the possibilities actors in the network itself. The Act infused the network with an 'obligatory passage point' of race: for only those of the white (European) racial group were allowed to remain.

This was certainly one of De Waterkant's more dystopian moments from the perspective of Mr. Allie and the ethnic diaspora that once characterised the neighbourhood. At the same time, De Waterkant became ripe for property development and renovation as families who had resided there for decades were sent to the Cape Flats, peripheral areas segregated by race.

Of course at that time the people with the money they grabbed the properties. Today the properties are worth millions. At that time they paid people five thousand [Rand] for their houses. About that time, '69 you could buy a property elsewhere for maybe 10 or 15 thousand [Rand] at that time. And the people sold—some of them were builders. They could build their own places out in Kensington, Grassy Park, all of those [Cape] Flats areas. You know that Flats area? And they moved out there. And that's how the area has changed. (Allie 2008, personal comments)

The changes that forced many others out made way for a cohort of young, white professionals searching for their particular urban utopia. Not just driven by state practices,

Younghusband (1984) recollected the ways in which some residents organised to abet the forced removals in the area. He noted that a man by the surname of Liebenberg

...got a few of Loader Street's tiny white minority together and...a few were persuaded to sign a petition asking the government to declare the area 'white' and move out the coloureds. (Younghusband 1984: 53)

The removals were put into action, and only a very few were able to resist the harassment. One of a few, Mr. Allie and his family resisted removal; thereby also resisting the dystopian mediation of the quarter on the part of the apartheid state. 'Carrying on' through the oppression of the Group Areas Act wasn't easy for Mr. Allie, however. When a 'good' buyer couldn't be found and an auction didn't result in a suitable bid, Mr. Allie formed an unusual partnership that allowed him to remain in the area while also holding onto his business.

And I had also to do a transaction which is called, you know, form a company. I gave my white partner 51%, and I kept 49%. I took the chance with all my finance. Ten years after that we didn't need the company. They dissolved the company and then transferred the property onto my name. (Allie 2008, personal comments)

As a result, in 1990 Mr. Allie and his wife were granted full ownership of their property on the corner of Strand and Vos Streets, and the legacy of his business and of his tenure in De Waterkant would be guaranteed into the future. And, while De Waterkant continues to change around him, Allie's Corner Shop continues serving the area as it did more than seven decades ago.

### *Young, artsy, hip: Bohemian quartering*

In the wake of forced removals, property prices in De Waterkant plummeted, and the area became ripe for change. The formerly colourful ethnic quarter thus made way for new quarterings in the hands of a new breed of residents: young, creative, and white. The dystopia of forced removals made way for cheap properties that were in desperate need of renovation<sup>57</sup>. Homes with historical value—and crumbling façades—located along quaint cobbled streets close to the city centre was appealing to young urban professionals at the time. The possibilities for the future were certainly utopian.

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<sup>57</sup> It should be noted that during the period that I characterise as De Waterkant's ethnic quartering, most residents in the area were tenants rather than owners of the properties in which they lived.

Neville and Susan<sup>58</sup> came to De Waterkant in 1975 during this time of transition. They are representative of the group of young, white urban professionals who re-populated the area as forced removals of coloured, Indian and black residents initiated the demise of De Waterkant's ethnic quartering. Many pointed to them as important sounding boards for De Waterkant's residential charm, as one of the longest resident couples who arrived during the period of transition between quarterings. They came to De Waterkant explicitly seeking a close-knit community within an urban oasis that was home to a largely Bohemian and creative population. They were familiar with De Waterkant already, introduced to the area through Swiss friends—one a colleague of Susan—who lived in Jarvis Street. So, before moving into De Waterkant, they were already convinced of its special appeal. As Neville remembers,

...we loved the style of the cottages, we just liked the feeling of the area...a little bit Bohemian in those days. You know there was lots of married people up here, lots of tenants, lots of rented people, lots of artists, lots of drugs, lots of prostitution. But we fell in love [with the area] (Anonymous 2008a, personal comments).

They came across the cottage that they have been in for over three decades by chance. While walking in the area along Loader Street one day, they saw a tiny note stuck on the door of the equally tiny cottage. The note indicated that the cottage was for sale. They phoned the number, organized keys from the neighbour, stepped inside and were convinced that the particular cottage they were standing in—and De Waterkant in general—was the place they needed to be. As people who consider themselves not 'suburban types' Neville and Susan appreciated the fact—as many residents do—that De Waterkant is close to Cape Town's CBD, and that there are views of the Mountain and the sea. As Neville mentioned, "...I like town, I like noise, and I like people" (Anonymous 2008a, personal comments).

The architecture of De Waterkant was as much a drawing card for Neville and Susan as it is for others. From its original, humble dwellings in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century De Waterkant presents a unique built environment on a very small 'village' scale. The Georgian architecture that characterises much of the residential architecture of the area is rooted in the British Colonial period during which the area was developed, and the residents for

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<sup>58</sup> Not their real names

whom the dwellings were built. As the Cape Quarter's Archival Report (2007) describes these dwellings:

A typical example of this type of building consisted of an open front stoep usually made of local Malmesbury shale, level so as to allow access to the front door which was usually in the middle of the front façade. The front stoep, raised above street level to avoid the mud and refuse common of that time, would have low side walls and a "bankie" on which to sit, and often a cast iron balustrade. The front façade was well proportioned and symmetrical, usually with two sash windows either side of the front door and with a fan light - as is prevalent on the site. A decorative plaster cornice finished off the top of the front façade. Malay artisans specialising in this intricate plaster work were responsible for the Eastern influence differentiating this Cape vernacular from the strictly Western origins of the Georgian period architecture. Hence the preference for the name, "Cape Malay architecture" which typifies the popular building type of the period and is quite unique to Cape Town. (Cape Quarter 2007)

As unique and charming as the architecture was—and for the most part still is—there was something different, almost intangible, that Neville and Susan felt in De Waterkant. As Neville recalled, "We didn't buy for convenience. We bought because we just loved the sense and the feeling here." Those feelings—essentially the meanings that they were drawing from the place—centred around its tight-knit village-like community<sup>59</sup> of like-minded people.

I think everybody that lives here has got the same thoughts about the area and its uniqueness, otherwise they wouldn't be here. You have to appreciate it. And the character in the evening, walking down the street with the lights in the evening. It's all very special. I don't think you find this in many other cities in the world...(Anonymous 2008a, personal comments)

Neville and Susan quickly became part of the fabric of the area. Their home became a focal point for friends, and formed part of Loader Street's new reputation as a street filled with house parties (Anonymous 2007a, personal comments). Their home was "a serious party place on a Friday night, and a meeting place for [friends]" (Anonymous 2008a). De Waterkant suited them, and they made lots of friends, but as they see it, wasn't for everyone.

It's a strange area. We've become so friendly with so many people. It's a tight village. Everybody knows everybody; [De Waterkant is] not really for families. Families don't really survive here; pets don't really survive here. (Anonymous 2008a, personal comments)

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<sup>59</sup> The 'village' discourse is highly apparent from residents, business-owners and visitors alike. The connection between a 'village' lifestyle and issues of safety, security, identity and lifestyle is evident on CRA analysis maps.

They define their connection to the area as linked to the area's charm and a sense of community, which even at that time was fraught with tensions between old world charm and modern 'progress'.

Of course in those days we still had the cobbled streets. The longitudinal streets: that was Loader, Waterkant and Jarvis were still cobbled; same way Dixon and Napier Street is. Then they came along one day...the Council came along one day because people had complained about the bumpy roads—which we thought was fabulous, we loved it—and they tarred them, which was quite sad. Yeah, so that was our introduction to the area (Anonymous 2008a personal comments).

In spite of these tensions, the area continued to have an edgy appeal that was built from its mix of old and new, and a host of colourful characters. One of those characters was the flamboyant Edward Austen, who initiated an impassioned crusade to improve De Waterkant's housing stock. Renovation efforts notwithstanding, there were still vestiges of the former ethnic quartering gave the area a certain appeal.

We had a little grocery shop [Adams and Company] on the corner there, on the corner of Loader, where it goes around the bend...And he used to sell curry powders and things like that. You could pick up a paper there. Now that's all long-gone, and you've got the Piazza there now. But that was a block of old houses with some really sub-economic looking people in there...Little alleyways around the back—which we never dared went into because you would never come out. But, it was the character of the area. Everybody waved. Everybody was friendly. We had virtually no break-ins. I don't remember break-ins. I think we had one in all the years we were here. So, from a safety point of view we never had the problems that we have today. I suppose it was a matter of money: there was never anything of value in the home worth robbing (Anonymous 2008a personal comments).

The gritty side of the ethnic quartering that still remained added edginess to the area that made it feel genuine. Panel beaters and an unsightly old garage with broken-up cars and an equally broken fence served as reminders of how the area lived on the edge—not quite city, not polished enough for a suburb. At the time the area was home to a host of “fringe light industrial business and by night fairly shady night-time business and activities” (Cape Quarter 2007) that gave the area an edgy reputation that was inviting to a bohemian crowd. In 1984, De Waterkant was a place characterised as a “new-found Greenwich Village atmosphere” (Younghusband 1984: 55). It was a place where

Pot-smoking hippies frequent some fringe areas of the complex, a covey of shaven-headed monks in orange robes professing some Eastern religion, come and go. The community is made up in the main of divorcees, young married couples, gays, artists, architects (an astounding number of these) and businessmen who like to reach their offices each morning in one quick leap. (Younghusband 1984: 55)

Like those businessmen, the location of De Waterkant was ideal for Susan, whose workplace in the head office of a large South African retailer, was situated nearby on Somerset Road.

When her office moved out of the area to the northern suburbs of Cape Town—requiring an arduous daily commute rather than a short walk down the road—they nonetheless remained in their beloved De Waterkant.

The Bohemian quartering of De Waterkant was brought about by dystopian means through actions of the state. Nevertheless, it created opportunities for a new set of actors to populate the area, and to infuse it with identity, culture and symbols. The area's Bohemian identity was characterised by a new breed of young, white professionals who sought community in the gritty surroundings of a built environment in transition. The pioneers of the area's Bohemian quartering set the stage for further change. With their community of liberal professionals on the edge of the city, they paved the way for sexual liberation and yet another quartering to come.

*"The first gay in the village": Queer quartering*

*Let's face it, gay men make an area gorgeous*

--De Waterkant shop owner

The property buy-up that Mr. Allie recollected from the 1970s has been implicated in De Waterkant's architectural preservation as much as it has in developing the area's contemporary reputation as a place where there are few full-time residents and only guesthouses with temporary visitors (Allie 2008, personal comments). Several shifts in owner occupancy have taken place since the implementation of the Group Areas Act in the decades from the 1950s through the 1980s that have changed the cultural landscape of De Waterkant, and thus the nature of the quarter itself. Some of those major shifts in owner-occupancy were driven by property investors and speculators who purchased multiple properties in the wake of forced removals. One of the most notable property speculators in the area was Mr. Edward Austen, a white Kenyan immigrant who had a colourful or notorious reputation—depending on whom you ask—in De Waterkant.

Mr. Austen's interest in architectural preservation has been credited with restoring and preserving the unique character of the area's built environment since the 1970s. In so

doing, he has contributed to the area's quartering since the architectural charm and character of De Waterkant is often used to set it apart from the rest of Cape Town that surrounds it. According to some long-time residents, the push to renovate, restore, and improve property was driven passionately—even obsessively—by Mr. Austen (Anonymous 2008a, personal comments).

I think he was the first to get a beautiful Georgian home if you like, a Georgian-Victorian home. He was one of the first, I think, that kept his home in beautiful condition, his trees were always beautifully pruned, and he was the one that pushed and pushed and pushed, and I think people followed his line of thought. I think he was a saviour here. (Anonymous 2008a, personal comments)

Rosemary Barrett, in her cheery *South African Garden & Home* article of 1982 also noted the contributions of the late Mr. Austen when she said:

It was the late Mr. Edward Austen who saw the great potential in an area that has only recently become known as De Waterkant. At the base of Signal Hill, overlooking the city of Cape Town and its fairest peninsula, the area was for many years a sorry slum, its 170-year old houses crumbling with neglect. Ever a keen restorer of houses, in 1967 he decided that the waste was too great and bought a house in famous Loader Street.

..  
Painstakingly he restored the double-storey house to its original Georgian charm, living in splendour in a slum area until his example was followed by others whom he encouraged with enthusiasm. (Barrett 1982: 60)

Mr. Austen was not only the first chairman of the De Waterkant Civic Association, but by some accounts drove much of the restoration and development that has led to the place that we know of as De Waterkant today. Some remember the more 'colourful' aspects of his character, however, for instance as the man who used to stand in a dressing gown on his stoep, with a gin & tonic in one hand, cursing at passers-by, and fondly recollected as the "first gay in the village" (Anonymous 2008a, personal comments). A flamboyant character who attracted attention to himself and to the area that he loved, Mr. Austen's flamboyance and outspoken discourse of renovation established him as a pivotal mediator in the network of De Waterkant. His actions—and more importantly the connections that he established—enabled him to discursively shape De Waterkant through the discourse of architectural renovation and improvement throughout the network.

Seen by many as the original visionary of De Waterkant's charm, a 1984 *Style* magazine article remembered him as Edward "The Baron" Austen, a man "...who flew a swastika flag from the roof of his Loader Street house because it had been a personal gift from Adolf

Hitler” (Youngusband 1984: 57). Whether he was a character to be admired or abhorred, Mr. Edward Austen left his legacy visibly on De Waterkant.

More than simply a colourful character, however, Edward Austen demonstrates the problematic characteristics of De Waterkant’s many quarterings, and the inequalities inherent in the process of symbolically framing such spaces within the South African context. As an educated white Kenyan immigrant, his racial and economic privilege in the midst of South Africa’s apartheid-era socio-spatial inequalities allowed him to shape South African urban space to the exclusion of others. His privilege and status at the time of his stewardship of De Waterkant cannot go unquestioned. And, with obvious sympathies to Hitler and his fascist movement, he illustrates the colonialist-tendencies of the quartering process along with the complex racial and socio-economic underpinnings of place making in the South African city. While Austen’s privilege was key to his identity, he did play an important role in the area’s development. Indicative of his central role in shaping the identity of the area in his capacity as chair of the Civic Association, some claim he was responsible for the naming of the area as ‘De Waterkant’.

It should not be assumed, however, that De Waterkant’s gay element is a recent phenomenon, nor that Mr. Austen was the first—or the only—gay in the village. There are accounts of visibly gay presence in De Waterkant long before the advent of gay cafes, clubs and lounges. Aside from the bohemian hangouts with ‘gay tendencies’ (Anonymous 2008a, personal comments) others recall a fanciful gay flâneur and his Afghan hound—who bore ‘striking resemblance to each other’ (Youngusband 1984: 52), and the thriving gay culture within the coloured community (Gevisser 1994) that partially comprised the De Waterkant in its early years.

However, if ‘Baron’ Austen was truly the ‘first gay in the Village’, there have been many more in his wake. The artistic, Bohemian character of De Waterkant that developed over the 1980s and 1990s lead to a growing gay population of residents, businesses and visitors—the concentration of which altered the network of actors and eventually

contributed to symbolically framing De Waterkant as a gay quarter. With a gay following, it may have simply been a matter of time before the area was to become improved and developed; for, as one respondent noted, "Gay people around the world find areas with potential; and they develop them. Gay people have a seventh [sic] sense for such places. You can't go wrong [here in De Waterkant]. [Gay people] are a huge part of making it pleasant...the most fun" (Anonymous 2007d, personal comments). Yet it wasn't until 1994 that De Waterkant had an unambiguously and proudly gay venue in the form of Russell Shapiro's Café Manhattan. His popular Café soon became a clearly-coded gay space drawing locals and visitors alike. With the start of unambiguous and 'out of the closet' gay venues, De Waterkant's quartered profile began to shift from a Bohemian urban place to a modern gay village.

The increasing density of gay actors began to create a more robust and diverse network. The suggestion that the Pygmy Goose—one of the few restaurants in the area prior to 1994—had a strong gay following and 'gay tendencies' (Anonymous 2008a, personal comments), did not allow for relational achievements among gay actors since repressive laws<sup>60</sup> restricted the free and open expression of same-sex desire. In other words there wasn't clear communication and translation among actors. There was little explicit coding of gay space or symbols. The network of gay actors and actants clearly existed, but in hidden networks that did not have the agency for place making. As the landscape of gay actors grew, the more robust network enabled more durable translation of gay-identified discourse that in-turn began to re-quarter De Waterkant into the form of a gay village. Information began to pass across network links such as Café Manhattan. Gay symbols such as pride flags and pink triangles were openly displayed, and thus the network grew and became more robust.

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<sup>60</sup> The Immorality Act was one of the first pieces of Apartheid legislation. When it first came into effect in 1950 it was intended to prevent sexual encounters between the races and out of the context of marriage. The Act was later amended in 1966 as a result of a police raid on a party of gay men in Johannesburg. The amended Act criminalised any "male person who commits with another male person at a party any act which is calculated to stimulate sexual passion or give sexual gratification". A "party" was defined as "any occasion where more than two persons are present" (Constitutional Court of South Africa 2008).

If Edward Austen was responsible for securing De Waterkant's architectural heritage, then Russell Shapiro was the one who hoisted the first gay pride flag above the historic buildings. The proprietor of Café Manhattan and 'mayor of the gay village', he has been seen as one of the earliest pioneers and champions of the 'gay village'. Shapiro and his establishment on the corner of Waterkant and Dixon Streets became an important and active node in De Waterkant, allowing for an increasingly dense structure and far-reaching network of actors to enrol in the gay discourse and thus shape the area's identity more precisely. Recalling the early days of De Waterkant's gay identity, and the opportunities that lay in the absence of other businesses, he stated

...there was nothing else here. It slowly just opened up. They bloomed, you know. Angels opened, the Bronx opened about six weeks after me. In fact my choice was to come here or to go to where the Bronx was. It was the same landlord, I had to choose which venue I preferred. I chose this venue. And then Strawbs opened, it was in Napier Street. It has also been knocked down now. And then a little restaurant opened next door called De Waterkant Café, and then it became something else and then it became Robert's Café. All of the sudden there were just lots of little spots happening, which was brilliant. And the more that happened, the better for us. (Shapiro 2007, personal comments)

The more gay-oriented venues the came, the more the area took on the glow of a 'gay village' even though there was no such grand plan (Shapiro 2007, personal comments). The area was ripe for redevelopment, and attracted people who appreciated its edgy charm and promising potential. As Shapiro recalled,

The area was "camp". It was quaint...it was bohemian. It was different to everywhere else. And of course when the *moffies*<sup>61</sup> starting moving in, so it just became more and more wanted. It became such a scene now, how desirable it became. By the building of the Cape Quarter, by the pricing of all these new houses (Shapiro 2007, personal comments).

The shift from a Bohemian quarter to one with an increasingly visible gay element thus signalled a change in De Waterkant's quartering. The more visible and tangible the gay presence on De Waterkant's landscape, the more the area's quartering shifted from an artistic, edgy area to one that reflected a gay identity. De Waterkant as a gay village took root in the wake of the area's Bohemian identity.

