

District 1: Mapping memories of an erased space in a transforming post-apartheid city

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Mini-Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Masters
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Course APG 5071S, 2021

Supervised by Dr Thuto Thipe



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The success of this dissertation is owed to the guidance and support that I've received along the way. I would first like to extend my deepest gratitude to the former residents of District One, for graciously welcoming me into their homes and generously sharing their invaluable stories with me. For these, I am forever grateful.

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Finally, to my husband, Anees, thank you for being my sounding board, voice of reason and biggest supporter.

Figure A (Top cover image): Panoramic aerial image of District One in the late 19th century (Rennie, John, Teresa Louw, and Gregg Goddard. 1978. The Buildings of Central Cape Town. Cape Town: Cape Provincial Institute of Architects Volume 3).

Figure B (Bottom cover image): Panoramic aerial image of District One taken in February 2022 (Author's Own).

Former Residents of District One Interviewed for this Paper

Uncle MJ, interviewed on the 8th October 2021

Uncle MJ grew up in in Cobern Street. His grandparents and uncle lived opposite. He attended Prestwich Street Primary School, and his father owned a tailor in Somerset Road, so they had deep roots in the area. His father owned their house and were forced to sell. They were fortunate enough to buy a house in Bo-Kaap, where he still lives today.

Aunty GF, interviewed on the 9th October 2021

Aunty GF grew up in Loader Street and attended Prestwich Street Primary School. Her father was a builder, so he took great pride in their house, which he owned. Her father grew up in Napier Street, where his father and brothers continued to live until they were forced to leave. Her father was forced to sell his house and they moved to Factreton, which at the time was part of Windermere. Her father bought a vacant property and built their house himself. Aunty GF still lives there today.

Pastor MW, interviewed on the 12th October 2021

Pastor MW lived in Amsterdam Street. His family lived in Loader Street for generations before him, before moving to Amsterdam Street when his father was young. Although Paster MW did not live in District One for very long, he continued to visit his paternal aunt in Amsterdam Street, in his late grandparents' house. His paternal family were Catholic and belonged to the Sacred Heart Church. His aunt continued to live in Amsterdam Street until she was forced to sell their home. Despite his short stay in Amsterdam Street, District One continues to have a great impact on his understanding of his identity.

Aunty GJ, Aunty GS and Aunty WC, interviewed on the 14th October 2021

Aunty GJ and Aunty GS are sisters, and Aunty WC is their niece. Aunty GJ and Aunty GS moved to Cobern Street from Walmer Estate, where they were forced to sell for the alleged extension of the road (their house is still there). Their father bought the house from Uncle MJ's uncle. Aunty GJ continued to travel to school in Walmer Estate after they moved, while Aunty GS attended Prestwich Street Primary School. They both got married "out of that house" in Cobern Street. Aunty GJ married a man that lived in Loader Street, where she lived shortly after they married. Aunty WC was also born in the house in Cobern Street and attended Prestwich Street Primary School, like her aunts. She lived with her parents and grandparents in that house until she was 11 when, when they were forced to sell. The family, along with Aunty WC, were forcibly removed to Ottery. Aunty GJ and Aunty GS live in the Cape Flats and Aunty WC now lived in Green Point. They all still continue to attend Vos Street Mosque.

Aunty AP, interviewed on the 16th October 2021

Aunty AP was raised in Napier Street, where her paternal family lived for many years before. Aunty AP attended Prestwich Street Primary School. Her parents owned their home and lived there until they were forced to sell. Her family was forced to sell and they were moved to Kensington. Aunty AP later moved to Bo-Kaap, where she continues to rent a property with her son.

Aunty ME, interviewed on the 16th October 2021

Aunty ME was raised in Loader Street and attended Prestwich Street Primary School. Her father passed away when she was a child but her mother continued to live there, where she could lean on their community for support. Aunty ME's paternal grandparents lived in Waterkant Street, where her father was raised. Her family was forcibly removed to Grassy Park when she was in her matric year, where they lived shortly before moving to Bo-Kaap. Aunty ME married a man from Bo-Kaap, who she met when she lived in Loader Street and still lives in Bo-Kaap today.

Aunty AS, interviewed on the 23rd October 2021

Aunty AS was born in District Six but moved to the Dock Cottages when she was a baby, after her father was employed by the South African Harbour and Railway Company. The Dock Cottages were located between Battery Street and Bennet Street. Aunty AS attended Prestwich Street Primary School. Her family was forcibly removed to Mannenberg but after she married, she and her husband, who was from Waterkant Street, moved to Mitchells Plain, where Aunty AS still lives.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CoCT	City of Cape Town
City	City of Cape Town
DSAC	Department of Sports, Arts and Culture
EHRIC	Environment and Heritage Resources Information Centre
HIA	Heritage Impact Assessment
HPOZ	Heritage Protection Overlay Zone
HWC	Heritage Western Cape
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
MPBL	Municipal Planning By-Law
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act
PHS	Provincial Heritage Site
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
UCI	Urban Catalytic Investments
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

Preface

My journey into the forgotten history of District One started with my deep attachment to the inner city. My forefathers settled in Bo-Kaap after the abolition of slavery, and we have been fortunate enough to remain there for several generations since. The stories told to us of life in the city were always told with the inclusion of District Six, and the District One, an area that I hadn't been able to place for a long time prior to starting my research for this paper. Before the themes of this paper were established, I stumbled upon a painting done by Cecil Schott in the William Fehr Collection that depicted life at the Fish Market in Roggebaai. I was later sent this image by a colleague and was once again inspired by this lost city-dwelling community, solidifying my need to uncover their forgotten history, which remains as a scar of a displaced community in District One.

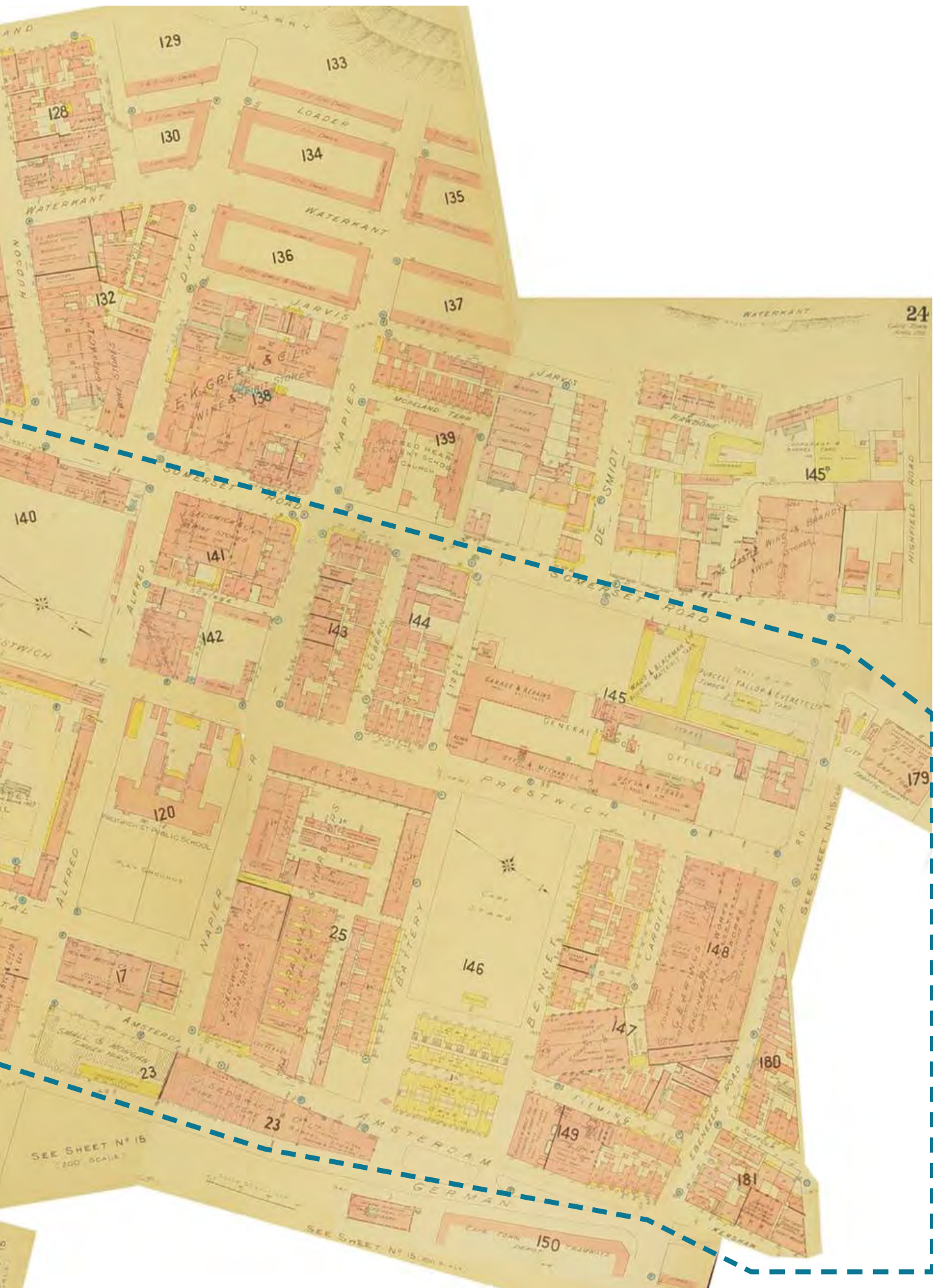
Despite its omission from common urban history of the city, the fond memories of District One told by those who lived in and around the area continue to live as long as they are shared. The memories of former residents are essential in preserving a collective memory in areas of forced removals, especially those like District One where little tangible remnants remain.

Figure 1: The old Cape Town fish market at Rogge Bay (Roggebaai) by Cecil Schott, 1898. (Painting from the William Fehr Collection)





Figure 2: Goad Insurance Maps from 1925 stitched together to represent a map of District One. The case study area is represented with dashed line (UCT African Studies Library)



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Abstract

This study examines District One, an area of racial dispossession located within the inner-city of Cape Town in South Africa, to establish the heritage value of the area and how it can be safeguarded. The area was desecrated because of the Group Areas Act, with a large portion of the historic urban landscape demolished and the community displaced to various parts of the Cape Flats¹. Intangible and tangible heritage will be used to establish how heritage mechanisms can facilitate dialogue pertaining to memory and displacement for redress and spatial justice to occur.

Heritage is essential to both collective and individualised identity. It holds the power of bestowing value to things that have great significance to people, both tangible and intangible (Labadi, et al., 2021). Given the layered history of District One as both a burial ground and an area of forced removals, the area is clearly one of great heritage significance. Heritage discourse in South Africa has always been geared towards the tangible Eurocentric built environment, which with South Africa's history of colonialism, explicitly privileged whiteness.

Since 1999, with the birth of the National Heritage Resources Act, there has been a shift towards the inclusion of intangible cultural heritage or living heritage, as it is referred to in South Africa's heritage policies. Twenty years on, intangible cultural heritage/living heritage is still a difficult element for heritage practitioners to grapple with but there seems to be a newfound realisation in its ability for inclusion and redress for marginalised communities of colour.

District One has been sparsely acknowledged in the public history of Cape Town, giving way to a forgotten community who continue to be ignored in present society. This study, therefore, draws substantially from interviews with dispossessed former residents and various historic maps and aerial images.

¹ The Cape Flats are located south-east of the city. The area was vacant up until the 1950s, after which Black and Coloured townships were established on this undesirable land far from the white city centre. Given the lack of spatial transformation in Cape Town, these areas remain racially segregated and marginalised.

Figure 3: Locality plan, indicating District One in dashed blue line and the case study area in blue (City of Cape Town Map Viewer).



Introduction

District One², like the better-known District Six, is an urban landscape of displacement in Cape Town, South Africa. District One was centrally located northwest of Buitengracht Street - the historic demarcation of the inner core of the city (Worden, et al., 1998), nestled between Bo-Kaap, Green Point and the old harbour's edge along its north-eastern boundary. For the purpose of this paper, the case study area of District One has been reduced to the portion below Somerset Road, not including the older portion of the area now known as de Waterkant³.

Starting off as a pre-colonial burial ground for the Indigenous Khoekhoen people, the area was retained as such but usurped by the Dutch on the outskirts of their newly built city core (Malan, et al., 2017, p. 59). The area was then marked by an urban landscape of low stone walls and cypress trees signalling the formalised burial grounds for the European colonists (Malan, et al., 2017). Informal burials of enslaved people, 'non-European' people and people outside of the Christian faith were located along the peripheries of these demarcated cemeteries (Weeder, 2006).

After the eventual exhumation of the human remains, the lower portion of District One organically developed towards the turn of the 20th century as an extension of the diverse working-class residential area west of Somerset Road (Malan, et al., 2017). This portion of the residential area included various commercialised and industrialised activity throughout. The area functioned as a thriving residential area until 1966, when it was declared a White Area under the Group Areas Act, and the majority-Coloured⁴ residents, and the remaining black residents were forcibly removed from the area, resulting in a largely altered landscape (Bickford-Smith, 1995; Nasson, 1987). Much of the fine-grained residential and commercial fabric was demolished and the urban morphology of the area was substantially changed, with the consolidation of erven and historic streets to allow for large mixed-use buildings, the Helen Suzman Boulevard and the incomplete highway bridge. This has resulted in a change in both the existing building typologies and the overall configuration of the urban layout. Apart from the few historic cultural institutions that remain, the area has slowly become an affluent commercial district made up of high-income residential buildings and hotels, with ground floor bakeries and restaurants that cater to a similar demographic.

Heritage in South Africa has historically favoured tangible built elements, which was hegemonized by white colonial and apartheid governments that controlled the built environment of the country. Cape Dutch architecture and the later Victorian and Georgian styled architecture (but to mention a few), were inextricably rooted in Eurocentrism, and identified as 'National Monuments' by the ruling oppressive government, using heritage as a device to assert dominance and ownership of the land (National Monuments Act (1969). Progressive heritage legislature was implemented in South Africa in 1999, with the adoption of the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA). The NHRA, unlike prejudiced heritage legislation that came before it, lawfully

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The subject area will be referred to as "District One" in this dissertation. This name was established in 1867, when the city was divided into six districts for electoral purposes (Bickford-Smith, 1995, p. 47). The area is, however, referred to by the former residents that were interviewed as part of various surrounding areas, including Green Point, de Waterkant, Bo-Kaap, and simply just Cape Town. It seems to be common practice for former residents to refer specifically to their street names when speaking about the area from which they were displaced.

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The case study area is bounded by Buitengracht Street, Somerset Road, Ebenezer Street and the historic harbours edge. The conclusion as to how this area was selected will be expanded on further in the research methodologies section of this paper.

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'Coloured' is a South African racial classification that was established during apartheid and continues to be a racial identity claimed by the Coloured population. Coloured people have diverse ancestral ethnicities linked to Indigenous groups, Europe, and the Dutch East Indies. During apartheid, particularly at the time of the Group Areas Act, Coloured people were further segregated into Muslim Cape Malay and Christian Coloured groups, which is factually incorrect as many Christian Coloured people can link their ancestry back to the East, while Muslim Coloured people can link their ancestry back to Indigenous groups. The term Coloured is, therefore, all-encompassing for both Muslim and Christian communities.



Green Point
District One
Bo-Kaap

 City Centre

celebrates the significance of South Africa's diverse intangible cultural heritage⁵ and living heritage. It was the foundational basis for the national and local heritage frameworks that followed, whilst also providing a legal mechanism for heritage to be inscribed into planning by-laws and spatial development frameworks (Draft National Policy on South African Living Heritage, 2009 & 2016; Integrated Metropolitan Environmental Policy: Cultural Heritage Strategy, 2005; CoCT Municipal Planning By-law, 2019). These frameworks allow for progressive heritage discourse and should, in theory, make provision for the safeguarding of intangible heritage.

Given South Africa's history with Eurocentric architecture as a symbol of power, there are few tangible remnants in Cape Town that hold heritage significance to the previously marginalized people, especially considering the effects of segregationist laws of displacement (Deacon, 2018; Lefebvre, 1991). There are, however, an abundance of practices, skills and oral histories that hold great relevance to these groups of previously marginalized people (Labadi, et al., 2021). The safeguarding of intangible heritage is, therefore, of particular significance to areas of forced removal and erasure, like that of District One, where the heritage of the area remains largely concentrated in the oral histories and embedded memories of the landscape (Roux, 2021).

Two decades after the NHRA was proclaimed, and despite the inclusion of intangible heritage in the NHRA and other frameworks alike, intangible heritage resources in areas of forced removals are still insufficiently safeguarded in the formal processes of professional heritage practice, unless unequivocally tied to tangible forms. This misnomer is further complicated by the disconnect between tangible and intangible heritage and the disjuncture in the protection of the respective heritage resources, with the former managed by the heritage authorities (CoCT, HWC and SAHRA) and the latter managed by the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture (Sitas & Stewart, 2021). This separation of heritage management further prejudices intangible heritage, as the three-tiered heritage authorities play a more consequential role in the shaping of our cities than the Department of Arts and Culture. The NHRA and other local heritage policies that govern these heritage authorities provide a foundation to facilitate the safeguarding of intangible and tangible heritage as a coherent entity if used as such in all sectors of heritage management. The coherent framing of intangible and tangible heritage can, furthermore, be used to contribute to inclusive place-making within the city, whilst addressing issues around urban transformation and redress (Roux, 2021; Sitas & Stewart, 2021). Formal processes are, however, often unable to protect intangible heritage resources in existing communities. My central research question, therefore, asks:

How do we use heritage mechanisms to engage with issues of memory and displacement in areas of racial dispossession throughout Cape Town?

Racially fuelled segregationist displacements occurred in District One throughout the 20th century, starting as early as 1901 with the displacement of black dock

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Intangible cultural heritage refers to the non-physical aspects of heritage. The term is defined by UNESCO as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills—as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith—that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. Transmitted from generation to generation, it is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity" (UNESCO, 2003).

Figure 4: Image showing the position of District One, Bo-Kaap and Green Point in relation to the city centre (Authors own).

workers after the rise of the Bubonic Plague (Swanson, 1977). This was followed three centuries later by the proclamation of the Slum Area Act of 1934 that led to the displacement of the residents around Jerry Street, and eventually ended with the proclamation of the Group Areas Act in 1966, which saw the final removal of black and coloured people from District One, followed swiftly by the destruction of the physical remnants of this community (Truluck, 1989; Worden, 1994).

South Africa is filled with areas like District One that are still haunted by the legacy of the forced removals of the 20th century, with a disproportionate percentage of the older population of the Cape Flats made up of displaced people from various parts of the southern suburbs and the inner city (Field, 2001). It has become abundantly clear from the oral history interviews that have been undertaken in this dissertation that displaced people deal with unresolved trauma relating to belonging, memory and identity that cannot be fully resolved without restitution. Even the most overt mechanisms for restitution such as Land Claims have managed to perpetuate the invisibility of this community. As this paper reveals, it is clear from both the Land Claim Forms submitted by former residents of District One, as well as testimonies from unsuccessful claimants that District One is yet to be recognised by the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights and the Land Claims Court as an area of restitution.

Heritage has the potential to address some of these ongoing issues around memory and belonging that have perpetuated both physically in the areas of dispossession and metaphysically in the daily sub-conscious of the displaced. Heritage can be harnessed to contribute to redress and restitution by informing the ways in which these urban landscapes of displacement are shaped. Many of these remaining built structures are older than sixty years, which automatically makes these buildings viable for heritage protection in terms of Section 34 of the NHRA. Several of these older buildings have also been given various levels of local heritage gradings by the City of Cape Town, which formally protects the individual buildings in terms of Section 30 of the NHRA, by placing them on the heritage register. Given that the City of Cape Town, as the Local Heritage Authority, are yet to be given the responsibility of managing these heritage resources, the management lies with the Provincial Heritage Authority, Heritage Western Cape, whose decisions are governed by the NHRA. The subject area of District One has, furthermore, only been earmarked as a "proposed" Heritage Protection Overlay Zone and not a "declared" Heritage Protection Overlay Zone. This proclamation – or lack thereof - does not offer the area any collective formal protection in terms of the Municipal Planning By-Laws or Spatial Development Framework.

District One has always been a space of possible development. It was earmarked for development as early as 1947, with the incomplete elevated freeway bridges that formed part of the envisioned Cape Town Foreshore Plan (Bickford-Smith, 1999). In 2016, the City of Cape Town identified the "Foreshore Freeway Precinct" as a site for future development, calling for design proposals that were never realised this time (Bickford-Smith, 1999). More recently, the Urban Catalytic Investment Department at the City of Cape Town have been tasked with developing a spatial

plan for development of this area, that is referred to as the Foreshore Gateway Precinct Masterplan (City of Cape Town, 17 May 2021). The Foreshore Gateway Precinct Masterplan plans to use State-owned land for this development, which begins to question the City's position on spatial restitution and whether they are resolute on achieving an inclusive city.

This paper has three key objectives that it hopes to address. Firstly, it aims to identify and explore the ways in which intangible cultural resources such as memory and oral history can be identified and reinstated in this erased landscape. In doing so, the various legislature, policies, and planning frameworks will be assessed in order to locate the disjunction between the formal processes of professional heritage management and the ways in which professional heritage management is practiced. Secondly, the intertwined relationship between intangible heritage and urban morphology will be analysed to uncover the role of the historic urban fabric in preserving collective memory and promoting restitution. Finally, this dissertation aims to uncover how the displaced community members and their deep-rooted intangible cultural heritage can be included in proposed frameworks of development for the subject area, allowing for redress and spatial justice.

Research Methodology

What is important to mention from the offset, is the omission of the people of District One from popular history. They are not included in the same vein as the people of Bo-Kaap or District Six, despite their stark similarities. District One may exist in historic maps but there is a clear vacancy in the archival knowledge of the area, its people, and its fraught history of forced removals. This omission of District One is found in published social history accounts, official records and academic archives.

This study still makes use of several research strategies based on qualitative research methods. These research strategies, which will be described in detail below, fall within the critical, case study, and phenomenological research paradigms. These three paradigms provide different but complimentary ways in which to conduct the research necessary for this paper.

Critical research refers to the evidence-based research that will be undertaken through arts-informed and multimodal inquiries; interpretive analysis will be done through the process of interviews; and the phenomenological paradigm will deal with the lived experiences of the interviewees but may also surface from archival research (Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

As a methodological starting point, this research began with arts-informed and multimodal inquiries. The first of these was the analysis of urban morphology using overlaying of maps and aerial images ranging from the 18th century to the current day context. Brenda Scheer refers to this type of chronological comparison, where knowledge is gained through comparative analysis of the same place at different times, as a 'diachronic' method of morphological analysis (Scheer, 2018). This form of research has uncovered the change in urban fabric over time, in terms of the built forms, size of erven, urban grain, density, and the general morphology of the area. These overlays allow for the identification and differentiation between historic public spaces and buildings and the more recent building fabric of the area. This methodology, furthermore, assists in grading the age and significance of various historic building precincts.

The second of these arts-informed and multimodal inquiries is the analysis of historic photographs from the private collections of interviewees and the following archival collections: AG Collection, Elliot Collection, Morrison Collection, Ravenscroft Collection, Steer Collection, Jeffreys Collection. After conducting this research, it became clear that there are very few photographs of District One in existence, in both private collections of the former residents and the public archival records. Between the Cape Town Archives and the South African National Library, I was able to find 5 photographs that illustrated the urban life within District One during the 19th and 20th centuries. Of the 10 people interviewed, only 3 had photographs of the area, with only 2 people willing to share these with me.

Even just the modicum of photographs available still provide an idea of the character of the area prior to forced removals. The analysis of the photographs, therefore, provides a more coherent "sense of place" of District One than the maps are able to (Norberg-Schulz, 1980). Despite the positionality of photographers,

photographs of urban fabric and streets serve as a more authentic historic record of the past, unlike paintings and drawings where the context can be altered to suit the artist (Collier, 2001). The analysis of historic visual material is used in visual sociology and anthropology, a commonly used method of research that provides an evidence-based data retrieval (Pauwels, 2015). The photographs serve as evidence of the presence of people in these spaces and provide records that outlive people, allowing a glimpse into life of the past for future viewers.

Oral history provides an even more nuanced interpretation of the history of a place than photographs, influenced by various emotional factors and often distorted over time (Minkley & Rassool, 1998). With that said, it is unlikely for people to misconstrue whether they have fond or negative memories associated with a place. People's memories can, however, evolve based on their social contexts over time, which may render the analytical evidence of their accounts as non-factual (Perks & Thomson, 2006). Sean Field argues that the evolution of memories created within these changing social contexts are perhaps more useful than analytical accounts (Field, 2001, p. 118). The added personalised constructions of memories can be seen to encompass a deeper meaning that relates back to various social contexts over time. Sean Field goes on to credit the "patterns of memory" to people's need to have their stories known and recorded (Field, 2001).

To Field's point, some of the former residents interviewed were willing to travel wherever they needed to have their stories heard and give a human experience to what was lost. Aunty AS, one of the former residents interviewed for this paper currently lives in Mitchells Plain, a Coloured 'township' established by the apartheid government in the 1970s. Mitchells Plain is notoriously known for gang related conflict, making it one of the more dangerous areas in the Cape Flats. For this reason, this interviewee did not want me to drive to meet with her at home and insisted on meeting elsewhere. Like many of the older female participants that I interviewed, she was unable to drive and had to make alternative arrangements to meet with me. Even with the difficulty of travel, she made every concerted effort to meet with me and have her story known, making a poignant statement on the importance of recorded histories:

I'm so grateful that you're recording this. Otherwise, we'll just stay swept under the rug. Finish and kla. Gone, nobody will know about you (Aunty AS, interviewed by author on 23 October 2021).

Oral history can be used as a method for both historical inquiries, as well as qualitative research (Yow, 1994). It is a method used to extract lived experiences from various people and is defined by Valerie Yow as "the recording of personal testimony delivered in oral form" (Yow, 1994, p. 3). Oral history interviews can be seen as a way of recording the memories and histories of previously marginalised people whose stories were omitted from official archival records. Gary Minkley and Ciraj Rassool refer to this as a form of "counter-memory", where the "hidden history" gives way to a new collective memory that is inclusive of all voices (Minkley & Rassool, 1998). This method of "counter-memory" mapping has been used successfully to record the nuanced experiences of several victims of forced

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'Klaar' is the Afrikaans word for 'finish'. 'Finish and kla' is a colloquial term used to emphasize the end of something, leaving no room for questions or explanations.

removals from District Six, and the District Six Museum successfully employs the use of oral history in the curation of their exhibitions as a way to preserve memory (Layne & Rassool, 2001).

District Six has been vastly covered as an area of forced removals and erasure. The methods used to research issues relating to erasure and the preservation of memory in District Six will form a precedent for the ways in which District One is approached in this paper. Both districts were in close proximity of the city, the residents were diverse, and both suffered the eventual fate of near total demolition. The extensive work done by the District Six Museum and Ciraj Rassool's writing on District Six and memory preservation will be drawn on as a theoretical basis for this paper.