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<sup>61</sup> *Moffie* is a colloquial term for a gay male. It is a word of Afrikaans origin that generally has pejorative connotations. (Cage 2003: 82)

While the connection between De Waterkant stalwarts such as Mr. Abbas Allie and his long legacy as a Muslim shop owner and the flamboyant Kenyan Mr. Austen may seem at first to be incongruous, the two narratives are nonetheless inextricably linked. As another shop owner remembered, “the area had to pass through a transition from Muslim to Gay”, with the intermediate step being an area of white families (Anonymous 2007a, personal comments). The cultural leap from an area with numerous Muslim families to a gay area is closely connected through the business partnership that saved Mr. Allie’s shop. As one long-time resident remembers, that business venture was made possible by the flamboyant Mr. Austen and the persevering Mr. Allie. The outlandish property speculator and steward of architectural heritage also facilitated the unbroken tenure of De Waterkant’s longest-standing Muslim shop owner. The two had a symbiotic business relationship that has in many ways allowed for the development of De Waterkant’s gay quartering whilst maintaining the last remaining evidence of the area’s history of corner shops and Muslim residents.



Figure 5.3 De Waterkant as 'gay' village' (2000-2001)

*Queer quests in De Waterkant*

As a gay quarter, De Waterkant has attracted people from all over the world to experience the "gay friendly" city of Cape Town. It has also attracted locals who seek their identity within the area's many gay clubs and bars that was already densely concentrated along Somerset Road in 2000 and 2001 (see figure 5.3) and reached its peak in 2002<sup>62</sup>. Take for

<sup>62</sup> My earlier case study of the *Pink Map* demonstrated that 2002 was the peak of De Waterkant's 'gay village' representation. Between 2000 and 2001, however, the area witnessed a sharp increase in gay-oriented venues, particularly along Somerset Road although anchored by Café Manhattan on the corner of Waterkant and Dixon Streets.

instance Calvyn<sup>63</sup>, a gay coloured man who grew up on the slopes of the Hottentots Holland Mountains. Exposed to the world through a career as an international flight attendant, Calvyn has a perspective for De Waterkant grounded in his travel to internationally-renowned gay villages from New York to London; Sydney to São Paulo. Calvyn knows De Waterkant both as a resident and a club-goer, enjoying the scene within De Waterkant's clubs in between long-haul flights to destination cities around the world. He has observed and experienced De Waterkant since its rise as the 'gay village' of Cape Town, and articulates its complexities in terms of race, sexual identity, and socio-economics—personally feeling the push- and pull- of each.

His reading of De Waterkant is one that privileges white, wealthy and foreign<sup>64</sup>. That message comes through clearly in the many visual discourses of De Waterkant's gay venues, as images of young, muscular, white men abound (see figure 5.4) and translate the notion of the idealised embodiment of De Waterkant's gay quartering.



Figure 5.4 Pure, fit bodies

Having lived in the heart of De Waterkant, on the street that gave the enclave its name, Calvyn nonetheless has a skeptical view of the area. He understands the area's history as

<sup>63</sup> Not his real name.

<sup>64</sup> In spite of Calvyn's reading, a clustered CRA analysis of gay-oriented venues in De Waterkant highlights 'equality' as a characteristic of the South African context in which De Waterkant is situated.

one that began as the home of predominantly Malay people—as he clarified, “Muslim and coloured people”. He recounts the forced removals, and the gradual decline of the housing stock until it became yet another run-down, marginal area—which was also ripe for redevelopment. He noted that “a couple of years ago, some people saw the light—some opportunistic capitalists—and turned this into an up-and-coming area” (Anonymous 2008c, personal comments), and now he sees it as a developer’s paradise more than anything else. Although he likes the area for its location and amenities, he feels it is overpriced, and that the businesses within it cater to a high-income and predominantly overseas market.

The same charming, safe and well-situated nature of De Waterkant that attracted local residents has also attracted gay men from around the globe to realise the relational achievement of creating a ‘gay village’ in the heart of Cape Town. As one De Waterkant business owner remembered:

I think it was more than just about the clubs. It was about the type of accommodation and the type of residential and holiday accommodation. Also the zoning in the area. The way it is structured. It’s a very small, intimate sort of type of set-up. So, the cosmopolitan lifestyle that most gay people like to adhere to attracted them to this area. And they were rather derelict cottages a few years ago, and a lot of gay guys came in, bought them, renovated them and created a bit of a pixie world in De Waterkant. So I think it was...I don’t think it was really clubs and bars that...I’m sure that added to it, but I don’t think that was the main reason. I think it was location, number one: it’s very close to the city, it’s close to the Waterfront, it’s close to the beaches, it’s totally central. And then of course the added advantage is that you have your nightlife on your doorstep as well. Also being a very safe environment, and that made quite a difference as well. Because it’s contained, it’s relatively small, you don’t have a lot of crime or people being mugged on the streets and that type of thing. You could buy your little cottage here, and live here, and go and eat out, go to the club go to the bar, go to a place like this in walking distance without worrying about major security problems. So it’s definitely...Most probably the main reason would be location that’s why it became such a sought after gay area. Then we also have a serious number of internationals that own property here. They’re mainly Brits, and then a bit of Germans I would say would be the next...so...Dutch. Must be the whole of Europe, a bit of French. But I think your majority would be Brits (Kruger 2008, personal comments).

As a gay man, however, Calvyn also understands the attraction of the area as a gay Mecca. He can see it from the local perspective, but also from the international point of view. Calvyn’s complex description reflects and acknowledges the durable connections and communication of discursive messages in the network of De Waterkant. Those connections constitute the successful enrolment of actors in their search for identity in the post-1994

environment. Reflecting on why De Waterkant is seen as a 'village' within the larger village of Cape Town, he noted that

... I think they call it the gay village...[because] probably they...when people try to be different from the rest...they try to create their own little exclusivity. And I think, especially with the new constitution, the gay population or gay crowd didn't really have an identity before the '94 elections, and I think they needed to make, create an identity for themselves (Anonymous 2008c, personal comments).

Thus, for Calvyn, like others, De Waterkant is a place where identity in the form of a gay community based on image and consumption may be performed within the confines of an exclusive space—a self-actuated border within which being gay is accepted and openly performed. However, this safe space for identity performance can also lead to isolation as mainstream gay culture segregates itself from the rest of the world through exclusionary practices such as the quartered spaces of the 'village'. He added,

...those that follow the mainstream gay lifestyle likes [sic] to be associated with "gay": gay eating places, gay sleeping places, gay bars, gay restaurants, gay gyms. That is what those people can identify with.

...  
Because with 'gay' it usually is associated with 'in', and 'trendy', and 'absolutely fabulous!' I think it's what people create for themselves (Anonymous 2008c, personal comments).

Calvyn's narrative suggests that the process of creating exclusivity in a spatial sense—of a gay village or 'quarter' is closely tied to a number of consumptive practices. Thus, being in the village, and literally consuming the discursive messages fulfils the gay identity.

The exclusive nature of the village is also linked to international perspectives<sup>65</sup>. Being a former international flight attendant himself, and having visited other gay villages around the world—as he said, "I've been to all of them. I've graced them"—he understands De Waterkant through the international standards ascribed it. As he put it,

I think, to South Africans mostly, people always compare overseas with Cape Town. And, everything that is not from here is better, in a sense. So I think people will try and bring in that kind of a difference—that international flavour—to make them exclusive in a sense. Like the brands that they wear, like [the food] they eat.... (Anonymous 2008c, personal comments).

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<sup>65</sup> The international perspective of De Waterkant is common amongst gay-oriented venues in De Waterkant. CRA clustering analysis of narrative texts (websites, adverts) from gay-oriented venues in De Waterkant demonstrates that De Waterkant is framed through Cape Town as "world" city and a "gay" city. The fact that De Waterkant is part of an "African" city does not emerge as significant in the analysis.

Similar to others who have noted the dynamic nature of De Waterkant's identity, Calvyn thinks that the days of the area's reputation as a gay Mecca are numbered. His comments point to the degree of mobility within De Waterkant, particularly the re-location of gay venues such as Bronx, and Bar Code and the establishment of new venues with gay coding such as Loft Lounge and Beulah Bar<sup>66</sup>. Those are all examples of the queer quests that drive actors to move on in search of new opportunities to shape space and therein their own identities—which he sees as exclusivity—all over again.

Eventually the straight people will come in, they will take over. The gay people will make their money, sell their properties that they have renovated. The straight people will infiltrate this area, and the gay people will find another spot in order to create their own exclusivity there again. Until it gets infiltrated by straights again, and they'll move on. It's like a quest of always seeking for something better to create their own identity (Anonymous 2008c, personal comments).

In Calvyn's view of De Waterkant, the search for identity and the pursuit of a lifestyle associated with the latest trends in fashion, food and music were important factors in making De Waterkant what it is today. The 'infiltration of straights' that Calvyn speaks of however threatens to both undermine the notion of a gay community in De Waterkant while it also erodes the borders of its quartering. As fashions change, and the pursuit of the next best thing carries on, the space of De Waterkant is, I argue, again quartered. Even if the area loses its identity as the gay heart of Cape Town, the ground upon which it rests remains.

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<sup>66</sup> A noteworthy shift in time and space takes place in De Waterkant that is evident between the 2007 and 2008 editions of the *Pink Map*. In 2007, with the closure of many businesses in the city block bordered by Somerset Road, Dixon, Napier and Jarvis Streets, a shift of space, place, and identity was precipitated. With this major spatial disruption of the Gay Village, pink Cape Town would see the disappearance (temporary or not) of Bronx Action Bar and Cruz among other venues. These changes, caused by the construction of the Cape Quarter Extension, would also produce a change in how pink Cape Town located itself both literally and figuratively. This is evidenced by the opening of several new establishments in 2007, including Beulah Bar, Loft Lounge & Bar, and the 'new' Bronx Action Bar represented in the 2008 edition of the *Pink Map* in new locations and concentrations on the other side of Somerset Road—an area that one business owner called "our new pink block" (Kirstein personal comments 2007). In the 2008 edition of the *Pink Map* we see the rise of several venues within the 'new pink block' that label themselves in one way or another as 'pink': the aforementioned Beulah Bar on the corner of Somerset Road and Cobern Street; Bronx Action Bar, which announces itself as "Back in action!" (*Pink Map* 2008) after a several-month hiatus due to the move; and Loft Lounge & Bar, that describes itself as "Cape Town's funky gay groove bar and lounge in the heart of the *Pink Light District*." (*Pink Map* 2008 emphasis added) In the midst of the shifts in the gay village, there are also notable silences, such as the disappearance of the sites of transgressive sexuality—sites that cross the borders of 'normative' sexuality (Richardson 2004) such as leather and fetish clubs or pornographic theatres—that either are omitted from the *Map* or don't find the economic means to advertise; and the noticeable shift in these venues from the heart to the periphery of the "gay village". What were once venues that anchored and gave notoriety to the quartering of De Waterkant were now being pushed to the edge—and beyond—of the area to change De Waterkant's symbolic framing.

*Moving to the new 'Pink Block'*

The shifts from one quartered identity to another are not neat and tidy. Rather, they overlap, interweave and at times contradict themselves within the same space and time. The shifts that are present in the discursive positioning of De Waterkant are also visible in its discursive and material positioning through words *and* bricks. The transformation from “Loader Street” to “De Waterkant”, to a “gay village” signals many shifts in how the same geographical space has been constantly re-imagined, and says something about what is happening on the ground within De Waterkant (see figure 5.5).



Figure 5.5 De Waterkant’s waning gay village and the new ‘pink block’ (2007-2008)

Another of those indicative shifts is evident in the articulation of a Pink Light District<sup>67</sup>, born out of business owner Brian Kruger's interest in forming a Pink Chamber of Commerce. Brian, who owns and operates the Loft Lounge with his business partner, described it this way:

It's sort of a play on the Red Light District, I suppose, in Amsterdam...with a little bit of a difference, though. It's not a sexual sort of thing, where the Red Light District is. But it's trying to create a cohesive structure between the business owners in the area.

...[The] idea is to have some kind of identifying [feature]...be it a light be it a plaque whatever the case may be...outside the gay and gay-friendly venues. And that, people can, with walking through the streets can identify exactly where, what and how...People tend to be quite loyal, and like to go places where they know there's going to be no homophobia or problems or whatever. However, De Waterkant does not have any homophobia as far as I know. We're really fortunate in this area. (Kruger 2008, personal comments)

As a form of pink Chamber of Commerce, there is a clear sense of required compliance in the Pink Light District and sense of being 'inside' or 'outside' of the structure. The structure itself is intended to bring business owners together while also creating a specific identity for the area. The Pink Light District is itself a form of intentional and enforced quartering that discursively compels those who want to be part of the community to make the shift<sup>68</sup> across Somerset Road.

The Pink Light District is not without its detractors, however. A resident of De Waterkant sees it another way:

There is [sic] a couple of people in the businesses down at the bottom who want to actually create a "Pink Light District", and if you subscribe to this Pink Light District you will get a little pink light to hang on your building outside...but it's all a bit unnecessary...it's like having a rainbow flag outside...it's so seventies. It's actually just not necessary anymore. If a gay person feels that insecure that they can't walk into any establishment, then they mustn't go. They must rather stay at home and sit on the couch and watch DVDs or knit or something. (Anonymous 2007e, personal comments)

The Pink Light District would do what the *Pink Map* purports to do: it would locate and mark all of those spaces that are labelled 'pink' by those who frame it. It's a comforting

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<sup>67</sup> The Pink Light District is an idea that has been discussed with area business owners but has not yet been put into effect.

<sup>68</sup> The shift is enforced by the notion of the Pink Light District as well as by suggestion in at least one business owner that advertises his venue as being located on the "right" side of Somerset Road (*Loft Lounger* 2007).

notion for some, and an unnecessary and troubling one for others. The new Pink Block concept has been driven largely by the commercial interests of gay-oriented businesses owners in the area. It is itself a framing of space based on an economic need to maintain their viability as going-concerns. As commercial property development has forced gay businesses from De Waterkant, they have been forced to move to new premises nearby in order to continue attracting clients to the area that is still known by many to be the heart of gay Cape Town. I argue, however, that the Pink Light District is another example of how the pink landscape of Cape Town is constantly imagined, mediated and contested.

### *Shopping, dining, relaxing: Lifestyle quartering*

De Waterkant's desirability to a wider audience finally became too strong to limit itself simply to a queer audience. De Waterkant not only afforded the possibility of new shopping, dining and relaxing, but taken together they led to an entirely different lifestyle experience in the city. Eventually, queer discourses began to be interrupted by what some called a "straight invasion" (Bamford 2007). The area that some called "camp and quaint" (Shapiro 2007, personal comments) soon became a hot commodity.

Like NoLita in New York, Palermo Viejo in Buenos Aires and London's Notting Hill before it, De Waterkant became Cape Town's newly fashionable neighbourhood (in the mid-Nineties), attracting a new breed of residential and commercial tenants (some of the best local architecture, interior design and advertising firms are in De Waterkant or on its cusp). Its regeneration owed as much to savvy property developers who viewed 'quaint' as a commodity, as it did to the modern pioneers who set up shop simply because they loved the area, grit and all. (Cape Etc. 2007)

If you were able to buy property in De Waterkant 10 or even 20 years ago, you would have a good investment on your hands. What would have cost you 5,000 or 10,000 South African Rand in the 1970s or 1980s would be worth millions only a few decades later<sup>69</sup>. While some were fortunate to acquire property and to live permanently in the area, others can only experience it temporarily on holiday or other short-term visits.

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<sup>69</sup> Although I do not include a full account of the rise in property prices here, the response from this respondent suggests that prices have risen dramatically over the short period between the 1970s and today.

Along with the growth of the gay quarter and before it was cast aside in favour of lifestyle quartering (see figure 5.6), De Waterkant was shaped by a transition brought on by short-term guest accommodations<sup>70</sup>. The provision of tourist accommodation adds an important economic and cultural dimension to De Waterkant. One company that has forwarded that agenda more than any within De Waterkant is "Village & Life". Started by Maree Brink in 1994 (Village & Life 2008), the Village & Life group of companies began by purchasing and renovating De Waterkant properties for use as tourist accommodation (Anonymous 2007d, personal comments).

The company's founder, Maree Brink, conceptualized and initiated the Village Hospitality Concept with the launch of Harbour View Cottages, also known as Cape Town's First Guest Street, in an historical area which is now known as De Waterkant Village. (Village & Life 2008)

As a result of developments like Harbour View Cottages, visitors and holiday-makers in De Waterkant can now choose from an array of accommodation options: from up-market backpacker lodges to fully-furnished self-catering luxury cottages. When looking at the variety of accommodation choices offered within De Waterkant, it becomes clear that the many guesthouses, crashpads, luxury lodges and boutique hotels cite their position in De Waterkant relative to other places in Cape Town as their main appeal. Even more than the amenities offered, size of rooms, range of bath products, etc., inn-keepers celebrate the unique situation of De Waterkant: close to the CBD, but not within it; close to beaches, but away from the maddening crowds, featuring views of two of Cape Town's most salient geographic features, Table Mountain and the sea; and most importantly situated within an enclave that is safe, secure, pedestrian-friendly, and infused with "European charm"—all attributes that set it apart from the reality in many South African cities, including Cape Town itself. All of these qualities locate De Waterkant within other spatial contexts, and transport the visitor to other spatial and temporal dimensions. Their discourse acts to quarter De Waterkant as a guest village—a place where all residents are temporary.

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<sup>70</sup> The upper areas of De Waterkant—above Jarvis Street—remain largely in residential use to this day. Although residences are still the main use of housing stock in the upper area of De Waterkant, many of the homes have been converted into Bed & Breakfast or other forms of guest accommodation.

An estate agent whose work is focused on De Waterkant shares enthusiasm for the area as a guest village while marketing its charms and particularly its value as a gay destination. The agent makes particular mention of Village & Life as a key role player in De Waterkant's development and image as a 'guest quarter' (Anonymous 2007d). The re-casting of De Waterkant's quartering as a guest village began when Village & Life purchased multiple properties in De Waterkant's Loader Street for the purpose of renovating and renting them to short-term visitors and holiday makers. As the company describes its history and role in De Waterkant,

Village & Life is a dynamic and innovative hospitality group renowned for its hotels, guest houses and unique Hospitality Villages in Cape Town. In 1994 Village & Life launched Cape Town's first guest street which developed into the now famous De Waterkant Village. The guest street evolved into the unique hospitality village concept, which offers guests a distinctly and authentic "Village Experience" with all the services you'd expect from a top class hotel. Innovations also include "Crash Pads" and "Travellers' Rooms", as well as the self-catering Overnight Pack offering the guests a range of amenities. (Village & Life 2008)

Village & Life markets and operates De Waterkant as a 'hospitality village', offering three- to four-star holiday accommodation with 69 participants: owners who rent their properties which are managed by Village & Life. Village & Life charges a 25% fee for their cleaning and property management services (Anonymous 2007d) and thus serves the role of surrogate property steward for the actual owners who are likely to live overseas.



Figure 5.6 Development of the lifestyle quarter

The guest village concept complicates De Waterkant’s residential profile since it makes it temporary. It creates an unstable community of residents that is constantly shifting week after week. Those changes in residents can act to de-stabilise the identity of De Waterkant in that the ever-changing profile of visitors continually brings new influences, new identities, and thus new meanings to the area. The possibility for change in the network, due to the ephemeral and disconnected nature of the temporary residents, is therefore diminished as guest accommodation holds static the residential component of De Waterkant’s landscape. What remains, however is the static ‘charm’ of the built environment and the physical surroundings of De Waterkant.

As the agent notes, there is “no where else like [De Waterkant] [in South Africa]. It has a European flair, is secure, people can walk the streets at night, and there are special security guards in place” (Anonymous 2007d, personal comments). More than simply a pleasant area in which to work and play, however, the agent sees De Waterkant in terms of its success as a property investment. “De Waterkant is a good investment”, the agent reminds me. “Short-term rental return is double that of long-term rental—and is always increasing in value” (Anonymous 2007d, personal comments). Of the many selling points of the area, the agent cites the fact that security is very good—an assurance that would appeal to many South Africans, regardless of socio-economic status, as South Africa has a reputation as one of the worst crime-ridden countries in the world. The certainty of her claims comes with the fact that the property owners in De Waterkant pay for and provide their own private security. They do so by way of the De Waterkant Civic Association,

The Association keeps watch over more than just security. The Association is also vigilant of the area’s history. The preservation of the area’s architectural heritage is a central aim of the Association. “Heritage is strict in keeping facades not going up. Changes must be agreed upon [by the De Waterkant Civic Association].” Not only do they try to maintain the existing character of the Edwardian and Cape Dutch façades, they have also fought developments that, in the eyes of the association, fall out of line with the character of the area. Once such battle with developers occurred over a proposed 14-storey building spanning Hudson and Chiappini Streets (Anonymous 2007d, personal comments). Unfortunately for the De Waterkant Civic Association, however, their case was lost, and the development has continued in spite of objections.

The feeling of safety also extends to a sense of community according to the agent<sup>71</sup>. She notes that “De Waterkant is like a family”. The family atmosphere is apparent when speaking with local residents on the street. It doesn’t take long for fellow residents to pass by, greet, and talk about the day’s news. One actually does get the sense that you’re in a

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<sup>71</sup> CRA analysis of interviews with estate agents and narrative texts from accommodation providers demonstrates that the safety, exclusivity and a ‘village’ atmosphere are of high importance.

small village. Much of that 'family', however, is international, and a great proportion of it is also gay. Many of the actual property owners in De Waterkant don't live there. Some live overseas and visit occasionally; others simply own the properties as an investment, and may seldom set foot in them. She adds that, in spite of the broader reach of De Waterkant's popularity these days, "De Waterkant is still a gay area, and it will stay that way. 60% of our clients are gay." (Anonymous 2007d, personal comments)

For this particular estate agent, the gay identity of De Waterkant is not only an end result of the area's development over time, it is also a cause of it. As the agent noted, "Gay people around the world find areas with potential; and they develop them. Gay people have a seventh [sic] sense for such places. You can't go wrong [here]. They [gays] are a huge part of making it pleasant" (Anonymous 2007d, personal comments). The growth in tourist accommodation has also both necessitated and assisted in the development of retail and leisure activities. These changes were made possible by the gay village quartering that took hold of De Waterkant, but also began to set the stage for consumption-based quarterings to come.

#### *Consuming the quarter: Commodification and the citizen-consumer*

Those who reside or just stay in De Waterkant for short visits also speak of the convenience of consuming leisure activities or simply shopping as entertainment. Consumption in De Waterkant has undergone notable changes since the days when the only opportunities for shopping were at one of thirteen corner shops. Formerly industrial buildings, such as the warehouses on the corner of Jarvis and Dixon Streets (see figure 5.7) were converted for retail and entertainment use in the late 1990s. Similarly, cottages along Dixon and Jarvis Streets in the late 1990s turned their use toward retailers and estate agents (see figure 5.8) as light industry was forced out of the area due to large-scale property development (see figure 5.9). These changes have taken place along with the growth in retail business, including entertainment venues such as bars and clubs, restaurants, and gift shops that were built as homes in 1901 and later put to adaptive use as retail space; the diminishing of light industry, warehouses and machine shops such as panel-beaters and automotive

fitment centres; the development of commercial office blocks; the emergence of multi-use commercial hubs known as 'lifestyle centres'<sup>72</sup>.



Figure 5.7 Adaptive use: from light industry to retail in De Waterkant, April 2007



Figure 5.8 Adaptive use: from residential to retail in De Waterkant

<sup>72</sup> The 'lifestyle centre' concept is attributed to Memphis, Tennessee (USA) property developers Poag & McEwen. According to company sources, their centres are designed to "[serve] a growing and affluent community as the primary center for quality shopping and dining" (Poag & McEwen 2008). They are places where, "Life meets style" and where "the customer is never overwhelmed but is, instead, able to escape the pressures of the day to relax, dine and shop in style" (Poag & McEwen 2008).



Figure 5.9 Flight of light industry from De Waterkant

Lifestyle centres are shopping centres or mixed-used commercial developments that combine the traditional retail functions of a shopping mall with the addition of ‘upmarket’ leisure amenities geared toward affluent consumers. Within De Waterkant, lifestyle centres have come into existence since 2001 when the Cape Quarter was opened. The Cape Quarter describes itself as “[A] lifestyle-shopping destination [that] reflects the cosmopolitan profile of its tenants and shoppers alike” (*Pink Map* 2007). It contains retail and office space, as well as restaurants and bars. “Andiamo”, one of many restaurants within the Cape Quarter, describes itself as an “[a]uthentic, trendy, Italian-restaurant-deli-bar with a wonderful selection of imported and local goods to eat here or take home. Situated in the vibey Cape Quarter” (*Pink Map*, 2005). The development is unique in its architectural design owing to the fact that it is built around a central courtyard, or *piazza* (a suggestion of spatial otherness in its use of the Italian architectural term) with only two narrow public entrances. Access to the piazza is controlled by private security guards—who can be seen expelling interlopers at the behest of management and patrons alike. The *piazza* in the Cape Quarter, unlike their counterpart in vernacular city architecture, is not a public space, but private, commercialised one that enacts control and surveillance upon its occupants—a welcome and necessary element for tourists and locals alike amidst the crime-ridden streets according to a respondent who himself works in the security industry (Anonymous 2007b, personal comments).

Both the Cape Quarter and the forthcoming Cape Quarter Extension combine office, retail, and entertainment spaces under one roof. All of these changes are notable in the built environment of De Waterkant, and can be traced visually over the years. As land use moved increasingly toward higher income-generating retails and leisure activities, industrial tenants were forced to leave in search of more affordable premises (Anonymous 2008b, personal comments). The exodus of light industry has also been prompted by large-scale property developments such as the Cape Quarter Extension that has taken over and demolished the remaining industrial properties along Somerset Road.

Whilst the areas in the upper section of De Waterkant have maintained their residential use and charm, the areas bordering Somerset Road, and the periphery near Hudson Street to the east and Boundary Road to the west have been witness to larger-scale changes and development. Foremost among these has been the development of the Cape Quarter, the rise of office blocks (see figure 5.10), and the development of large-scale residential properties.



Figure 5.10 De Waterkant Centre: Office and retail development

The consumer landscape has also undergone changes in terms of what is offered for consumption. Dutch Café as an example. When proprietor Stephan van de Ven opened the café in the late 1990s, the business was unique in that there were few restaurants in the

area (see figure 5.11). The business became popular with De Waterkant's gay visitors. As van de Ven reminisced in an interview with *Cape Etc.* magazine,

Establishing our business here wasn't about profit, but rather about being part of the community. Yes, it was quite run-down, but we knew it was going to get better. We never dreamed it would take off the way it has. We've been here for almost seven years and have seen phenomenal growth and its side effects - good and bad. De Waterkant is much more commercial now; there is a sense that the original community has been squeezed out. There are fewer residents, more foreign owners and so many guest houses. In season, parking is a nightmare. But what's amazing is that it still has authenticity, which is why people keep coming back. (Cape Etc. 2008, unpaginated)



Figure 5.11 Changing landscape of consumption: Dutch Café

Over time, however, the nature of consumption in De Waterkant began to change. As more restaurants came into the area with the development of the Cape Quarter, the consumer landscape began to shift along with the area's clientele. Van de Ven's sense of 'community' which was actually a sense of a community under the gay identity that was dominant within the quartering of the time, would soon be shifted to a community of consumers whose sexual identity mattered less than their willingness to engage with commerce. The comfort of community was soon replaced by the comfort of consumption. Van de Ven's corner café made way for a kitchen design and leather home goods shop (see figure 5.12).



Figure 5.12 Changing landscape of consumption: Living Leather

*Consumption under watchful eyes: A secure lifestyle*

Central to maintaining the environment of De Waterkant's lifestyle quartering is the provision of security services. Legions of security personnel preside over the shopping and other activities in De Waterkant, where uniformed security staff are a conspicuous element by day and night. Formal security services such as the Green Point City Improvement District (CID) patrols maintain order and security within the area. That work is guided by the vision of the organisation, which is "To be the City of Cape Town's leading supplementary service provider for nurturing a safe, clean, attractive and accessible business and residential environment." (Green Point CID 2008). The Green Point CID patrols, along with other private security such as Cape Quarter Security, and ADT are some of the most visible security elements during the day. These guards either stand at their posts or roam the streets with the sounds of crackling radios at their sides. They keep watch over comings and goings and enforce the 'right of admission' that all shop owners, bar keepers and restaurateurs reserve—as displayed at the entrances to most private commercial venues. They are on the front-line of efforts to enforce rules while also trying to ensure occupants' security.

Surveillance is part of life in South Africa as a reaction against high levels of crime, and due to the feeling that control and regulation lead to safety (Hook and Vrdoljak 2002). Such

highly regulated and controlled spaces are what Flusty (2001) calls 'interdictory space'. Interdiction is a way of life for most South Africans, especially urban residents. As a means of surmounting the feeling of crime, surveillance is thus utopian. Like utopian thinking is a reaction to the present in search of a better future, so too are interdictory practices part of getting beyond the present, imperfect state. Practices of surveillance find their place in De Waterkant through private security companies that patrol the streets and commercial spaces, through cameras that record every movement (see figure 5.13), and through the architecture itself that controls the movements of citizens.



Figure 5.13 CCTV surveillance outside Bronx Action Bar

The interdictive efforts of CCTV cameras, security guards, restrictive architecture, and privatised public space are methods of pre-emptive crime control that work more toward reducing risks in isolated areas than they prevent crime in general. If anything, opportunities for criminal activity are displaced to other areas; re-located to spaces that are less controlled, privatised and surveilled: Essentially, the ambient public spaces in which most people live and work.

The need for security is a refrain heard endlessly in the context of contemporary South Africa. Crime figures bear-out the concern over personal safety, the loss of property and protection from bodily harm. Central to the implementation of surveillance in De

Waterkant is the aforementioned Green Point City Improvement District (GPCID). While the GPCID works toward keeping the area safe, clean, attractive and accessible (to some), it also serves the interests of marketing and promotion of the area—a function which lies at the heart of the CID’s mission. To wit, the mission of the Green Point CID is:

To provide enhanced management and top-up services, including security, cleansing and marketing, and to reinforce the Green Point and Oranje-Kloof areas as Cape Town’s premier locations for business, residential, leisure and entertainment. (Green Point CID 2008)



Figure 5.14 Green Point CID patrol in De Waterkant

While the GPCID is the visible role player in surveillance (see figure 5.14), the De Waterkant Civic Association (DWCA) is the driver of such services behind the scenes. The DWCA was instrumental in initiating the GPCID (Anonymous 2007d, personal comments). Analysis of the GPCID’s mission and vision demonstrates that their focus is on security service within a locality for the benefit of ratepayers and the general urban environment. This analysis is echoed in sentiments from shop owners and other stakeholders within the area. Safety and security are often noted as selling points to De Waterkant’s ambiance and appeal.

Other private security officers, such as those of the Cape Quarter development are actively involved in surveillance, and particularly in the practice of actively removing unwanted elements—what MacLeod and Ward (2002) call the “punitive urban vernacular” (2002: 163). That punitive urban vernacular and the disciplinary power of the gaze (Foucault 1977:

177) is present in the panopticon that is the new architecture of De Waterkant (see figure 5.15). The new 'piazza' developments such as the Cape Quarter and the Cape Quarter extension are designed to be easily and effectively controlled in terms of access and movement.



Figure 5.15 Interdiction in the Cape Quarter- Surveillance on Vos Lane

Safekeeping De Waterkant does not simply involve guarding against border interlopers and crime, it also involves the oversight of the area's character, identity and property values. The Association's efforts to prevent architectural and local character contamination in De Waterkant led them to file a court interdict in 2006 against a property developer who had plans to build a 14-storey multi-use edifice within the area. The case, "The Chairman of De Waterkant Civic Association vs Goal Post Investments 1 (Pty) Ltd & 3 others" was taken to a civil trial (case number 2865/06) in an effort on the part of the DWCA to block the development. Many of the Association's members and others<sup>73</sup> who have a stake in the area such as estate agents protested on the grounds that a building of that size and scale was out of character with the Edwardian charm and village feel of the De Waterkant that they all love.

<sup>73</sup> Both current and former members of the DWCA's board have commented on the transgressors of character—whom one respondent referred to as 'risk takers' (Fay 2007 personal comments)—who have tried (or succeeded) to erect developments that are out of character.

However, the charm and character of De Waterkant may be under further threat with developments that could run counter to the small-scale village atmosphere. The most recent, and perhaps most visible development within De Waterkant is the extension of the Cape Quarter. When demolition began in June 2007, De Waterkant was left with a massive scar on its landscape (see figure 5.16); yet more than a dystopian moment, the demolition and re-development may also be seen as an unsettling aspect of utopia that creates change and thus paves the way for a new quartered identity. As the developers note on the website for the property:

The much anticipated and exciting new development, which is bordered by Somerset Road, Dixon, Jarvis and Napier Streets, is being redeveloped to complement the existing Cape Quarter shopping experience.

In keeping with the lifestyle theme, Cape Quarter Extension will enhance the village environment of upmarket boutique stores, focused on decor, furniture, fashion, food and entertainment. Jarvis Street will become a cobbled walkway allowing shoppers to enjoy the relaxed and open air environment. For those seeking a vibey eating and shopping experience in a secure, unique and interesting environment; the Cape Quarter Extension is still the only place to be (Cape Quarter 2007).



Figure 5.16 Gay quarter makes way for lifestyle quarter, June 2007

The Cape Quarter Extension also suggests that the development in-progress will soon be the place to be—particularly in Cape Town—for a number of consumptive pursuits (see figure 5.17) that will again change the shape of De Waterkant’s quartered identity.



Figure 5.17 The promise of the Cape Quarter Extension

Thus, the future holds many more changes for De Waterkant<sup>74</sup>, and the Cape Quarter extension will be foremost among them. Along with these changes of land-use also come changes in identity; and in this regard, De Waterkant has undergone many transformations. The demolition of buildings that once housed some of Cape Town's icons of the gay village eventually make way for new ways of understanding and shaping De Waterkant. As the gay village begins to re-position itself, it makes way for the consumer lifestyle centre that allows new ways of imagining community, identity and citizenship. At the same time, the fact that the quarter requires so much intervention in the form of borders, surveillance and discursive othering, speaks to the tenuous and ephemeral nature of quartering. Quartering is part of place making, and both are fluid, ever-changing processes and products. They are also products that are comprised of tropes that act to shape them and the actors who inhabit their spaces.

<sup>74</sup> The on-going nature of De Waterkant's consumer lifestyle quartering means that this particular quartered identity provides an opportunity for future research, particularly where political economy material practices are concerned.

*Building on shifting sands: Contested quartering*

As I have demonstrated above, quartering is made enacted through both discursive and material practices at the hands of a variety of actors. It is a process of place making on a small and intensive scale that is complicated by utopian and dystopian tropes that stabilise and de-stabilise the shape of the quartering. I examined this process by way of De Waterkant's ethnic, Bohemian, gay, and finally its consumer lifestyle quartering, and through the shifting identities of De Waterkant. I demonstrated that both the discursive and the material shape of quartering are shifting, ephemeral and contested. The shifting identities of the quarter happen with large and small movements—some seen, others invisible. While some have massive and long-lasting consequences like the forced removals of the 1960s and 1970s, others come and go with the passing of the day. It is the latter that I will focus on next, in order to demonstrate how the quarter is always 'becoming', and its shape subject to bending through time and space.

## Chapter 6. SCALE: Representational tropes and the de/stabilisation of quartering

Discursively shaping De Waterkant as a 'quarter' relies on a multitude of discourses as demonstrated in the previous chapter. As a discursive process, however, quartering is not permanent. De Waterkant's quartering is subject to the daily ebb and flow of actors, their identities, actions and movements. Such daily transitions are the result of De Waterkant's setting within multiple networks of mobility through space and time. Scalar representation is thus employed by De Waterkant's actors to discursively shape the meanings of place, such as the area's image and naming as a 'village'.

The 'village' notion is one example of the quarter as a symbolic framing of culture. The 'village' has long been the focus of researchers (particularly anthropologists) in the field (Clifford 1997: 21). The village served as a powerful localizing strategy to center a particular culture around the locus of the village, relative to the practice of dwelling and research in the field (Clifford 1997: 20).

Villages, inhabited by natives, are bounded sites particularly suitable for intensive visiting by anthropologists. They have long served as habitable, mappable centers for the community and, by extension, the culture....The village was a manageable unit. It offered a way to centralize a research practice a research practice, and at the same time it served as a synecdoche, as a point of focus, or part, through which one could represent the cultural whole (Clifford 1997: 21).

The notion of a village "...brings with it a sense of community and a feeling of security" (MacLeod and Ward 2002: 159) that while at the same time fulfilling the utopian dream by evoking a sense of a rural, abundant, and comfortable existence (Kraftl 2007: 123). Therefore, the use of scale in describing place can thus be used as a 'representational practice' (Jones 1998: 27)—a means of *producing* meanings—rather than simply a passive way to see and analyse the world<sup>75</sup>. As a representational practice, scale is thus a rhetorical tool that is demonstrated by the discourses that I have examined.

Framing De Waterkant through varying temporal and spatial scales enable small shifts in representation that either stabilise or de-stabilise its quartered identities. These everyday

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<sup>75</sup> According to Jones (1998), scale is also a representational trope, and thus "may be implicated in enabling particular relationships of power and space that advantage some social groups but disadvantage others" (1998: 28).

movements and changes in representation do not have the power of the major utopian and dystopian tropes that I will discuss in chapter seven, but as I will demonstrate in this chapter, they have the ability to alter the shape of the quartered experience. One need not look any further than the name of the area itself to understand how the framing of space can take on added meaning. The use of the Dutch pronoun "De" rather than "Die" preceding "Waterkant" suggests an earlier historical moment in time as well as the otherness of a European space. By engaging the representational practice of naming alone, the notion of De Waterkant as a place of 'otherness' with an historic and particularly European identity is bolstered and stabilised.

The spatial and temporal framings associated with De Waterkant are subject to the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Binnie *et al* 2007) in that they may be understood in a complex set of socio-spatial relationships within an increasingly more mobile and thus 'smaller' planet. These framings may also be complicated by cyber-spatial dimension of the Internet and its effect on fixed gay space (Holleran 2006) and how that complicates the formation of communities (Hearn 2006). The Internet acts as a unique example of an 'immutable mobile' acts as a key mediator in networks and serves the role of communicating and coordination of messages across the local, regional and global threads of the network (Routledge 2008). The use of websites by most all of the venues in De Waterkant acts to bring the message of pivotal mediators to a wide audience, thus enabling the process of translation where existing discourses are challenged and new ones are formed (O'Neill and Whatmore 2000: 125).