As mentioned in the introduction, the historic footprint of District One was quite expansive, made up of building fabric that dated from the early 19th century to the early 20th century. To be more thorough in the morphological study of this paper, it was essential that the case study area was of a manageable size. Given the incremental way in which the city expanded, the portion of District One closest to Bo-Kaap was the first to be constructed, with building fabric increasing toward Somerset Road and later towards the old harbours edge. Although the area eventually became one district, the building fabric above Somerset Road differed to that below it. This was the starting point in the decision to separate the two portions of the area in this study. After the Group Areas Act displacements in 1966, the urban landscapes of the two portions suffered separate fates. The western portion above Somerset Road was reconstructed and restored similarly to Bo-Kaap, becoming de Waterkant, while the eastern portion below Somerset Road was largely demolished, becoming an erased landscape of a forgotten community. While the stories of the displaced residents of the western portion of District One are of equal significance to those of the eastern portion, the effaced nature of the eastern portion, combined with the CoCT's plan for development in this area, led to my selection of the eastern portion for this paper.

Before commencing with interviews, I had set out to interview people not only from the subject area of District One, but also those who lived in the portion above Somerset Road, as well as people from Bo-Kaap. When this decision was made, I knew of only one former resident of the subject area, a few people who lived in Bo-Kaap and one that stayed in Loader Street (a street in District One but outside of the designated subject area). These interviews provided significant insights from people who lived close by and experienced the subject area of District One area. They also illustrated the social fluidity of the inner-city residential areas, something that could not be read in a map or photographs.

The process of recruiting people to interview happened gradually, with each participant "knowing" a neighbour, friend, or acquaintance that they thought would be a "good person to interview". The interviewees were always interested in who was interviewed before them and always knew of at least one other person, while most people were acquainted with most of the other interviewees.

The interview process unfolded organically as the interviews commenced, and unwittingly provided insight into the deep bonds of communities of dispossession, who still managed to keep communal ties after half a century. To explain these communal ties, it is necessary to give an example of how the interview process unfolded. The first interview that took place was with Aunty GG, a former resident of Loader Street who I was introduced to by my aunt, who was friends with her daughter. With no other leads from the subject area at the time, I asked Aunty GG if she knew anybody from the area below Somerset Road. She immediately remembered that her neighbour was married to a lady that lived in Cobern Street and promised to find her contact details for me. Within days, I was able to contact Aunty GJ, who agreed to meet with me and brought along her sister and niece, both of whom grew up in District One as well. To further reinforce the communal ties of the inner-city residential areas, it just so happened that nearly every person interviewed knew my grandfather or his family in some way or another⁷.

Given the organic process of finding the interviewees, there was little rigidity to the selection process, with ten of the twelve interviewees having spent at least 10 years of their lives living in the inner-city, two from Bo-Kaap, three from the upper part of District One, and five within the subject area of District One. One of the interviewees spent a short period of his childhood in the subject area of District One but his father's family lived in District One for many years prior to this. Lastly, the principal of Prestwich Street Primary School was interviewed on the unofficial role of the school to this dispossessed community.

The interview process was mostly open ended, with a set of structured questions to provide quantifiable and comparable data. For mapping purposes, I was interested in where the interviewees lived prior to living in District One (if applicable), and where they were displaced to, where they live currently. In order to understand communal relations, the following questions were asked: how long families lives there prior to forced removals, their current relationships with former neighbours, their relationship with the city after the forced removals, and their feelings regarding the demolition of their previous homes as opposed to having new people living in the homes that were torn from their possession. The interview with Mahdi Samodien, the principal of Prestwich Street Primary School, was the only anomaly, with a far more open-ended line of questioning to the rest.

Given the way in which the interviews unfolded, it is important to note that eleven of the twelve people interviewed are Muslim, with one Christian interviewee, who is also from the larger coloured community. I am cognisant that this shared identity has afforded the interviewees a more homogenous life experience, which could also explain the explicit ties of these interviewees to Bo-Kaap. This does not, however, detract from the significance of these shared stories.

Some of the interviewees chose to remain anonymous in this study, while others were indifferent on whether their names were to be included in the paper or not. None of the interviewees displayed strong interest in having their names mentioned. For that reason, and for the sake of consistency throughout this

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My grandfather was born and raised in Bo-Kaap and attended Prestwich Street Primary School and Roggebaai High School, both of which are/were located in District One. This was my link to District One, and I brought it up to all the interviewees at some point in the interview as a point of relation. This was always met with the same response, "what is your grandfather's name?", which then ended with a story of how they knew him. Some went to school with him, some had brothers that he was friends with, one was the son of his father's best friend, and one happened to be distantly related - finally putting a face to the "family of my mother in Loader Street" that my grandfather always spoke of.

paper, I have decided to use pseudonyms for all the former residents interviewed in this paper apart from Mr Samodien, the principal of the school.

Given the open-ended nature of the interview with Mr Samodien, I was made aware of the school's Admission Registers that date back to 1917. These documents are an invaluable resource, as they provide a record of all of the past pupils of the school, where they lived, and if applicable, what school they attended before. With the history of Cape Town as a city made up of "huurhuisjes" (rentable houses), this record is in some cases the only proof of residence that exists.

The school is a public institution, and like many other public schools in South Africa, is under resourced. They are, therefore, unable to keep these records in a sufficient storage facility to protect them from possible disasters. For this reason, as part of my research, I had undertaken to photograph each page of each document to ensure that a record of these documents exists in case of disaster. Using the District Six Museum floor map as an example, I have produced a map of the families that lived in the case study area between 1948 and 1968. The time frame used is specific to when the former residents interviewed for this paper would have lived in the area. This time period also indicates the period between when apartheid was implemented, and the Group Areas Act was enforced in District One.

Because the school was a registered Coloured School, the map indicates the Coloured (and some Portuguese) families that lived in District One. The register shows the overlapping of many families that lived in the same houses during this period of time, sometimes at the same time. It is unclear if these were multi-generational family homes, sub-divided double-storeys that were rented out to various families at a time, or if people frequently moved around within the area. Furthermore, the surnames indicated on the map are copied from the Admissions Register, some of which are written in an almost illegible fashion, so human error must be taken into account in the copying of these names. For continuity throughout, the surnames of the parents and guardians are used in the map. These sometimes differ from those of the children admitted but those cases occur infrequently.

Literature Review

As has been established, this paper aims to locate and map memory of District One in order to uncover ways in which the intangible cultural heritage and memory of displaced people can be uncovered and preserved in this transforming city. While many recent studies have focused on forced removals from several areas within Cape Town, District Six in particular, very little has been documented on the forced removals of District One. The literature review is structured thematically, focusing on key themes throughout this dissertation.

Social History and Racial Politics in Cape Town

The social history of Cape Town is of particular significance to this paper, as it outlines the events and social structure that eventually led to the 1966 Forced Removals. Social history of the colonised Cape starts in the 17th century with issues surrounding slavery, which is a gateway to understanding identity and race politics in Cape Town (Shell, 1997) (Bradlow & Cairns, 1978). Slavery culture is explored by Robert Shell, who unpacks the nuanced relationship between Cape slave identity/culture and space, indicating how each informs the other (Shell, 1997). This contextual understanding of slavery in the Cape between the 17th and 19th century therefore provides an insight into the built landscape of Cape Town, both in its urban layout, as well as its architectural intricacies. This broad contextual understanding of slavery in the Cape is further streamlined by the work of Achmat Davids and Mohamed Adhikari, who provide personalised understandings of Coloured identity in Cape Town, both past and present. Davids allows for a dynamic unpacking of the so-called 'Cape Malay' community, their origins and the struggle of reclaiming an identity that was forced upon them (Davids, 1980), while Adhikari provides a more political understanding of Coloured identity and its origin within the "colonial state, in its drive to classify and control people" (Adhikari, 2009, p. ix).

The issues concerning racial and class dynamics continued to compress and multiply into the 19th and 20th centuries with the continued urbanisation of the Cape. Bickford-Smith, Worden, Field, and van Heyningen provide varying perspectives understandings in the 'making of the city', both in a colonial and post-colonial context (Bickford-Smith, 1995; Worden, et al., 1998; Field, 2001; Introna, 2003). Their thorough research provides nuanced understandings of both the morphology of the city, as well as its social structure, and the changing attitudes that led to the eventual apartheid regime. Worden and Field offer particular insights into the urban lifestyle of post-apartheid Cape Town, highlighting the significance of heritage and social erasure of the "oppressed and marginalised communities whose history was never recorded before" (Field, 2001; Worden, 1994).

What is important to acknowledge is the omission and un-nuanced history of the Indigenous community from the social history of Cape Town. This paper very broadly talks to the history of Indigenous communities, drawing on work specific to District One and the uncovering of burial grounds as cited in *Grave Encounters*

(Malan, et al., 2017). It is, however, important that the heritage of First Nations communities are acknowledged in all histories written about Cape Town, and South Africa at large (Besten, 2013; Adhikari, 2010).

The Role of Public Health in Forced Removals

Social history of South Africa is synonymous with the history on public health, as they were mutually informed throughout the 20th century. The literature on this topic is specific to South Africa and the research done is based on Governmental Acts, including the Public Health Acts, Slum Areas Act and Group Areas Act.

Public health and sanitization played pivotal roles in the composition of several laws that changed the course of South African history and lead to the segregation of the South African city. The matter of local public health legislation and its influence on town planning legislation has been covered thoroughly by notable South African academics and makes for a strong foundation from which to extract prevalent historical data over varying timeframes. The Cape Parliament Public Health Acts, as well as the Cape Argus Mayor's Minutes will be drawn on in order to gather data pertaining to the specificities of District One.

Public Health and the racist connotations associated with infectious diseases were used to segregate Cape Town as early as 1900, with the establishment of locations set up specifically for Black men. Maynard Swanson has written in detail of the systemic issues of urban law and how they were drawn up with the intent to segregate. In *The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909*, along with other publications, Swanson writes specifically about the effects of the Bubonic Plaque and how it led to the establishment of Ndabeni (Swanson, 1977). His work is of particular relevance to this dissertation topic, as the Black men living in District One were moved to this location, which marked the first significant racial divide for this area (Bickford-Smith, et al., 1998).

Sue Parnell has done extensive research on the racial divide in Johannesburg, caused by public health and planning regulations of the early-mid 20th century (Parnell, 1993). In her article, *Creating racial privilege: the origins of South African public health and town planning legislation*, Parnell addresses how South African laws were written in order to privilege white people and whiteness in order to set up a 'racial framework' for a segregated urban city (Parnell, 1993). Although this text highlights Johannesburg specifically, it serves as a good theoretical basis for the segregation of Cape Town, where similar laws were promulgated during the same time.

Forced Removals and the case of District Six

This study plays a pivotal role in its aimed contribution to research done on the forced

removals of people of colour from the inner-city. It aims to provide ways in which heritage can be used to redress past inequities. To do so, it must centre the voices of these dispossessed people and highlight their significance in our collective heritage. The responsibility to counteract the lack of research pertaining to marginalised people lies with heritage authorities and heritage practitioners (Hassan & Chirikure, 2017). In order to move towards restitution and "restoring the poor in the city centre", it is imperative that our legacy of forced removals is addressed (Rassool, 2007).

District Six has been vastly covered as an area of forced removals and erasure, it has become synonymous with the Group Areas Act and displacement. The methods used to research issues relating to erasure and the preservation of memory in District Six will form a precedent for the ways in which District One is approached in this paper. Both districts were located in close proximity of the city, the residents were diverse, and both suffered the eventual fate of near total demolition. The extensive work done by the District Six Museum and Ciraj Rassool's writing on District Six and memory preservation form a theoretical basis for this paper (Minkley & Rassool, 1998; Witz et al., 2017; Rassool, 2007).

District Six was home to many anti-apartheid activists at the time of its destruction, which cannot be discounted when referring to the vast wealth of published knowledge pertaining to the area (Jeppie & Soudien, 1990). This fountain of knowledge has been recorded in various ways and mediums over time, studied by architects, urban planners, and artists alike (Le Grange, 2007; Todeschini, 2008). Unlike District One, where resources are few, the memory of District Six has been preserved in the form of immaculate photographic collections, vast amounts of oral history recordings and in maps and artefacts at the District Six Museum. The District Six Museum is one of the most successful social history institutions and manages to ground the history of the displaced community in the present, with a continued interest in both the site of displacement as well as the displaced community (Jeppie & Soudien, 1990).

Memory and Identity

Theoretically, 'Memory' can be used to uncover and preserve heritage in various ways. The theories pertaining to memory are broken down into postmemory, collective memory, and oral history, all of which are significant theories when dealing with memories of displacement.

The theme of memory has always been present in the study of cities. It provides a way to understand the city as an organism that belongs to people of the past and present (Huysen, 2003; Lefebvre, 1991). Memory was, thus, historically linked to the tangible heritage of cities, allowing collective memory to be embedded in the urban landscapes that we enjoy today (Huysen, 2003). The link between space, memory and morphology is used to uncover the role of the conservation of the built environment in restitution and spatial justice. In cases like District One, where the embedded landscape has been mostly demolished, memory can be

used as a tool to remember/imagine the forgotten landscape (Benjamin, 1999; Treib, 2009).

The term 'collective memory' has evolved quite substantially since 1992 when it was coined by Maurice Halbwachs, and in some schools of thought can be used as a means for social justice. Edward Said sees collective memory as a way to uphold accountability by ensuring that prior injustices are not forgotten and that the connections between displaced people and the land from which they were uprooted is remembered (Said, 2004). Edward Said emphasizes the role of collective memory in upholding the memory of a people whose memory is threatened to be erased (Said, 2004).

Given the nuances of current heritage discourse, the themes of "memory, identity, intangibility, dissonance and place" have recently become intertwined in the understanding of heritage and how heritage has come to be conceived (Smith, 2006, p.3). Memory can be understood as the crux on which self-identity is based, entrapped in our minds in a particular space and time. As Juhaani Pallasmaa demonstrates, "we are what we remember" (Pallasmaa, 2009).

The theme of memory is particularly significant to this dissertation, as memory discourse is synonymous with the wake of decolonisation (Minkley & Rassool, 1998). Given the previous bias of heritage management in South Africa, oral histories are essential in providing inclusive histories of spaces of displacement (Witz, Minkley & Rassool, 2017). It becomes a way to acknowledge people and their shared histories in places where their presence is no longer obvious (Roux, 2021).

Spatial Justice

The urban landscape of Cape Town remains as a tangible reminder of our colonial past. It recalls a legacy of racial segregation that led to the marginalisation and displacement of people of colour from the inner-city and other desirable areas. The relationship between urban landscape and justice are intertwined, with the spatial vestige of the city left to embody the injustice of our racially segregated city (Harvey, 2008; Said, 2000). The displaced communities were moved to the Cape Flats and various other undesirable areas far from the city, restricting upward socio-economic progression. Racial displacements excluded people of the benefits of living in well-located areas and stripped them of their rights to live in places where their heritage was established.

This theory around spatial justice as a key to restitution is further unpacked by Juhani Pallasmaa who believes that "the experience of a place or space is always a curious exchange" where the city leaves its mark on people, just as people leave their mark on the city (Pallasmaa, 2009). This quote talks to the embodied attachment that people have to space and is further reinstated in his description of this exchange: "as I settle in a space, the space settles in me. I live in a city and the city dwells in me". This sentiment is shared by David Harvey, who sees the

right to the city as more than just access to resources, but also a “right to change ourselves by changing the city more after our heart’s desire” (Harvey, 2008).

Apart from the well-known events of District Six, the history of forced removals from other inner-city areas is mostly unknown. Nearly 60 years after the forced removals of District One, the presence of the displaced community has been physically erased from the urban landscape that remains, with few remaining buildings still there. In order to reclaim the right to the city for these dispossessed people, the city must be reshaped and moulded in a way that facilitates restitution (Harvey, 2008; Lefebvre, et al., 1996). South African people may have equal rights, as enshrined in the Constitution, but there remains unequal access to economic opportunities which is aided by the consequences of their prior displacement (Soja, 2010).

In the same way that planning was used to segregate the apartheid city, it should be used to radically desegregate the post-apartheid city, complimented by policies and frameworks that enable this integration. In Cape Town, the City’s revised Municipal Planning By-law, 2019 and the Municipal Spatial Development Frameworks should intersect with heritage management to enable spatial justice. The frameworks have, however, become conservative in their approach and don’t allow for radical transformation.

Global Heritage Discourse

The global stance towards heritage always favoured built forms. Privileging tangible artefacts, whilst intangible forms of heritage was dismissed unless directly associated with a physical form, as was the case with the World Heritage Convention of 1972. The late 20th century, however, brought with it transformative thinking around intangible cultural heritage. Globally, the World Heritage Committee adopted the text of the 1994 Global Strategy that called for an inclusive list of World Heritage Sites that allowed for a more anthropological understanding of cultural heritage (UNESCO World Heritage Committee, 1994). This eventually gave way to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), a ratified agreement adopted by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Paris in 2003. The purpose of the 2003 Convention was to safeguard intangible cultural heritage, ensure that it is respected, appreciated and its significance is locally, nationally, and internationally noted.

In terms of the 2003 Convention, ‘Intangible cultural heritage’ is defined as “practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage” (UNESCO, adopted 17 October 2003, pp. 2-3). Aligned with the intangible cultural heritage of District One, the definition of non-material cultural heritage goes on to include oral traditions and expressions, as well as

social practices (UNESCO, adopted 17 October 2003). Another key term is “safeguarding”. The use of this term was not coincidental and is defined as the “measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and nonformal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage” (UNESCO, adopted 17 October 2003, p. 3).

Unlike the 1972 convention, where “Cultural Heritage” was centred around built-forms, the 2003 Convention is specifically aimed at non-material practices of cultural heritage but was still required to conform to measurable criteria for mapping and documentation. These methods of documentation have been criticised as Eurocentric (Smith, 2006; Waterton & Smith, 2010). The 2003 Convention itself has also been criticised for its westernised approach to intangibility (Deacon, 2018). Part of this westernised approach includes exclusion of communities, despite mention of their “involvement”, the members of the States who signed the treaty (referred to as the ‘States Parties’ in the document), the General Assembly (the Convention’s ruling body) and the Committee established for this Convention are the key decision makers with regards to spaces of heritage significance (UNESCO, adopted 17 October 2003, p. 3). The responsibilities relating to the objectives of the Convention also lies largely with the Committee and States Parties while leeway is allowed for the involvement of ‘experts’ and appropriate community members and individuals when the States Parties so request (UNESCO, adopted 17 October 2003, pp. 5-6). In contrast, the South African World Heritage Convention Act foregrounds the role of the local communities affected. The significance of the community is almost parallel to that of the State with regards to their weighted role in conservation and management of the World Heritage Site and their nuanced significance to the heritage resource is strongly acknowledged (Act 49 of 1999: World Heritage Convention Act).

In addition to the problems arising from the convention itself, the centring of intangible cultural heritage of communities has also in some cases led to increased tourism that has resulted in gentrification of these respective areas, having adverse effects to what was intended (Keitumetse, 2006, p. 166). A local example of this is Bo-Kaap, where the community has been acknowledged as a heritage resource because of their intangible cultural heritage. This has, however, led to commodification and exploitation as a and tourist attraction, with little consideration of the consequences dealt with by local communities (Long & Labadi, 2010).

Despite the growing issues that come with the prevalence of Intangible Cultural Heritage, the understanding of the multi-faceted nature of Intangible Cultural Heritage continues to evolve, with the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) acknowledging the role of intangible heritage in the fostering of “identity, memory and ‘sense of place’” (Labadi, et al., 2021). In the Heritage and the Sustainable Development Goals: Policy Guidance for Heritage and Development Actors publication, ICOMOS, furthermore, recognizes the potential

of Intangible Heritage in sustainable development, which if properly harnessed, can enhance tourism benefits without negative effects (Labadi, et al., 2021).

South African Heritage Discourse

National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 saw the instatement of the National Heritage Resource Act, the act that governs heritage conservation and management in South Africa. The National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 finally acknowledged the significance of intangible cultural heritage and by proxy gave value to the previously marginalised communities. The terms intangible cultural heritage and living heritage can be read interchangeably but are used respectively in international and South African law, with our national preferred term being 'living heritage'. The National Heritage Resources Act defines 'living heritage' as:

- the intangible aspects of inherited culture, and may include—
- (a) cultural tradition;
 - (b) oral history;
 - (c) performance;
 - (d) ritual;
 - (e) popular memory;
 - (f) skills and techniques;
 - (g) indigenous knowledge systems; and
 - (h) the holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships
- (NHRA, 1999, 8-9)

The inclusion of living heritage in the national framework brought light to a heritage sector that was previously governed by racial bias and inequality. The preamble of the NHRA gives South Africans the opportunity to conserve their own legacy by nominating sites of significance and foregrounding the involvement of communities in the conservation of their heritage legacy (NHRA, 1999). It goes on to remark on defining our own diverse cultural identity in order to shape our "national character" and to redress the inequities of the past.

Heritage and heritage management were historically used as a basis for power and a means by which white dominance could be inscribed into our urban environment. In doing so, the history of people of colour was often omitted from the prominent urban history of the city. The promulgation of the National Heritage Resources Act in 1999, highlighted the significance of these omitted narratives in our shared national legacy. The preamble of the NHRA notes the contribution of heritage in "redressing past inequities" and the role of this new legislation in promoting "new and previously neglected research into our rich oral traditions and customs" (NHRA, 1999, p. 3).

Given the previous bias of heritage management, it is essential that spaces of displacement are recorded as such and that the memory of its displaced communities resonate within these spaces (Witz et al., 2017). Thabo Manetsi,

however, argues that Eurocentric ideals still govern the manner in which heritage is managed in South Africa, perpetuating the past by foregrounding tangible heritage sites despite the inclusive frameworks put in place to safeguard intangible heritage (Manetsi, 2017). Which, in turn, continues the exclusion of previously marginalised communities. This foregrounded valuing of tangible heritage could be changed if heritage authorities adopted the approach put forward by Laurajane Smith, in which she suggests that “all heritage is (considered) intangible” (Smith, 2006). She argues that in positioning heritage in this manner, she is “not dismissing the tangible or pre-discursive, but simply deprivileging and denaturalizing it as the self-evident form and essence of heritage” (Smith, 2006).

Policy documents have, however, become a chain of material, drawing on the policies and documents that have come before them (Freeman & Maybin, 2011). Ndlovu problematises the adoption of prior heritage policies into the NHRA, as it can be seen to hinder the ability of the NHRA to fully address the complexity behind heritage in South Africa (Manetsi, 2011; Ndlovu, 2011). A tether, therefore, always remains to Eurocentric values by adopting parts of the framework of the previous legislation into the new heritage framework. This eurocentrism is furthermore visible in the ways in which heritage is quantified in the NHRA, through the creation of an inventory of heritage resources and in the ways that these resources are “mapped, studied, managed, preserved and/or conserved” (Smith, 2006, p.3).

The execution of the NHRA in daily practice and the understanding of it by decision makers are not always aligned. The professional heritage sector in South Africa is still made up of heritage practitioners that interpret the National Heritage Resources Act as a policy that protects only tangible heritage resources, like the National Monuments Act before it (Ndlovu, 2011). This retention of significance attached to built historical artefacts reinstates the inequitable use of heritage to favour western culture above others, reinforcing the imbalance of Eurocentric heritage resources in South Africa (Ndlovu, 2011).

National Policy on Living Heritage

South Africa has not yet ratified the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, and in 2009 the Department of Arts and Culture published their own Draft National Policy on Living Heritage. This policy brought to light the narrow ways in which existing policy dealt with living heritage, problematising its reading of the intangible as an abstraction of the tangible (First Draft National Policy on South African Living Heritage, 2009). One of Ndlovu’s key critiques of the NHRA, is the foregrounding of the protection of ‘heritage resources’, which in the case of living heritage, reads as the protection of “sites that have a connection to living heritage” (Ndlovu, 2011, p.32).

As well-meaning as this policy may have been at the time that it was published, it remains a draft policy, even after it was ratified for publishing in 2015 (Final Draft

National Policy on South African Living Heritage, 2016). This policy has, therefore, had no real impact on the safeguarding of intangible heritage as yet but provides guidelines for the protection of intangible heritage without a necessary link to tangible spaces. An issue, however, that carries through from the NHRA is the separation between tangible and intangible instead of providing an interlaced reading of the two (Manetsi, 2017).

Local Heritage Discourse

The National Heritage Resources Act is set out as a three-tier system, made up of local, provincial and national authoritative tiers. These tiers help to separate heritage resources into nationally significant heritage resources (graded I) that are to be dealt with by the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), provincially significant heritage resources (graded II) that are to be dealt with by the various provincial heritage departments, and locally significant resources (graded III) that are theoretically supposed to be dealt with by the heritage department of the respective city councils. Grade III heritage resources are further categorised into IIIA, IIIB, IIIC and Not Conservation Worthy. These subcategories are defined by the City of Cape Town as follows:

Grade IIIA (Metro/Region): Heritage resources that have a high intrinsic significance in terms of the significance criteria identified by the NHRA. Such heritage resources are outstanding examples or representations of a typology and may demonstrate a high degree of intactness;

Grade IIIB (Neighbourhood/suburb): Heritage resources that have considerable intrinsic significance in terms of the significance criteria identified by the NHRA;

Grade IIIC (Streetscape): Heritage resources that have significance within their immediate context. They contribute to the streetscape and historical character of the surrounds. Alterations and additions may be evident, but the building remains representative example of the typology. Heritage value can be improved or rehabilitated;

Grade IIIC (Some significance): Buildings that are older than 60 years, but have been altered to such an extent that their heritage value has been greatly diminished. Demolition could be considered, but where in a HPOZ, any replacement building would have to be appropriate to the heritage environment of the streetscape;

Not conservation worthy: Buildings that have no intrinsic value and that do not contribute the streetscape and/or historic environment or have a negative impact (Environmental and Heritage Management, 2015).

In Western Cape, although the City of Cape Town have received competency to function as a local heritage authority, they are yet to be delegated responsibility for these heritage resources. The Provincial Government, Heritage Western Cape (HWC) are, therefore, liable for assessing applications and issuing permits for local and provincial heritage resources (Heritage Western Cape, 2016).

In accordance with the legislative mandate set out in the NHRA, HWC have established a Council, who in turn have established the following committees,

made up of heritage practitioners from various professional backgrounds, to assess these applications in accordance with the NHRA: the Built Environment and Landscape Committee (BELCom), Archaeological, Palaeontological and Meteorites Permit Committee (APM), Appeals Committee, Impact Assessment Committee (IACOM), and Inventories, Grading and Interpretation Committee (IGICom).