The new mobilities paradigm also includes the everyday 'mundane mobilities' of workers en-route to their jobs as well as people simply passing through the area. In an increasingly mobile world where physical distances are being surmounted with greater ease (Sheller and Urry 2006), it would be easy to overlook the everyday movements that are part of ordinary lives. These 'mundane mobilities' (Binnie *et al* 2007), while not being perhaps as glamorous as a jet-setter's globetrotting, are nonetheless part of the individual and collective geographies that conspire in the process of place-making. The 'mundanely

mobile' include workers in-transit to their work in other parts of the city, city council workers moving slowly but deliberately from house to house engaged in cleansing services, and Green Point CID security guards as they stand or walk slowly along the streets of De Waterkant. The use of scale in my analysis demonstrates how discourses on both the spatial (local, regional and global) and temporal (day/evening, weekend/weekday, season/non-season) scales affect the quartering of De Waterkant. I will demonstrate in the following chapter how scalar framings through work and leisure activities act in small but meaningful ways to stabilise and destabilise the particular identities of the quarter<sup>76</sup>.

*Everyday movements: Shape-shifting the quarter*

Scalar framings stabilise and de-stabilise quartering by changing the visibility, position and prominence of certain actors; the nature and type of interactions that these actors have with each other; and the shape of the quarter itself. When a temporal scale is applied to De Waterkant, the shifts are visible on both the landscape itself and in the discourses that are produced: such as how the shift in time changes the nature of economic and leisure activities. When seen through variations of spatial scale, De Waterkant becomes differently situated depending on the perspective and mobilities of the actor(s) in question. Scalar framings bend the shape of the quarter and are used by actors to highlight particular identities and to fulfil goals ranging from marketing and promotion of a European-like 'village' to the provision of safety and security. Evidence of these representational tropes points to the power of discourse and the ephemeral nature of the quarter itself. In this chapter I explore incidents of these temporal and spatial framings to demonstrate how the shape of De Waterkant's quartering is subject to alternative production and consumption—how it is both shaped and experienced.

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<sup>76</sup> My interest in analysing De Waterkant through varying scales of time and space is not intended to debate the effectiveness of practice versus analysis through the application of scalar points of view. Rather, it is to utilise scale per Kurtz (2003) as a 'discursive frame' to look at a particular time and/or space. Such an approach is inspired by the work of Erving Goffman (1974) who defined 'frames' as "schemata of interpretation" by which individuals understand and respond to elements and conditions in their world. (Kurtz 2003: 894). For a review of recent debates on scale, and a rethinking of its use in geography, see Moore (2008).

*Quartering through time: History and changing temporal framings*

The first scalar re-presentation of De Waterkant came in the naming itself. The naming of a distinct area called De Waterkant in the 1980s was itself the deployment of a scalar representational trope. For, rather than market itself as an area on the edge of Cape Town's CBD, the De Waterkant Civic Association could now scale their image and identity to that of a 'village'—a distinct enclave with a distinct name that evokes historical connections to Cape Town's past. That historical trope is visible on the De Waterkant Civic Association's welcome sign (see figure 6.1) at the entrance to De Waterkant at Vos and Strand Streets. The sign notes that the area was established in 1840<sup>77</sup>. At that time, rows



Figure 6.1 Symbolically framing the quarter: De Waterkant Entrance Sign

of semi-detached cottages in the symmetrical, neat Georgian architectural style of the period (Cape Quarter 2007) began to appear on the slopes of Signal Hill below Strand Street. However, the name De Waterkant was only given to the area by the Civic Association itself in the early 1980s. The historical reference to De Waterkant's establishment from the 19<sup>th</sup> century is thus an historical error or a discursive tool to burnish the area's character and charm. The naming and historicization of De Waterkant has been a promotional tool, as well as a means of protecting the area's architectural heritage and of evoking a sense of a past which is real or imagined. The frames in which De Waterkant is

<sup>77</sup> The sign also announces that the area has a current population of "382+1"; and that it is comprised of an area of 4km<sup>2</sup>. The actual extent of De Waterkant is less than 0.5 km<sup>2</sup>.

set are also temporally-scaled with the passing of each day. As the days and months progress, the shape of De Waterkant does too.

*Hour-by-hour shifts: Mean streets, clean streets*

The passing of time frames De Waterkant differently, and in doing so shapes the nature of its quartering. The 2001 edition of the *Cape Gay Guide* provides a succinct description of De Waterkant's identity shifts through the course of a day, and the increasing level of energy and possibilities for activities as the day moves into night. The *Guide* paints the following picture of the place that it calls 'De Waterkant Gay Village':

By day, laid back coffee shops, restaurants, and deli's [sic]...by night, the village comes to life and offers bars, clubs, cruising and live entertainment until the sun comes up. (Cape Gay Guide 2001: 52)

'Laid-back' is certainly how the day begins for some, but not for all. Even before the sun rises, the singing of an Imam from the Loader Street Mosque—or one nearby in the Bo Kaap—signals the start of the day for the area's few remaining Muslims. Much later, after the sun has risen and the day begins for the rest of De Waterkant, the area is characterised by the rush of office workers en-route to their desk jobs while staff from the many guest accommodations along Loader Street can be seen gathering linens and pushing carts full of cleaning supplies from one cottage to the next. As the day nears starting time for office and other workers, mini-bus taxis dodge through traffic on Somerset Road, construction cranes begin to hoist building material high above the streets below, and café owners such as Sandra from the Village Café fuel residents and visitors alike with coffee and English breakfasts. At the same time, guests sit leisurely on the *stoep*<sup>78</sup> of the Village Lodge and in the piazza of the Cape Quarter planning their day's sight-seeing and movements around the city.

Both the formal and informal economies contribute to this daytime landscape of labour in De Waterkant. However, time determines the prominence of each. By day the formal

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<sup>78</sup> *Stoep* is a word of Afrikaans origin in common usage in South Africa that denotes the raised entry landing in front of many Georgian, Edwardian and Cape Dutch houses in South Africa. The stoep was an architectural feature that helped keep houses free of the mud and dirt from unpaved city streets.

economy within De Waterkant is characterised by a growing professional<sup>79</sup> (white-collar) profile as well as skilled- and semi-skilled (blue-collar) labour<sup>80</sup>. Not everyone, however, is engaged in wage-earning activities during the day in De Waterkant. Aside from the aforementioned tourists and locals enjoying a leisurely meal or shopping, one can also observe men in the pursuit of 'steam and leisure' as they enter De Waterkant's male-only 'steam and leisure' sauna. The establishment's hours of operation make it convenient for a lunchtime visit or an entire afternoon's stay (Hothouse 2008). Also visible from time-to-time are some of Cape Town's most dispossessed residents; the homeless, called *bergies*<sup>81</sup>, and street children. Sometimes seen scavenging through rubbish bins, collecting wood and scrap from building sites, and begging for food or small coins, they are often not visible because of the interdiction efforts of the area's security forces who tend to send them away from De Waterkant.

#### *All-night parties and shifting economies: Night time in De Waterkant*

The formal economy operates alongside the informal economy<sup>82</sup> within De Waterkant, and in some cases the one supports the other, or fills in a gap that the other overlooks or cannot otherwise serve. Although the informal economy, by its very nature, may fly 'below the radar' of some urban dwellers, but it is nonetheless a sector not to be overlooked<sup>83</sup>. De Waterkant's informal economic activities include informal security services such as those

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<sup>79</sup> The growth in professional (office) labour is a recent phenomenon in De Waterkant, and stands in sharp contrast to the flight of office space from the CBD that continued into the late 1990s (Pirie 2007: 132). Office labour is now replacing light industry such as panel beating (Shapiro 2007, personal comments). These labour shifts are notable to the café owners who cater to the tea-break appetites and on-the-go lunch needs of workers in the area (Anonymous 2008b, personal comments). De Waterkant's increasingly professionalized labour profile includes employment sectors of the creative economy such as architecture and design studios, media such as radio stations and advertising firms, and property development companies such as that which is constructing the Cape Quarter Extension.

<sup>80</sup> Blue-collar labour includes salespeople, tradesmen, domestic workers from the homes of permanent residents and guest accommodation, petrol attendants, and security personnel.

<sup>81</sup> *Bergie* is a word of Afrikaans origin that means a 'mountain person'. Such people are so-called because of the belief that they stay on the Mountain (Table Mountain) when they are not roaming the streets of the city. It is an often-used but derogatory term to describe vagrant and homeless people.

<sup>82</sup> The definition of the informal economy within the South African context has been subject to much scrutiny but can be most generally be defined as dealing with enterprises not registered for tax purposes yet also refers to "survivalist informal enterprises" (Rogerson 2000: 674) for those who are unable to secure regular employment or access an economic sector of their choice.

<sup>83</sup> The International Labor Organisation reports that 51% of South Africa's non-agricultural labour force is employed in the informal sector (ILO 2002).

provided by car guards<sup>84</sup>, informal stalls selling snacks or cigarettes, hawking of inexpensive articles of clothing such as socks and hosiery, small-scale drug-dealing, and sex work.

The two economic worlds often operate side-by-side; the formal economy co-existing with the informal—the latter often filling gaps left by the former<sup>85</sup>. However, there are also times when the one transitions to the other. This 'hand-over' of economic activity happens subtly, but visibly in certain sectors of the economy as day turns to night. The handover from the formal to the informal economy can be observed, as I did at the end of a nine-to-five workday in the middle of February 2008 in De Waterkant. The scene unfolded at approximately 5:30 p.m. when I observed two French-speaking Black (African) men hanging out on the corner of Dixon and Jarvis Streets in De Waterkant. It was not a remarkable scene: just two men sitting on a street corner chatting, sharing a cigarette<sup>86</sup>. As smartly-dressed white-collar workers from the area began to approach their cars to leave for the day, a notable shift in the economy started to take place. With the departure of office workers, getting into their cars and liberating their soon-to-be desirable (and scarce) parking spaces on the streets of De Waterkant, an economic opportunity was about to make itself available. And thus the reason for the two men on the street corner: Rather than just sitting on a random corner, the two were waiting for their pitch to become fertile ground for one of Cape Town's most visible (and perhaps least well understood) informal economic activities. As parking spaces were freed from the daily parking of office workers, the men

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<sup>84</sup> Car guards are a common sight in South African cities. They often wear brightly coloured vests to differentiate themselves from other pedestrians. The vests also lend an air of authority, as if they are part of the formal economy. When parking on a city street a car guard will indicate to approaching drivers the location of available on-street parking. After parking your car, the guard will approach the driver in order to confirm acceptance of his/her (although most are men) services. Often times a 'thumbs up' from afar will suffice. Such body language seals an informal economy transaction that occurs throughout South African cities at all times of the day and night. It is expected that a small gratuity will be paid upon return to your car, before your departure. A car guard will often help to direct you into and out of a parking space; and in some cases car guards are also implicated in the small-scale sale of drugs such as dagga (cannabis).

<sup>85</sup> As Ljung and Melin (2008) note, the informal economy may also be dependent on the formal economy; and vice-versa. One such example that they provide is the hawker selling aspirin on the side of the road. The products being sold were produced in the formal economy. Thus, the hawker relies on products from the formal economy, and the formal economy benefits from the additional distribution channel offered by the informal sector.

<sup>86</sup> Later discussion determines that at least one of the car guards is Congolese—from the Democratic Republic of Congo (Congo DRC). Car guards such as these operate within the informal economy and at the fringes of society; doing work that others don't care to do—in all weather, and until the early hours of the morning.

sprung into action, donning bright orange and yellow vests that appeared from their bags. In a matter of a few minutes, other workers would leave their offices, tourists would fold their beach chairs, and they would head to De Waterkant for sundowners or dinner in one of the area's many bars or restaurants. And with that new influx of pleasure-seekers, De Waterkant would change its identity once again, and at least on the streets, the informal economy would take over. Car guards in De Waterkant satisfy the perceived need to protect vehicles and their contents while also offering ancillary services. Car guards spend long hours on the dark streets of De Waterkant. Although the streets are dark and few people are willing to stroll at night, other than the foot traffic of people coming and going to their cars, night time on De Waterkant's streets are alive with activity<sup>87</sup>.

Evening on the streets of De Waterkant also provides opportunities for hawkers selling wristwatches along Somerset Road, and during the summer months 'genuine' Gucci and Dolce & Gabbana sunglasses can be purchased, ready for the beaches of Clifton the following day. Also in the summer, informal *boerewors*<sup>88</sup> stands appear to sell freshly-made *boerie* rolls to hungry club-goers as they take a break from the dance floor. The dispossessed are also part of the evening landscape, when many of Cape Town's street children out to Somerset Road to beg for food or coins from those people emerging from and going back-and-forth to clubs. Night time also brings with it a greater need for vigilance when it comes to personal safety and protection of property. It is during these hours of darkness on the otherwise quiet streets of De Waterkant where the role of the lowly car guard comes to prominence. It is during these hours when, for the price of a few coins (two, three, or four Rand), you can reasonably ensure your car and its contents from theft or breakage by engaging the services of the man in a bright orange or yellow vest standing on the corner.

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<sup>87</sup> Such conditions also allow for work within other 'industries' as well. Small-scale drug dealing also happens on the street, and the same transaction that offers car guarding can also facilitate the purchase of any number of illegal substances.

<sup>88</sup> Boerewors is a type of beef sausage, and a popular example of South African street food in the form of a *boerewors* (or boerie) roll.

The informal economy in De Waterkant satisfies hungers as it also satisfies corporeal desires. In this regard, the sex trade has a long history. Sex work is a component of the informal economy in De Waterkant that few respondents spoke of, yet it is nonetheless part of the economic landscape. Sex work is performed by both males—often called ‘rent boys’ or ‘trade’ (working mostly in gay clubs and bars) and females (working on the street). The gendered nature of the location of sex work most likely has more to do with the venues within and near De Waterkant, and the fact that most cater to a gay male clientele. Therefore, sex work within venues is a male domain while female sex workers are on the street—and mostly along Somerset Road near the border of De Waterkant with neighbouring Green Point.

Sex work is also performed through the formal economy in businesses that offer ‘M2M massage’ or other similar services that are marketed through legal channels. The selling of sex is not new to De Waterkant, however. While rent boys may be a modern, and overtly male-to-male manifestation of the sex trade in De Waterkant, the history of selling sex dates back to days when it was said that one café owner sold “dagga and young boys” from his establishment in the area (*Style* 1984: 57). Some feel that the present-day sex trade happens with the same collusion and understanding of the club owners. While most club owners would deny it, the trade in sex is something that happens with everyone’s knowledge. In spite of the size and overall uncertainty of the numbers<sup>89</sup>, it can be said that sex work is a component of the economic landscape of De Waterkant and thus has a role in creating place.

The sedate and laid-back workdays of De Waterkant make way for energetic, party-hardy weekend nights that present a wholly different vibe. Not all evenings are the same in De Waterkant, though. Nightlife in the area peaks as the weekend approaches. The prominence of Friday nights, Saturday nights, and even Sunday nights are evident in the

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<sup>89</sup> The number of sex workers in De Waterkant, whether on the street or not, is uncertain. IN their most recent demographic survey, however, Cape Town’s Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Task Force (SWEAT) determined that 6% of the 200 sex workers surveyed were male (SWEAT 2008).

'party discourse' put forth by the many windscreen adverts<sup>90</sup> that get placed on cars parked within the area at night. The adverts are typically postcard-size, brightly-coloured, design- and image-intensive documents that are printed on glossy paper. They are placed on windcreens—and also against the driver's side window—of cars parked within De Waterkant.

A reading of these seemingly mundane 'texts' of De Waterkant's party and event calendar suggest changes in the identity of the area over the course of the week. In one case, the Friendly Society—which according to the adverts is located "opposite Café Manhattan" (Friendly Society 2008b), positioning itself by way of one of the most recognized gay venues in De Waterkant, suggests that Friday nights are for Disco, where a Soul Diva will "take you through a musical journey of Soul, Disco & Funk, creating the perfect platform for your platforms!" (Friendly Society 2008b). The owners of Friendly Society further remind potential patrons to "Bring those boogie shoes...[T]he weekend starts here..." (Friendly Society 2008b)

According to those who run businesses, frequent bars, or simply know the area, Saturday nights are where De Waterkant hits its stride. It is on that night—weather permitting—when the streets are full of cars, the bars are packed, and the restaurants fully-booked. Saturday is when the partying atmosphere reaches its peak and when eager pleasure-seekers fill the streets. Not everyone appreciates the change in De Waterkant's atmosphere on a Saturday night, however. As one long-time area shop-owner commented,

I'm afraid to come here on a Saturday evening. We used to go out and always pass to see if there is something wrong with the shop—a break-in or something. There's too many people. They're crossing the road; and the cars...the life has changed at night (Anonymous 2008b, personal comments).

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<sup>90</sup> This temporal aspect of De Waterkant also has a spatial component to it. Similar windscreen adverts can be found placed on cars in other nightspots around Cape Town, but the adverts are generally locally-targeted so that those people who are presumably visiting nightclubs, bars, and restaurants in De Waterkant will be the correct target market for future parties, events, and themed-evening functions. These mini-advertising pieces function within the identity of the locales where they are placed, while also attempting to target those consumers who are frequenting the area with the intention of drawing them back to venues for future events. Analysing these texts involves use of visual methods of Situational Analysis as well as textual methods through CRA analysis.

This discourse of fear and chaos differs greatly from the energized party feel that guides many into De Waterkant rather than keeping them away. This also points to the nature of dominant discourses in De Waterkant. Despite the discourse of fear, the overwhelming discourse that comes through from the dominant narratives paints De Waterkant on Saturday night as a pleasure-seeker's paradise<sup>91</sup>.

Some venues subvert the convention of weekends—and the days surrounding them—as party nights. In the case of Bar Code—a leather and fetish bar—parties happen on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays. Monday nights are the nights for what they called “Naked Pork Parties”. Wednesdays (in addition to Saturdays) are for “Leather and Jeans Parties” and for “Underwear Parties” -where all items of clothing, with the optional addition of your underwear too, are checked at the door.

*“The season to be silly”: Holidays in De Waterkant*

There are times of the year when the shape of De Waterkant's quartered identity is more pronounced. Throughout my discussions about De Waterkant with those who produce and consume its identity, the question of ‘the season’ inevitably arose: anticipation of the season, comments on the pace of the season, fears of a slow start for the season. The ‘season’ they speak of occurs between the months November and March when the sun shines brightly on Cape Town—in the height of the southern hemisphere summer—and when travelers and sojourners flock to the southernmost point in Africa for a variety of reasons. Some come to seek the sunshine, others come to enjoy a tour in the Cape Winelands. Some visitors retreat to second homes in holiday resorts while others simply repeat a yearly pilgrimage to Cape Town's annual Mother City Queer Project (MCQP) held in December each year.

De Waterkant as an entertainment hotspot is part of a circuit of activities for many local and international gay men who enjoy the long summer days that bring the opportunity to

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<sup>91</sup> The party narrative is apparent in the texts of area clubs and restaurants, and also appears significantly in CRA analysis of those texts.

sunbathe on Cape Town's many beaches—including the very popular Clifton 3<sup>rd</sup> Beach as well as Sandy Bay<sup>92</sup>, Cape Town's only nude beach—followed by sundowners, then dinner in one of the many fashionable restaurants and capped-off by a night of clubbing until the early hours of the morning. It is not only the beaches and bars that come alive during the season. Shopping malls, markets, wine estates and the like are abuzz with activity. The summer season brings a stream of visitors from Europe, and the Americas. One club owner estimated that 35-40% of his 1,200 New Year's Eve party guests during the most recent celebration were international visitors on holiday (Kruger 2008, personal comments). As he further noted, the area is a draw for visitors from all over the world, mainly the British, German and Dutch—many who own property in De Waterkant and return every year.

Both for residents and visitors alike, the 'season' changes the way De Waterkant is understood and practiced. For tourists, this can change the both the type of activities and the pace of life in and around De Waterkant. As one long-time resident put it:

It's definitely more quiet [in the winter months] but that also attracts a different kind of tourist. At the moment it's a summer destination. It's not necessarily a cultural or a holiday destination as such. It's summer, beach, and sea, and parties; along those lines. But in winter, you get more of a traveller type who wants to explore and isn't necessarily here just for the sunshine. If it's an overcast day and cold they'll go hike up Table Mountain, or to Cape Point and the Winelands. It's not about going to the beach and then going clubbing with a suntan sort of thing (Anonymous 2007e, personal comments).

The 'season' therefore brings a different sort of visitor who is looking for different types of activities. And those differences are likely to position the traveller and thus De Waterkant in another light. The 'season' is a time to relax, indulge, and enjoy the long warm summer nights—often until the sun rises again, and the daily cycle of De Waterkant starts all over again.

### *Quartering through space: De Waterkant as 'village' in a big world*

Through varying scales of spatial representation, De Waterkant gets imagined and projected at different levels of importance and influence. Spatial framing also scales De

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<sup>92</sup> The 2001 edition of the *Cape Gay Guide* has much to say about these beaches. Of Clifton they note that: "Everyone who is anyone goes to tan at Clifton. All of the gym boys draped in designer speedo's [sic] and swimsuits...Favourite boys beach is Clifton 3." (*Cape Gay Guide* 2001: 9) While of Sandy Bay, the *Guide* notes that it is "the nudist beach where much cruising takes place." (2001: 9)

Waterkant's quartered identity from the local to regional; continental to global. These scales vary from the very localised scale of the 'village'—a term which has been used to describe De Waterkant from the early years of the adoption of the name—to regional, and global scales. These varying scales sometimes work in collaboration to create the unique identity of De Waterkant, to produce myriad meanings, to enact 'otherness', and to change the very nature of place.

De Waterkant's identity as a "village" and "gay" identities go unsteadily hand-in-hand. The term "village" in a globalised gay cultural context can have alternate roots and meanings. a globalised/urbanised one which may be linked to global gay culture; namely, New York's Greenwich Village (Binnie 2004: 164). New York's Greenwich Village—certainly urban and questionably idyllic—provides a possible link. The 2001 edition of the *Cape Gay Guide* would agree with Binnie's contention. As an advert in the *Guide* for De Waterkant Village puts it, "Trendy and fashionable it is compared to Greenwich Village with its quiet tree-lined streets, elegantly restored cottages, spectacular views and friendly village atmosphere" (*Cape Gay Guide* 2001: back cover). As the birthplace of the modern gay rights movement by virtue of the Stonewall Riots and of the related concept of 'gay pride', New York's Greenwich Village carries great symbolism as a gay utopia, where the struggle for freedom of sexual identity expression was made visible on the American—and later the world—stage. Re-casting that powerful image onto the landscape of De Waterkant could therefore lend credence to the enclave while also strongly coding it as gay space.

The identity of De Waterkant as a 'village', however, belies its own situation. In most every account of De Waterkant since the inception of the name in the 1980s, the term 'village' is applied to it. The use of the term 'village' is questionable when it stands in the middle of a large African city. The way in which the term is applied to De Waterkant is central to its identity and also part of its utopian charm. While the Utopia which Sir Thomas More (1965) described was an urban space—as we would define it today—the manifestations of utopia come in both rural and urban guises. Defying conventions of urban life, the term "village" is evocative and descriptive- with at least two possible meanings that I will

unpack below: the first a product of globalised—and as Binnie (2004) argues homogenized—gay culture; and the second a celebration—to the point of fetishisation—of a rural existence and the return to a simpler, perhaps better way of life. There are tensions that exist in this seemingly uncomplicated name; tensions that wield power in the production of discourses. Use of the term is more than straightforward.

A village in the idyllic rural sense is a place that may conjure images of a simple life outside of the context of urban decay and crime. In that sense, the 'rural' acts as a bulwark against modern ills. As Bell and Valentine (1995) put it:

One attraction of the countryside is the space it is perceived to offer those lesbians and gay men who wish to create communes and alternative lifestyles. The rural is particularly appealing because it offers freedom from many of the undesirable sides of modern life (118).

A sense of the rural is just what 'Mrs. Christowitz', a resident and member of De Waterkant's Civic Association was reflecting on when she proclaimed that "We're so close to town but all you hear at night is the sound of crickets, and during the day, the call of guinea fowl" (Barrett 1982: 65). That communal abundance may therefore produce feelings of security in the sense that the risks and rewards are (presumably) shared by all. A village in this rural sense may evoke a comforting haven where like-minded and committed individuals work toward a common goal while safe-guarding its inhabitants from the hostile environment beyond the horizon. Such sentiments of rural life for gays and lesbians may also be driven by depictions of rural utopias within fiction and film (Bell and Valentine 1995).

The term village as used in reference to De Waterkant is often used in the context of European villages that seem to bring with them a lifestyle that stands in contrast to the landscape of fear that characterises some citizens' experience of the South Africa city. The European flair could be as a result of the lifestyle elements that mimic imagined ideals of European living, but it could also come as a result of a visible presence of European and broader international visitors within De Waterkant. The European feel that she cites as part of De Waterkant's appeal is often mentioned when the village identity of the area is invoked. As one letting agent and frequent visitor to the area noted, "No where else like it

[in South Africa]. It has a European flair, is secure, people can walk the streets at night, and there are special security guards in place” (Anonymous 2007d, personal comments). Another estate agent noted that “it has a similar feel to the beautiful villages of Europe, and may be a reminder of home for the many European visitors” (Fay 2007, personal comments). The village is also a place where life carries on with perhaps few if any connections to the crowded urban centres that are situated beyond the horizon. As one respondent reflected on the changes taking place with the extension of the popular “Cape Quarter” development, “The second Cape Quarter [extension] will have a Super Spar grocery store, a pharmacy, restaurants, galleries, and fashion shops.” Taking into account those lifestyle amenities and the draw of De Waterkant, she foresees a future where “you won’t have to leave the Village” (Anonymous 2007d, personal comments).

In this most localised and idealised of scalar representations, De Waterkant as a village presents the image of an urban quarter that is a small community in the heart of a large metropolis. The village is the most basic unit of human habitation; a small community of individuals living in what might seem to be idyllic conditions. The scalar representation of the village is one that suggests safety, community, a scale that is knowable and discreet, and where everything is within reach. In the discourses produced by retailers, innkeepers, developers and other stakeholders in the area, the benefits of village living revolve around several key elements that I have identified. They include safety, nostalgia, situation, and lifestyle. The sense of security that so many remark of in De Waterkant happens outside of normal civic or national policing structures. The security that provides De Waterkant’s residents with peace of mind is paid for by ratepayers and is delivered by a partnership between the Civic Association, The Green Point City Improvement District and Group 4 Securicor (Green Point City Improvement District 2008). The sense of nostalgia that comes in De Waterkant’s village identity is one that links back to the colonial history of Cape Town and its distinctive Edwardian and Cape Dutch architecture. It was that very architecture that the forefathers of De Waterkant—among them Mr. Edward Austen—wished to preserve for the benefit of future generations. That sense of history is still invoked today in order to promote De Waterkant. One example is from a website by one of the

area's largest innkeepers and property developers that provides a history of the area. They describe it in nostalgic terms with a deep sense of history:

De Waterkant, diverse in culture and architecture, remains the friendly, welcoming village of yesteryear, where the resounding Noon Gun can clearly be heard and residents are woken by the early morning sounds of ships in the harbour. (De Waterkant Village 2007)

Another accommodation provider has a similar description to share:

The historic village of De Waterkant lies in the heart of the Old Malay quarter, on the slopes of Signal Hill overlooking the Waterfront and Table Bay.

...  
One of the oldest, most vibrant, and now most sought-after enclaves of Cape Town, De Waterkant is characterised by steep cobbled streets and brightly painted cottages built closely together. (Cape Town Villas 2008)

The descriptions above could refer to De Waterkant today, or 300 years ago. Of the sights and sounds of Cape Town, those that are mentioned haven't changed. The cobbled streets are still mostly in-tact and the cottages are as colourful and closely-built as always. The Noon Gun still signals mid-day from a hill high above the streets of De Waterkant, and ships still slip in- and out of Cape Town's harbour in the early morning hours. Today, however, the Noon Gun is more about nostalgia and tradition than about re-adjusting one's watch; and wooden-masted frigates have been replaced by globe-trotting container ships en-route to Asia and the Americas. The village of yesterday is nonetheless situated within a large, modern African city. Yet its situation is also part of its charm. The situation of De Waterkant proves ideal for many travelers, and this is reflected in the narrative provided again by innkeepers:

Nestled on the slopes of Signal Hill and overlooking Table Bay, exclusive De Waterkant lies in the historical Bo-Kaap area of pictureseque Cape Town and was built to house settlers and workers in the 1700's. Today the most fashionable destination in Africa...within walking distance to the newly built Cape Quarter shopping centre, the city, restaurants, bars and fashionable nightspots (De Waterkant Village 2007).

And:

Within easy walking distance of the city centre, this exclusive, trendy area is the perfect base from which to explore the buzzing V&A Waterfront, the unspoiled beaches of Clifton and Camps Bay as well as Cape Town's lively nightlife (De Cape Town Villas 2008).

Within the descriptions above come the third and final example of the benefits of village living: lifestyle. For the 'exclusivity' and connection to 'fashionable nightspots' is also part of the draw to the 'village'. Nowhere is the lifestyle theme more clearly displayed than in

the Cape Quarter and the forthcoming Cape Quarter Extension. A description of the latter promises that:

In keeping with the lifestyle theme, Cape Quarter Extension will enhance the village environment of upmarket boutique stores, focused on decor, furniture, fashion, food and entertainment. Jarvis Street will become a cobbled walkway allowing shoppers to enjoy the relaxed and open air environment. For those seeking a vibey eating and shopping experience in a secure, unique and interesting environment; *the Cape Quarter Extension is still the only place to be* (Cape Quarter 2008, emphasis added).

The tensions that exist in this seemingly uncomplicated name are elusive and evocative. The idyllic rural image of the village conjures up images of a simple life outside of the context of urban decay and crime; while the connection to New York's Greenwich Village suggests a globalised and urbanised village that may be linked to global gay culture and struggles for identity. From the South African perspective, and within the burgeoning urbanity of the African continent, the term village may harken back to rural life. A village, one can argue, both relies upon and builds a sense of community in the pursuit of survival. The notion of a village "...brings with it a sense of community and a feeling of security" (MacLeod and Ward 2002: 159) that while at the same time fulfilling the utopian dream by evoking a sense of a rural, abundant, and comfortable existence (Kraftl 2007: 123). That, in-turn, can produce feelings of security in the sense that the risks and rewards are (presumably) shared by all. A village in this rural sense may evoke a comforting haven where like-minded and committed individuals work toward a common goal while safeguarding its inhabitants from the hostile environment beyond the horizon. The rural life of the village may also be a fetish in itself, as images of naïve, healthy and virile young men reinforce the sexualised nature of the gay village, and the pursuit of desire. The fetishised 'rural' in images at Bronx (see figure 6.2) evoke the innocence and virility of rural 'boys', the freedom from confines of the city that nature affords, the outdoors, hyper-masculinity, expectation, connections to nature (Bell and Valentine 1995:114).

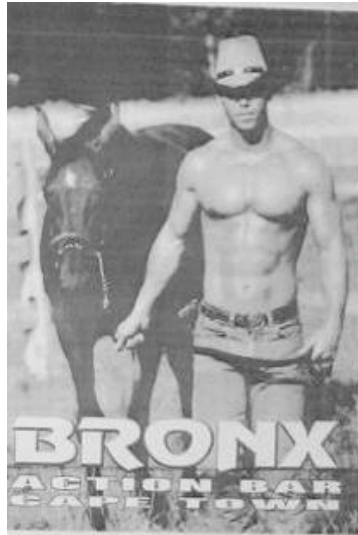


Figure 6.2 Farm boy - the fetishisation of rural bodies

The images also speak to the 'queer identity quests' (Knopp 2007) that bring gay men from rural areas to cities around the world. Such quests are part of the network of actors that build gay villages and add to the quartering of cities.

#### *Out(side) of Africa*

As both a provincial capital and national parliamentary capital, Cape Town has an important role to play within the region. However, De Waterkant and its venues are framed less within regional or broader African scales than in local or global ones. When such representational tropes are deployed, however, De Waterkant is framed as a queer gateway—what the *Pink South Africa Guide* calls “Your gay-way to South Africa” (*Pink South Africa Guide* 2007). As an important entry point to the region and a queer gateway to South Africa, the publishers of the *Pink South Africa Guide*, situate Cape Town—and specifically De Waterkant as the heart of Gay Cape Town (Kirstein 2007, personal comments)—in the role of a regional focal node and an important point-of-departure for travelling to and experiencing other parts of the greater region and country. As Kirstein further noted:

There has been a huge growth in the numbers of gay tourists visiting South Africa in general but mainly Cape Town. We find that they use Cape Town as their sort of, we call it the *gayway* to the rest of South Africa. The majority of gay tourists to South Africa come to Cape Town first and then from here they branch out to the rest of the country (Kirstein 2007, personal comments, emphasis added).

Using a broader regional frame, the Southern African regional—if not global—scale of De Waterkant is also evident in the aforementioned car guards who come from other parts of the African continent in search of work. They are part of the global economy in that they are willing to move thousands of kilometres from their countries of origin in search of better economic opportunity. These Congolese and Nigerian immigrants project a broader spatial scale onto the ‘village’ of De Waterkant. They bring the urban village of De Waterkant closer to the rural villages from whence many of them come.

Car guards also contribute to a regional spatial framing of De Waterkant as they bring a non-South African identity and language (French) to the area—in the midst of their spatially and temporally-bound labour activities. The nature of the work they do is also tied to public, informal spaces that aren’t otherwise controlled: parking spaces on city streets rather than in boom-controlled and surveilled private parking garages. Their work is countered by formalised security service performed by South Africans—or other Africans who have legal status in South Africa and who work in more controlled environments.

*Global representation: A worldly village*

As a village and as a component of one of the continent’s most connected cities, De Waterkant maintains connections and is representationally scaled on a global level. Spatial framing of a global nature is applied to De Waterkant both to locate it within the city of Cape Town for the promotion<sup>93</sup> and consumption of visitors while the same frames are also used to situate it outside of its actual physical context. In both cases, spatial scalar frames serve the role of representational tropes that alternately brings the world to De Waterkant, or situates De Waterkant in other (non-African) global contexts.

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<sup>93</sup> Evidence of the prominence of a global discourse over African ones can be seen in the clustering of themes using CRA analysis (results of this analysis are used as an exemplar in chapter 3; see figure 3.4). In the analysis, gayness is the over-riding element, with the strongest and most salient connections being with Cape Town as a ‘gay-city’ and gay-world-city. These connections take precedence over connections to Africa—which is situated at a lower level of importance in the CRA clustering.

Venues within the *Pink Map* have also been alternately scaled within local<sup>94</sup> to global terms, and assumptions are made as to the global reach of its readership<sup>95</sup>. One such example, as exhibited between the 1999 and 2008 editions, is Bronx Action Bar, a central figure in the story of 'pink' Cape Town. Between the 1999, 2005, and 2008 editions, Bronx Action Bar rose from the status of "...one of the best alternative bars/clubs *in town*" (*Pink Map* 1999 emphasis added), to "...one of the best alternative bars in *Africa*" (*Pink Map* 2005 emphasis added) to finally become "...one of the best alternative bars *in the world*" (*Pink Map* 2008 emphasis added). With the 2008 edition, Bronx also announced that it was "back in action!" after being relocated from its original location on the corner of Somerset Road and Napier Street to new premises on the opposite corner, a mere 25 metres away. With that small move, however ironically, one of the best bars in Cape Town, in Africa, and in the world would now be situated outside of the trendy, vibey De Waterkant within which it formed its identity and grew its reputation. Nevertheless, in the most localised positioning of all, the bar still sees itself as the focal point and 'home' bar of De Waterkant (Bronx 2008).

In the 1999 edition, Detour, a dance club that formed part of the conglomeration of clubs on Somerset Road known as "B.A.D."—Bronx, Angels, Detour—describes itself as a place where "'No Limits' apply" and one that is "Regarded as the only SA club with a truly London/NY feel & with a generous helping of the outrageous. Needs little or no

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<sup>94</sup> The *Pink Map* also positions those spaces and the presumed communities that they represent or cater to in local to global scales, thus conferring impressions of importance both within De Waterkant and beyond. What began in 1999 as the *Pink Map* subtitled as "The Gay Guide to Cape Town" soon expanded its geographical reach to "Cape Town & Surrounds" in 2001. However, curiously, the 1999 and 2000 editions included the words "Western Cape" on the cover text, at the same time that the two editions narrowed their cartographic focus to Cape Town. The loss of the "Western Cape" distinction may be related to A&C Maps attempt at creating a *Pink Map* for Johannesburg. According to the map's publisher, that publication failed due to a vastly different cultural and institutional setting within the province of Gauteng. Even as the 2007 edition loses the subtitle "The Gay Guide to Cape Town & Surrounds" that has been in use since 2001, it maintains a broad geographical scope: including Knysna, as was the case with editions since 2003 as well as Bredasdorp, Touwsriver and Tulbagh, each of them small towns in the region.

<sup>95</sup> The *Pink Map* makes a number of assumptions of its readership and their local/international status. The maps seem to target visitors as evidenced by listings that assume the reader is not a local. For example, the 1999 edition includes explanatory text on the index page noting that "All telephone numbers are on the Cape Town exchange (021) unless stated. If you are dialing from outside the Cape Town area, please add 021/International dialing +27+21" (*Pink Map* 1999). In the 2002 edition next to a photograph of a male nude and the listing for Execpartners escort agency, the text reads: "Execpartners provide groomed, discreet companions to make your *stay* memorable." (*Pink Map* 2002 emphasis added) The assumption is that the reader of the *Pink Map* is an out-of-town visitor, and that he or she is looking to find the heart of gay Cape Town.

explanation.” Such description locates Detour in a transgressive space; where the rules of the world ‘outside’ (in the ambient heterosexual world) don’t apply. Furthermore, the positioning of Detour relative to London and New York places the club and its setting within a broader international scale. Also scaling itself from local to international is On Broadway, a “Trendy and glitzy cabaret restaurant...Cape Town’s official entertainment headquarters and show zone.” (*Pink Map* 2000) that eventually relocates to “...glamorous new premises in Cape Town’s bustling CBD” with “World-class entertainment and dinners nightly” (*Pink Map* 2006).