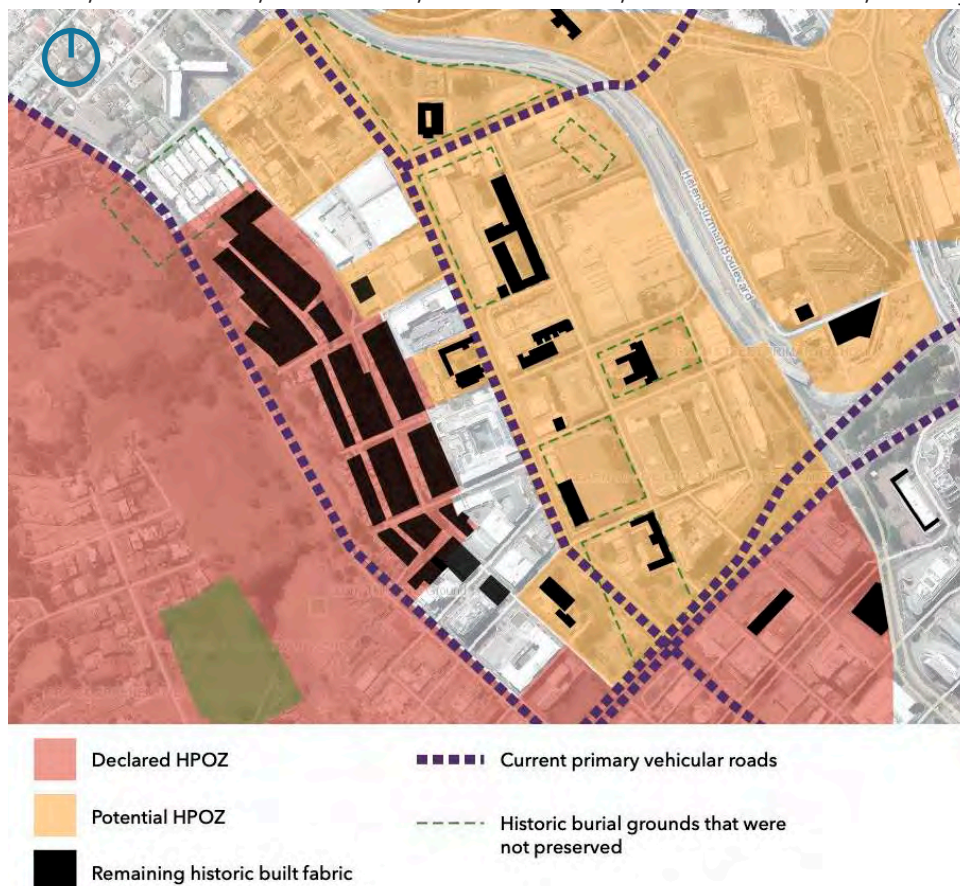
The Municipal Planning By-law (MPBL), revised in 2019, allows for the protection of Heritage Protection Overlay Zones (HPOZ). The HPOZ was established as a mechanism for the protection of heritage areas in the Cape Town Zoning Scheme, as set out in Sections 30 and 31 of the NHRA (1999). The MPBL allows for the application of both general provisions (which have been established) and 'specific' provisions to aid in the protection of HPOZs (MPBL, 2015). The specific provisions are site specific and should be established for each HPOZ.

The Contextual Landscape

To allow for a clear analysis of the existing urban fabric of the case study area, this section of the paper will be done by assessing each of the remaining blocks within the case study area of District One. This will foreground the urban landscape of the area by highlighting the hierarchy of contextual fabric and establishing where the remaining historic fabric is located.

The case study area of District One falls within the 'Proposed' Somerset Road Heritage Protection Overlay Zone (Figure 5). This classification means that the area is not (yet) a 'declared' Heritage Protection Overlay Zone (HPOZ), and therefore has no legal bounds for protection. The area has undergone great change since the 20th century, made up of buildings that span over the last three decades, all of which are of varying scales, typologies and heritage value. The City of Cape Town's Environment and Heritage Management Department have given the buildings varying degrees of heritage value, ranging between Not Conservation Worthy to the highest local heritage grading, IIIA (Figure 6). There are no Provincial or National Heritage Sites within the case study area. The buildings in this area have largely been constructed after 1966, as they are not yet visible in the Cape Town Survey undertaken in that year. This indicates that many of the surrounding buildings are not older than 60 years, and therefore, warrant no heritage protection.

Along with the change in urban grain throughout the area, the streets and boundary matrix (non-built elements like erven and pedestrian crossings (Scheer, 2018, p. 172) of the urban morphology have also been changed. The following historic streets have all been removed and no longer exist within the area: West Street⁸, Short Street, Bain Street, German Street, Amsterdam Street, Battery



8

West Street played a significant role in the earlier 20th century communal life, inspiring the previous name of Prestwich Street Primary School, West End Public School, as it was located at the end of the street. It was also the street on which the West End Bioscope was located, one of very few 'bioscopes' at the time. It was said to be a great attraction to children from District Six, with a 'milkbar' on the lower level (Nasson, 1987, p. 3). This speaks again to the intertwined communal life of inner-city dwellers during the 20th century.

Figure 5: Image showing the proposed HPOZ over the case study area of District One (Authors edit over base image from City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Management Department).

- National Heritage Site
- Provincial Heritage Site
- Grade IIIA Local Heritage Site
- Grade IIIB Local Heritage Site
- Grade IIIC Local Heritage Site
- Potential Grade III Local Heritage Site
- Not Conservation Worthy



Figure 6: Image showing the heritage grading and significant historic building fabric (Authors edit over base image from City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Management Department).

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1 - Sacred Heart Catholic Church | 7 - Prestwich Street Primary School |
| 2 - Old Salesian Institute | 8 - Seamen Institute |
| 3 - St Andrews Presbyterian Church | 9 - Old Post Office |
| 4 - Old DRC Burial Grounds | 10 - Old Electrical Station |
| 5 - Historic urban fabric in Corben and Napier Street | 11 - Gallows Hill Traffic Department |
| 6 - Vasco da Gama Pub | 12 - Roggebaai High School |



Figure 7: Image showing the existing urban condition (Authors edit over base image from City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Management Department).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1-3 storey fabric | Primary movement road |
| 4-6 storey fabric | Elevated freeway - not connected to site |
| 7-9 storey fabric | Negative street interface |
| Historic fabric | Solid boundary wall interface |
| | Positive street interface |
| | Low/perforated boundary wall |

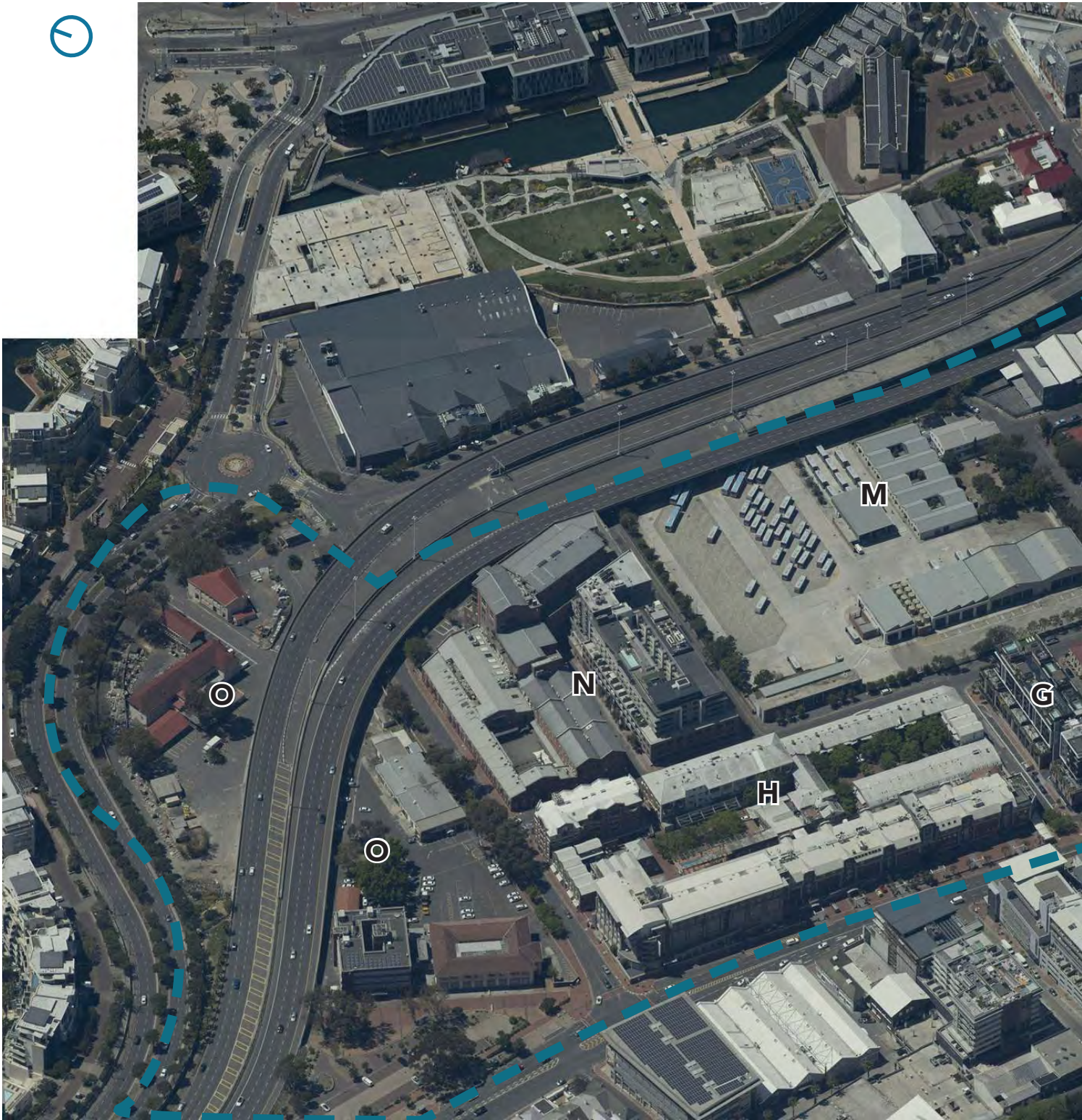
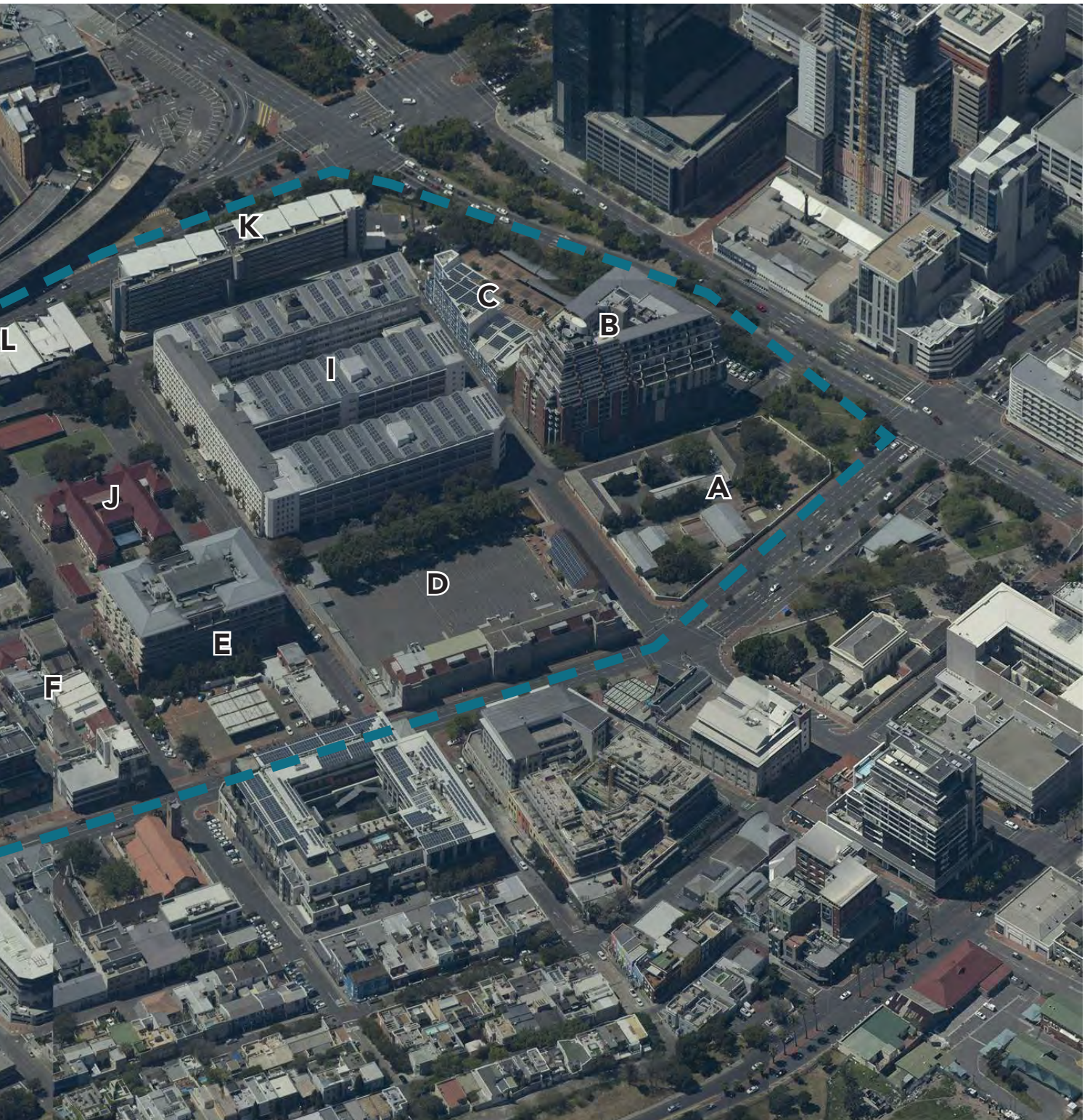
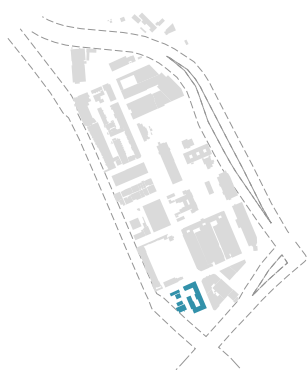


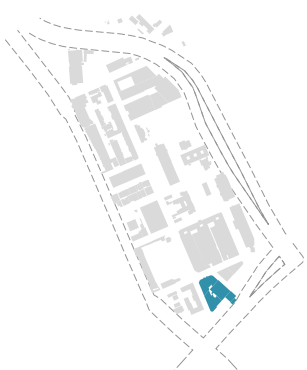
Figure 8b (Bottom): Image showing 3D aerial of District One (Authors edit over base image from City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Management Department).





Block A – Western Cape Government buildings

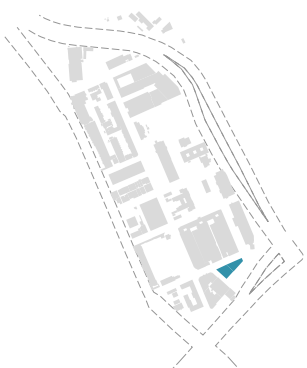
This block forms part of the historic Dutch Reformed Church Cemetery, which has been reconfigured with the change in orientation of Somerset Road, which previously converged with Waterkant Street. The remaining historic building, located along Chiapinni Street and Prestwich Street, was once a hospital ward back in the time of the Old Somerset Hospital, later becoming a laboratory. The portion of the property containing the Western Cape Government buildings has been enclosed with a new brick boundary wall, replacing the stone wall that was there before (See image). This portion of the block has been given a IIIB grading. The remainder of the block has been graded IIIA. This portion, part of which has been lost to the widening of Buitengracht Street, is an undeveloped green space with several mature trees. This portion of the block has always remained unchanged.



Block B – Metropolis Apartments, Dockside Apartments, Fireman’s Arms

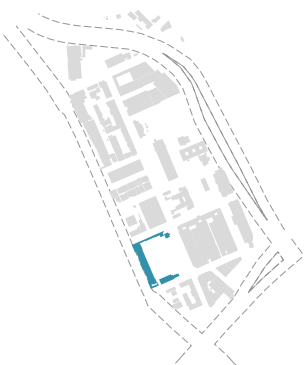
Like block A and C, this block has been cut short due to the Buitengracht Street road widening scheme. This block has been substantially altered, with the 15 floor Metropolis and Dockside Apartments constructed over the historic Jerry Street. Like the Rockwell, this mixed-use development has a commercial ground floor. This building is fairly new and has no heritage significance.

The Fireman’s Arms pub is located on the corner of the historic Sedgwick Lane and Mechau Street. Formerly named the Somerset Arms, this is the only surviving building on this block and has been given a IIIA grading. The pub dates to 1864, but during the apartheid era only served white sailors and local men up until the 1980s (<https://firemansarms.co.za/the-history-of-firemans-arms>). The remainder of the block forms part of the vacant parking lots that were abandoned in the Buitengracht Street Road Widening Scheme after the demolition of the buildings that were formerly located there.



Block C – Commercial Building

The historic building, although dating back to the 20th century, has been severely altered over time. The privatised Jerry Street separates the building from the parking lot along Buitengracht Street, which like block B, forms part of the vacant parking lots that were abandoned in the Buitengracht Street Road Widening Scheme after the demolition of the buildings that were formerly located there.



Block D – Salesian Institute

Block D is located along Somerset Road. The historic building on site is the Salesian Institute, a IIIA graded building, with an intact street facing façade along Somerset Road and a historic stone boundary wall that wraps around the property. This property was formerly sub-divided into three demarcated burial grounds – Roman Catholic, Scottish and Old Soldier burial grounds (Figure 16). The Salesian Institute Youth Projects continues to occupy the block and work with disenfranchised youth, as they set out to do in 1910 when the building was

constructed (Salesian Institutes, 2017). This block has been incrementally added to over time but the historic fabric still has many intact elements. This stone wall matches that of the Prestwich Street Primary School, and most likely also dates back to the early 19th century.

This property seems to be raised from the street level along Prestwich Street due to the natural slope of the area. The historic building along Somerset Road is three-storeys tall, which is the tallest building on the property. The central portion of the property is still undeveloped and the infill buildings along the Alfred and Prestwich Street boundaries are small single storey buildings that were constructed along the internal face of the stone boundary walls and therefore face inward, not addressing the street.

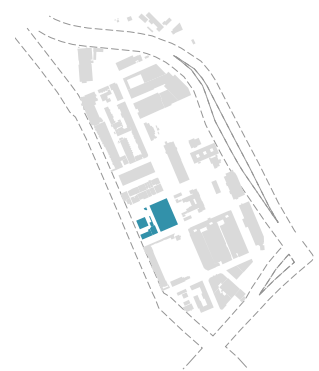
Block E – The Rockwell, Vasco de Gama Tavern and Engen Garage

This block is amongst those that have received the most severe change over time. The historic block once included West Street, and a more integrated Schiebe Street. The bulk of the existing buildings on site are of no heritage significance. The Vasco da Gama Tavern, previously the Dock Hotel, located on Alfred Street, is the only surviving historic 19th century urban fabric and has been graded III B. This tavern was formally owned by Ohlsson's Cape Breweries, who seemingly retained ownership of the property until 1972, when it became known as Vasco da Gama Tavern. The current tavern is frequented by the Portuguese community, who affectionately refer to it as the Portuguese Embassy (<https://vascos.co.za/about-vasco-da-gama-taverna>).

The two-storey tavern sits between the single storey Pick n Pay Express building (part of the Engen Garage) and the pedestrianised Schiebe Street that separates the tavern from the eight-storey Rockwell mixed use building. The Rockwell building is a 21st century development, with commercial tenants on the ground floor and the Rockwell Hotel on the other seven floors. Both the Rockwell and the garage complex have replaced the early 20th century fabric that was there before. Schiebe Street has become part of the outdoor seating area for the restaurant tenants of the Rockwell.

Block F – Early 20th Century Residential and Commercial Fabric

This block is made up of a mix of modern fabric, facing Somerset Road, and historic residential and commercial fabric facing Napier Street, Prestwich Street and Cobern Street. The historic buildings are fine-grained single and double-storeys late-19th to early-20th century fabric that were mostly residential, with a few commercial buildings along Napier and Prestwich Street. The commercial buildings that still remain include the old Thistle bar, Standard bar, and a 'drug warehouse'. Unlike many of the surrounding blocks, this block is made up of a variety of local heritage gradings, ranging from IIIA to Not Conservation Worthy. The building facing Somerset Road is a 21st century development of no heritage significance.



The former drug warehouse is the only IIIA graded structure on the block and was constructed in 1903. According to the City of Cape Town, this building has been slightly altered but still retains its original “intact detailed brickwork, windows, front door and form” (City of Cape Town). The Goad Insurance maps show that the building was constructed as a three-storey ‘drug warehouse’ with a single-storey semi-detached dwelling on the side that has been added to.

The residential fabric in Cobern Street is the only residential fabric in the case study area that has managed to evade demolition. According to the former residents of Cobern Street, the exterior of their home has been slightly altered to function as a restaurant and bar. Given that the building functions as a bar, the conservative Muslim former owners have no interest in seeing the changes made to the interior (Aunty GJ, Aunty G and Aunty WC, interviewed by author on 16 October 2021).

Block G – The Signature

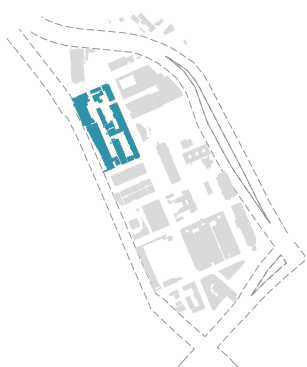
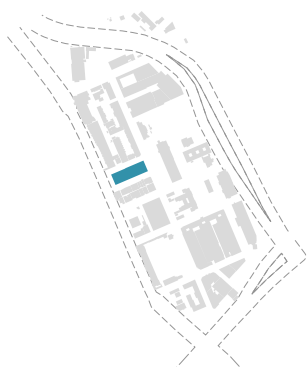
The Signature building is a 21st century mixed-use development with commercial tenants on the ground floor and the Signature luxury apartments on the seven floors above. This building is constructed in place of the demolished early 20th century fabric between Cobern Street and Liddle Street. Uncle MJ, one of the former residents interviewed for this paper, lived at 19 Cobern Street and his house is amongst those that were demolished to make way for this high-income apartment block (Uncle MJ, interviewed by author on 8 October 2021). In the urban design development of this block, Cobern Street and Liddle Street have been closed off along Somerset Road with a new continuous pavement. The high price-point of the ground floor restaurants in this building also cater to a particular clientele, differing significantly from the residents that lived there before.

None of the building fabric remaining on this block is of heritage significance.

Block H – Early 20th Century Commercial Fabric, Post Office and Immigration Office

This block is made up of a mix of modern fabric facing Somerset Road and on the corner of Prestwich Street and Ebenezer Street, and historic commercial and civic related fabric facing Liddle Street, Prestwich Street and Ebenezer Street. All the remaining historic fabric have received a IIIB grading. Prior to the 19th century development, this block formed part of the large English Church Cemetery and the much smaller Ebenezer Church Cemetery along Ebenezer Street.

The historic buildings facing Prestwich Street and Liddle Street, as well as the separate building facing Ebenezer Street are industrial face-brick single, double, and triple-storey buildings that were constructed in the early-20th century. The buildings along Prestwich Street form part of the Old General Post Office, mechanic warehouse, commercial stores and office spaces, with garage and repairs building located in Liddle Street. The internal core of the Old General Post Office was demolished in the mid 20th century. The historic Immigration Office building is located in Ebenezer Street. This building played a pivotal role in the 20th century



social fabric of the city, located just up the road from the Docks (Malan, et al., 2017).

The modern five and seven-storey buildings along Somerset Road are part of the Victoria Junction Hotel, with the ground floor of the five-storey building used by commercial tenants. Neither of the two have any heritage value. The late-20th century six-storey building at the corner of Prestwich and Ebenezer Street has, however, received a IIIB grading like the rest of the historic fabric on the block.

Block I – The Provincial Head Office of the South African Police Service Western Cape and the Cape Provincial Library Service

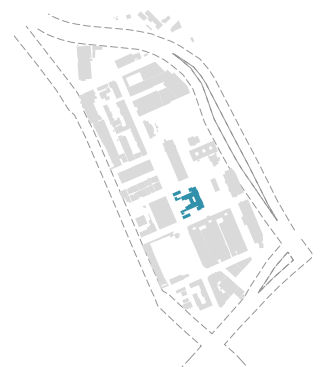
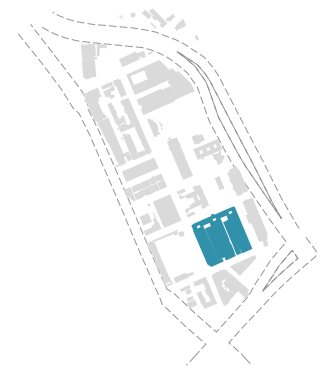
This building was constructed between 1949, when the Goad Insurance survey was done, and 1958, when the aerial image was taken, with a great deal of the building already seemingly constructed. This building is, therefore, older than 60 but has been graded as Not Conservation worthy, a grading that I must agree with. The eight-storey building was built on the site of the Old Somerset Hospital, which was a significant heritage site before its demolition in the early 20th century. Although the Old Somerset Hospital seemed to have been a civic node in the 19th century, none of the former residents interviewed knew of its existence, and remembered it only as a car park, which is how it functioned after the hospital's demolition.

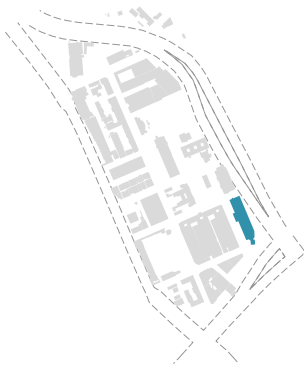
The large existing building has been constructed upon the entire urban block, with breaks in the façade along Chiappini Street. The blanketed facades along Prestwich Street and Alfred Street are adjacent to two respective IIIA graded heritage sites, which would not have been approved in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act if constructed after 1999. The sheer mass and over-scaled nature of this monolithic building does not positively impact the urban streetscape of the area and seems to have set a negative precedent as the first building of its scale in the case study area.

Block J – Prestwich Street Primary School

This block was historically the Lutheran Cemetery prior to its conversion to a school, which is how the site still functions. Prestwich Street Primary School, located on this block, forms part of the remaining significant early 20th century social fabric. The school was built by the Department of Public Works, who commissioned Parker and Forsyth to design a number of schools throughout the Western Cape based on the same set of design principals. The school was widely attended by the Coloured children in District One and Bo-Kaap, as it was registered as a Coloured school (Prestwich Street Primary School Attendance Register, 1917). All of the former residents interviewed attended this school, which continues to play a pivotal role in the lives of the displaced community.

The school is distinguished by its low stone boundary wall that presumably dates to the 19th century cemetery, and the central double-storey school building with mirrored latrines and play-sheds along the western end of the block built in 1910, and a late 20th century single storey shed along the eastern edge of the block (Malan, et al., 2017). The whole site has received a IIIA grading.