The trendiness of De Waterkant has developed hand-in-hand with its reputation as the centre of gay Cape Town. From just being another extension of Cape Town’s CBD, to the distinction of “De Waterkant”, and most recently as a gay village within the city, The *Pink Map* demonstrates how the landscape of pink Cape Town has shifted. One example bears this out. In the case of the aforementioned Hot House Steam & Leisure, they presented themselves in the 1999 edition simply as “the latest addition to Cape Town’s thriving gay culture” (*Pink Map* 1999). It bears noting that at that time, aside from a concentration of gay-oriented venues in what is now known as De Waterkant, there was no mention of a cohesive community or enclave around which gay- or lesbian-oriented businesses located themselves. In fact, those businesses listed in 1999 that were located within the boundaries of De Waterkant did not describe themselves as being situated there: they rather located themselves in either Green Point or Cape Town, depending on their position to Somerset Road. However, beginning with the 2001 edition, the bathhouse positions itself as a “new modern European style sauna in the heart of [the] gay village” (*Pink Map* 2001). The use of the uncapitalised term ‘gay village’ is noteworthy because it is the first mention in the *Pink Map* of an area that has the identity of a cohesive gay enclave. In subsequent editions, from 2002 the term becomes capitalised into a proper noun, and The Hot House becomes a “trendy modern and vibey sauna in the heart of the Gay Village.” (*Pink Map* 2003). From then on, the identity of De Waterkant as the Gay Village—the heart of Cape Town’s pink community—is solidified. After that, other venues begin to use the term: The Village Lodge becomes “located in the heart of Cape Town’s Gay Village” (*Pink*

*Map* 2003); Executive Studz, too situates itself at the “heart of the gay village” (*Pink Map* 2004); and Bar Code differentiates itself as “Men’s ONLY Leather and Jeans Bar located in the gay Village” (*Pink Map* 2004, emphasis in the original).

The scalar repositioning of Bronx Action Bar shifts the importance and relevance of the venue from simply a local bar in the Cape Town CBD to a place that has far social reach and a global ‘alternative’ reputation. In the context of the *Pink Map*, this scalar trope may have more to do with marketing and promotion than the true global significance of the bar. Whatever the purpose, the effect on the meaning of Bronx Action Bar and its surroundings is to elevate it to a higher level of significance on the landscape of De Waterkant. Other such scalar positionings (and re-positionings) are evident in De Waterkant and will be discussed below.

In at least one case, representational tropes of global and local scale are conflated into one of exclusivity, convenience and lifestyle. The controversial 14-storey development called “The Waterkant”, though still under construction, puts forth this message through its sales board on Chiappini Street (see figure 6.3). As the building site was still in the pre-construction phase of demolition at the time the photo was taken, the fact that the development was already advertising “1<sup>st</sup> Phase 80% SOLD OUT” suggests exclusivity. And, the tag line of the advertisement, “Your world in the village” suggests that all of your needs can be satisfied within the multi-use residential and commercial building.



Figure 6.3 Sales board for The Waterkant development

De Waterkant is often framed by the discourses of international visitors. Such visitors are engaged in extraordinary (transnational) mobilities—whose tendency is toward becoming more mundane as global economic inequalities and cheap long-haul airline flights (Sheller and Urry 2006: 215-216) make it easier for more people to increase their global touristic reach. The high visibility and participation in De Waterkant's nightlife and its property market as noted by club owners (Kruger 2008, personal comments) and estate agents (Anonymous 2007d, personal comments) is evidence of such increasing mobility. These globe-trotting visitors bring levels of mobility unknown by most South Africans and may be identified, per Oswin (2006), as the 'global gay'.

In addition to the village identity itself, commercial establishments within De Waterkant also have evocative naming conventions that bring a global or at least other-worldly meaning to De Waterkant quartering. Such conventions are also no stranger to utopian thought. As Pinder (2005a) notes,

Utopian thought is replete with names invoking glittering city images from the Heavenly City, New Jerusalem, the City of the Sun, on to the Garden City and Radiant City of more recent times (Pinder 2005a: 7).

In De Waterkant, similar such naming conventions have suggested various ideals including heaven, earth, New York City, and hell—all which advocate an ‘otherness’ which is often not situated on the South African landscape, but rather drawing references to European or North American discourses. Such ‘otherness’ in De Waterkant denies the context of the city where it is located<sup>96</sup>, such as naming conventions that symbolically situate restaurants, bars, and clubs elsewhere, while still contributing to the dialogue of relational achievements.

The nostalgia these various versions of otherness as expressed in the naming conventions of De Waterkant can be explained as a longing for “the homeland as an almost paranoid and painful desire [which] can be powerfully anxiety inducing and unsettling” (Kraftl 2007: 136). I further contend that the refrain of otherness in De Waterkant is also an expression of the desire for mobility—creating new places, new connections, testing, exploring, and ultimately liberation (Knopp 2004: 123). Mobility in this sense focuses on consuming at the leading edge of society, establishing personal and symbolic connections to other countries and cultures, and going beyond the narrowly defined borders of De Waterkant. Such “mobility practices” are, according to Knopp (2004), “common for many people in contemporary individualistic societies and cultures, especially those with the means to be physically mobile, such as those with class, race, and/or gender privilege” (2004: 123). Such privileges may be masked in the name of community building or in creating familiar (homogenised) gay space in De Waterkant. The notion of community that is established through the utopian discourses in De Waterkant act, as Elder (2004) notes, to homogenise gay space

...in efforts to create interchangeable neighborhoods that produce experiences of place similar to Sydney, Amsterdam, or London. What this space creates is a myth of “community,” while also masking the life of gay and lesbian people and the material inequalities of globalization (Elder 2004: 580).

Utopia’s fixation with heavenly pursuit of the new Eden, the ‘City on a hill’ and other forms of transcendence from the current reality also finds a home in De Waterkant’s venues.

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<sup>96</sup> For further discussion on seemingly disconnected symbolisms, see Hook and Vrodljak (2002: 201).

Transcending normal earthly pleasures is promised by the 2001 edition of the Cape Gay Guide. As it notes:

True pleasures are rare, but when its [sic] partying up a storm till sunrise between all the lush hunks, you could be forgiven for believing you were in heaven. (Cape Gay Guide 2001: 52)

Both 'Heaven' and 'Angels' were dance clubs whose names suggested this state of earthly transcendence. However, one person's transcendence is another's transgression, and there are names that suggest that as well. The conglomeration of clubs that was known as "B.A.D." comes to mind. "B.A.D.", as the clubs were known, was comprised of the aforementioned "Bronx", "Angels", and a third establishment named "Detour". Stepping into any of the three, it would seem, was an invitation to transgressing something.

If the 'village' of De Waterkant is suggestive of New York City, then there are other examples that bring a New York state of mind. There is Café Manhattan that emerged as a gay icon in the late 1990s, yet whose name was a carry-over from a previous owner from the United States (Shapiro 2007, personal comments); and 'Bronx Action Bar' which evokes the gritty New York City borough. There is '55', a short-lived dance club that was situated at the corner of Napier Street and Somerset Road just outside the border of De Waterkant but part of the nightlife scene at the turn of the millennium. The name is suggestive of 'Studio 54', New York's famous dance club of the 1970s and 1980s. 'Soho', a restaurant on upper Napier Street could be located in either London or New York, but certainly locates itself through its name in another geographical space and time. And finally there is 'Loft Lounge', also in an area outside of the borders of De Waterkant but nonetheless attributed to and implicated in the gay identity of the area (Kruger 2008, personal comments). Like 'Soho', the "Loft Lounge' is a name that suggests an urban identity not readily associated with Cape Town, but rather tied to urban living in New York's metropolis. It is not merely in the name, however, that the connections are drawn. The Loft describes its New York sense of being through its design and architecture. As an advertising flyer from the venue notes: "The Loft Lounge's double volume space with skylight, mezzanine & industrial windows conjures up images of Tribeca in New York, only with a more spectacular view" (Loft Lounge 2008).

Situating De Waterkant in such global frames of reference is typical of many of the discourses produced by tourism industry stakeholders in the area (innkeepers, restaurateurs, club owners and tourism authorities). To some, 'international' standards are synonymous with exclusivity and high quality (Kruger 2008, personal comments). In a country whose democracy and openness to the rest of the world are young, international comparisons are still seen as a more worthy scale. This particular form of scalar representational is one that positions De Waterkant venues relative to international destinations rather than to other Capetonian or African destinations, making De Waterkant out of scale with either local South African or other African places.

*Out of scale: Taking De Waterkant to the city at-large*

The quarter is a place that is different from all the rest, deriving its identity from the ways in which it frames culture and represents it upon urban space. There are many ways of 'othering' the quarter, but all are essential to shaping and maintaining urban quartered space. There are times when the spatial confines of De Waterkant's consolidated gay territory are breached and the quarter moves out into greater Cape Town. Once each year, the codified queer space of De Waterkant gets an opportunity to publicly extend itself into the streets of Cape Town's CBD. This occurs during the annual Cape Town Pride Street Parade (see figure 6.4). The parade provides an opportunity to breach the border between what remains of the 'gay village' and the ambient heterosexual city beyond. The event provides an opportunity for upwards of 5000 participants<sup>97</sup> to take to the streets of Cape Town in a show of support for the 'queer community'. Individuals as well as groups take part.

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<sup>97</sup> This figure is based upon estimates from Cape Town Pride (Cape Town Pride 2008)



Figure 6.4 Taking to the streets: Cape Town Pride

In 2008, there were floats organised by clubs, bars, religiously-affiliated organisations, student groups and GLBT-related NGOs who carried community groups, placards reminding on-lookers to “End Hate in 2008”. The parade is intended not only to visualise queer groups and individuals, but in some sense it also plays with the scale of queer space in the city by extending the borders of De Waterkant into the larger city beyond. The annual event, which starts and finishes in De Waterkant, is the centrepiece of the Cape Town Pride Festival. Perhaps more symbolically, however, the event engages the utopian trope of the spectacle in the way it extends the borders of the gay village to the city: consolidated, quartered queer space thus moves (temporarily, and freely with the proper permits) around the city. However, the utopian trope of the spectacle is not immune to dystopian moments. The Pride Parade also provides an opportunity for anti-gay protestors to make an equally public stand as they extend their anti-gay discourse visually to the street (see figure 6.5).

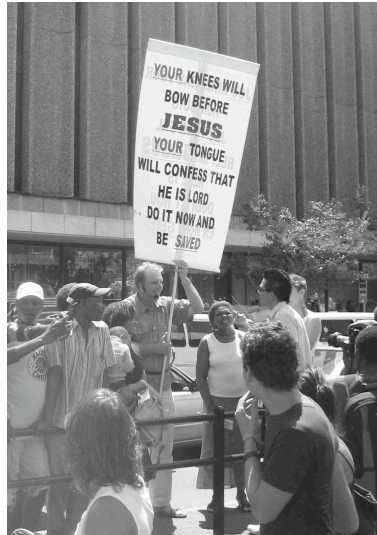


Figure 6.5 The anti-spectacle: Cape Town Pride Parade 2008

Bell and Binnie (2004) explore the complex relationship and meaning that spectacles such as the Pride Parade may have on the queer life of a city:

So, we can see two imperatives structuring the production of 'queer' urban spaces and events, both of which bring to the surface the problematic issues of authenticity and spectacle. On the one hand, there is the promotion of gay spaces and events as part of broader urban entrepreneurialism agendas. On the other, there is the process of purifying space and the concomitant eradication of strangeness and danger that inevitably results from these strategies of boosterism. There are of course clear connections between these two tendencies—the production of safe space is part of the process of promoting gay space. Like Rose's discussion of health promotion as urban governance, the production of safety here becomes an element of regulation. But it is important to note that 'spectacular' events, such as Mardi Gras in Manchester or in Sydney, are also significant in emphasising the role of queer cultures within the narratives particular cities tell about themselves, so their promotion can be seen to bring benefits in terms of sexual citizenship. This is, however, a complex and uneasy relationship on both sides, as cities negotiate different narrative threads in their overall promotional arsenals and as queer cultures ambivalently submit to, or embrace, or reject, their partial incorporation into that arsenal. (Bell and Binnie 2004: 1813)

The spectacle of Cape Town Pride Parade momentarily destabilises the boundaries between the quartered space of De Waterkant and the city beyond and is a useful tool for building a sense of community while also shaping utopian visions of the city (Pinder 2005a). The convergence of gay and straight actors in support of the cause can enable the relational achievement of queer community in the midst of a shared 'otherness' through a sense of belonging and acceptance within the quartered identity of De Waterkant.

*Representing otherness*

The various scalar representations of De Waterkant have one thing in common: otherness. They act to either stabilise or de-stabilise the hegemonic quartered identity of De Waterkant on a small scale. These representations do not exemplify major tropes in representation; rather they are minute shifts either toward or away from the hegemonic discourse of the quarter that contribute to the ebb-and-flow of the quartered identity. Framing through both temporal and spatial scales has the effect of assisting the tropes of borders, surveillance, spectacle, the body, community and consumption that, I contend, are the most influential mediators of De Waterkant's quartered identities.

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## Chapter 7. MEDIATING THE QUARTER: Conclusions

*Utopias can also function as social and political criticism, raising questions about or satirising the present. The very break with the present that they enact can help to disrupt dominant assumptions about the organisation of society, and to point to other possibilities or desires.*

Pinder (2005a: 17)

The quartered city is one form of utopia, a spatial and discursive form that is “...simultaneously the ‘good’ place and ‘no’ place—in a sense, somewhere perfect whilst being unachievable” (Kraftl 2007:121). Being that as it may, utopia is nonetheless a useful tool for thinking about urban quarters such as De Waterkant. Whether obtainable or not, located merely in the personal or collective geographical imagination, or indeed on the physical landscape itself, utopia closely links with notions of emancipation, belonging, citizenship, and community through the relationships that are negotiated and performed by human and non-human actors alike. However, utopias are also interpreted as authoritarian (Pinder 2005a)<sup>98</sup>. This authoritarianism comes as a result of “their preoccupation with engineering a better future through the projection of an ideal spatial form” (Pinder 2005a: 109).

Utopia is more than simply fantasy or the unattainable; it is the desire for change in spatial and social relationships (Pinder 2005a). This sense of hope and liberation of imagination constitutes the ‘free play’ of space that is possible through utopian thinking (Harvey 2000). One of utopianism’s most productive functions rests in challenging the conventions of what is possible and impossible (Pinder 2005a). In this sense utopian projects have a strong emancipatory quality in that they allow for transcendence of current reality in hopes of a better future. Such was the case with the first wave of ‘gay pioneers’ such as Russell Shapiro who came to De Waterkant, not under emancipatory intentions, but to provide a space that would be comfortable for gays and lesbians. In pursuit of a better future, quartered spaces set themselves apart culturally and (often) physically from the rest of the city, and point to other possibilities or desires. They achieve such forms of ‘otherness’ by way of a distinctive built environment, symbols, and the identities of human actors

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<sup>98</sup> Harvey (2000: 157) notes that the city and authoritarianism are closely linked; proof of this comes through the derivation of the word ‘police’ that comes from the Greek word (*polis*) for ‘city’.

themselves—all of which exhibit utopian and dystopian tropes. The rainbow flags and posters of young, virile men may have signalled a beacon of hope for some while they may have heralded a nightmarish future of sexual debauchery for others. Similarly, the late-night party atmosphere of De Waterkant may seem idyllic and liberating to students and party-goers while at least one local shop-keeper—Mrs. Da Silva—experiences the Saturday evening landscape of De Waterkant as nightmarish. Taken together, the competing discourses act in turn to either stabilise or de-stabilise the *status quo* in pursuit of radical change in spatial and social relationships. However, the quartered city, like utopia, requires an identity that is stable—a certain degree of stasis. Unfortunately, utopia within the modern urban context comes with built-in obsolescence. The highly dynamic process of place making combined with the mundane and extraordinary mobilities of De Waterkant's actors means that isolation from change is all but impossible. Therefore, the utopian quarter is constantly being bombarded by possibilities for change; and as a result, someone's utopia may become another's dystopia in the march toward a 'better' future.

Quartering De Waterkant engages utopian tropes in order to break away from the present and look toward new possibilities for the future by changing city spaces, and changing social relations within and without. As discussed in the previous chapter, the meanings about place that are put forth through discourses of scale have the function of 'representational tropes'. Those tropes tell stories about De Waterkant as a place within different spatial or temporal frames of the discourse. Those tropes—as the lived experience of place—are also where the meanings of place and the identity of the quarter are formed. In order to 'produce' the quarter, therefore, the discursive tropes in question must somehow mediate the network of actors and their discourses in utopian ways: through some break from the present, an achievement of otherness, or simply new ways of imagining the future and challenging attitudes of what is possible or impossible.

Quartering in De Waterkant is not always engaged in betterment for all, as I demonstrated in the forced removals that acted against the area's ethnic quartering. Rather, quartering seeks new ways of engaging with and living in urban space. In the previous chapters I

highlighted examples of six such tropes that I identified in discourses and material practices from De Waterkant. They include the tropes of: borders, surveillance, spectacle, the body, community, and consumption. These tropes can be understood as mediators in the actor network, influencing the performance and consumption of space and thus the quartering of De Waterkant.

*Tropes: the utopian unsettling in De Waterkant*

The tropes that I have identified are themes within the story of De Waterkant's many quarterings. They are patterns within De Waterkant's discursive and material building blocks that act to both stabilise and de-stabilise its quartered identity. The tropes act to shape the discursive and material messages that are produced and consumed within De Waterkant's networks.

The process of stabilisation and de-stabilisation is also referred to as the *utopian unsettling* (Kraftl 2007). Both 'comforting' and 'unsettling' relational achievements amongst the human and non-human actors in De Waterkant act in the process of quartering: comforting in the sense of stabilising the quarter, and unsettling insofar as it destabilises (or perhaps de-centers) the hegemonic discourses of previous quartered identities.

As I discussed in chapter six, De Waterkant's quartered identity is constantly bombarded by the possibility of change through temporal and spatial framings. Those framings invite opportunities for unsettling De Waterkant's identity, and they act as the seeds of potential change. Those seeds of potential change are tied to the specific urban and national context of Cape Town and South Africa, and this lies at the heart of the uniqueness of De Waterkant's quarterings. The tension between change and stasis is illuminated through the tropes as they shape De Waterkant's quartering in both discursive and material ways.

*Minding the gates of utopia: Borders and surveillance*

The quarter is a spatial form, and as such it has borders that define what is 'inside' and what is 'outside'. The tropes of borders and surveillance support each other in the process

of framing and stabilising De Waterkant's quartering: borders help to shape quartered space by reinforcing the identity and norms of that space while keeping otherness at bay, while surveillance keeps the borders in-check. Borders and surveillance thus work to maintain the form and identity of the quarter while preserving the identity of its occupants. Ballard (2005) places this notion into the context of the changing South African city of the 1980s and 1990s when he argues:

...much of the uncertainty experienced by white people in the 1980s and 1990s stemmed from a fear of the unregulated access by people previously excluded to 'their' cities. The very basis of white identity as 'civilised' and 'modern' - as created through spatial segregation - was, for some, under threat by the presence of others (Ballard 2005: 9).