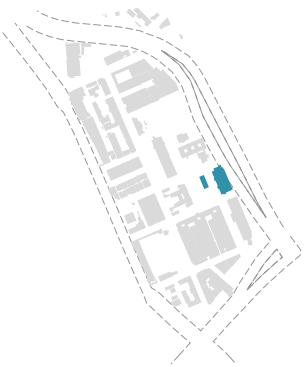




Block K – Harbour Edge Mixed Use Building

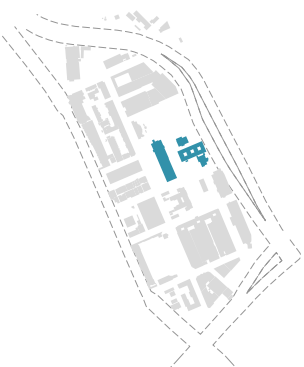
The nine-storey Harbour Edge building sits along the edge of the Helen Suzman Boulevard. This block forms part of the remainder of the historic block between Hospital Street and German Street, that was once made up of various warehouses and stores due to its location close to the docks at the time.

The existing building is amongst the taller late 20th to early 21st century mixed use developments. The ground floor is made up of commercial tenants, with the remaining top floors used for the Harbour Edge Hotel. This building is not older than 60 and has no heritage value.



Block L – Weylandts Store

Like Block K, this block forms part of the remainder of the historic block between Hospital Street and German Street, that was once made up of various warehouses and stores. The Industrial styled Weylandts building is a replacement of a similar industrial garage from the early 20th century. The new three-storey building is longer than the previous building and is reconstructed on both the site of the previous garage and the row of three houses that faced Napier Street. The building has a bad street interface, with ground floor doors opening to the flanking gated carparks on either end of the building. The façade along Hospital Street is blank, with three raised circular windows at ground level. This building has no engagement with the street, despite its low scale that is far more inviting to pedestrians than some of the taller and bulkier surrounding buildings. This building is not older than 60 years and has no heritage value.



Block M – Transpeninsula MyCiti Depot and The Haven Night Shelter Head Office

This block is made up of two historic blocks that were separated by the now omitted Battery Street. The greater part of this block is taken up by the Transpeninsula MyCiti Depot, with The Haven Night Shelter located on three small erven at the corner of Hospital Street and Napier Street. The existing buildings constructed on this block are of a low scale. The buildings located on the Transpeninsula MyCiti Depot erf are industrial in character, and much of the erf is undeveloped to allow for the MyCiti busses to park. Trees have been planted along the boundary of the depot, which seems to counter-act the stark industrial character of the property. The Haven Night Shelter property has two undeveloped erven used as a car park with multiple planted trees.

The latter portion of the block is located on the block that historically belonged to the South African Railways and Harbour. The original warehouses, stables and white employee houses have all been demolished to make way for the existing infrastructure and none of the fabric on this block is, therefore, older than 60 or of heritage significance. The portion of the block along Bennet Street was once an open area for cart stands, with the historic Dock Cottages located along the Amsterdam Street edge.

9
A 'location' for black dock workers in the dock area of District One (Cape Town Archives Repository, CHB 266, Chief Inspector to General Manager TBHB, 1904).

Block N – The Foundry; The Docklands

This block, like many of the others, is made up of a mix of modern and early 20th century industrial building fabric. The block has an unconventional layout due to the diagonally placed cemetery that was located there before it was replaced with the 20th century development. The cemetery was owned by the South African Missionary Society who used the cemetery for the burial of “heathens and slaves” (Malan, et al., 2017).

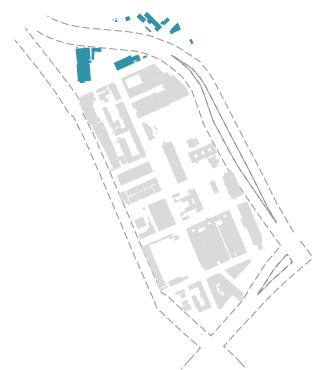
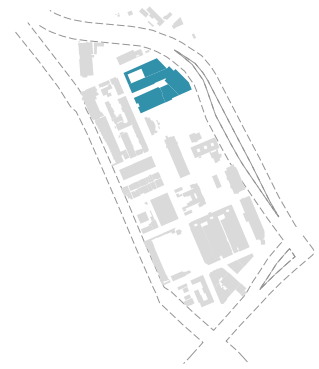
The double-storey Foundry building dates back to the early 20th century, retaining its Prestwich Street and Ebenezer Street facades but largely altered internally, with a new central courtyard added in the late 20th century. The double pitched triple-storey building along Cardiff Street has been largely altered, with additional floors added to the back part of the building at the end of Cardiff Street spanning to what was historically the corner of Bennet Street and Fleming Street. The historic residential buildings between Cardiff and Fleming Street were demolished in the 1960s to make way for the Helen Suzman Boulevard that is located over the back end of the block that is now used as a parking area. Despite the various alterations made to these buildings over time, they have all received a III B grading.

The Docklands building is a recently completed seven-storey mixed use development located on the portion of the block bordered by Prestwich Street, Bennet Street and Cardiff Street. Like many of the other new developments, this building caters to a higher income clientele, with a commercial ground floor and 60 “luxury apartments” on the floors above (<http://www.thedocklands.me/the-building/>). This building has replaced the late 20th century development that was constructed in place of the demolished historic residential fabric.

Block O – Gallows Hill Traffic Department; Roggebaai High School/Docklands School

This block was historically used as the Gallows Hill execution area and burial ground (Malan, et al., 2017). With the development of the area in the 20th century, the 7m high mound was excavated and cleared, making way for the railway line, Suffolk Street and Kershaw Street (none of which still exist) (Murray, 1964). Residential development occurred on the Suffolk Street and Kershaw Street blocks, with the historic “docksin⁹” barracks and a night school for the dock workers constructed on the northward portion of the old hill (Murray, 1964). The night school building later became Roggebaai High School and the building still exists, along with one remaining building at the corner of the old Suffolk Street (Worden, et al., 1998). Neither one of these historic buildings have been graded by the City of Cape Town.

None of the other remaining existing buildings on the block are of any heritage significance and the single, double and four-storey buildings were all constructed from the mid-20th century onward as part of the traffic department.



The Buried Histories – District One as a Space of Burial

This section will briefly outline the social and spatial history of District One as a burial ground, starting with the pre-colonial era. Although this paper focuses particularly on District One between the 20th century to the present day, it is important to be cognisant of the community that was there before the colonisation of South Africa. This section will then go on to analyse the spatial changes and social implications that occurred after this burial ground was colonised by the Dutch, with particular reference given to the early segregation of formalised Christian cemeteries and the informal burials of 'non-Christians' and 'non-Europeans'.

In closing, this section will tie together the early history of the area as a burial ground with the experience of the displaced 20th century residents who lived above this former burial ground. This experience is subjective and provides the understanding that individualised experience can be used as both evidence of spatial ownership as well as a thread of collective memory.

Pre-Colonial Burial Grounds

Cape Town was historically inhabited by various groups of Indigenous people, many of whom followed seasonal migrations across the Cape Peninsula (Malan, et al., 2017). According to studies, these groups of nomadic people would arrive in Table Bay towards the end of Spring and then likely migrated along the shore towards Sea Point (Worden, et al., 1998). The presence of Indigenous people in the city bowl was undisputed and can be seen as "The Hottentot Hutts" (sic) in the somewhat inaccurate "Prospect of the Cape of Good Hope" illustration done by Thomas Bowen in 1777 (Figure 9).

The entrenched connection between the Indigenous people and the inner-city area was reinforced in 1994, after the discovery of shaft burials in Cobern Street that dated back to the 18th century (Apollonio, 1998). Shaft burials like those found in Cobern Street are linked to the types of graves prepared by the Indigenous people that were historically buried in sand dunes, which is what the subject area was recorded as in the map produced by M. J. Brink in 1767 (Malan, et al., 2017)(Figure 10). Cobern Street is located between what would later become demarcated historic Christian cemeteries and was found to include unmarked burial grounds of Indigenous people, enslaved people and other marginalized groups (Malan, et al., 2017).

Colonial Burial Grounds within the City

Due to the proximity of these sand dunes to the coast, the area was later used by the European travellers to bury their dead on their stop at the Cape (Malan, et al., 2017). The portion of the sand dunes closest to the built colony went on to become the first two formalised cemeteries outside of the Castle walls and were used separately to bury the free burgers and slaves (Worden, et al., 1998, p. 41). Gallows Hill, located slightly further outward than the formal cemeteries, was



Figure 10: Cape Town 1767 drawn by M.J. Brink and lithographed by R. Newbery in the Surveyor General's Office, Cape Town and signed by A. de Smidt (Maps of Africa collection of Stanford University at the University of Cape Town Digital Collections Library)

Figure 9: "Prospect of the Cape of Good Hope" illustration done by Thomas Bowen in 1777 (Maps of Africa collection of Stanford University at the University of Cape Town Digital Collections)



used to execute or display the bodies of *enslaved people* and *lower-class* citizens on gallows or wheels (Shell, 1997, p. 193). The hill was a clear marker within the landscape from the mid-18th century with various tools of torture, until the early 20th century as a large tree bounded mound surrounded by a new urban context (Figure 12). The existing Gallows Hill site is now home to the Traffic Department, named after the historic site.

There are no remaining indicators that tie District One back to its precolonial history as a former burial ground to the Indigenous people apart from the human remains found throughout the Prestwich Precinct in 1994 and more recently in 2003 (Malan, et al., 2017). The history of the site as a burial ground to the Indigenous people was particularly vulnerable to omission due to the many demarcated church cemeteries established over this precinct from the early 19th century onward (Figure 13). Before the establishment of numerous designated church cemeteries, the area north of Buitengracht Street and east of Somerset Road remained, for the lack of a better term ‘undeveloped’ for most of the 18th century. These are recorded in various maps throughout the 19th century, while there are no formal records concerning the earlier Indigenous burial grounds, or the unmarked graves of marginalized members of later society located around and between the demarcated areas of formally recorded burial grounds (Malan, et al., 2017, p. 1). The outlying Cemetery for the South African Missionaries Society, set out at an angle and established for the burial of “heathens and slaves” is one of the few recorded cemeteries of its kind in the area (See Figure 13).

The formalised cemeteries in District One remained in use up until 1869, shortly after which The Public Health Act No. 4 of 1883 called for the closure of cemeteries

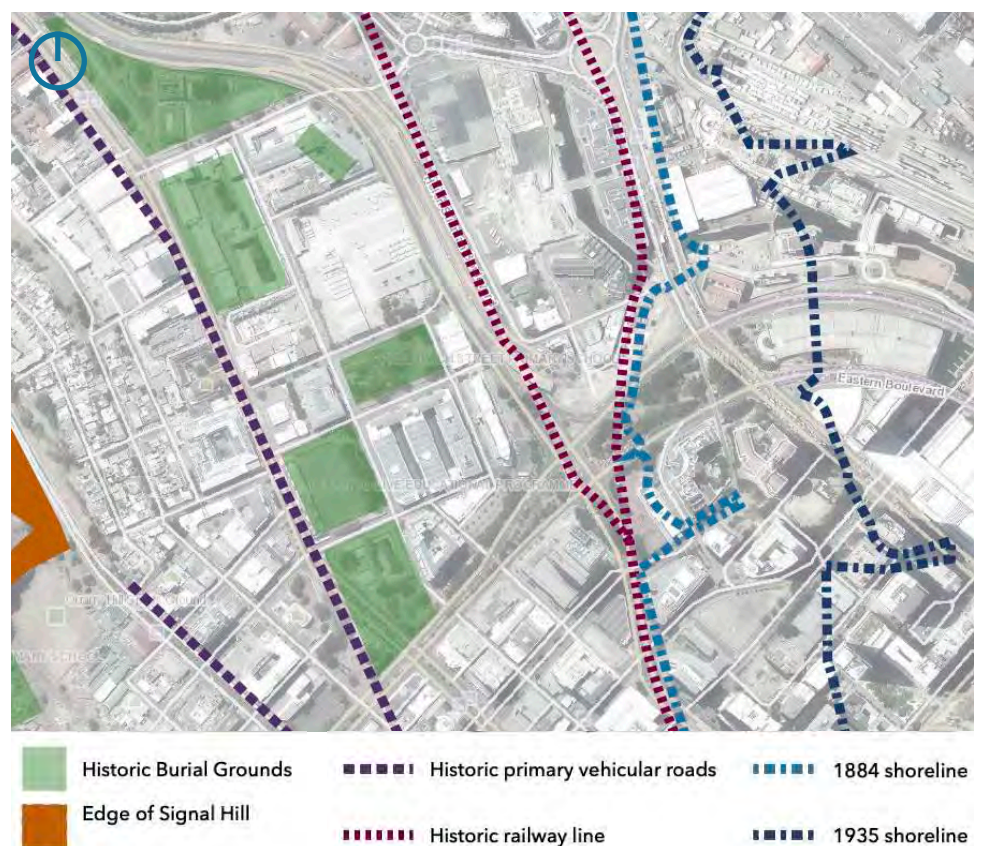


Figure 11: Image showing the historic burial grounds of the case study area (Authors edit over base image from City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Management Department).

in the city central (Langham-Carter, 1973; van Heyningen, 1989). This closure was strongly opposed by multiple religious groups, but given the health risk posed by these cemeteries, the Act was enacted despite the opposition of the public (Worden, et al., 1998). The State began selling off public burial grounds in District One from the early 1890s onward, on the condition that the new owners pay for the reburial of the remains on the property (Malan, et al., 2017, p. 37)(Figure 14). Following the Disused Cemeteries Act of 1902, the remaining cemeteries in District One were exhumed. This was, however, not done with great thoroughness and many human remains have been uncovered on these sites ever since (Malan, et al., 2017). The unearthed cemeteries were sold off on the condition that the land be used for educational, recreational, and charitable purposes, as stipulated in the Disused Cemeteries Appropriation Act of 1906 (Malan, et al., 2017). The Disused Cemeteries Act of 1902 only targeted formal cemeteries, so human remains could still be found in the areas in between the formalised cemeteries, with buildings constructed above the existing bodies in those areas (Malan, et al., 2017).

Ghost Town

This portion of the city was seemingly associated with illness and death, with an eerie landscape consisting of the Old Somerset Hospital that was constructed in 1818, various Batteries, Gallows Hill, and numerous graveyards throughout. The former residents of District One seem to be cognisant of this former landscape and acknowledged the fact that they lived above historic burial grounds. Many went on to relay interesting memories relating back to their experience with ghosts of the past. Some memories linked their deceased family back to District One, where they saw them last. One such memory was recalled by Aunty ME, who remembered her father hurrying her siblings into their home in Loader Street (northward of the subject site but part of the District One area at large) with great haste:

My father just said, come everybody must go inside. Then we wondered why he is saying that everybody must go inside but once we went inside, you could hear horses running outside. We could hear it, but only he could see it (Aunty ME, interviewed by author on 16 October 2021)

Aunty ME's father passed away when she and her nine siblings were children living in Loader Street, so this memory was especially special for her.

Another memory that was retold with a clear stamp of ownership of their dispossessed home was a story told by Aunty AP. Aunty AP had vivid memories of her childhood home in Napier Street with two basement cellars, one in front and one behind. The front cellar was used by her father to house a spare sowing machine that he sometimes used over weekends and where she and her siblings would play. According to Aunty AP, the back cellar was very dark and "spooky", so they used it to store old stuff and never went in there. She shared a room with one of her sisters, who claimed to see "spoeke¹⁰" wandering their home, while her siblings, none of whom believed her, would all laugh at the prospect.





Figure 12 (Top Right): Image showing Gallows Hill in 1778 by Robert Jacob Gordon (Nationaal Archief, The Hague)

Figure 13 (Left): Plan showing grants dating back to the 19th century (Cape Town Archives Repository M4/10-13)

Figure 14 (Bottom Right): The Presbyterian Church, St Andrew's Square by T. W. Bowler (W. R. Thomson, 1864)



She used to say that she can't sleep at night because the soldiers keep marching up and down the passage and only my mother believed her. Then a few years ago she phoned me to say that our house was in the House and Home. Our house had a history and when they revamped that house, they found letters from World War I. It was an army barracks, the bottom of our house in the second cellar, the spooky cellar. The bricks were out when they revamped it and the letters were hidden in there. That was written in the House and Home years ago. When my sister phoned me, she said "You see, they found letters, so it made sense that I saw the soldiers!" (Aunty AP, interviewed by author on 16 October 2021).

These memories were relayed as markers of ownership that portrayed an imbedded understanding of the 'genius loci' of the place, something that can only be understood through lived experience and translates into collective identity (Norberg-Schulz, 1980). The direct translation of 'genius loci' is 'spirit of place', which is unpacked by Norberg-Schulz in *Genius Loci: Towards a phenomenology of Place*, where he explains the integral relationship between 'place' and human existence (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p. 10). In that vein, heritage becomes the collective essence that ties together one's sense of place and identity. 'Genius loci', furthermore, provides a 'character' to a physical location, something that is subjectively experienced by individuals in a certain space in time. In the case of District One, as the community was displaced and the urban landscape was demolished or altered, the character of the place changed but its memory continues to live within their conscious acts of remembering and relaying these memories. This somewhat clarifies the feeling of ownership that the past community members have to District One, as they know that their lived experiences of the area are theirs alone and cannot be reproduced. Yi-Fu Tuan attributes people's palpable attachment to place to their ability to give meaning to a physical space through their lived experiences (Tuan, 1979).

The process of 'giving meaning' means to provide value, and in turn, value becomes the first step towards legitimising heritage for this community (Sitas & Stewart, 2021). The lived experience of the former community of District One is regarded as intangible cultural heritage/living heritage. The two terms can be

10

"Spoeke" is the so-called "kombuis" Afrikaans pronunciation of the word "ghosts". The term "kombuis Afrikaans", which translated to "kitchen Dutch", is so called for the dialect of Afrikaans that was spoken amongst the slave women in the kitchen of their Dutch owners. Both Achmat Davids and Robert Shell meticulously prove that Afrikaans was in fact originally a creolization of Dutch that was spoken amongst the eastern slaves and creole population. The term "kombuis afrikaans" is therefore demeaning, as it implies that the dialect of Afrikaans spoken by these communities is an altered version of Afrikaans, which it is not. The dialect referred to as "kombuis afrikaans" is still spoken by the coloured community.



read interchangeably but are used respectively in international and South African law, with our national preferred term being 'living heritage'. Given the clear significance of living heritage to communities of displacement, especially with our racialised history of segregation, one would imagine living heritage to be at the forefront of protected heritage in South Africa. This is, however, not the case and communities like District One continue to be omitted from public memory.

Figure 15: Image of District One in the late 19th century (National Library of South Africa Special Collections).



The 19th Century Colonial City

This section will begin with a brief introduction to the intertwined relationship between District One and District Two (Bo-Kaap), unpacking the perceived spatial boundaries that exist between the two areas. This will be followed by a synopsis of the urban occupiers of District One which will establish the racial difference between the White owners of space and the Black and Coloured users of space. This section will focus on the Black residents of District One, by revealing the intrinsic relationship between Public Health and racial segregation.

The Expanding City

Slavery was abolished in the Cape in 1834, with slaves remaining as indentured labour to their former owners under the guise of 'apprenticeship' until 1838 (Shell, 1997). During this liminal period of freedom there was a growing need for affordable housing for manumitted slaves and their families (Shell, 1997). This resulted in the increased urban growth of fine-grained housing throughout the inner-city – starting in Bo-Kaap¹¹ and making its way down to Prestwich Street between 1848, when the plan of Cape Town was printed in G. Greig's Directory and Almanac (Figure 13 above), and 1860, when a survey of the Cape was undertaken by William Barclay Snow (Figure 16). This area of development is recognised as three separate areas during more recent times, made up of Bo-Kaap, De Waterkant and the subject area, the demarcation of which seemingly spans between Green Point, the Foreshore and part of the V&A Waterfront precinct. This was, however, historically not the case. The displaced residents of the area have fond memories that seem to omit any imagined boundaries that exist in this area, with communal activity spilling over and seamlessly connecting the three areas. This will be expanded on further along in the paper.

The area of unmarked burial grounds spanning between Alfred Street and Liddle Street (including Cobern Street) that included burials of the Indigenous people, enslaved people and other marginalized groups were privately owned as early as 1827 (Surveyor General Diagram 386/1845). These properties were, however, only subdivided and sold off separately from 1845 onwards (Surveyor General Diagram 386/1845; Weeder, 2006). District One was officially established as such in 1867 when the city was divided into six districts for electoral purposes (Bickford-Smith, 1995, p. 47). At this point, District One developed into a fine-grained working-class residential area, the extent of which can be seen in William Snow's survey from 1860. The further extent of residential fabric below Prestwich Street was constructed between 1878 and 1895, initially built around the *Cemetery for the South African Missionaries Society* (Figure 17&18).

11

Bo-Kaap is the oldest residential area abutting the city. This area has a deep-rooted national history related to slavery and Islam, and has recently received a heritage protection overlay zone due to its layered tangible and intangible significance.

City Ownership vs City Living

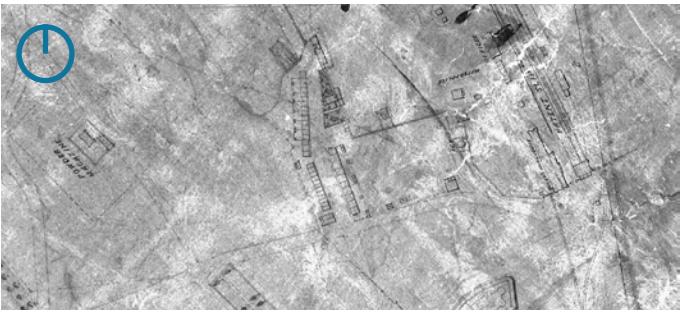
It is clear from figure 14, the map of the city prior to the turn of the 20th century, that the ownership of full blocks and other large properties were almost exclusively



Figure 16 (Left): William Barclay Snow Survey done in 1862 (City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Management Department)

Figure 17 (Below Left): Wilson Map of Cape Town from 1778 (City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Management Department)

Figure 18 (Below Right): Thom map of Cape Town from 1895 (City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Management Department)



white owned, with much of the land in District One transferred from the Municipality. This map, furthermore, illustrates the clear privilege afforded to white men during the 19th century, with the same few individuals harbouring the monopoly of the properties throughout. As was the case with large portions of the city at the time, white men would acquire various properties, sub-divide them, construct a series of semi-detached buildings and rent these properties to the urban poor (Worden, et al., 1998). At this point in time, there was little segregation along racial lines for the lower classed masses of the Cape, so these houses could be rented by all free individuals (Bickford-Smith, 1995). These maps, along with the Surveyor General Diagrams of the time, therefore, do not provide a clear representation of the inhabitants of the area.

The population of the Cape Colony continued to increase under British rule and underwent a second wave of increased European immigration due to the discovery of diamonds in Kimberly in 1867 (Bickford-Smith, 1995, p. 6). With the discovery of diamonds, and later gold, the new harbour became Cape Town's shipping trade centre (Worden, 1994). The mineral discovery brought with it the need for additional residential and commercial buildings and the already dense urban grain of the city continued to expand (Bickford-Smith, 1995). Located close to the dockyard and Roggebaai fishing harbour (Figure 20), District One was an undesirable area for wealthier residents of the Cape and was instead made up of local and immigrant working-class people, including but not limited to dock workers and fishermen (Worden, et al., 1998).

The 19th century tenants, some of whom had spent most of their lives renting their home in District One, have gone unrecorded on maps, with their existence further erased from common knowledge due to their later displacement. The churches within the area kept a record of the people baptised and married there, but the extent of whether coloured and black people were allowed in these churches during the 19th century is unclear. Records dating back to the early 20th century provide evidence of the occupation of later generations of coloured residents. These records will be unpacked later in this paper. The omission from existing



Figure 19: Image of the Cape Town dock in 1912 by "G.B.". The docks in barracks are visible along the central right end of the image (Rennie, John, Teresa Louw, and Gregg Goddard. 1978. *The Buildings of Central Cape Town*. Cape Town: Cape Provincial Institute of Architects Volume 3).

records is felt most severely by the already mistreated black dock workers and convicts at the Breakwater Prison who were recruited for the construction of the breakwater to shield docking ships from the south easterly wind (Fransen, 2004) (Bickford-Smith, 1995). The dock workers were made up of a mix of black South Africans from the Transkei and Ciskei ‘territories’¹², Mozambicans – who were exploited as cheaper labourers, and some West Indian men (Worden, et al., 1998, p. 246). The Mozambican dock workers received the harshest treatment, they were paid considerably less than the local labour and housed in the coal store, and later the wood store close to the harbour edge (Worden, et al., 1998, p. 246).

District One was earmarked as an unsanitary area throughout the 19th century, with the continual rise and fall of Smallpox from 1839 onwards, which infected a large number of people living close to the docks throughout the pandemic (Worden, et al., 1998). The dock workers, who were predominantly black South Africans from Transkei and Ciskei by the end of the 19th century, lived at the “docksin”, a ‘location’¹³ in the dock area of District One (Cape Town Archives Repository, CHB 266, Chief Inspector to General Manager TBHB, 1904) (Figure 19). These men were the first people to be displaced from District One (Swanson, 1977). The “docksin” barracks were first constructed close to the harbour for Irish labourers in the first half of the 19th century. These barracks were later used for black dock workers, within proximity to the police station, emulating the hostels constructed in Kimberley for black mine workers at the time (Bickford-Smith, 1995, p. 179). The first of these barracks are visible in William Snow’s survey from 1860 (Figure 16), with an additional block visible in Wilson’s map from 1878 (Figure 17). After the rise of the Bubonic Plaque in 1901, these men were forcibly removed from District One to Uitvlugt under the legal implications of the Public Health Amendment Act of 1897. Uitvlugt, later named Ndabeni, was established outside of the city specifically for the segregation of black men (Swanson, 1977). Although this segregation was at the time significantly far from the city centre, in comparison to the later established Cape Flats, Ndabeni became quite centrally located to the larger Cape Town city (Figure 21).

12

This term was used by the colonial government to refer to the demarcated land designated to various tribes of black Indigenous People (Worden, et al., 1998). Territories were seen as self-governing lands separate to South Africa.

13

The term originated in the 19th century to refer to both rural and urban areas designated for black settlement. The term was later replaced by the word ‘township’ (Bickford-Smith, 1995).



Figure 20: Roggebaai, undated (National Library of South Africa Special Collections).



District
One

• Ndabeni

 City Centre

Urban Erasure

Not much is mentioned about the individual identities of the Black dock workers in official records, except for the few men who led protests when their wages were attempted to be reduced. The names of these men - John Titus, Long Dick, Henry Yateman and Phillip Susa - are found in archived letters of grievance to the Harbour Board (Bickford-Smith, 1995). The longstanding displacement of these residents and their tumultuous relationship with District One makes their identities all the more difficult to record, perpetuating their collective invisibility. One of the greater injustices of racial discrimination, and the apartheid system in particular, is the collective identity of people of colour, who are seen to have no individual identity of their own (Fanon, 2008).