In the context of De Waterkant, 'otherness' is brought about through the informal economy. The shifting nature and unpredictability of the informal economy with traders on street corners and a variety of non-Western, African identities has the potential to shape De Waterkant differently, and thus such informal practices are controlled within the area. Ballard (2005) describes how the 'Africanness' of the informal marketplace can undermine a European and modern self-image upon which many white South Africans have constructed their identities:

Unlike the identity-affirming role previously played by spaces such as city centres, they now have the opposite effect: they are seen to undermine modern and western identities. For some, the arrival of street traders in the CBD altered that space from a more or less European city to a 'third world' or 'African' marketplace. Many of those who once tramped its streets as its proud citizens now became uncomfortable there and avoided it. Squatters in particular threatened the stability of the suburb. They were capable of transmitting Africa right into the heart of what were previously called European areas, bringing litter, unprocessed sewerage, smoke, loud taxis, violence and crime (Ballard 2005: 9).

The trope of *borders* is thus engaged in material and discursive ways as a device for 'othering' De Waterkant and for maintaining the purity of the utopia 'inside'. Sir Thomas More (1965 [1516]:131) suggests that some degree of exclusion is more than simply a hallmark of real and imagined utopias; it could be a necessary step toward securing utopia's future. By "eliminating the root causes of ambition, political conflict...[thereby removing] ...danger of internal dissention" (131), utopia maintains the strict controls which ensure "unity and sound administration" (131). This tension is utopia's survival tactic. The trope of borders controls the movements of actors and the discursive messages that they produce and consume. As one such example, the dystopian effect of the Group Areas Act

put a halt to the network of ethnic actors in De Waterkant. The shift from De Waterkant's ethnic to Bohemian quartering effectively utilised the trope of borders in the way that the Group Areas Act destabilised the area's ethnic quartering by erecting a border in De Waterkant, within which only white residents could live. While the Act did not erect a physical border around De Waterkant, it ceased the fulfilment of relational achievements that shaped the area's quartered identity and displaced both the actors and their discourses to places far removed from Loader Street.

In a material sense, physical borders have been used to delineate De Waterkant's territory in order to enforce the obligatory passage points of membership in the network of De Waterkant—such as the rules prescribed by the area's Civic Association—as well as a means of framing the quarter itself. This is evident in the Civic Association's use of a “welcome” sign (see figure 6.1 in the previous chapter) that informs actors that they are entering De Waterkant. The sign also has the discursive role in framing De Waterkant as a place with history—noting the date of its establishment.

As a utopian trope, borders suggest enforcement of the good place/bad place binary in the effort to maintain control over the utopian situation inside, while also buttressing utopia from the 'hostile' world outside. It is a classic 'us' versus 'them' positioning that is essential for maintaining the purity of the quartered (utopian) identity. As Pinder (2005a) notes of the More's 1516 original version:

Throughout More's discussion of Utopia he emphasises containment and exclusion, with the city being surrounded by a turreted wall and a ditch, except where the river serves as a moat, and with the island itself having a fortified coast and a treacherous entrance to the bay. The island is presented as a unified and harmonious space, with boundaries and lines being essential for preventing contamination and ensuring its 'purity' (Pinder 2005a: 53).

As a space that is awash with discourses—many which are threats to the quartered identity such as crime, grime and unwanted actors, securing the quarter by both discursive and material means helps to ensure the 'purity' of the quartered identity. In the process of safeguarding the identity of the quarter, borders and surveillance are actively and effectively deployed. Borders, however, do not control themselves. De Waterkant's welcome sign again demonstrates this, as it reminds potential entrants that “patrolled

security” is a feature of the area. As such, the trope of surveillance is used to maintain the integrity of borders, and to enforce the sense of otherness that is required to keep the identity of the quarter stabilised.

Whether material or discursive, the borders of De Waterkant’s quartering require constant vigilance. In that regard, the trope of *surveillance* is used in tandem with borders as a means of the former enforcing the exclusionary otherness of the latter. In the months and years following De Waterkant’s designation as a ‘whites only’ area, the state fulfilled the role of surveillance through policing. In De Waterkant’s more recent quarterings, that role is enacted through interdictory devices such as *piazza*-style architecture that is easily and effectively patrolled, CCTV cameras that oversee the movements of actors, and cadres of private security forces who work to ensure that otherness is minimised and the dominant discourses are upheld.

The transition from ethnic to Bohemian quarter was not enacted simply by the trope of borders, however. That unsettling of the ethnic quarter also was affected by and had consequences on the bodies of the actors involved as they were moved across the Cape Peninsula. Therefore, the tropes do not act alone, but often conspire in the process of shaping and re-shaping quartered space. Like the tropes of borders and surveillance, the tropes of spectacle and the body have both material and discursive capabilities of shaping the quarter and are present in the case of De Waterkant.

#### *Embodied quartering: Spectacle and the body*

The displaced bodies of De Waterkant’s ethnic quarter made way for a set of actors who were young, professional and white. Those bodies, distinct from the previous, created a liberal, edgy identity for De Waterkant that further set the stage for quarterings to come. In South Africa’s post-1994 environment, the Bohemian quartering of De Waterkant was fertile ground for the establishment of a gay identity at the hands of other white bodies. The trope of the *body* was again demonstrated through my analysis of the *Pink Map* as it mediated the entry point toward understanding De Waterkant’s ‘gay village’ quartered

identity. Utopian notions of the ideal body—young, toned, active, and white—were part of the discourse in that particular quartered identity. These images were part of De Waterkant’s visual discourses that framed the sexualised body as a mediator of De Waterkant’s gay village identity in the same way that the racialised body mediated De Waterkant’s ethnic quartering. This embodied mediation of the quarter has also played itself out in the form of the vulnerable female body—such as was the case with women’s bodies in the lesbian-coded space of Beulah Bar—and well as the groomed body that I examined in the *Pink Map*. While the racialised body was the dystopian focal point of the corporeal trope under implementation of the Group Areas Act that changed De Waterkant’s ethnic and racial profile. The racial dynamics that were put into play thus changed the nature of De Waterkant’s quartering.

The trope of the *spectacle* is one that mediates quartered space while also masking the social divisions that are a component of it. The trope of the spectacle is evident in visible events that attract people, press and capital (Pinder 2000). As an example of spectacle, De Waterkant’s annual Gay Pride Parade acts to both comfort and unsettle gay quartered space by re-imagining the divisions between ‘gay’ and ‘straight’ space while glossing over the inequalities of life within the ambient heterosexual. Such symbolic performances act to imprint culture by bringing queerness out of De Waterkant, into the ambient heterosexual streets of Cape Town’s CBD, and back again to De Waterkant. The displacement and replacement of bodies in De Waterkant, and idealised imagery of ‘gay bodies’ is a component of the trope of the *spectacle* in that it assists in the re-imagination of place while also glossing over social divisions (Pinder 2000).

The trope of spectacle is also apparent in the lifestyle experiences to be enjoyed in De Waterkant’s Cape Quarter and Cape Quarter Extension. Such commercial developments comprise another aspect of Pinder’s (2000) notion of spectacle as they operate as strategies for capitalist urban developments that re-imagine place in commodifiable ways.

For Pinder and the innovators from the Situationist International group such as Guy Debord, the spectacle is a critical in understanding the commodification of everyday life, where

“electronic media, advertising, television and other cultural industries are said to be increasingly shaping everyday life” (Pinder 2000: 357). The Cape Quarter brings shopping and being in De Waterkant from a mundane experience to the extraordinary. It makes the search for a new pair of shoes an adventurous pursuit in ‘historic’ surroundings that evoke Cape Town’s early history. It is more than just shopping. It is a lifestyle experience that goes beyond the ordinary and leaves the consumer wanting for more.

In the transition from a gay village to a consumer lifestyle quarter, the trope of spectacle and the body are indispensable mediators that help to shift the discourse from one hegemonic focus to the next. The experience of spectacle carries the discourse from ‘being’ in De Waterkant to ‘consuming’ De Waterkant, which opens the door for the ‘lifestyle’ centre to bring conspicuous consumption into notions of community.

*A home for the citizen-consumer: Community and consumption*

De Waterkant’s manifestations of community have changed—and been changed by—the shape of its quartered identity. The notion of community<sup>99</sup> has been expressed by De Waterkant’s actors in ways that have related to ethnicity, race, sexual identity and consumption. The trope of *community* builds on a sense of identity and security that is stabilised and de-stabilised through borders and surveillance. Community is a feeling of belonging which is demonstrated by the corner shop owners who understood their role as a node of community interaction and sharing of messages across the network. Community is also evident in De Waterkant’s long-time residents when they speak of the network of fun-loving, free-thinking, professional friends and neighbours that helped to shape the area’s Bohemian identity. It is also evident in the desire to define the ‘gay community’ in the post-1994 environment of free-expression, around which De Waterkant’s gay venues shaped the face of a ‘gay village’.

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<sup>99</sup> In her critique of the ‘unquestionable good’ that is community, Miranda Joseph (2002) argues “against the idealization of community as a utopian state of human relatedness” (Joseph 2002: ix), and posits consumptive practices as the modern basis of community.

Although their visions of togetherness and identity may be different, the trope of community is common amongst the diverse discourses exhibited in the discourses of De Waterkant residents, shop-owners, and club-goers as examined in chapter five. The long-time residents frame De Waterkant through a community of professional, coupled, and mostly white individuals who appreciate the architectural character of the area while valuing its position close to the city centre. Their over-arching concern is about a community not of difference but of like-minded individuals, and a lifestyle that allows them to walk to entertainment, to shops, all the while being located in the heart of the city with views of the sea and the Mountain. There is an intangible allure to the area that, in some ways, overlooks the area's past, while closely guarding its future. Regardless of the rather dystopian events that enabled a change in the socio-economic profile of the area, those residents who have remained over the previous decades have managed to shape the former liminal urban zone into a tight-knit community of property and business owners. Property ownership was key for long-time residents like Neville and Susan, just as clever manipulation of existing laws was for shop owners like Mr. Allie. The exclusionary effects of the Group Areas Act are not unlike those of the property boom witnessed in De Waterkant over the past few decades. Both had an exclusionary effect on De Waterkant: moving some residents out while enabling the re-population by others. The former was driven by the state, while the latter is a function of the market and of the changing dynamics of city living.

Efforts to change the nature of the De Waterkant's shaping of 'queer' community within the broader society have also engaged the media. The *Pink Tongue*, a monthly newspaper geared toward Cape Town's queer market segment, has itself heralded changes in the definition of the 'pink' community in Cape Town. As a report from Independent Newspapers noted, the advertising and marketing director who initiated the idea for the speciality newspaper "...said it would not be about 'steam rooms, gay dating and HIV-positive people.' Rather it would fill a gap for a more *stylish* platform" (IOL 2007, emphasis added). Such repositioning of the queer community aligns it with the characteristics of Richardson's

'good gay' (2004) while masking some of the characteristics that define the leisure activities, social needs, and health concerns of queer actors that frequent De Waterkant.

The framing of the *Pink Tongue* in that way also signals a shift in the gay community overcoming stereotypes; to be more like everyone else while living the 'stylish' life of an 'ordinary' consumer. The struggle for community in De Waterkant is set between a group identity and individualism. The first pioneers in the 'gay village' used symbols and language that clearly coded and strongly identified with gay sensibilities. Symbols such as the pink triangle, the pride flag, and pairs of Mars symbols for males or Venus symbols for women. The movement to create a "Pink Light District", as discussed in chapter five, suggests a desire to frame community in the face of a gay village that has moved out of De Waterkant, has becoming more fragmented and geared toward individual quests for identity as suggested by Friendly Society, a gay-friendly but not specifically 'gay' bar in De Waterkant, when their advertising tag line states: "It's all about you" (Friendly Society 2008b). That branding message stands in stark contrast to earlier incarnations of "community" and group identity in De Waterkant's gay village such as Pride flags, pink triangles, and highly sexualised imagery. Friendly Society has none of that, although their clientele is overtly gay and lesbian. The resulting effect on shaping the quarter of De Waterkant is to destabilise its overly gay quartered identity while replacing it with a sense of individualism based on other traits. The symbolic framing of De Waterkant thus becomes less 'gay' and more about individual pursuits.

The change may be as much about generational shifts as anything. The shift in the queer 'community' in De Waterkant has also been de-stabilised by what some have called the 'straight invasion' (Bamford 2007) that reflects a shift both in the social landscape as well as the nature of De Waterkant's quartering. De Waterkant's gay village quartering came about through the uncoordinated but nonetheless meaningful efforts to provide gay leisure spaces that allowed the performance of non-heteronormative sexualities. The comfort of doing so, it could be argued, is to counter-act the exclusionary tendencies of heteronormalised space, and to therefore construct a 'safe' space where one can exercise agency

and perform identity. De Waterkant's development into the 'village' followed a similar path, as driven partly, though not exclusively nor by design, through the desire of gay consumers to seek an escape from heterosexual space (Visser 2003a: 129). The 'community' that develops around such pursuits—whether real or imagined—is utopian in its quest for comfort in community, as well as unsettling the gendered and hetero-sexualised order of things in the world 'outside' of the village-- what Alison Murray (1995) calls the 'ambient heterosexual' (1995: 67), in other words the sea of heteronormativity in the public spaces that surround all of those other spaces that are implicitly or explicitly 'homosexual'.

However, community and consumption begin to blur as the later begins to stand-in for the former. De Waterkant's actors have been a community of consumers over the course of its many quarterings. However, the importance of consumption relative to mediation of quartering has changed. De Waterkant has become commodified by estate agents and inn-keepers—while a recent addition—lend their hand at marketing and packaging the place so that it appeals to a certain target audience. In their role as agents for selling properties for the long-term or simply for the night, they are active promoters of De Waterkant's village identity. They share the concern of long-time residents of property value, and lifestyle, yet they must also be in-tune with other stakeholders, such as queer visitors, who have contributed to De Waterkant's appeal.

The gay element in De Waterkant was attracted first by its affordable, edgy, and Bohemian nature; then stayed to raise the gay pride flag over the narrow streets while marketing the area to visitors from around the globe. Emerging from the closeted years of apartheid, De Waterkant's 'gay village' appealed to the new sense of freedom and triumph over oppression. Identifying the area as a 'gay village' also enabled it to be packaged and promoted to the world, and it became central to Cape Town Tourism's efforts to attract 'pink' Dollars, Pounds and even Rands. Arguably, De Waterkant's 'gay community' began with the first member of that community: Edward Austen, the "first gay in the village". From the flamboyant 'Baron' Austen to the pioneering Russell Shapiro, the countless party-

goers at Bronx Action Bar, and the elusive but increasingly visible lesbian element, the queer 'community' within De Waterkant has done much to shape the area's identity.

In spite of the attempts to build or at least paint the picture of community, the notion is more complex than that. As de Swardt (2008) contends, the 'community' of De Waterkant's gay village is not a unified whole. He noted that

It's fragmented. But interesting, I think that's reflected in queer subcultures as well. There's a shift in how people are experiencing themselves and relating to each other... There's new stuff developing, which is very, very nice to see. There is a new business community developing (de Swardt 2008, personal comments).

Whether through attempts by the queer business community and its 'Pink Light District' or simply through the use of the term itself, the notion of community is complex, elusive, and produced by a multitude of actors. From the multiple actors in De Waterkant there are an equal number of unique narratives that trace De Waterkant's competing discourses as well as the utopian and dystopian shifts that have changed the hegemony of those discourses. The dominant discourses have tended to thus produce the identity and meanings that emanate from the area. Those discourses include the historic/ethnic discourse of Mr. Allie who recollects De Waterkant's early days when it was a multi-cultural, economically-marginalised, yet tight-knit community of families who enabled a large network of shop owners like himself. There are gay discourses that blossomed when forced removals enabled a creative and professional class of young, urban dwellers to inhabit the area, renovate the built environment and create a playground for the performance of alternative sexual identities. And then there is the discourse of lifestyle-seeking shapes new ways of understanding urban citizenship.

The sense of community in De Waterkant's most recent quartering has to do with the citizen consumer, confirming Joseph's (2002) contention that "...communal subjectivity is constituted not by identity but rather through practices of production and consumption" (2002: viii). That being the case, the changing consumer landscape and the discursive positioning of De Waterkant through the 'community' of consumptive practice has enabled new ways of expressing the identity of De Waterkant as a consumer lifestyle quarter.

The trope of *consumption* is demonstrated throughout all of De Waterkant's quartered identities and has had a role to play in its many quarterings<sup>100</sup>. One can argue that 'citizenship' in a gay community of identity such as De Waterkant's gay village quartering is based partly on a shared expression of same-sex desire. However, citizenship is also based on consumption<sup>101</sup>, where the consumer-citizen is the driving force of the city (Bell and Binnie 2004: 1809). A community such as those above are also consumers. They are consumers of goods and services just as they are consumers of the symbols and meanings that draw them together as a community. However, consumption alone can be another basis of identity and thus another element of utopia. Enter the consumer-citizen.

The gay bars and dance clubs that once lined Somerset Road were the symbols of a communal identity around queerness, care-free living and expression of desire. Now that most of those clubs have moved out the De Waterkant, they have been replaced by temples of consumerism: shopping arcades, restaurants, and upmarket spas. A consumer ideology and the attraction of the property boom of the early 2000s coupled with the lack of available land in the CBD lead to large-scale development in the area. "Lifestyle" was once a word that connoted sexual identity; and now it refers to shopping, eating, drinking and socialising within a certain socio-economic context. On the increasingly dense and competitive consumer landscape, the utopian trope of consumption is more and more important and thus more likely to be strategically deployed. As business interests compete for their share of the consumer's discretionary spending, segments of the fractured city begin to do battle with each other. Thus, there are discourses that paint De Waterkant not as simply a unique destination in the world, or in Africa. But, according to the promise of the consumer spectacle which is the Cape Quarter Extension, De Waterkant will be "The place to be...shopping...relaxing...working...eating...meeting...playing...in Cape Town".

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<sup>100</sup> While consuming has long been a fixture in De Waterkant, the goods consumed, and the ways in which they are consumed have changed—and continue to change. From the goods sold at any of the thirteen corner cafes during the period of its ethnic quartering to the stylish boutiques of its more recent consumer lifestyle quartering, consumption remains a vital part of the quartered landscape. However, while it was once a common sight to encounter hawkers selling wristwatches and (clearly) counterfeit designer sunglasses on the streets of De Waterkant, interdictory elements such as security services and exclusionary architecture govern a different pattern of consumption.

<sup>101</sup> Consumption in the case of De Waterkant, as Elder (2004) asserts, is a stand-in for gayness (Elder 2004: 588).

De Waterkant is not immune to the shifting locus of the consumption of desire that is prevalent in recent years: from commercial spaces in the public sphere to the private space of the home via the internet. Such changes eliminate the need to seek same-sex desire in homo-normalised spaces in the public sphere and allowing social connections to be made in cyberspace. Likewise, the nature of those desires may also be changing: from food and entertainment to a focus on hearth and home. This takes Kraftl's (2007) "utopia of the homely" literally—where the pursuit of the perfect place has its locus in domestic spaces rather than in the public spaces of bars and clubs.

Recent discourses of consumption in De Waterkant have played on the notions of "upmarket" and "lifestyle". Both are mentioned frequently in discourses that seek to elevate place-making to a utopian ideal, where everyday and commonplace market choices and consumerism are replaced with a consumption which is step beyond the present, to the point of a way of life. The ideal of upmarket consumerism is utopian in that it creates a separate from the mundane, and the promise of a shopping experience beyond the ordinary. The upmarket notion is also a buffer from the inequities that characterise the city outside. De Waterkant's upmarket image acts to separate itself from the rest of the city in which it stands. At the same time it allows wealthy (and mostly white) South Africans to manage the contradiction between the identity they aspire to and the city in which they live (Ballard 2005) through the exclusionary comfort of a secure shopping destination that acts as an "identity-affirming space" (Ballard 2005: 5) for those who can afford it to feel at home.