The historic barracks of the docksin, along with many other historic remnants, have been demolished. There is no doubt that these barracks would in any effect have elicited traumatic memories tied to indentured labour, and their retention is in no way advocated for in this paper. However, the historic night school that was established for the dock workers is still in existence, with a layered heritage of its own as Roggebaai High School in the 20th century (Figure 22). Although the relationship between these men and District One remains tumultuous, this building provides an opportunity for social restitution at the very least. However, as mentioned in the contextual description in the first section of this paper, this building has not yet been graded by the City of Cape Town, who in fact owns the building, which has been gated and not accessible to the public.

In cases like these, it is the responsibility of the City of Cape Town, as the local heritage authority, to grade the building adequately, taking into consideration its intangible cultural heritage. Without an adequate heritage grading, the building, along with its social heritage, is offered no protection in terms of the NHRA, the MPBL or any of the local SDFs. Furthermore, as the land owners, it is the CoCT's responsibility to foreground social restitution and bridge the gap between the omitted public memory and an erased people.



Figure 21: Image showing the position of District One in relation to Ndabeni (Authors own).

Figure 22: Image of the Docks Area School that later became Roggebaai High School (Rennie, John, Teresa Louw, and Gregg Goddard. 1978. *The Buildings of Central Cape Town*. Cape Town: Cape Provincial Institute of Architects Volume 3. p. 32).



Figure 23: Updated Thom map of Cape Town from 1900-1912 showing the docksin barracks and Docks Area School/Roggebaai High School (City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Management Department.).



Figure 24: 2017 Aerial image of the Waterfront Development that has replaced the old docks. Docks Area School/Roggebaai High School is still in existence (City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Management Department.).

The 20th Century City

The community of District One is brought into focus in this section, unpacking both their social ties, as well as their embedded spatial connection to District One. This section begins with a synopsis of the 20th century community, followed by a breakdown of the consequences of the Slum Areas Act and the Group Areas Act, and ending in the displacement of this community to various part of Cape Town.

Memory plays a big role in this section, and is used to describe the intertwined relationship between the community and the inscribed urban landscape of District One. The spatial analysis is further explored and broken down into the remembered landscape, the existing landscape and the imagined landscape.

This section goes on to analyse the positionality of memory practice in the safeguarding of living heritage and how living heritage is protected by the NHRA and the various tiers of heritage authorities. Finally, the role of the NHRA in the safeguarding and identification of spaces of collective memory is analysed.

A Diverse Community

After the construction of the first fine grained houses in the blocks between Somerset Road and Prestwich Street, District One along with Bo-Kaap (District Two), was already known as an area where 'Malay'¹⁴ families resided (Kennedy, 1879). Many of these residents were fishermen and their families, who forged communal ties due to both their occupational identity as well as their shared cultural identity as the descendants of slaves (Bickford-Smith, 1995; Grant, 1999). Immigration of Portuguese, Lithuanian and Irish people brought an increase in multi-culturalism evident in District One during the late 19th and early-to-mid 20th century (Weeder, 2006). It became evident from the interviews that Portuguese families continued to live in District One, even during the 20th century. Of all the European immigrants in District One, it would seem that the Portuguese families integrated most seamlessly into the community. Several of the interviewees from Cobern Street spoke about the "poor Portuguese family" that lived in Cobern Street in the mid-20th century.

They lived opposite us; her name was Maria. My mother always used to feel so sorry for her. Shame, she had a lot of children and my mommy always used to say "ag voitog, giema" (ah, shame, just give). So we'd always give them food stuff. Her husband was a mechanic and they were poor. Just shows you that we grew up as one community and whatever she needed my mother would give her, and yet it was apartheid and they needed us (Aunty GJ, interviewed by author on 14 October 2021).

There was also a Portuguese family that owned the shop opposite the Sacred Heart Cathedral, they were Rebello's. They still own a shop there and the mother is still alive (Aunty WC, interviewed by author on 14 October 2021).

Aunty AP lived in Napier Street with her parents and siblings. She was raised in a Muslim household by a 'Cape Malay' father and a Portuguese mother but as a child, she was unaware of any racial differences within her family:

14

The term was originally used to refer to the Muslim slaves from the East, who spoke Malayu. This term stuck as a classification for Coloured Muslim people despite their increasingly diverse lineage (Davids, 1980). The term 'Malay' is, furthermore, a geographically incorrect classification given the small percentage of slaves that were brought to the Cape from Malaysia (Bradlow & Cairns, 1978).

My mother turned Muslim when she was 16 and later married my father. She was friends with my father's sisters, they went to school together. Her parents were not happy about it (the marriage). They were wealthy people that lived in High Level Road in Green Point but she never accepted her inheritance. We didn't know that my mother was Portuguese until one of her family members passed away and her brothers came to fetch her. We all wondered who these white people were (Aunty AP, interviewed by author on 16 October 2021).

Although District One is presently seen as part of Green Point, it is clear from Aunty AP's interview that this was not the case. It was clear in the way that she relayed this story that she viewed High Level Road and Green Point as a wealthy area separate to District One.

What resonated from these interviews was the apparent economic mobility of people within the Portuguese community, a community who migrated to South Africa as one of the poorer European nations, along with the Irish and Italian families at the time. Although the Portuguese were seemingly well integrated into the coloured community at District One, their whiteness afforded them a different fate to their black and coloured counterparts. Instead of succumbing to the forced removals that would ensue in the 1960s, many Portuguese families were able to move to the more sought-after areas within the city and others to the better areas of the Southern Suburbs (Weeder, 2006).

A Working Community

Before the turn of the 20th century all of the blocks between the historic cemeteries were built up, consisting of a mixture of semi-detached residential and commercial fabric and larger warehouses scattered throughout, concentrated particularly below Hospital Street, so named for the Old Somerset Hospital located there. At this point the tram line passed down Somerset Road, which already functioned as more of a High Street with shops located between the historic churches and cemeteries along the strip (Figure 25&26). Between 1910 and 1930 all the disused cemeteries, including Gallows Hill, were exhumed, and new schools and public buildings were constructed on these sites. These public buildings were the completing element to the fully-fledged working community remembered by the former residents interviewed in this paper.

The urban landscape of the area truly took form in the 20th century, with established residential, commercial, civic, and industrial pockets scattered throughout. The Goad Insurance Map of 1925 and 1949 provides the most detailed plan layout of the area, with labels showing the respective churches along Somerset Road, the various schools (Roggebaai High School is referred to as the 'docks area school'), civic institutions (including the Post Office and the traffic department), large-scaled warehouses and businesses, residential dwellings (labelled 'd'), and small-scaled domestic shops (labelled 's'). Maps like these provide us with a record of the historic city and offers tangible evidence of urban life in cities prior to forced removals. Even without official records, the overlaying of maps show the change



Figure 25: Late 19th century image of Somerset Road showing the tram line and double storey ground floor shops and upper floor housing (AG 9758, Cape Archives).

Figure 26: 19th century image of Somerset Road showing the relationship between the 19th century building development and the stone walls and cypress trees of the cemeteries (Image by Arthur Elliot, Cape Archives).



in the urban layout of cities over time. They reveal the consequences of apartheid urban planning, which in the case of District One, is seen by the replacement of fine-grained residential buildings shown the maps prior to the 1966 Municipal Survey with vacant lots or large mixed use buildings constructed over full blocks visible in maps from 1966 onward.

In an interview conducted with three women from two generations of the same family, they fondly remembered life in Cobern Street, the place that they all called home at some point in time. The eldest of the interviewees, Aunty GJ, moved to Cobern Street when she was 11 years old, her younger sister, Aunty GS, was 8 years old at the time. They both lived in Cobern Street until they got married at about 22 years old, while their parents, their sister and her family continued to live there. Prior to life in Cobern Street, their family lived in Walmer Estate, where they were forced to move to make way for the construction of the highway. The youngest of the interviewees was Aunty WC, who was born in Cobern Street and was forcibly removed from the area when she was 12 years old. Together they sparked each other's memory of the area and painted a picture of what life might have been like between the 1950s and 1966.

When we moved to Cobern Street in the 1950s, I was still attending school in Walmer Estate and travelled there by bus. My sister went to Prestwich Street Primary school and my brothers all went to Roggebaai High School. We had lots of friends in Cobern Street, people that I'm still good friends with today.

15
32 timber and steel semi-detached houses located between Battery Street and Bennet Street. These houses were constructed by the South African Railways and Harbours for their Coloured employees and their families. In comparison to these houses, the White employees and their families were housed in brick houses in Bennet Street, just around the corner from the Dock Cottages.

There was a bar on the corner of Cobern and Prestwich Street, called the Thistle Bar, we lived in the double storey house next door. The Thistle was the closest bar to the Docks, and it had hotel rooms on the floors above. The people that went there were respectful coloured people. The fishermen would come there first thing after they docked.

The Dock Cottages¹⁵ were close to Bennet Street, it was where the South African Railways and Harbour workers families lived. Dis waar hulle al die gadatte gehou het (It's where they held all the gadats¹⁶) on Thursday nights and Friday nights.

16
Communal gatherings held by Muslims to remember Allah (God). Usually practiced to celebrate milestones or in mourning to bless the deceased. This practice, with all its details, is unique to Cape Town.

Our mosque was Vos Street Mosque, we still go there for the traawie¹⁷. That mosque was so small but everyone in the community could fit.

The post office was behind us in Liddle Street and the Catholic School was at the top of our street and Liddle Street but the school isn't there any longer. The Sacred Heart is still there, in Somerset Road. They used to give food to the poor. The church was opposite Rebelo, that's still there. It's a Portuguese shop that's still there, the mother is still alive, you know. The Indian shop was next to Rebelo, and Zapiro was next to that, and Johnny on the corner.

17
'Traawie' is the colloquial term for 'Tarawih', used exclusively in Cape Town. Tarawih is a type of prayer that is performed every night of the Ramadan. It usually involves long readings of scriptures from the Quran.

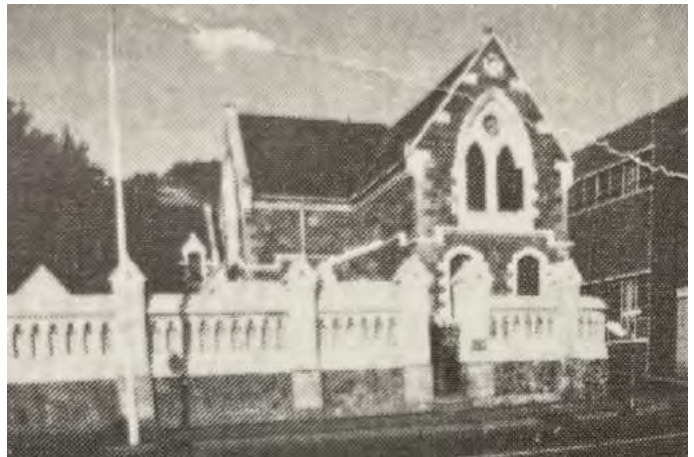
We lived just around the corner from Prestwich Primary School. Elke oggend is ons laat vir daai skool (Every morning we were late for that school). The bell was ringing already and you're still brushing your teeth.

The EK Green Winery was also in Somerset Road. Lots of people worked there, even Muslim people in the area, they made the wooden barrels. That was their trade (Aunty GJ, Aunty GS and Aunty WC, interviewed by author on 14 October 2021).

Figure 27: Goad Insurance Maps from 1949 stitched together to represent a map of District One (UCT African Studies Library)



With the help of historic maps and aerial images, their conversation took me on an imagined tour of what the area may have looked like and felt like during the 20th century. Unlike District Six, that was photographically recorded prior to its destruction, District One was not afforded the same courtesy. With the lack of a photographic record of District One, there seems to be an imminent time stamp on the lifespan of the memory of this soon to be forgotten landscape, as it currently lives in its entirety only in the mindscape of its former community.



A Landscape of Memory

Memory remains inscribed in the urban landscape of District One. This memory is kept alive not only by the historic remnants that exist, but also through the act of remembering, revisiting, and engaging that is practiced by the former community. These acts happen both as organised reunions where they can engage with their shared history in these forgotten spaces. As well as when they visit the site on nostalgic weekends with their families. It's these collective memories of the daily lives of ordinary people that Walter Benjamin considered to be the "primal history" of an era (Benjamin, 1999).

During the interview process, people had no problems remembering the names of roads, the corners on which different shops were located and key historic buildings in relation to these landmarks. However, when probed on the location of these contextual memories in the current landscape, people would often confuse the exact placements of things and refer to memories of their placement in relation to the larger markers of space. One such example occurred during a drive-through site visit with my grandfather, who wished to show me his old high school, Roggebaai High School, that was at the time located close to the docks. With the addition of the incomplete elevated highway, Helen Suzman Boulevard and the privatisation of the V&A Waterfront, his initial clear conviction of the placement of the building wavered once on site, with his initial reference points no longer as clear. This moment of reverting back to one's placement in time and space is an indication of the relationship between our embodied bodily experiences and memory, which is perfectly encapsulated in the following verse: "My eyes have forgotten what they once saw, but my body still remembers" (Pallasmaa, 2009, p. 21). In cases like these, does the memory of District One only live in a remembered landscape of those who experienced the space as it once was or are there ways to reinstate these memories over a now forgotten landscape?

As discussed previously, the photographic evidence of District One as a residential area during the 20th century is extremely sparse. With this omission of tangible memories, and the haste with which the landscape was transformed after the forced removals, is the remembered landscape of District One in some ways an imagined construct pieced together from teenage memories of its former residents? In District One, where gradual urbanisation and natural evolution was unable to occur, the memory of the historic landscape either fades from memory sooner without photographic records or the immediate change of the landscape allows for a stark separation in one's mind between the past and present (Scheer, 2018) (Pallasmaa, 2009). Memory and place are often intertwined in our subconscious, with certain memories and people entrapped in our minds in a particular space and time. In *The Arcades Project*, Walter Benjamin quotes a passage from *Either/Or*, written by the Danish theologian Soren Kierkegaard, that reinforces the idea that certain memories and spaces are carved into our minds, never to be forgotten:

Environment and setting still have a great influence upon one; there is something about them which stamps itself firmly and deeply in the memory, or rather upon the whole soul, and which is therefore never

Figure 28 (Top Right): Image of the dock cottages in the early 20th century (National Library of South Africa Special Collections).

Figure 29 (Right 2nd from the Top): Image of the Thistle Bar at the corner of Prestwich Street and Cobern Street in the late 20th century (Rennie, John, Teresa Louw, and Gregg Goddard. 1978. *The Buildings of Central Cape Town*. Cape Town: Cape Provincial Institute of Architects Volume 3).

Figure 30 (Top Left): Original Front elevation of Prestwich Street Primary School drawn by Parker and Forsyth in 1910 (UCT African Studies Library).

Figure 31 (Middle Left): Image of Vos Street Mosque in the late 20th century (Rennie, John, Teresa Louw, and Gregg Goddard. 1978. *The Buildings of Central Cape Town*. Cape Town: Cape Provincial Institute of Architects Volume 3).

Figure 32 (Middle and Middle Right): Images of Sacred Heart Church in the late 20th century (Rennie, John, Teresa Louw, and Gregg Goddard. 1978. *The Buildings of Central Cape Town*. Cape Town: Cape Provincial Institute of Architects Volume 3).

Figure 33 (Bottom Left and Bottom Centre): Images of EK Green in the late 20th century (Rennie, John, Teresa Louw, and Gregg Goddard. 1978. *The Buildings of Central Cape Town*. Cape Town: Cape Provincial Institute of Architects Volume 3).

Figure 34 (Bottom Right): Image of a Muslim barrel maker in the 20th century (du Plessis, I. D. & Luckhoff, C. A., 1953. *The Malay quarter and its people*. Cape Town: A. A. Balkema).

forgotten. However old I may become, it will always be impossible for me to think of Cordelia amid surroundings different from this little room (Benjamin, 1999, p. 219).

In my interview with Aunty AS we discussed the comparative grief of having one's house demolished and left barren (which is the case for most of the subject area of District One) and having somebody new live in the home that was forcefully taken from you (which is the case for the upper part of District One now known as de Waterkant). Aunty AS and her late husband were both raised in District One, where their respective families were forced to move but their homes suffered different fates. She grew up in the Dock Cottages, a row of cottages that were demolished as they were vacated, and her late husband grew up in a still existent house in Waterkant Street¹⁸ (Aunty AS, interviewed by author on 23 October 2021). Although devastated by the demolition of her childhood home, where she felt the memories of her parents lived, Aunty AS acknowledged that in some way she was lucky not to be faced with the reality of somebody else enjoying the spoils of their displacement. This was something that she watched her late husband experience until his passing. She tearfully recounted this memory with me:

The house is still there, number 1 Waterkant Street. I think that it's offices now. He just wanted to go there just to see it. What's going through his mind? I don't know, but Hassim used to like to go there. He would always tell me, "My mother used to stand at that window and fry the koesisters, I can still smell the food that she's making (sic)". And being there brought him memories, he would just stand there. I felt for them (her husband and his siblings), the house is still there but they can't enter it. The number of the house was also changed, it's no longer 1 Waterkant Street (Aunty AS, interviewed by author on 23 October 2021).

The quote by Soren Kierkegaard resonated with this story, as they both speak to the connection between people and places within our memory. Her late husband spent much of his adult life visiting the street that he grew up in just to view his childhood home, as this facilitated his reminiscence of his mother. Memories like these, of our childhood homes and our deceased parents, although personalised and individual, form a shared tether that allows for solidarity and collective identity amongst displaced communities (Pallasmaa, 2009). In instances like these, it could, therefore, be argued that the accuracy of the remembered landscape is of little consequence to the significance of the memories tied to such places of dispossession, where "the material and the spiritual, as well as the experienced, the remembered, and the imagined, constantly fuse into each other" (Pallasmaa, 2009, p. 25)

The Disintegration of the Inner-City

Following the hygiene related issues that plagued the area in the 19th century with the urban burial grounds, issues related to hygiene and sanitisation continued into the 20th century (van Heyningen, 1989). District One, followed shortly by Bo-Kaap, was the first in the inner city of Cape Town to be declared a 'Slum Area' under the Slum Area Act of 1934, one of the key steps towards the segregated

18
Waterkant Street is part of District One, located above Somerset Road, and therefore outside of the subject area.

city that we know today (Truluck, 1989). The South African government at the time used sanitisation and hygiene to justify the expropriation of land and the displacement of people from designated Slum Areas across the country (Parnell, 2007). By enforcing public health and town planning laws, the government were able to 'lawfully' segregate South African cities by moving people of colour to the peripheries of the city and reinforcing "urban privileges" for white South Africans (Parnell, 2007). By further placing blame on people of colour for the sickness of "Europeans", the government was able to rally for public support in their removal of slum areas. The following article in the Cape Times in 1933 highlights this perfectly:

The eradication of slums would improve the public health of Cape Town by 30 percent. A great deal of sickness and colds among the Europeans today, can be traced to slums through domestic servants and others (Cape Times, 10 August 1933).

As a result, people living in Jerry Street, a street in District One, were forcibly removed after their homes were expropriated and demolished in 1936 (Figure 35 & 36). No proper provisions were made by the State and these displaced people were moved to Bo-Kaap, another inner-city area that was declared a slum area (Truluck, 1989). Although the State continued to revise and implement segregationist town planning policies in Cape Town that allowed for the redevelopment of working-class areas throughout the city, due to the State's incompetence with Jerry Street, they stopped the demolition of buildings in these designated slum areas at this time (Truluck, 1989). Jerry Street was located adjacent to Buitengracht Street, on a site that would become part of the planned Buitengracht Road Widening Scheme.

My grandfather's older siblings lived at the corner of Castle Street and the no longer existing Rose Lane in Bo-Kaap, until 1936, after Bo-Kaap was declared a Slum Area and the family had to move to a different part of Bo-Kaap. The house in Castle Street was also demolished to become part of the Buitengracht Road Widening Scheme. The Buitengracht Road Widening Scheme was, however, abandoned and the property became part of a series of vacant blocks along Buitengracht Street, running from Hout Street in Bo-Kaap to the Helen Suzman Boulevard (Figure 56). My grandfather's oldest living brother, Boeta Noor Galvaan, has recently been struggling with his memory but has gotten into the habit of writing down his childhood memories when he remembers them. Amongst the manuscripts that I am fortunate to have received from him are the following recollections:

We went to school at Prestwich Street (Primary School), it was close to where we lived. I was born at 128 Castle Street on the 25 April 1931. We had a double storey house, and some nice horses that we kept in our stable just around the corner in Rose Lane. My grandfather sold greens and fruit from our house. When Laylatul Qadr¹⁹ approached us, my mother would display the brass and silver in the lounge and lit it up with colouring lights. A few years ago Sis²⁰ Gasina Arshing, of Moreland Terrace, spoke about how beautiful our house was. I was 5 years old when we moved to the top of Long Market Street in 1936 (Boeta Noor Galvaan, letter dated 2021).

19
The holiest night celebrated by Muslims.

20
The term 'sis' is used as a form of respect when referring to older women.

21
Refers to a Muslim who has performed pilgrimage to Mecca.

Figure 35: Aerial view of Jerry Street in 1935 (City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Management Department).



Figure 36: 1944 - 1966 Municipal Survey showing Jerry Street (City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Management Department).



District One was historically established as an extension to the inner-city housing that started in Bo-Kaap. Although Strand Street can be read as a physical buffer that separates Bo-Kaap from District One, based on accounts from older residents of Bo-Kaap and former residents of District One, the wide road posed no real separation in the fluidity of communal life between the two areas (Figure 37).

We had lots of friends and family there (in District One). Your granny had a cousin who lived in the Dock Cottages and a good friend of my father's, Hajji²¹ Tayp Jappie, owned a tailor shop in Somerset Road, around the corner from his house in Cobern Street. He taught my brother his trade. There was a fish and chips shop opposite the church where you could buy a parcel for 1 penny, it was the best, not like today. There were quite a few grocery shops in Somerset Road, we did our shopping there. There was a butcher on the corner of Napier and Somerset Road that we would get meat from (Boeta Noor Galvaan, letter dated 2021).

It became clear from the interviews that what is perceived as two areas were in fact just two ends of the same area that were disintegrated as part of the segregation of the city. The disintegration of larger communities like Bo-Kaap and District One was a divisive tool of racial segregation established by the apartheid government, where the Coloured community was broken up according to supposed ancestral identities. The racial fragmentation of Coloured communities based on their religious identities, with Muslim Coloured people classified as 'Malay' and Christian Coloured people as 'Coloured', was a means of dissolution of the already fragmented 'non-white'(Adhikari, 2009). The perceived separation of the apparent Muslim/Malay Bo-Kaap from the Coloured District One is a clear example of the manipulation used by the apartheid government to break down social relations between an integrated community.

Figure 37: Image displaying the close proximity between District One and Bo-Kaap, separated by Strand Street (Fransen, H. 2000. A Cape camera: the architectural beauty of the old Cape : photographs from the Arthur Elliott Collection in the Cape Archives. Johannesburg: Ad. Donker Publisher and Jonathan Ball Publishers).



Working-class communities like District One posed a great threat to the apartheid ideology of segregation, as they facilitated social interactions between white people and people of other races (Bickford-Smith, 1995, p. 127). The *Groups Areas: Racial Survey drawn up in 1947 by the Office of the Town Planning Branch of the Cape Town City Engineers Department*, furthermore, labels District One as a “mixed” area (Figure 38). After the displacement of black people to Ndabeni, District One was made up of Coloured, ‘Malay’, Indian, Jewish and White people from the poorer European countries (Weeder, 2006).

The Group Areas Act was first enacted in 1950, with the intention of creating a white city and moving all the remaining people of colour to the periphery of the city, to areas that were yet to be developed. This is best illustrated in the map of Cape Town illustrating the Group Areas proposal by the Planning and Reference Committee appointed by the Government in 1950. What is interesting to note is the “undefined” vision for the southern suburbs along the base of Table Mountain, despite the clear groupings of other races along the edge of the city (Figure 39). Bo-Kaap was one of the earlier group areas, proclaimed a Malay Group Area in 1957, following overt Orientalism pushed by I. D. Du Plessis^{22a} and other city council members of the time (Davids, 1980). The argument for Bo-Kaap to become a Malay Group Area was grounded in Du Plessis’ belief in the “Malay way of life”, which was unique to all other groups of people (du Plessis & Luckhoff, 1953, pp. 81-82). He believed that ‘Cape Malay’ people in Bo-Kaap were victims of the slum brought about by the “Natives”, and if protected, would become a tourist attraction in their own right, which would ultimately benefit the State (Truluck, 1989; Jeppie, 1986). Indian and Coloured residents were able to be reclassified as ‘Malay’, saving them from displacement (Davids, 1991). Strand Street became the line of separation of the ‘Malay’ Bo-Kaap and what would later become the ‘White’ District One. In 1965, District One, along with larger parts of the city, were proclaimed White Group Areas.

A Displaced Community

Although District One started off as an area made up of rental housing, by 1965 the area was made up of a mix of homeowners and tenants who had been renting their house for decades. People had received their eviction notices in 1965 and were given a two-year grace period before they had to be gone. The community of District One was fragmented and given housing throughout the Cape Flats, in Bontehuwel, Hanover Park, Bridgetown, and many of the former residents scattered throughout the newly established courts^{22a} of Manenberg.

We lived in number 22 Dock Cottages. I still remember a white person came to our house with a book. He was writing down details and stuff and I remember my mother asking not to be put upstairs because she wasn’t healthy and had arthritis, so we moved into a ground floor flat in Johanna Court in Manenberg. We weren’t poor, poor people but we didn’t have to pay bills at the Dock Cottages and now we had to pay bills. It was if we were thrown away. Away from everything. In the bush. There was nothing there in Manenberg. As soon as people moved their things out of the

22a

Du Plessis saw himself as an advocate of the Cape Malay people, writing two books that depicted the life and culture of the Muslim community in Bo-Kaap. Following the publishing of these two books, he was appointed as the head of the Institute of Malay Studies at the University of Cape Town and later serving as the commissioner, secretary and then adviser for Coloured Affairs (Jeppie, 2001).

22b

The flats in Manenberg are referred to as courts, with each court given its own name.



Figure 38: The Group Areas: Racial Survey by the Office of the Town Planning Branch of the Cape Town City Engineers Department, 1947. District One, highlighted in purple, is labeled as a "mixed" area. (Heseltine, Bryan, Amanda Hopkinson, Vivian Bickford-Smith, Sean Field, and Darren Newbury. 2013. People apart: 1950s Cape Town revisited. London: Black Dog Pub).

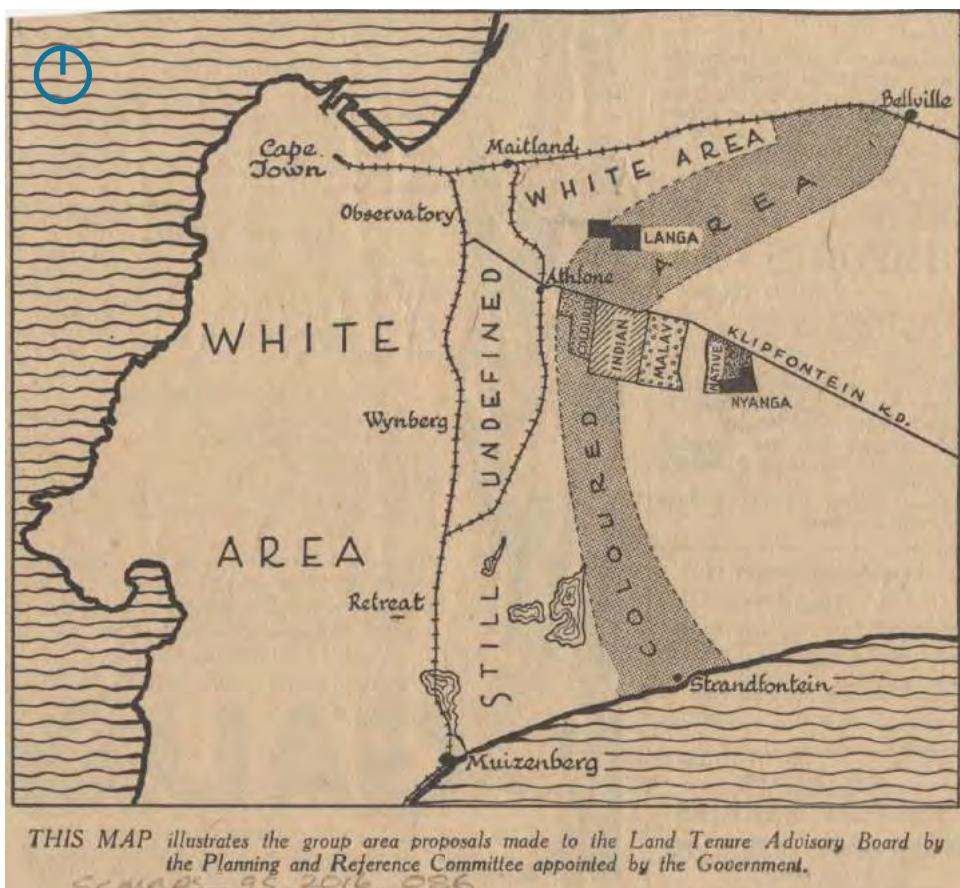


Figure 39: Map of Cape Town illustrating Group Areas proposal by the Planning and Reference Committee appointed by the Government, 1950. Accessed on 12 August 2021 (African Historical Maps Collection at UCT Libraries Digital Collections <https://digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/islandora/object/islandora%3A29991/print_object>).

Dock Cottages their houses were chopped down. They told us that it was because of the bridge that they needed to build there, we believed them, and the bridge is still not done. Whenever I go there, I tell my children, this is where we stayed, this is where I went to school and here is where they threw us out (Aunty AS, interviewed by author on 23 October 2021).

What was observed from this interview was the perceived acceptance of Aunty AS and her family to move to make way for infrastructural development within the city, followed by deep anger at the fact that they were displaced “for nothing”, as the bridge remains incomplete. The State’s regard for people of colour as expendable in the 20th century to make way for development, is reminiscent of the current development taking place throughout the city, with little regard for the disenfranchised communities that live there and no regard for those that were previously displaced. For dispossessed people like Aunty AS, who was eighteen years old when she and her family were moved, the pain of displacement was inflicted quickly but the trauma continues to linger half a century later. Aunty AS’s use of the term “threw us out” was deliberate and said with great gusto in the interview. The term emits a sense of being ‘discarded’ or ‘disposed’ of, which is how Aunty AS and many of the other interviewees had communicated to feeling. The themes of disposal and invisibility were reoccurring in these interviews and many others in connection to forced removals and present life in the Cape Flats (Field, 2001; Jeppie & Soudien, 1990; Roux, 2021). This sense of invisibility is perpetuated by the neglect of the Cape Flats and the generations of dispossessed people that reside there without any hope of restitution.

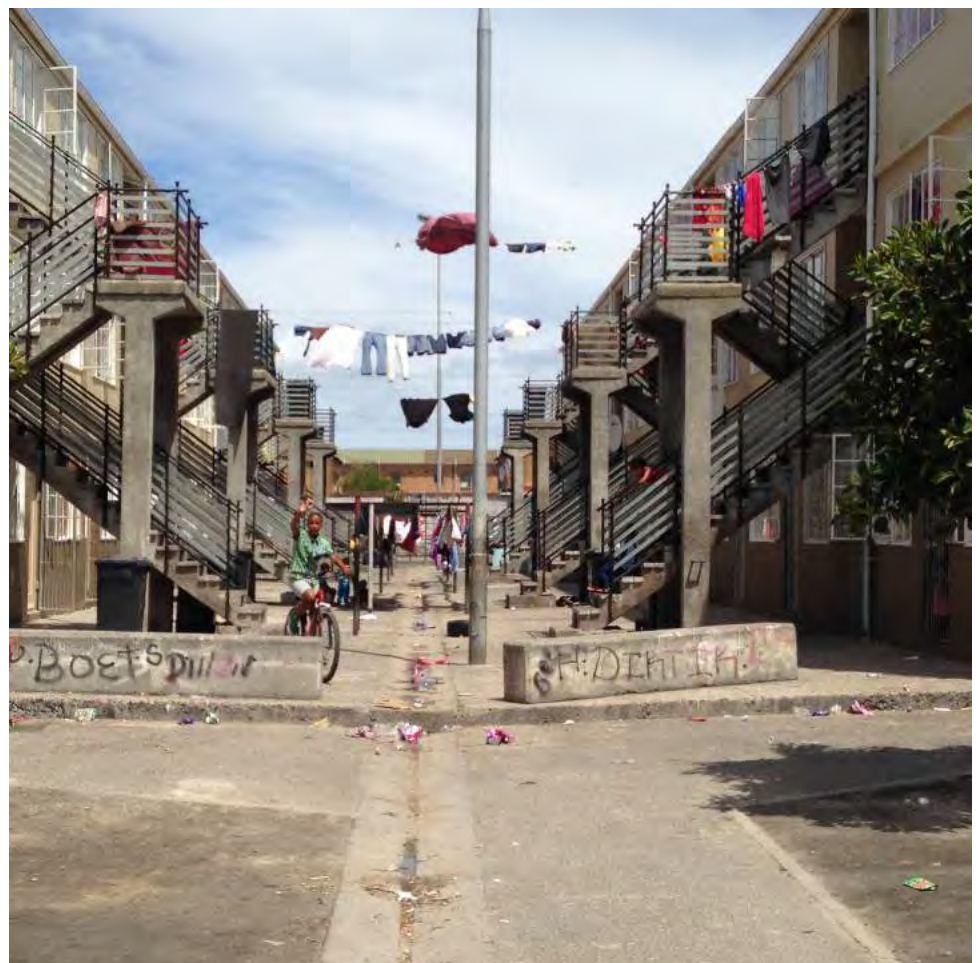


Figure 41: Image showing the position of District One and the City Centre in relation to the Cape Flats (Authors own).

Figure 40: Image of a Court in Mannenberg. Accessed on 22 November 2021 (<http://vpuu.org.za/safe-node-area/manenberg/>).

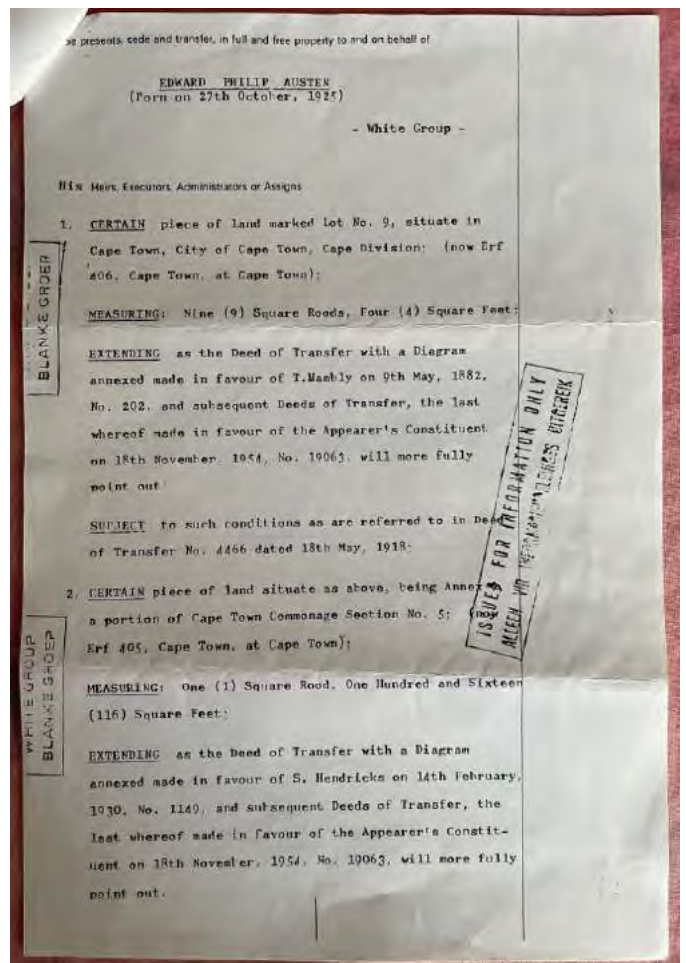
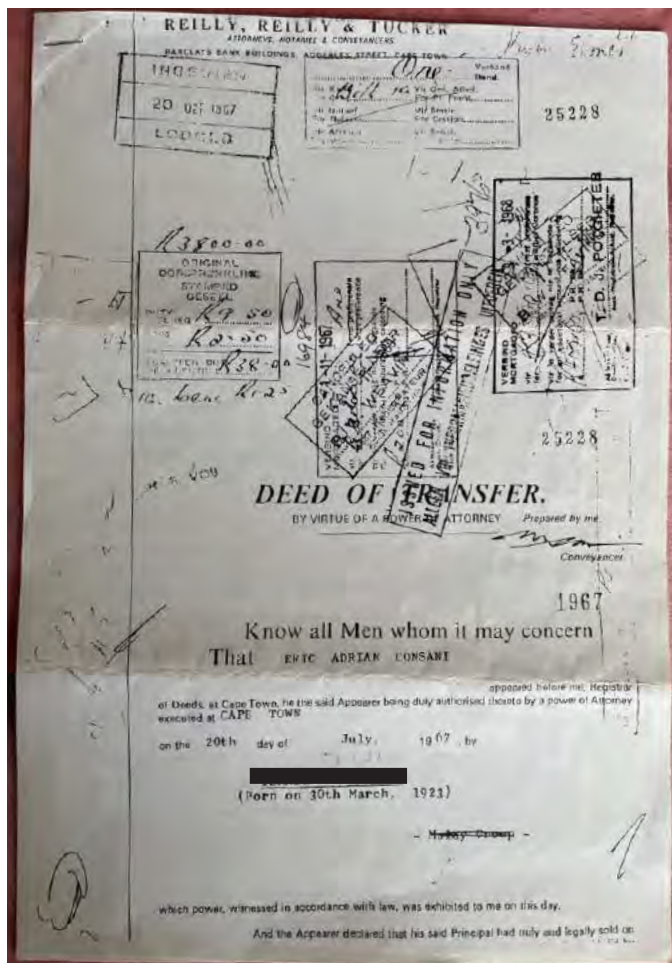


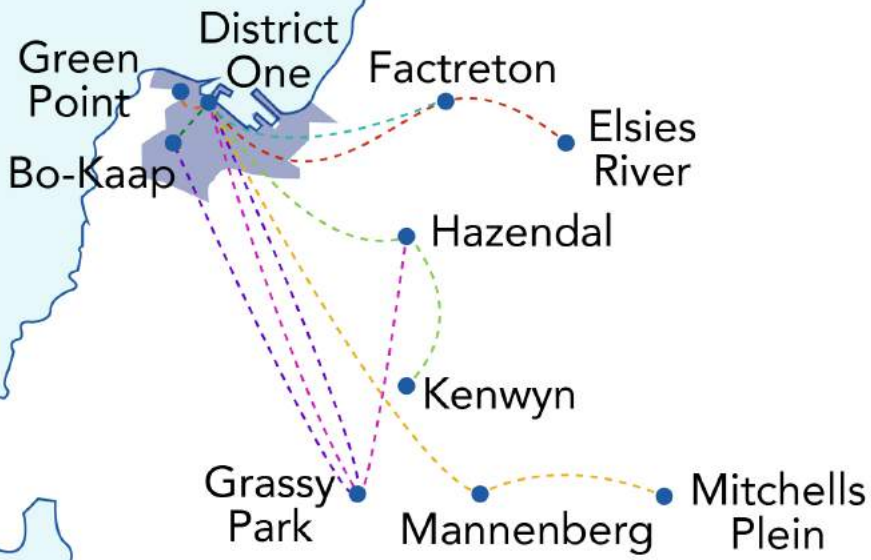
The more fortunate residents who owned their own homes were able to sell their houses to white buyers, albeit for well under their true value at the time and buy new properties in more desirable areas outside of the proclaimed white areas, of which there were few. One such case was Aunty GG, whose father owned their home in Loader Street. After receiving the eviction notice, her father was forced to sell to a white man who was interested in buying their 150m² property (Aunty GG, interviewed by author on 9 October 2021). The property valuation record shows that her father sold the property for R3 800 in 1967 and the property was sold a mere 3 years later for R34 320. Aunty GG's father could afford to buy an empty property in the still barren Factreton, where he built their new home from scratch. Even though Factreton was not high on their list of desirable areas, they were able to build a house in an area that was just one bus away from town, which was at the top of their list of priorities when deciding on an area to buy at the time.

Figure 43: Image showing the position of District One and the City Centre in relation to the areas to which people were displaced (Authors own).

Figure 42a&b: Deed of Transfer of a house in District One during Apartheid showing the racial designation of the area (Deed of Transfer supplied by Aunty GG).

In rare cases, homeowners were able to sell their properties in District One and move to Bo-Kaap, with very few adjustments made from their previous lives in District One. For these fortunate people, they were able to continue with their inner-city lives, with minimal changes made to where they shopped, where they worked and where they were able to go to school. This was not the case for most of the former residents who were completely dislocated from their former reality, in places that were yet to be developed. Prior to this, many of these city-dwelling people had no reason to leave the inner city, everything that they needed was





 City Centre

located a short bus ride away at most. To add insult to injury, in order to reinforce the proposed whiteness of the city, the apartheid government made it increasingly difficult for these displaced people to travel from the Cape Flats back to the city, even for those who continued to work there.

After we moved to Ottery we couldn't travel back to town. It was so far and so expensive. You had walk far to the bus station, sometimes in the rain and mud, and wait for a bus to come every few hours to go to Wynberg to take a train to town. They didn't want us in town, they moved us here to the buite²³ (outskirts) and we spent our life in town (Aunty GJ, interviewed by author on 16 October 2021).

For those who were fortunate enough to remain in the city, they were able to sustain their network of support within Bo-Kaap, with the friendships that they were able to forge there given the fluidity of social cohesion between Bo-Kaap and District One. For the less fortunate majority, the thing that they missed most, apart from the convenience of life in the city that they had become so accustomed to, was the sense of community that was so abruptly torn from them. A common theme from the interviews was the closeness of the community. Everybody's families seemed to have been connected in some capacity. Many of the older people who were forced to move did not live for very long after. They remained so unhappy in these new surroundings, far from everything that they were used to.

It was hard on my parents, especially my mom, she couldn't handle it. She didn't live for very long after they moved. She was never happy there; she couldn't handle it in those flats. In town everything was so close, and the people were different. When we were outside even the Christian neighbours would tell you, why are you outside, its maghrib²⁴ and even their children would go in at maghrib time. It was wonderful. Friends were like family and we're still friends today. When we get together, it's like we haven't parted (Aunty GJ, interviewed by author on 16 October 2021).

23

The term 'buite' was one that was repeated in nearly all the interviews undertaken. This term is commonly used amongst older residents from the inner-city (spanning from District One all the way to Salt River) to describe suburbs beyond Salt River. This is a clear indication of the rooted nature of life for Coloured communities within the inner-city.

24

The fourth daily prayer performed by Muslims. This prayer takes place after sunset.

25

The term 'collective memory' was coined by Maurice Halbwachs, who defined the term as the way "the mind reconstructs its memories under the pressures of society" (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 51). This can be understood as the recording of our personal memories through the lens of our social interactions.

The interviews made it abundantly clear that the forced removals caused a nuanced sense of displacement – an all-encompassing loss of homes (which included the familiarities of everyday life that they were accustomed to), embedded landscape of childhood memory (which for some included memories of their lost loved ones), and the loss of significant social networks that were responsible for tying all these elements together (Roux, 2019; Lefebvre, 1991). Significant sites of memory, like District One, is constructed through the social relationships that occurred there (Field, 2001, p. 118). These sites have the potential of becoming places where collective memory²⁵ is conserved, whether it be in the physical form of the urban landscape or just in the essence of the place itself (Field, 2001).

A Photographic Memory

Photographs can be seen as an effective way to relay family histories for generations to come but as was discovered from the interview process, few people from the older generations have any photographs taken of their families in District One. A common response was that they didn't know to take photographs of their homes at the time because they never imagined having to leave.

Marianne Hirsch regards photographs as a way to transcend the lifespan of human life and provide a concrete visual record of a changed urban landscape (Hirsch, 1999). However, even without the photographs, all the interviewees said that they speak to their children and grandchildren about District One, with some of them making occasional visits to the place where their old family homes once stood or still stands, in the case of the lucky (or unlucky) few. When responding to the question of whether their families know about District One, the answer was always met with enthusiasm and sometimes directly with "we always talk about how lovely our childhood was there".

The use of photographic memories relates back to Hirsch's concept on postmemory, which she defines as the "relationship that the 'generation after' bears to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before" (Hirsch, 2012). Her work relates directly to the deep connection felt by the second generation of Holocaust survivors to the trauma of the Holocaust, as past on through photographs and oral histories (Hirsch, 2012). One would imagine the feelings of generational trauma of the holocaust to resonate with that of the descendants of forced removals in South Africa, but based on the interviews, this does not seem to be the case. Unlike the generational trauma that Hirsch speaks of, these victims of displacement seem to hold onto their happier, and perhaps romanticised, memories of District One prior to forced removals, acknowledging their displacement with a more matter of fact approach (Hirsch, 2012). The concept of postmemory does, however, exceed just the notion of trauma and can be interpreted as the re-imagined memory of a forgotten landscape, which is the case for the descendants of the residents of District One.



1960s



2009



2022

Figure 44 (Left): Photograph taken of Aunty WC's family at the corner of Ebenezer Road and Prestwich Street in the 20th century area (Photograph supplied by Aunty WC).

Figure 45 (Middle): Image taken at the corner of Ebenezer Road and Prestwich Street in 2009 (Google Street View).

Figure 46 (Right): Image taken at the corner of Ebenezer Road and Prestwich Street in 2022 (Author's own).

Without photographs, the descendants of the displaced community have no concrete imagery to go by when told stories about this neighbourhood that seemingly shaped the young lives of their parents and grandparents. It, therefore, holds true that the stories accounted to these descendants take place in an imagined context, with District One appearing to be however they imagine it to be based on the recollection of the storyteller. These imagined stories are, however, no less memories than the true memories themselves in accordance with Benjamin, who describes memory as something that “bring about the convergence of imagination and thinking” (Benjamin, 1999, p. 346). Given the older demographic of these former residents, it is likely that the first-hand accounts of life in District One are soon to disappear if their oral histories are not recorded

The Living Heritage of Memory

The protection of living heritage is not adequately defined in the NHRA and, therefore, much is left to interpretation. What the NHRA does, however, include is the protection of ‘cultural significance’ as part of the national heritage estate. Cultural heritage, which is defined as “aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value or significance” (NHRA, 1999, p. 55) is unambiguously protected in terms of the provisions of the NHRA, and clearly includes social heritage significance. One would, therefore, assume that social significance, or the significance of society, is unambiguously protected by the NHRA.

This is, unfortunately, not how the NHRA is interpreted by a great deal of the committees that make decisions relating to heritage resources in Cape Town. From my time serving on the Built Environment Committee (BELCom), I have gauged that the leading interpretation amongst practitioners and committee members alike, is that the NHRA holds no grounds for the protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage/Living Heritage, unless inextricably associated with built forms. This interpretation is echoed in the short course on Heritage Resources Management taught at UCT, where the lecturers for the course, many of whom have in some capacity been a part of HWC’s council or one of the various committees, make it abundantly clear that the NHRA is not equipped to protect intangible cultural heritage²⁶.

The committees at Heritage Western Cape are set up to manage heritage resources within the Western Cape, and therefore wield great power with regards to the practice of heritage. They influence both the interpretation of the NHRA, as well as and what is deemed significant and what is not. These committees are currently not fully representative of the population of the Western Cape, and are, therefore still geared towards a more Eurocentric interpretation of heritage, which only includes built structures. In order to be more inclusive of heritage management, these committees need to be more diverse, which would in turn diversify what is deemed significant. For if the protection of built structures continues to be the sole mandate of these committees and social and cultural values are disregarded, then

26

This observation is based on my time serving as a member of BELCom between 2020-2021, as well as my experience as a student of the three-day Heritage Resources Management course in 2019.

the progressive nature of the NHRA is inconsequential. This interpretation of the NHRA has dire consequences for areas of forced removals like District One, where the overarching heritage significance is linked to living heritage - in the form of "oral histories", "popular memory" and "the holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships" (NHRA, 1999, 8-9). Without the legal implications set out to foster the protection of intangible heritage in some way, the dispossessed community have little hope for any kind of social restitution.

Sites of Collective Memory

The conservation of sites of collective memory can be interpreted to form part of the national estate protected by the NHRA if one draws upon the preamble for clarification. The NHRA has foregrounded equity in an industry that was previously governed by racial bias and inequality, and the preamble makes specific reference to its aim to "promote new and previously neglected research into our rich oral traditions and customs" (NHRA, 1999, 3). In keeping with its progressive nature, the onus is placed on communities to identify and conserve their own heritage (NHRA, 1999, 3). As noble as its intentions may be in empowering communities, placing the responsibility of nominating sites of significance to be placed on the heritage register and conserved is no easy task for regular community members, no less ageing ones who no longer live in the area in which their heritage is embedded. The process of nominating sites of heritage significance or areas to receive heritage protection overlay zones is a complicated one for people without any spatial knowledge or understanding of heritage management. It, therefore, seems somewhat unfair to expect community members to draft such applications for their heritage to be conserved.

Similarly, during my time as a BELCom member, I witnessed several appeals from community interest groups in Bo-Kaap and Salt River who found the respective proposed buildings to be destructive to the intangible heritage of their areas²⁷. What is interesting about these two areas, is that they were both made up of working-class non-white communities that managed to evade forced removals during the Group Areas Act, and therefore managed to retain their intangible cultural heritage in the places that they were conceived. In most instances, these groups were not sufficiently equipped to draft adequate appeals foregrounding their heritage significance in response to insensitive development proposals. They would have to recruit heritage practitioners who were willing to construct these appeals on their behalf.

Given the fragmentation of the former community and their lack of a community interest group, the likelihood of District One being "nurture(d) and conserve(d)" by its community "so that it may be bequeathed to future generations" is a near impossible expectation (NHRA, 1999). Furthermore, if the onus of heritage protection of the existing intangible cultural heritage of District One was to remain with the former community, this would in fact become exclusionary to the process given the many hinderances faced by the former community. This hinderance is,

27
One such item was the proposed demolition of the existing buildings at 428 and 432 Albert Road, Salt River and the construction of a large-scaled mixed use building to be built in their place. The proposed building was out of character for this portion of Salt River and would undoubtedly have contributed to future gentrification of the area. The Salt River Heritage Society, the community interest group for the area, constructed an appeal with the help of Dr Steven Townsend (Approved Minutes of the Meeting of Heritage Western Cape Built Environment and Landscape Permit Committee (BELCom), held on 29 July 2020 via Microsoft Teams).

of course, not universal and certainly not the case for District Six, where public support has always been abundant, and various interest groups, often led by the District Six Museum, continue to actively record oral histories and seek restitution (Jeppie & Soudien, 1990).

In defence of the NHRA, it does not place the responsibility of heritage identification on the community exclusively. The NHRA also requires local authorities to identify buildings of heritage significance to be placed onto the heritage inventory and areas of cultural interest to be placed on the city's official zoning scheme, in this case the Cape Town Zoning Scheme, as a mechanism of protection (NHRA, 1999). Although the mechanisms for protection seem to be put in place with the available policies, the policies don't seem to be used to the full extent of their ability. The 'specific' provisions, that are to aid in the protection of the respective HPOZs are site specific and should be established for each HPOZ. This process is, however, a long way from being completed, which often makes the HPOZ of little use to the areas that are to be protected (MPBL, 2015). The mechanisms for protection are, furthermore, constrained by the disconnect between the local and provincial authorities that should protect these places and areas.

The Existing City

This section anchors District One into the present. It will demonstrate how District One has not been adequately recorded as an area designated for Land Restitution, which has led to a sense of erasure and invisibility for the displaced community. These themes will be unpacked further to establish the importance of recognition when dealing with communities of dispossession. This section will go on to describe the existing cultural landscape, unpacking the role taken on by three individual cultural institutions in social restitution.

A Forgotten Community

The historic community of District One were forcibly removed fifty-five years ago. Although these forced removals took place simultaneously with those of District Six, the erasure of this community is arguably more severe due to its near omission from common history. The omission has resulted in difficulty with Land Claims, a right that has been enshrined in the South African Constitution and enacted in terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act, 1994 (Act No. 22 of 1994). This law provides those who were dispossessed of property from 1913 onwards, due to the racist apartheid laws, the right to fair compensation for the property from which they were displaced or restitution of that property.

A few of the displaced community members have successfully lodged claims for the properties that were taken from them after the Group Areas Act was enacted²⁸. Although successful in their claims, which were miniscule in comparison to the value of the respective properties lost, these claims speak of further erasure of a community for several reasons. Aunty GG, who was a teenager when she and her parents were moved from Loader Street, was kind enough to share the information of her family's land claims with me (Figure 47a&47b). Her late father owned a house in Loader Street, while her grandparents owned a house in Napier Street (where her father was raised). The land claims for these two properties were done separately, one by her, as her father's only child, and the other by her father's living

28

Those who were interviewed who were successful in their land claims happened to live above Somerset Road, outside of the subject area of this paper. The findings are, however, still relevant to this paper given the seamless relationship of the larger area before.