De Waterkant's quartering is stabilised and de-stabilised discursively through these utopian tropes that act in comforting and unsettling ways (Kraftl 2007). This process is evidenced through the many shifts that have taken place over time, and through the many ways that culture and identity is symbolically framed to give De Waterkant its unique character. The tropes compete in the process of place-making and result in changes in representation—particularly in the process of translation which is "a process of through

which pre-existing discourses of change are contested and new discourses constructed” (O’Neill and Whatmore, 2000: 125). The struggle of representation thus acts to force change.

By analysing De Waterkant’s discourses as mediated through a utopian lens, I do not argue that the area has been developed as self-conscious utopian form. Rather, I am demonstrating that there are a number of identifiable utopian tropes around which De Waterkant’s discourses revolve. The tropes reinforce its quartered identity while also acting to continually change it. What these discourses say, and what makes them particularly utopian lies in their engagement with current spatial and social relations with the aim to change them, while expanding the sense of what is possible. In expanding that sense of future possibilities, these tropes are about hoping, dreaming, and the establishment of a place where culture, identity and a sense of community can find a home amidst the multitude of actors and discourses that shape the city.

*Skeletons don’t lie: Unearthing layers of quartering*

*[The city is]...a palimpsest, a composite landscape made up of different built forms superimposed upon each other with the passing of time (Harvey 1996: 417).*

The succession of quarterings in De Waterkant leaves behind layers of discourse in the pursuit of the utopian hope for a better future. Quartering may overwrite previous narratives but it does not erase them completely. The methodology employed in this research uncovers a discourses from a variety of stakeholders in De Waterkant—those who reside, do business, visit or simply transect the area. The layers of quartering De Waterkant emanate from the symbolic framing of culture within its space. I analysed these discourses for their commonalities and their differences in how they envisaged and shaped De Waterkant. Out of these discourses, I identified four unique, but not necessarily temporally distinct quartered identities. As I demonstrated in chapters five and six, successive quarterings create a wealth of discourse that, when it reaches the point of hegemony, shapes De Waterkant’s quartered identity. That identity is then subject to the stabilising or de-stabilising forces of the tropes discussed above. Depending on the

outcome, the shape of the quarter could be reasserted, or other identities could take its place. In this way layers of dystopian defeat are covered by utopian success.

The shaping of De Waterkant as a consumer lifestyle quarter is the latest, and most visible, layer of discourse that has been built upon those that preceded it. The face of De Waterkant's built environment has changed with new commercial, entertainment and residential developments that have given new life to the area and thus have contributed to the 're-animation of a comatose goddess' by way of 'improving' an inner-city residential and commercial neighbourhood (Pirie 2007)<sup>102</sup>. Among the developments that have contributed to the re-awakening of De Waterkant and its surroundings is 'The Rockwell', a luxury apartment block sits in the shadow of De Waterkant<sup>103</sup>. The development of The Rockwell was the subject of much publicity when excavation of its building site unearthed more than 2,000 human skeletons (Anonymous 2008b, personal comments) thought to be from Cape Town's "17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Century underclasses such as sailors, servants, slaves and indigenous people" (Pirie 2007: 144). These human remains remind us that layers of discourse—and in this case history—can be overwritten, but they cannot be erased in the face of continuous shaping of the quarter. While key actors in De Waterkant's consumer lifestyle quartering draw on elements of history such as architecture and naming conventions in their shaping of the quarter, skeletons of actors long since passed serve as a sobering reminder of the discourses that are buried but not erased in the process of shaping more recent quarterings.

The process of quartering, itself, is less about complete erasure and more about shifting hegemony and displacement. The products and processes of quartering are not new to

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<sup>102</sup> The changes that Pirie described in the reconfiguration of central Cape Town are similar to those in De Waterkant: the transformation of urban space toward investing, services and creative industry (Pirie 2007: 148) and consumption as I discussed in chapter five. Examples of such developments include: The Hudson—an office block with retail and dining venues on Hudson Street; The Cape Quarter and Cape Quarter Extension—retail, office, and entertainment 'lifestyle centres'; De Waterkant Centre—an office and retail centre.

<sup>103</sup> The Rockwell initially advertised itself as being located in the 'heart of the trendy De Waterkant' when it began to sell units off-plan in 2006-2007. The development is located on Prestwich Street, which places it outside of De Waterkant's borders, although within metres of its many attractions. Due to the threat of legal action on the part of the De Waterkant Civic Association, The Rockwell is no longer described as such.

South Africa. As discussed earlier, the materially and discursively differentiated spaces of the apartheid city are themselves a product of quartering. Rather than rupturing the oppressive past, quartering in the South African context continues to selectively include/exclude in material and discursive ways, and is thus haunted by the apartheid spatial practices while continuing its legacy.

*Beyond the gay village: multiple and complicated quarterings*

In the previous chapters, I demonstrated that the urban village of De Waterkant is a distinct cultural landscape that both clings to and segregates itself from the ambient urbanities that surround it. As a personal point of departure I discussed how De Waterkant was first presented to me—as it is to many—in the form of a gay village like others in North American and European contexts, and I demonstrated how the *Pink Map* discursively shaped De Waterkant as such. I argued that De Waterkant served as an example of an urban ‘quarter’ that is both a product and a process. I showed that, as the product of quartering, De Waterkant established a locus for the symbolic framing of culture (Bell and Jayne 2004). In doing so it has served as a space for the production and consumption of identity as well as a space that commodifies the urban experience itself. As a process, quartering is pursued by a heterogeneous network of actors who shape De Waterkant through their interactions and relationships with each other. Out of those relational achievements the meanings associated with De Waterkant are forged, and the shape of the quarter is achieved. The process of shaping De Waterkant’s quartered identities is one that has been driven by consumer and corporeal desire as well as any number of other social, economic and consumptive practises. The competing and conflicting meanings of De Waterkant make it a place with multiple identities that have changed over time, and that continue to be fluid, ephemeral and contested.

The quarter is built out of discursive power and agency yet also exercises both across the network of actors that use it. Quartered space offers a separation from the here-and-now while giving form to a differently-imaged future. The quarter transports you through time and space; back into history and forward into the future. It takes you from the city to the

'village' and back again, across borders of race, sexuality and socio-economics. The quarter offers these transformative possibilities while the space itself is subject to constant change.

The story of De Waterkant is situated in a body of literature on the city; on utopia, and on identity—all, if not materially, then discursively grounded within the South African urban context, including its apartheid past. My analysis recognises that being situated within the South African context makes De Waterkant's quartering particular, subject to identities, histories, and power structures that may not affect quarterings in other urban settings. At the same time, however, it was also built upon the more general notion that places are ever-changing, and that by embracing the 'queerness' of space—as fluid, ephemeral and always-becoming—we can examine the innumerable daily transactions and relationships between actors that shape urban quarters such as De Waterkant. Accepting De Waterkant's perpetual state of 'becoming', I built my argument around De Waterkant's quarterings by identifying a heterogeneous group of actors within De Waterkant's networks, then tracing their actions, movements and motivations in un-selfconscious pursuit of a better future. My analysis was focused on 'queering' the quartered space of De Waterkant by going beyond the binaries of hegemonic power: rich/poor; urban/rural; black/white; straight/gay. What emerged from that process were human, narrative and visual texts that yielded a rich collection of discourses used to examine De Waterkant's quarterings, and to unpack the notion of De Waterkant as solely a gay village—my and other's initial reading of the area.

My analysis of a decade of the *Pink Map* challenged that notion. While in chapter four the *Pink Map* demonstrated that De Waterkant is the locus of gay identity performance and leisure/consumptive pursuits that lead to its gay village quartering, the *Map* also demonstrated how even 'consolidated gay territory' shifted over time and began to show signs of alternative quarterings as influenced by the discursive influence of the body and consumption, and the changing nature of queer space versus the ambient heterosexual. In

the final analysis, the *Pink Map* manifested other possibilities for understanding De Waterkant and for shaping its quartered identity.

The *Pink Map* also revealed that quartered urban space is subject to multiple shifts—even under the guise of a unified queer discourse—and that those shifts substantiate my contention that quartered urban space is not static. Instead, I argue in chapter five that De Waterkant's quartering, like the *Pink Map*, is an archive of its time: an archive of the hopes, fears and aspirations of individuals and groups of city dwellers. De Waterkant thus has been discursively and materially shaped as an ethnic quarter, filled with a cross-section of Cape Town's multicultural diaspora; a gay quarter, for the performance of alternative sexual identities; a Bohemian quarter, where young, white professionals improved the housing stock while maintaining the area's edgy appeal; and finally a consumer lifestyle quarter, where shopping, dining and entertainment take place in a secure, stylish setting that is isolated from the mean streets of the city around it.

That is not to say that De Waterkant's quarterings have abruptly or easily shifted from one to the other, nor that they are inherently stable. My analysis also revealed in chapter six that quartering is contested, and that across scales of time and space the shape of its quartering can be stabilised and de-stabilised. I engaged scale in my argument as a 'representational practice' (Jones 1998: 27) that produces meanings rather than acts simply as a passive means of analysis. As a form of representation, scale stabilises De Waterkant's quartering through its representation of 'otherness' demonstrated through De Waterkant's 'village' and 'global' discourses that are most readily evident in naming conventions, promotional materials, and in human narratives. The effect is to situate De Waterkant outside of its urban reality and within a framework that somehow sets it apart, and creates discursive—if not material—boundaries against the city at-large.

However, the case of De Waterkant complicates the notion of quartering by situating it within the ephemeral, fluid nature of place. Combined with the mundane and extraordinary mobilities of De Waterkant's actors, isolation from change is all but

impossible for places like De Waterkant. By understanding the process and product of quartering in that way, I demonstrated in this chapter how quartering exemplifies and is characterised by the pursuit of other possibilities and desires—through utopian—and its corollary dystopian—tropes. The quarter bends with the shape of the dominant discourse, which in the case of De Waterkant was driven by tropes of borders & surveillance, spectacle & the body, and community & consumption that all exhibit both utopian dystopian characteristics—either reaching for a better tomorrow or causing displacement and oppression. Using tropes as I do, my analysis revealed the nuanced shifts in quartering. In doing so, my conclusions inform both the process (how the discursive and material forces act) and the product (the resulting spatial form and effects) of quartering.

At first reading, De Waterkant was an uncomplicated gay enclave that rose unproblematically from the under-developed city around it. It appeared like so many other enclaves of urban gay culture that have become part of cityscapes in Europe, North America, and Australasia. In an attempt to market De Waterkant to a broader international audience of gay consumers, De Waterkant has been and continues to be characterised as a gay and gay-friendly quarter within the city of Cape Town. However, a more complex analysis of the product and process of quartering De Waterkant provides an example of a place that has witnessed multiple shifts of its actors, identities and meanings over time while at the same time continuing to be a quartered urban space. At stake in the case of De Waterkant is our understanding of gay space in the Southern context. It serves as an example of a quartered space that, in spite of the attempts to do so, cannot be separated from the context in which it is situated. The context of South African quartering is haunted by the apartheid past, and as I have demonstrated is a continuation of its spatially-segregated legacy. Given the contested nature of its everyday spaces, and the tension between utopian and dystopian forces, De Waterkant serves as an archive of the past, revealing through its quarterings identities often buried below the surface. While the shape of its quartering has changed, De Waterkant has taken on new, often overlapping quarterings that reflect evolving identities, meanings, and ideological hegemonies. The result of those many quarterings is to include some while excluding others.

The urban quarter exemplified by De Waterkant provides opportunities for city dwellers to produce and consume new identities. At the same time, cities like Cape Town engage the quartered experience in marketing their urban destination; in responding to concerns of crime and urban decay; and in attracting capital investment and jobs. The quarter thus becomes a space of possibility where the urban experience becomes commodified, marketed, sold and consumed. The quarter is after all a 'place' that is shaped by humans while it also shapes the human experience—an ever-evolving performance of sexuality, ethnicity, race, and citizenship within the context of the city that is always 'becoming'.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Human subjects research information sheet and consent form



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

**Human Subjects Research Information Sheet**  
 PhD by Dissertation  
 Department of Environment and Geographical Science  
 University of Cape Town

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**Researcher:**  
 Mr. Bradley Michael Rink  
 Cell: 082 713 8223  
 Email: [Brink@cjee.org](mailto:Brink@cjee.org)

**Degree Course:**  
 PhD by Dissertation  
 Department of Environment and Geographical Science  
 University of Cape Town

**Supervised by:**  
 Dr. Sophie Oldfield, Department of Environment and Geographical Science, University of Cape Town

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In compliance with the University of Cape Town (UCT) *Code for Research involving Human Subjects*, the following information is being disclosed to human subjects who are involved in the stated research. This research is making use of human subjects as sources of data, and the following is disclosed in compliance with the *Code*. Furthermore, this Disclosure and Consent is meant to provide participants (research subjects) in the research with reasonable and sufficient knowledge about the researcher, the researcher's background, location and research intentions while also verifying participant(s) consent to take part in the research.

**1. ABOUT THE RESEARCHER:**  
 Bradley Rink is a resident of Cape Town who was born and grew up in the United States. He studied his Bachelor (B.A. Spanish, 1990, Saint John's University) and Masters Degrees (M.I.A. Intercultural Administration, 1995, School for International Training; and M.A. Geography, 1998, University of Vermont) in the United States and first came to South Africa in 1998 to administer the Southern Africa Field (Geography) Programme on behalf of the University of Vermont, USA. As an openly gay man and frequent visitor to the area known more recently as the "Village" in Cape Town, Bradley became interested in the growth and development of the area –and particularly in the transformation of the area into a gay enclave as it relates to his previous research in landscapes of utopia.

**2. TITLE OF RESEARCH**  
*Life is Better in the Village: Locating and shaping utopian moments in De Waterkant*

**3. RESEARCH FOCUS AND INTENTIONS**  
 This researched is focused upon the development of Cape Town's De Waterkant area as a gay enclave known locally to many as the "village". Such areas are often sites of utopian-like performance, where the pursuit of consumption and desire are assumed to be pursued with a common purpose and under shared interests. Utopias are not always perfect, and may result in multiple tensions including control, violence, surveillance, and oppression. This research intends to contribute to South African geography's on-going interrogation of place-making and community-building by framing this process within a utopian lens situated within the dialogue of South African geographic inquiry. The research will further demonstrate how gay enclaves or "villages" are sites of globalised culture, and how the particular case of De Waterkant demonstrates a case of urban identity utopianism. By examining the process and the pursuit of desire in the performance of identity and place-making, this research is intended to explore the development of an urban gay enclave in Cape Town.

Human Subjects Research Information Sheet – Bradley Rink, PhD Candidate, University of Cape Town

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Figure A.1 Human Subjects Research Information Sheet- page 1

**4. PARTICIPANT'S INVOLVEMENT**  
**What's involved:**  
Participation in this research involves answering semi-structured questions from the researcher that have relevance to the research focus and intentions. There are no additional requirements.

**Risks:**  
There are no foreseeable risks of physical, psychological or social harm to participants that might result from or occur in the course of the research. In the case where a participant(s) sexual identity is disclosed or could be presumed to be disclosed in the course of the research and such disclosure were to be perceived as harmful or unwanted on the part of the participant(s), every effort will be made to maintain anonymity and to prevent such harm from being suffered.

**Benefits:**  
There are no anticipated benefits by participating in this research.

**Costs:**  
There is no cost to participants for participating in this research.

**Payment:**  
There is no payment being offered to participants for their participation in this research.

**5. CONFIDENTIALITY AND ANONYMITY**  
Privacy and confidentiality will be guaranteed to participants unless permission to void such clause is granted. Participant name(s) will be changed or name and affiliation and any information that could reasonably lead to identification shall be omitted unless permission to void such clause is granted.

**6. PROTECTION OF DATA**  
All data which emanates from this research project shall be safely held and protected by the researcher. In addition, all identifiers will be stripped from data for storage, and human subject identifying codes (eg: HUM001, HUM002, etc.) and/or pseudonyms will be used for filing and analytical purposes.

**7. POTENTIAL FOR HARM TO UCT OR OTHER INSTITUTIONS**  
There are no foreseeable risks of harm to UCT or to other institutions (such risks include legal action resulting from the research, the image of the university being affected by association with the research project) that might result from or occur in the course of the research.


**8. ETHICS**  
There are no apparent ethical issues that are expected to arise during the course of the research. However, should such issues arise (e.g., with regard to conflicts of interests amongst participants and/or institutions) they will be fully discussed with the participant(s) prior to completing data collection.

**9. CONSENT & DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION**  
A separate *Consent Form* is provided to verify your understanding and agreement to participate in this research. A copy of this *Information Sheet* will be provided upon request.

Human Subjects Research Information Sheet – Bradley Rink, PhD Candidate, University of Cape Town Page 2

Figure A.2 Human Subjects Research Information Sheet- page 2

Once the participant read and understood the *Research Information Sheet*, they were asked to sign the *Consent Form*, a sample which is included below.

 UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

**Human Subjects Research Consent**  
PhD by Dissertation  
Department of Environment and Geographical Science  
University of Cape Town

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**Researcher:**  
Mr. Bradley Michael Rink  
Cell: 082 713 8223  
Email: [Brink@clee.org](mailto:Brink@clee.org)

**Title of Research:**  
*Life is Better in the Village: Locating and shaping utopian moments in De Waterkant*

**Degree Course:**  
PhD by Dissertation  
Department of Environment and Geographical Science  
University of Cape Town

**Supervised by:**  
Dr. Sophie Oldfield, Department of Environment and Geographical Science, University of Cape Town

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In compliance with the University of Cape Town (UCT) *Code for Research Involving Human Subjects*, the following *Consent Form* is required for human subjects who are involved in the stated research. This research is making use of human subjects as sources of data, and the following *Consent Form* and the associated *Information Sheet* is provided in compliance with the *Code*.

**CONSENT**

- I agree to participate in this research project.
- I have seen, read, and understood the *Research Information Sheet* presented to me by the researcher as well as this *Consent Form* and had an opportunity to ask questions about them.
- I agree to my responses being used for education and research on condition that my anonymity and privacy are respected, subject to the following as they pertain to Clause no. 5 of the *Research Information Sheet*:
  - I understand that my privacy and confidentiality will be guaranteed unless permission to void such clause is granted.
  - I understand that my name will be changed and affiliation or any information that could reasonably lead to identification shall be omitted unless permission to void such clause is granted.
- I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this research project.
- I understand that I have the right to retract my consent (in writing) at any stage and to withdraw from participation in this research project at any stage (in writing).

Signature of Participant/Guardian (if under 18): \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Participant/Guardian: \_\_\_\_\_

**Void of Anonymity Clause:** By ticking the following  and initialling below \_\_\_\_\_ I consent to void the anonymity clause above.

Signature of person who sought consent: \_\_\_\_\_

Name of person who sought consent: \_\_\_\_\_ Bradley Michael Rink \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of principal researcher: \_\_\_\_\_

Bradley Michael Rink

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Human Subjects Consent Form – Bradley Rink, PhD Candidate, University of Cape Town Page 1

Figure A.3 Human Subjects Research Consent Form