Figure 47a&b: Land Claim for two properties in District One showing the subject lines "Athlone" and "District One" respectively (Land Claims supplied by Aunty GG).



siblings for their parents' house. The financial compensation land claim forms for these two houses in District One, located around the corner from each other, both state different reference areas in the subject lines, one "District Six", and the other "Athlone". The latter of the two claims presumably references the area to which the displaced were moved, which was in fact not the case for this family, while the subject line for the earlier claim references the 'District Six Restitution Project'. The incorrect subject line of the earlier claim in particular highlights the erasure of a whole community, whose identity and struggles were not properly recorded in the official records of the Land Claims Commission. The omission of District One from Land Claim submission options further enforces the sense of erasure felt by these displaced residents.

Some of those interviewed had great difficulties submitting their land claims due to the omission of District One from the list of Restitution Projects. Two of the other former residents, Aunty ME and Aunty AP are friends who were interviewed together. Neither of these ladies are interested in a financial payout and are striving to reclaim their ancestral land but have not yet managed to successfully submit their applications due to the lack of provision made for land claims in District One. Aunty AP has been pursuing her land claim since 1996. She is currently in her eighties and has been renting a house in Bo-Kaap for most of her adult life after the displacement of her family. After twenty-five years of back and forth trying to reclaim her family home, or land in the area from which she was displaced, she remains hopeful that her son will one day be successful in obtaining land in an area that she feels is rightfully theirs.

I am still busy with a claim but with Covid everything stopped. We put in a claim in 1996, when it just started, we were one of the first to claim. My executor was my brother and he passed away, then my other executor was my other brother and he passed away too. Now it is just me and my two sisters that are left. All the others have passed away but with the claim, if we get it right then all their children would be beneficiaries too. We had eight in the family and now the children become beneficiaries now so they are all included in the claim but unfortunately nothing came from the claim yet.

When I started the claim, I said that we want our house back. They then said that the house has passed so many buyers already so it's not the same buyer and they can't give the house back. So I asked for a plot in Bo-Kaap because there are plots where the koebus (cemetery) is but they said that they can't do that but they can offer us a plot in Grassy Park, which at that time was worth nothing, and I refused.

They're delaying the people so that they die and no one else will follow up. Now the children and grandchildren are passing away so even they won't benefit from it (Aunty ME, interview by author on 16 October 2021).

Even in the face of constant strife, Aunty AP is resolute to fight for her right to remain in the city, bringing into question Henri Lefebvre's concept of "The Right to the City", where he foregrounds the not only the right of the working class citizens to the city but also their contribution to the shaping of the city, which he acknowledges to have a "particular bearing and significance" (Lefebvre, et al., 1996, p. 179). As revealed in the contextual description of the existing site, District

One is geared towards the societal elite, reinforcing the structure of the apartheid city. The construction of urban blocks dedicated solely to “luxury” apartments reinforces the inequitable nature of the city, showcasing the inaccessibility that the majority of South Africans have to the “social resources and advantages that the city provides” (Soja, 2010, p. 32). Cape Town’s apartheid spatial planning has resulted in a city much like Paris at the time that Lefebvre conceptualised the “The Right to the City”, where the working-class has been “rejected from the centres towards the peripheries, dispossessed of the city, expropriated thus from the best outcomes of its activity” (Lefebvre, et al., 1996, p. 179).

In the extract from the interview above, Aunty AP further demonstrates two of the sad realities that have come from this drawn-out fight for land claims in South Africa. These are the passing on of these elderly claimants before receiving any restitution, and the growing number of claimants who become eligible for restitution due to the passing of their parents and grandparents. Given the increasing number of claimants, land restitution becomes increasingly trickier, both to apply for and in the time that it takes to be processed.

The process of land claims requires various documentation that proves that the claimants once lived in the areas in which they are trying to claim. These include erf registers, title deeds or archival documentation showing proof of ownership or occupancy. This process is theoretically easier for people who owned the properties from which they were displaced (which is clearly still an extremely difficult process) and becomes even trickier for those who rented their homes, which was common practice in the city.

The convoluted nature of these land claim applications is further supported by Aunty ME, who has been trying to lodge a claim for her childhood home on behalf of her nine siblings since the early 2000s. This attempt has so far been unsuccessful, as it has taken a while to compile all the necessary documents from all her siblings, one of whom lives abroad. Once she managed to compile all the documents, she was told that the office was closed for land claims at the time. She, however, persisted and waited for them to reopen but when she went to apply, she was told that she had documents missing and inevitably missed the closing date again. Like Aunty AP, she remains determined despite the pitfalls and continues “to keep up to date” with the land claims processes for when she can pursue it again (Aunty ME, interview by author on 16 October 2021). In their joint interview, Aunty AP and Aunty ME discussed their disheartening attempts at having their land claims acknowledged by lawyers and public figures alike, a process that could easily debilitate weaker claimants but has not hindered these ladies in their quest for spatial justice:

The first time I went to the Black Pool that was the first time I filled out the forms. I went with my brother. That was in 1996.

They had it at the Black Pool again for District Six in the 2000s when I took you there.

Yes, remember I went up on the stage to address the Norton Rose lady? And she said that the mandate is only District Six.

As we realised that it was only for District Six we left, and as we got to the exit, a lawyer that I know came to us and asked, "aunty, where are you going? Did you also stay in District Six?" So I said "no, I brought Aunty AP and we want to claim for de Waterkant area".

So that Norton Rose lady put us off, remember?

Then he (the lawyer) said "no, we are fighting for everybody who wants to claim in any of these areas even if its Bo-Kaap".

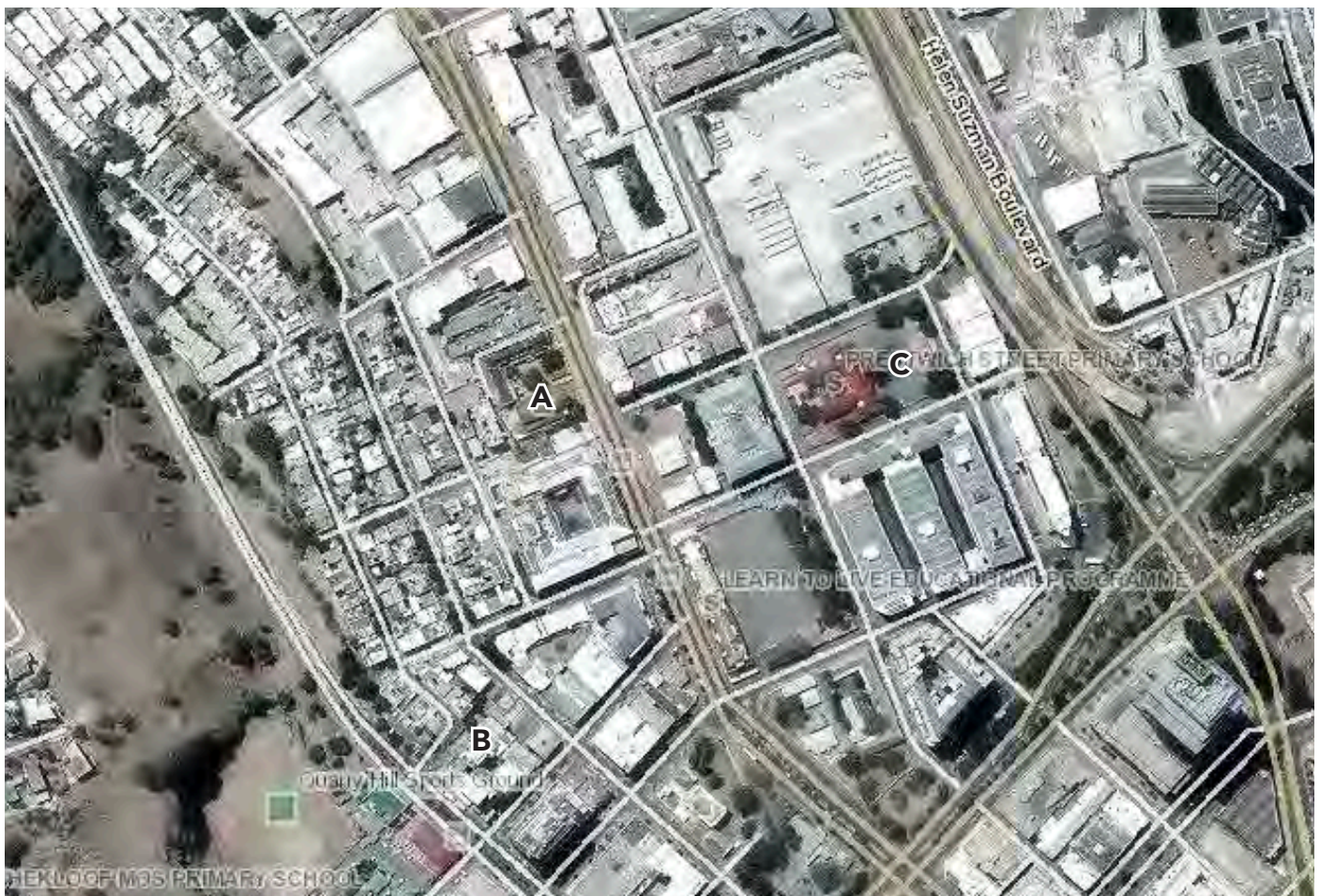
We then went back to sit in and then we went to Ajam's office, he said we are fighting for all of you and we went to every single meeting. Then he passed away and nobody seemed to know what was going on. Then I went to Anwar Nagiar because he was also fighting for it (land restitution). But the thing is, the mandate was always District Six, we were sort of 'spek en boontjies'²⁹ remember they had a mandate and it was District Six (Dialogue between Aunty ME and Aunty AP in their interview by author on 16 October 2021).

29

This is a colloquial term that translates directly to 'bacon and beans' and is used when your participation for something is not taken seriously. The term is often used in reference to children, where adults or older people pretend to take them seriously by allowing them to participate in something but don't count them as real participants.

The term 'spek en boontjies' again reinforces the dismissal and invisibility felt by this dispossessed community, whose living heritage continues to live on even just in this reiterated act of seeking land restitution. In their work on restitution in District Six, the District Six Museum believes that the NHRA and the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994 should be used simultaneously in order to achieve "comprehensive Restitution", as enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa (<https://www.districtsix.co.za>).

Figure 48: Image of Sacred Heart Church taken in 2021 (Author's own).



A Cultural Landscape of Collective Memory

In his work on collective memory, Halbwachs makes the claim that memory is held within specific tangible contexts that evoke collective memory for people. He argues that without these collective spaces and points of reference, collective memories may not be sustained (Halbwachs, 1992). District One is almost void of physical forms that attributes to its historical social context, with few remaining remnants left to evoke a sense of collective memory. These remaining historic remnants, however, play a significant role in the conceptualisation of layered histories of a city's past by evoking and storing collective memory of the past and present (Huysen, 2003). Andreas Huyssen further suggests that the readings of the urban form are not static and continues to evolve with the continual layering of memories.

The urban fabric of cities allows one to form cultural attachments to place, which in turn gives cultural and collective memories longevity as long as these remnants remain for future generations to associate them with. As has already been established, the remaining historic buildings of the case study area of District One are few and scattered throughout. Unlike the fleeting lifespan of human life, buildings and landscapes often outlive the test of time, remaining as historic records of embodied memories (Treib, 2009). These buildings, that remain as fragments of the once abundant urban landscape, may not tell as unified a story as a photograph is able to but they do offer experiential moments that evoke memories that are preserved within their envelope (Badroodien, 2007).

There are few significant remaining landmarks within the case study area and no religious institutions (Figure 48). Based on the interviews, it was made clear that the Sacred Heart Church in Somerset Road, the Noerul Mogammadiyah Masjied in Vos Street and Prestwich Street Primary School played significant roles in the community. These institutions remain as points of anchor for the former residents that still frequent these spaces.

A - Sacred Heart Church and School

The Sacred Heart Church and School is another 19th century development, constructed in 1877. Charles Freeman designed the original complex, of which only the bluestone convent and school were built along the back perimeter of the property (Fransen, 2004). The end of the L-shaped Gothic Revival building faces Somerset Road. Constructed on a raised level from the street, the double storey building reads as a modest fine-grained configuration compared to the later constructed Gothic Revival stone Sacred Heart Church at the corner of Napier and Somerset Road that was designed by Glennie McIntosh (<https://www.artefacts.co.za>).

The Sacred Heart Church played a significant role in the Christian community of District One. It was the parish church in the area up until 1958, and was attended widely by the residents of the area according to the fond memories shared on the Remembering Loader Street Facebook page that was created by former residents

of Loader Street (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/>) (<http://greenpointcatholic.co.za/about/history-heritage/>). Father Weeder, whose paternal family lived in Amsterdam for generations before him, noted that his family were such loyal parishioners of the church that his aunt refused to attend her own fathers wedding because it wasn't held there (Weeder, 2006). Their history with the Sacred Heart Church goes back to his great grandmother, who was baptised there between 1883 – 1919, according to the Register of Baptism for those years (Weeder, 2006). The loyal attendance of the Coloured residents of District One suggests that the church was not racially segregated, like many of the others in the area (Bickford-Smith, 1995). Again highlighting the integration of Bo-Kaap and District One, the Register of Baptism and the Marriage Register at the Sacred Heart Catholic Church reveal that many Christian residents of Bo-Kaap also attended the Church.

The Sunday Mass at the Sacred Heart Church is still attended by former residents of District One, who travel great distances to attend these church services, and are now joined by their children and grandchildren (<http://greenpointcatholic.co.za/about/history-heritage/>). This intergenerational attendance of the church is an example of continued living heritage practice that allows for this community of dispossession to continue their engrained attachment to the area.

B - Noerul Mogammadiyah Masjied (Vos Street Mosque)

The Noerul Mogammadiyah Masjied was the only mosque in the District One area, located outside of the case study area close to Strand Street. This Mosque reinforces the communal ties between Bo-Kaap and District One, as it was founded by the estranged congregation of the Jamia Masjied in Chiappini Street in Bo-Kaap in 1899 because they were disheartened by its leadership at the time (Davids, 1980). Prior to the establishment of the Noerul Mogammadiyah Masjied, it can be assumed that the Muslim residents of District One attended one of the many mosques in Bo-Kaap and continued to do so on Fridays for Jumu'ah as the Noerul Mogammadiyah Masjied never opened for the Friday congregational prayer (Davids, 1980).

Figure 49a&b: Image of Sacred Heart Church taken in 2021 (Author's own).



This mosque, like many others established in the city prior to the 20th century, was constructed on land donated by one of the Muslim community members. The mosque was widely attended by the families of the founding congregation from Bo-Kaap, as well as the Muslim residents of District One. All the Muslim former residents interviewed spoke warmly of their attendance at “our mosque”, Noerul Mogammadiyah Masjied, particularly of the *traawie* in the evenings during Ramadan. This mosque continues to have a successful attendance of both residents of Bo-Kaap and displaced community members from District One, who attend the mosque during significant nights and throughout the Ramadan.

The preservation of religious spaces in areas of racial dispossession is an important indicator of the existence of black and coloured people. Mosques in particular were seen as markers of protest against the ban of religious freedom in the early 19th century and Islam quickly became the religion of anti-oppression and anti-whiteness, making it an attractive choice for slaves (Davids, 1980). Mosques constructed prior to the 20th century play a significant role in preserving intangible cultural heritage due to their connection to slavery and descendants of slaves. Noerul Mogammadiyah Masjied, along with Palm Tree Masjied in Long Street and others throughout the inner city, therefore, remain as tangible indicators of displacement of the Muslim communities that lived there before.



Figure 50: Image of Vos Street Mosque taken in 2021 (Author's own).

C - Prestwich Street Primary School

Prestwich Street Primary School is one of the few historic buildings that still functions as it did prior to the forced removals. The school played a pivotal role in the community from its inception in 1910, with all of the interviewees using the school as an anchor point that ties them back to District One. As the first secular Public School in this part of the city, which seems to have been a major drawing card for the surrounding Muslim community in Bo-Kaap too. Unlike the two religious institutions mentioned before, the school is able to transcend religious affiliations and tie together a community of all religions. For this reason, Prestwich Street Primary School also played a major role in communal cohesion of District One and Bo-Kaap.

Prior to the social restrictions put in place because of Covid-19, the school was used as the official site for community reunions, which seem to have happened fairly frequently prior to Covid-19 based on the interviews. In an interview with the principal of the school, Mahdi Samodien, he revealed that old former residents of District One frequently visit the school during the school week asking to walk around the school and reminisce.

Lots of the residents of the area probably would have been at this school. Standard 4 or 5 would be their last year attending school. I had an eighty-five-year-old who came to visit the school and he had tears in his eyes just walking up the stairs. (He said) "this was my last school, I didn't go back." He has many grand children already (Mahdi Samodien, interview by author on 28 October 2021).

This recollection perfectly represents the significance of cultural institutions in areas of dispossession. Although this man presumably lost his house in the forced removals, the school represents a piece of District One that will always be his to share and enjoy collectively. Which is how the school is viewed by the former



Figure 51: Image of Prestwich Street Primary School taken in 2021 (Author's own).

E.73

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

Application for Admission to School

1. This form must be completed whenever admission to any State-aided European or Coloured school is sought on behalf of a child.
2. The completed form is to be filed by the principal for reference in a lock-fast cupboard and must be kept for at least a year after the pupil has left the school.

ADMISSION NUMBER 2819	ADMITTED TO STANDARD SUB
TO BE FILLED IN BY PRINCIPAL TEACHER.	A

Name of school _____

Name of child in full Ruth V. d. Heever Sex F

Date of birth 4 day May month 1954 year
(A certificate of date of birth may be required.)

Place of birth Cape Town

Name of parent or guardian Mrs C. V. d. Heever

Address 23 Napier St. Tel. No. _____

Occupation of parent or guardian Cooking

Number of children in family 1

School last attended by pupil Esberry Park Matroosfontein

Date of leaving this school 10.4.61

Other schools attended by pupil: (1) _____
(2) _____
(3) _____

Previous illnesses Measles

Has pupil been vaccinated? Yes.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION
State whether, as the parent or guardian of the above-mentioned child, you have any conscientious objection to his (or her) being granted at the giving of religious instruction, as laid down in the Education Ordinance, No. 20 of 1956, as amended. (Yes or No)

Date of admission 11.4.61 R. V. d. Heever
Signature of father/mother/guardian.

Date 11.4.61 (P.T.O.)

Figure 52a (Left): Application for Admission to school for a pupil that lived in District One in 1961 (Document supplied by Prestwich Street Primary School).

Figure 52b (Below): A page from the Admissions Register taken in 1918 showing the addresses of pupils that lived in District One at the time (Document supplied by Prestwich Street Primary School).

ADMISSION										REGISTER.				
No.	NAME		RACE (White (W) or Coloured (C))	DATE OF BIRTH			DATE OF ADMISSION	CLASS	STANDARD	DATE OF WITHDRAWAL	NAME OF FATHER or GUARDIAN	ADDRESS		
	SURNAME	CHRISTIAN NAME		DAY	MONTH	YEAR							DAY	MONTH
668	Laylor	Louisa	C	5	2	1907	4	2	18	SUB B		Mr. W. Laylor	4 Amstelendam	
669	Bendricks	Lena	C	7	10	1905	8	2	18	Sub B		Mrs. H. Bendricks	2 Anna St. C.T.	
670	"	Amelicia	C	23	1	1906	8	2	18	Sub B	Sub 5	"	"	
671	"	Tommy	C	13	4	1910	8	2	18	Sub B	Sub 2	"	"	
672	Carolee	Fred	C	13	6	1905	13	2	18	Sub A	Sub A	Mr. A. Carolee	14 Dixon Street	
673	"	Julie	C	-	-	1900	13	2	18	Gall.		"	"	
674	Walters	Dolphina	C	1	4	1904	4	3	18	Sub A		Mrs. M. Walters	16 Duncan Street C.T.	
675	Churchman	Violet	C	8	9	19	4	3	18	Gall.	V	Mrs. Churchman	17. Dock Cottage	
676	Thurais	Maria	C	12	5	1911	11	8	18	G.	III	Mr. Thurais	1 Dock Cottage	
677	Invernizzi	Carlo	C	26	June	1914	18	3	18	G.	VI	Mr. S. Invernizzi	13 Dixon St. C.T.	
678	Ingel	David	C	14	12	1907	18	3	18	Sub C	Sub II	Mr. J. Graham	91 Ruitersgracht St.	
679	Ingel	Simon	C	-	-	-	18	3	18	Sub A	II	"	"	
680	Westfall	Christina	C	3	5	1909	22	4	18	Gall.	III	Mrs. G. Jephtha	96 Waterkant St.	
681	Gales	Dorothy	C	-	-	-	22	4	18	Gall.		Mr. M. Gales	4 Spring Rd. S.P.	
682	Westfall	Leda	C	3	4	1904	22	4	18	Gall.	III	Mrs. M. Westfall	8 Jarmis St. C.T.	
683	Bertome	Louis	C	1	12	1907	22	4	18	Sub I	Sub II	Mrs. Agnes Bertome	36 Breakewater Quay	
684	"	Innis (allness)	C	3	10	1908	22	4	18	Sub B	Sub I	"	"	
685	"	Albert	C	21	7	1901	22	4	18	Gall.	I	"	"	
686	Lalgar	Laura	C	-	-	1908	29	4	18	Gall.		Mr. L. Lalgar	77 Spring Rd.	
687	Lalgar	Willie	C	-	-	1910	29	4	18	Gall.		"	"	
688	van Nelson	Christina	C	10	Feb	1912	29	4	18	Gall.	II	Mrs. Ch. van Nelson	110 Waterkant St. C.T.	
689	Hankay	Elizabeth	C	10	April	1912	29	4	18	Gall.	-	Mrs. M. Bates	7 Leming St.	
690	Septimber	Madys	C	-	-	1909	29	4	18	Sub B		Co. Mrs. J. Johnson	20 Bateaf St. C.T.	
691	Kensberg	Dorothy	C	-	-	1909	29	4	18	Sub B	III	Mr. U. Kensberg	38 Breakewater Quay	
692	Jarvis	Isabel	C	23	June	1908	29	4	18	Gall.	II	Mr. V. Jarvis	10 Amstelendam St.	
693	Wessels	Jacobina	C	26	3	1906	29	4	18	Sub B		Mr. D. Wessels	St. Pades Lodge 3 Leek Rd.	
694	Beech	Elizabeth	C	20	7	1901	1	5	18	Gall.	II	Mr. A. Beech	20 Dock Cottage	
695	Marmerseldt	Maria	C	16	11	1913	7	5	18	Gall.	V	Mr. J. Marmerseldt	18 Dock Cottage	

residents interviewed for this paper and the participants on the Remembering Loader Street Facebook page (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/>). The current principal has been extremely courteous to the former community, who have spoken very highly of him in their interviews, planning school reunions for the older residents at the school and even going as far as having their oral histories recorded. However, as an under resourced public school with no proper archive, it is extremely difficult to keep track of such precious resources.

A few years ago, we had a function where we invited all the old students, where they spoke about their own stories and how they survived. How they went from living down the road to living in Mitchell's plain. It was very difficult. We have recordings and video intake from the reunion and there are quite a few pictures. We took videos of the people speaking but it must be located. The filmmaker and poet Zulfah Otto-Sallies was in charge of the video footage, but she passed away. We took the addresses from the people but it was misplaced (Mahdi Samodien, interview by author on 28 October 2021).

The school has adopted the role of a community anchor of memory and living heritage. Although this surpasses their usual role as a public school, it is one that has been placed upon them due to their historic link to this dispossessed landscape. The multifaceted role of the school goes on to include providing land claimants with proof of address from their Admissions Registers (Figure 52).

Figure 52c: A page from the Admissions Register taken in 1993 showing the addresses of pupils throughout Cape Town and the great distances that they travel to school. What is also visible is the lack of people living in District One at the time (Document supplied by Prestwich Street Primary School).

The image shows two pages from an Admissions Register for 1993. The left page is titled "TOELATINGSREGISTER" and the right page is titled "ADMISSION REGISTER". Both tables list pupils with columns for name, address, date of birth, and school details. The right page includes handwritten notes and a date stamp "1.0.E. 1993.02.23".

House Number	Van Niekerk	Voortrekkers District Name	Geboortedatum Date of birth	Admissiejaar School certificate year	Opname Soort	Woonadres Home address
House Number	Street Name	Street Name	Day Month Year	Year	Category	Address
1577	Naliba	Simthembele	16 06 70		M	Xhosa/Mr
1578	Visagie	Andrew	01 08 83		M	Afr.
1579	Bailey	Jamarc	01 01 85		V	Afr.
1580	Faltein	Lisa Palisa	15 03 85		V	Xhosa/Eng
1581	Qaqshani	Rosena	23 02 85		V	Xhosa/Mr
1582	Sidzuma	Sibongile Cordelia	29 07 84		V	Xhosa/Mr
1583	Beukes	Ricardo	08 11 81		M	Afr.
1584	Khomari	Vincent	23 02 83		M	Afr.
1585	Nako	Allan Lwazi	22 07 79		M	Afr./Xhosa
1586	September	Denzil	15 04 84		M	Afr.
1587	Isaac	Margaret	06 04 82		V	Xhosa/Eng
1588	Adams	Stevan	11 08 76		M	Afr.
1589	Claasen	Jerome	24 12 79		M	Afr.
1590	Jacobs	Jerome	25 01 83		M	Afr.
1591	Buller	Ingrid	21 07 78		V	Afr.
1592	Isaac	Pammy	19 09 82		V	Xhosa/Eng
1593	Jaars	Polena	08 01 77		V	Afr.
1594	Linden	Mark	12 12 81		M	Afr.
1595	Pudusa	Stephen	05 07 82		M	IsiXhosa/Mr
1596	Sambokwe	Nesikicelo	16 05 77		M	Afr./Xhosa
1597	Maaman	Priscilla	21 10 86	Ja	V	Afr.
1598	Mhu	Anda	26 12 84		M	Xhosa
1599	Koba	Lusando Anila	18 11 86	Ja	V	Xhosa/Eng
1600	Mqulwana	Amanda	25 12 85		V	Xhosa/Mr
1601	Kleinsmith	Rugaya	01 11 84		V	Afr.
1602	Steyn	Lyle Eduard	05 02 86		M	Afr./Eng
1603	Haarroe	Kobus	08 03 77		M	Afr.
1604	Julius	Theo Ramaditsoa 26/7/92	02 08 79		M	Afr.
1605	Vukwana	Xolani	19 01 83		M	Afr./Xhosa
1606	Penaar	Abraham	12 11 85		M	Afr.
1607	Penaar	Wabeela	14 09 84		V	Afr.
1608	Loltering	Michelle	24 01 86		V	Afr.
1609	Loltering	Nabasha Elizabeth	25 12 81		V	Afr.
1610	Douglas	Adam	20 01 83		M	Afr.
1611	Cupido	Desmond	07 07 78		M	Afr.
1612	Booyen	Melanie Marilyn	3 15 01 80		V	Afr.

As mentioned before, the process of land claims requires various documentation that proves that the claimants once lived in the areas in which they are trying to claim. For those who have no records of occupancy, Prestwich Street Primary School has been key in providing them with a proof of address in the form of the admissions register. The admissions registers of the school go back to 1917 and provide a record of all the children admitted to the school from then onward, including their dates of birth, the name of the person that registered them and their address at the time.

They come for their proof of address. Proof that they lived here when they apply for land claim. We don't have an archive, but we managed to get admission registers and schedules going back to the 1930s. The only record they have is the admission at our school. We'll make a copy, and some people would use it to claim. I don't know the outcome of it. A few years ago, land claim was happening, and we were very busy here with people coming to collect these documents and we tried to help them. It's been very quiet now.

Quite a few people said they used the documents to claim, it's all they can get. They went to home affairs and other old schools and there was nothing (Mahdi Samodien, interview by author on 28 October 2021).

As a keeper of these documents, the school continues to play a significant role in the lives of the former community of District One. As alluded to before, the school goes beyond their role to assist these people with a sense of social restitution, by providing them with a safe place to visit and take pride in, whilst also providing them with important records of existence.

None of the current learners of Prestwich Street Primary School live in District One. A small percentage of the current learners come from Bo-Kaap, with most of the learners travelling great distances from predominantly Black areas outside of the city (Mahdi Samodien, interview by author on 28 October 2021)(Figure 52c).

The Intangible Heritage of Tangible Remnants

People don't feel invisible in cultural institutions like those previously mentioned. They are provided not only with a sanctuary within these landscapes of trauma but also with a shared community who also seek social refuge within them. The intertwined nature of intangible and tangible heritage is perfectly surmised in these examples, all of which have been graded IIIA, the highest local grading. The continued practice of Islam and Christianity of the Noerul Mogammadiyah Masjied and the Sacred Heart Church are clear markers of living heritage in terms of the NHRA. They fulfil the following definitions of the term in the NHRA: "(a) cultural tradition" and "(d) ritual", whilst the school can be seen as a living heritage resource that contributes to "(b) oral history" and "(e) popular memory" (NHRA, 1999, 8). The preservation of these cultural institutions can be seen as a way to slow down the present and engage with "cultural memory" of the past, with a particular focus on the people whose identities were in some ways shaped by them (Huyssen, 2003; Badroodien, 2007).

A Community in Memory

With the use of the Admission Register, I was able to construct a map of District One showing the people who lived in this community before it was declared a White Area. As mentioned earlier on in this paper, the existing map showing the land grants and land ownership in District One in the late 19th century does reflect the people who lived there at that time or in the 20th century. It was, therefore, important to construct this map, where the former community is brought to the forefront and their existence is finally illustrated in the place that was once their home (Figures 53).

This map, showcasing the community in memory, is dated between 1948 and 1968, when apartheid was enforced and when the area was declared a White Area and the existing community were forced to move. This period is incidentally also the time during which the former residents interviewed had lived in District One, so these names represent them, their families and their beloved community. As a registered Coloured school, it is presumed that all the families registered were Coloured and Indian, with the exception of a few Portuguese names throughout, strengthening the earlier argument about the integration of the Portuguese in District One. The houses in Cobern Street, Amsterdam Street and the Dock Cottages are the most populated streets on the map, indicating that the bulk of these families were presumably Coloured. An interesting observation from this map is the names of families in Bennet Street, the brick houses provided for the White South African Harbour and Railways employees.

As mentioned in the Research Methodology section of this paper, this map was constructed using the surnames of the parents and guardians of the children registered at the school. As seen in Figure 52b, each row of the Admission Register is dedicated to the details of the child. This information includes the names and surnames of the parents, followed by their address. Because parents seemingly had to register their children at the school every year, there was a great deal of repetition. What is interesting to note from this map is the overlapping of families in one house during this twenty-year cycle. In some instances, these overlaps occur during the same year, with up to three families with the same address. The Admission Register makes no indication of whether these addresses were single houses, flats or multi-generational homes. Sometimes these addresses would be written consecutively, indicating that the respective family members may have come to register their children together, implying that they did indeed have a relationship – the likes of which are never clarified.

The series of maps start with a Goad Insurance Map showing a code for each house that had a child registered at Prestwich Street Primary School during this period, followed by a key indicating each family that lived at that address at the time. The final two maps are zoomed in excerpts of the map illustrating each family name in the home that they once lived.



116

HOSPITAL WARDS

140

SOMERSET

J. SEDGWICK & CO.
WINE STORES
BOTTLING 2ND
CONCRETE FLOOR

141

118

PRESTWICH

SC 12
W 3
W 5
W 8
W 15
P 35

142

117

EMMY

EUROPEAN SICK WARDS
INFIRMARY
GEN. STORES
GEN. WAREHOUSE
FEMALE EXERCISING YARD
FEMALE SICK WARDS
OLD SOMERSET HOSPITAL
COLORED SICK WARDS

ALFRED

13

OLD SOMERSET HOSPITAL

PRESTWICH ST. PUBLIC SCHOOL
PLAY GROUNDS

120

GEN. STORES
GOODWIN

12
GARAGE
STEEL TRUSS ROOF
STORES

CHIAPPINI

HOSPITAL

ALFRED

14
IMPERIAL COLD STORAGE CO. LTD.

EARL & CO.
WINE & SPIRIT STORES
MORGAN
SAW MILL
MACHINERY

16
COOPERAGE
VAN DER BYL & CO. LTD.
WOOL, Hides, Skins & GEN.

17
HOLMES MOTOR CO. LTD.
GARAGE & MOTOR REPAIRS

NAPIER

18
DANNY LEON & THAYRE LTD.
GEN. WAREHOUSE

19
SMALL & MORGAN
TIMBER SHEDS
STEWART & LLOYD
S.A.I. LTD.
PIPE & SH. FITTINGS
WARE

20
CO. LTD.
M.V. & L.
MACHINERY
STORES
SPILHAU
GARAGE

23
SMALL & MORGAN
TIMBER WARD
TIMBER STORE

AMSTERDAM

ROCK RD.

SEE SHEET N° 15
(200' SCALE)

22

STANLEY BAIN

STANLEY

SCALE 50'

21

15

AMSTERDAM ST		COBERN St		DOCK COTTAGES	
AM1	Henry	CO2	Beckett	DC1	Henry
AM2	Mohamed		Cupido	DC2	Ajam
	Call	CO4	Alias		Mohammed
	Matthews		Osman	DC3	Matthews
AM4	Collison		Sadan		Stanley
	Green		Tofaar	DC4	Petersen
	Morris		Williams		Saunders
	Wasserfal	CO6	Hoosain		Wasserfal
AM6	Adams	CO8	Hoosain	DC5	Bassadien
	Minaar	CO9	Abrahams	DC6	Adams
AM7	October		Esau		Jacobs
AM8	Jackson		Isaacs	DC7	Dennis
	Rhodes	CO10	Dreyer		Hans
	Lawrence		Salie		October
	Taliep	CO11	Daniels	DC8	Ajam
AM9	Swartz		Salie	DC9	Bassadien
AM10	Achilles	CO12	Adams		Da Silva
	Adams		Hendricks		Swartz
	Lullie	CO13	Safodien	DC10	Abrahams
	Morris		Scholtz		Stanley
	Rhodes	CO14	Lemon	DC11	Jones
AM11	Jones	CO15	Alfino		Smith
	Smith	CO16	Broadley		Swartz
AM12	De Bruyn		Fraser	DC12	Dauids
	Krynauw		Hoosain		Freeman
	Prins		Rhoda	DC13	Benjamin
AM14	Heuvel		Sampson		Safodien
	Meyer		Swartz	DC14	Brown
	Slabbert		Valentine		Hopley
	Thaysen	CO17	Ernstzen		Regter
AM20	Ourson		Price		Theunessen
		CO19	Amod		Viljoen
			Jappie	DC15	Isaacs
		CO20	Cassiem	DC16	Lewis
			Jacobs	DC17	Lindt
		CO23	Booyesen		Steneveldt
			Jacobs	DC18	Lawrence
			Petersen		Martin
		CO24	Lullie		Morris
		CO25	Morris	DC19	Bassadien
					Martin
				DC20	Ourson
				DC21	Aunty Dollie
				DC22	Felix
					Hoosain
					Majal
					Mitchell
				DC23	Lentoor
				DC24	Dauids
				DC25	Morris
				DC26	Maritz
					Petersen
				DC27	Mitchell
					Saal
				DC28	Adonis
					Faro
				2DC9	Arries
					Cleophas
				DC30	Keur
					Lewis
					Logenstein
				DC31	Martin
					Saaiman
				DC32	Baatjies
					Jones
					Lawrence

BATTERY ST

BA10 Abrahams
BA12 Joubert
BA20 Ourson

BENNET ST

BE7 Beuts
BE11 Ernstzen
Phillips
BE15 Daniels

CARDIFF ST

CA2 Plato
CA8 Hendley
CA18 Moses
CA24 Hearne

	EBENEZER RD		MECHAU ST
E13	Saunders	M25	Meyers
E14	Ebrahim		Williams
	Mohamed		
E15	Bhoola		NAPIER ST
	Naran	N11	Ajam
	Vallooh		Jobaar
	van Rooyen		Pienaar
E21	Mohamed		Ward
		N13	Carelse
			Valentijn
			Vraagom
F1	FLEMING ST	N14	Frasier
	Parker		Sebeela
	Samsodien	N15	Sha
F3	Jacobs	N16	Ward
F5	Cassels	N17	Gafoor
	Richards		Jaffer
	Whiskey		Samsodien
F7	Cornick	N21	Boer
	Fischer		Cupido
	Pekeur	N22	Appolis
F8	Abrahams		Davids
F9	Cloete		Jones
	Cupido		Kannemeyer
	Nolan		Levy
F11	Lees		Losper
	Rademeyer		Samsodien
	Williams		Vraagom
F13	Salie	N23	van den Heever
	Valentine	N24	Munnick
	Wasserfal	N28	Andrews
F15	Chala		Hariker
	Jacobs	N29	Sauls
	van Rooyen		
F16	Dreyer		PRESTWICH ST
	Jantjies	P35	Nichols
	Paulse	P37	Moses
	Williams	P39	Ward
F18	Marnus	P41	Abrahams
F20	Abrahams	P55	Adams
	Cloete		Hoosain
	Morris		
F22	Cottle		SCHIEBE ST
	Sauls	SC14	Le Roux
	Williams		Meyer
	Wren		Vraagom
			SUFFOLK ST
		SU8	Mohamed
			Oliveira
		SU10	Gilbert
			WEST ST
		W1	Williams
		W3	Martin
			Nichols
		W5	Smith
		W8	Wagner
		W15	Martin

Figure 53b: Key indicating each family that lived at the addresses represented in the map in Figure 53a (Authors Own).



HAR
STABLES
RAVED

CART
STAND

25

146

BATTERY

BENNETT

Abrahams

Joubert

Ourson

Morris

Maritz
Petersen

Mitchell
Saal

Adonis
Faro

Arries
Cleophas

Keur
Lewis

Logenstein
Martin

Saaiman
Baaitjes

Jones
Lawrence

Davids

Lentoor

Felix
Hosain
Mejal

Mitchell

Aunty Dollis

Ourson

Bassadien
Martin

Lawrence
Martin

Morris

Lindt
Steneveldt

Bassadien
Da Silva
Swartz

Abrahams
Stanley

Jones
Smith
Swartz

Davids
Freeman

Benjamin
Safodien
Brown

Hopley Viljoen

Regter
Theinessen

Isaacs

Lewis

Ajam

Dennis
Hans
October

Adams
Jacobs
Ourson

Bassadien

Abrahams
Joubert

Petersen
Saunders

Wasserfal
Matthews
Stanley

Ajam
Mohammed

Henry

AMSTERDAM

GERMAN

Abrahams
Ourson

3
CONCRETE FLOOR
STORE
BARREL
BORING & STEAM STORE

SOUTH AFRICAN
GEN. ELECTRICAL GEN.
ENGINEERS

SEE SHEET N° 15

CAPE TOWN
DEPOT 150

SEE SHEET



CARDIFF

VEZER

147

148

180

149

181

FLEMING

EBENEZER ROAD

SUFFOLK

KERSHAW

Plato

Hendley

Beuts

Ernstzen Phillips

Moses

van Rooyen

Daniels

Hearne

FOUNDRY GEARINGS ENGINEERING ATLAS WORKS

TIMBER & SHED STORE
CELL EVERETT
TIMBER HOUSE
CEMENT STORE
BAST. OFF. 2ND

SOM MILL & CARR

Parker Samsodien

Jacobs

Cassels Richards Whiskey

Comick Fischer Pekteur

Cloete Cupido Nolan

Radleys Williams

Valentine Wasserfal

Chala Jacobs van Rooyen

Ebrahim Mohamed

Saunders

Bhoola Vallooh Naran van Rooyen

Mohamed

Heuvel Slabbert Meyer Thayesen

De Bruyn Krynanaw Prins

Achilles Rhodes Lullie Morris

Jackson Rhodes Lawrence Jaliep

Adams Minaar

Collison Green Morris Mohamed Wasserfal

Cottle Sauls Williams Wren

Abrahams Cloete Morris

Marnus

Dreyer Paulse Jantjies Williams

Mohamed Oliveira

Gilbert

Henry

Call Matthews

October

Swartz

Jones Smith

GENT & GOODWIN
GENT WHOLE

THE COOP
TRADING & SUPPLY

TRAMWAYS



Figure 53c: Zoomed in excerpts of the map illustrating each family name in the home that they once lived. Represented on Goad Insurance Maps from 1949 stitched together to represent a map of District One (UCT African Studies Library).

The Planned City

The city continues to expand over time, with development changing to become larger and denser to accommodate both the increasing population and the transforming ways in which the city continues to change. Located adjacent to the Central Business District, District One is no exception for the planned development in Cape Town. This section starts with a breakdown of the existing urban landscape, referring to the link between conservation and landscapes of demolition.

This section will, furthermore, unpack the planned development for District One, referencing the Draft Table Bay: Integrated District Spatial Development Framework, the Heritage Study prepared in accordance with the NHRA for the development of the Foreshore Gateway Precinct, and the work presented by the Urban Catalytic Investments (UCI) Department of the City of Cape Town.

A Remembered Urban Landscape

Several theorists have remarked on the comparable patterns with which cities evolve, regardless of where in the world they are located (Moudon, 1986; Caniggia & Maffei, 2001; Scheer, 2018). The study area of District One has seemingly evolved at quite a rapid pace in terms of the increased size of the built form and its boundary matrix (non-built elements like erven and pedestrian crossings) (Scheer, 2018, p. 172), in comparison to that of the portion of District One above Somerset Road, where the historic fabric has been retained. Despite the clear comparison to growing cities globally, the change in District One was not due to natural progression but was instead a deliberate occurrence.

Unlike the portion of District One above Somerset Road, which continued to function as a residential area, with commercial activity throughout the lower streets closest to Somerset Road. The houses in the upper portion were altered to look more like those in Bo-Kaap after the last of the Coloured residents were gone and

Figure 54: Glossary Table in the Draft Table Bay: Integrated District Spatial Development Framework (CoCT, 2021)

Heritage Area	An area identified in terms of S31 of the NHRA as being worthy of protection on the basis of its environmental or cultural interest
Heritage inventory	Compiled by the local authority (in this case The City) and contains all heritage resources within its area of jurisdiction.
Heritage Register	A register maintained by the provincial heritage resources authority (in this case HWC) that lists all heritage resources considered to be conservation worthy
Heritage resource	Any place or object of cultural significance, according to the NHRA, unique, non-renewable and precious locations includes sites and landscapes of historical significance, areas of scenic beauty, and places of spiritual and/or cultural importance.
Historic urban landscape	An urban landscape that has been formed over time and that is characterized by historical layering of architectural features and cultural values

the area became a White residential area called de Waterkant. In contrast, the area below Somerset Road was always seemingly earmarked for the expansion of the city and stood as a “ghost town” after the last of its residents had moved (Weeder, 2006). The buildings below Prestwich Street were the first to be demolished, some to make way for the incomplete highway, with others demolished to allow for the extension of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront. The earlier buildings between Somerset Road and Prestwich Street have been gradually demolished to make way for large mixed-use buildings.

There is a perceived privilege towards tangible heritage as early as in the Glossary of Terms in the Draft Table Bay: Integrated District Spatial Development Framework done in 2021. The Glossary of Terms has no definition for Intangible Heritage or Living Heritage, nor are these terms used in the document at all (Figure 54). This valuing of built fabric is incongruous with City’s Integrated Metropolitan Environmental Policy (IMEP): Cultural Heritage Strategy of 2005, which is the local policy for heritage conservation, and the NHRA. Spatial Development Frameworks (which includes the Integrated Development Plan, the Municipal Spatial Development Framework and the district Municipal Spatial Development Frameworks) provide the spatial plan for the city and should, therefore, include a plan for areas of dispossession that should be geared towards redress. In this regard, there should be more obvious cross-pollination between departments at the CoCT, with existing heritage and environmental policies informing the ways in which our cities are structured.

The Draft Table Bay: Integrated District Spatial Development Framework inadvertently discriminates against urban landscapes that have been demolished because of racial dispossession where very few heritage resources remain. In a Heritage Impact Assessment prepared by Lucien Le Grange in 2003 for District Six, he was faced with a similar incongruity when assessing the heritage value of

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Inclusionary housing is defined in the Woodstock, Salt River and Inner-City Precinct Affordable Housing Prospectus as “Inclusionary Housing: For households earning between R3 501 – R18 000. Costs are normally covered by the developer in exchange for enhanced planning or development rights. Inclusionary housing can be owned or rented.” (City of Cape Town Transport; Transport and Urban Development Authority (TDA), 2017)

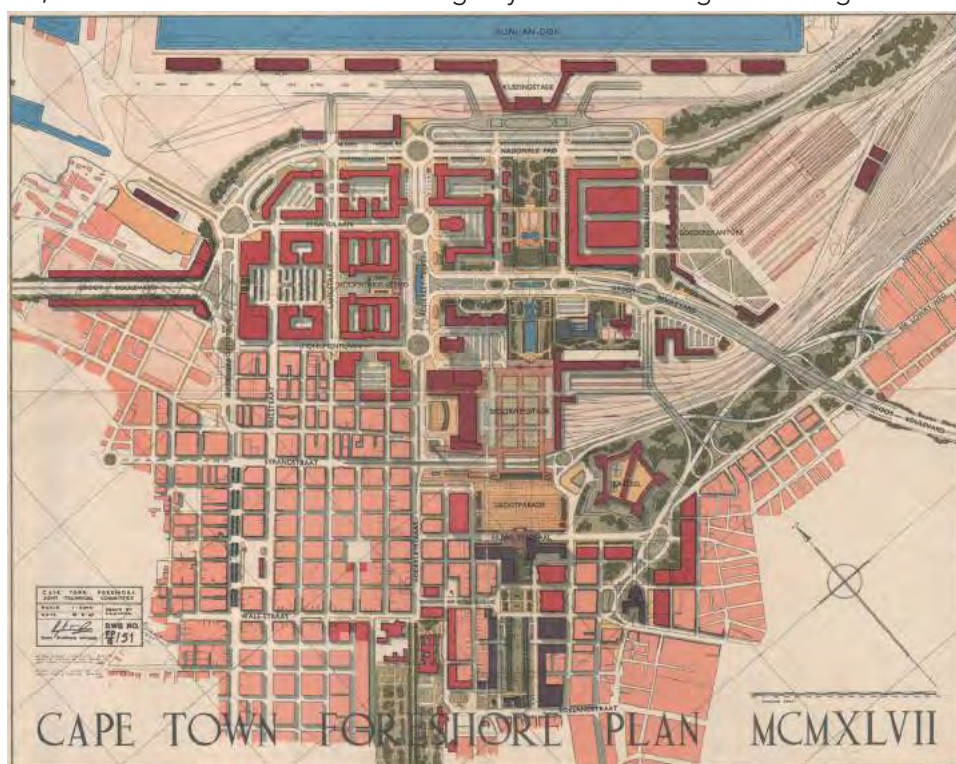


Figure 55: Cape Town City Foreshore by Hope, R. E. G. This map shows proposals for the Cape Town Foreshore Plan in 1947 (Source aslmaps_bmmc_6821_g_1_628.jpg in the Cape Town Street Plans collection at the University of Cape Town Digital Collections Library).

District Six. According to him, “under these circumstances what is ‘physical and material’ is by a strange contradiction largely the ‘intangible’ – the empty remaining space and the memories that the people of Cape Town have of the former area” (Lucien le Grange, Architects & Urban Planners, 2003, p. 4). Although District One has been vastly reconstructed, the metaphysical emptiness remains, and the heritage value lies largely in the intangible memories of the area. Which begs the question, posed by Dr Naomi Roux in her work on South End (an area of racial dispossession in Qgaberha), “How does a city do the work of transformation, when its ordinary places remain haunted?” (Roux, 2021, p. 8)

Unlike Le Grange, who had a clear grounding in the intangible value of District Six and its link back to the dispossessed people of the area, the same cognisance is not apparent in the Heritage Impact Assessment prepared by different registered heritage practitioners for District One. This will be further elaborated in the following subsection.

Planned Development in District One

District One has always been a space of possible development. It was earmarked for development as early as 1947, with the proposed elevated freeway bridges that formed part of the envisioned Cape Town Foreshore Plan (Figure 55). Construction on these contentious bridges started in the early 1970s and stopped midway in 1977, never to be completed. In 2016, the City of Cape Town identified

Figure 56: Image showing the Buitengracht Street Road widening parcels (Authors edit over base image from City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Management Department).



the 'Foreshore Freeway Precinct' as a site for future development, calling for design proposals that could find creative ways to use the unfinished bridges to solve the city's congestion as well as the need for affordable housing. This project was never seen through and was the cause for great contention within the City of Cape Town at the time.

The Urban Catalytic Investment (UCI) Department at the City of Cape Town have since been tasked with developing a spatial plan for development of the Foreshore. UCI were established by the CoCT to "drive the City's transit-orientated and spatial transformation agenda... implementing the City's Transit-Oriented Development Strategic framework through a programme of catalytic land development which aims to create new, vibrant and high density mixed-use precincts in targeted locations that are well connected to opportunities in the rest of the city" (City of Cape Town, 24 October 2019).

This project, referred to as the Foreshore Gateway Precinct, includes this study area, as well as the "Road widening parcels" along Buitengracht Street which includes several blocks within Bo-Kaap (Figure 56). It proposes to use the underutilised State-owned properties for urban regeneration as a tourism area due to its central position surrounded by the V&A Waterfront, Bo-Kaap and the CBD. In addition to this, the precinct is to include inclusionary housing³⁰.

Despite the longstanding interest in the area as a space of development, the layered history of the site has never been fully revealed in the studies conducted.

Figure 57: Late 19th century view of District One from Signal Hill. A mixture between the 18th century fabric and the late 19th century fabric can be seen intertwined throughout the area (taken by Michael Fortune).



Figure 58: View from District One showing Helen Suzman boulevard on the left, existing District One bottom right and city centre to the top of image (City of Cape Town Environment and Heritage Management Department).



The available reports give particular significance to the remaining built environment of the area and its archaeological sensitivities but are seemingly devoid of the historical significance the community that was forcibly removed less than 60 years prior. The heritage study prepared for UCI is yet another of these reports that omit a longstanding community from official records despite the contextual heritage analysis included in the report, which uses a layering of all the available historic maps of the area, as is done in this paper. As has been proven in former sections of this paper, the perceived erasure of areas of dispossession are never truly erased when they exist legibly in the form of historic maps and photographs (and subliminal in the memory of those who remember it) (Roux, 2021). In these cases, where they can be found in the “urban archive” by registered heritage professionals, and managed by heritage officials and heritage committee members all of whom are governed by the NHRA, what is our excuse for the omission of these dispossessed people?

The following excerpt from the heritage study underpins the consequences of not doing a thorough investigation of the intangible heritage of a city with a history of racialized dispossession:

Celebrating the history of this place will create a key identity for the development proposals for the precinct and will be woven into the proposals contained in the Urban Design Framework and the Urban Design Guidelines (Hart & O’Donoghue, 2021).

This quote is a misnomer for District One, given the omission of its prior community and their forced removal from the study. Although the celebration of the community will be welcomed, particularly with inclusionary housing for those who are waiting to return to the city, this community has been continuously disenfranchised from the study area since their removal nearly sixty years ago. In addition to this, the history of forced removals from the area that took place on several occasions over time is in no way cause for celebration. What then is the history of the site and why is it worth celebrating?

State Owned Land and Restitution

The addition of inclusionary housing in the Foreshore Gateway Precinct has the potential to use State owned land for restitution by reducing the cost of development in the urban core and bridging the spatial gap between the rich white inner-city and the poor black and coloured communities on the margins of the city (City of Cape Town Transport; Transport and Urban Development Authority (TDA), 2017). UCI have prepared a map indicating the State-owned land in District One (Figure 59). Given the planned development of District One by the Apartheid government when the area was declared a White Area, the availability of State owned land – ranging between local, provincial and national government - in the case study area of District One is plentiful (City of Cape Town, 17 May 2021).

Despite the clear dismissive nature of the State when dealing with District One land restitution claims, land is available for restitution. Land restitution is an

important right that is enshrined into the Constitution of South Africa and should in essence benefit the larger marginalised population of the country to achieve redress. However, in areas of dispossession, like District One, where the displaced community still awaits redress, should land not be made available for them first? Although UCI is still in the earlier stages of the process, one would expect the CoCT officials to do their due diligence in terms of public participation and find ways to be more inclusive when dealing with a site of such sensitivity. This, however, brings us back to the unfortunate gaps in the information provided in the heritage study, where the sensitivity of the site has not yet been established.

HWC's Guidelines for Public Participation, although based on the NHRA, is not set up to deal with areas of dispossession (Heritage Western Cape, 2019). The requirement for public participation includes the placement of an advertisement, in accordance with the specified HWC format, in the local newspaper, A3 laminated notices to be set up on the site, facing onto all surrounding streets, for a copy of the HIA to be left at the local library or any other public place, and for comment to be requested from the local authority and registered conservation body for the subject area (Heritage Western Cape, 2019). The placement of the advertisement in the local newspaper (the Atlantic Sun, which is dispensed in the inner-city area, constitutes as a local newspaper for this purpose), as well as the correspondence with the registered conservation body discriminates against marginalised communities of forced removals that still have vested interest in these areas. None of the individuals interviewed for this paper were aware of the

Figure 59: Plan showing the State land ownership of District One (City of Cape Town Urban Catalytic Investments Department).



proposed Foreshore Gateway Precinct development, not even the principal of Prestwich Street Primary School, despite their location in District One.

In cases like these, public comment should be sought from all areas within Cape Town in order to make sure that all possible people of dispossession from the areas in question are allowed a chance to be informed of developments of this scale. As has been demonstrated in the sections before, many of the former residents still have roots in the cultural institutions within the area. These institutions can reach out to these communities or provide a link of communication where necessary. The prospect of this development brought about unified anger for those former residents interviewed, particularly those who are awaiting land claims who feel that the City continues to demonstrate their willingness for economic development but are unable to make land available for land restitution.

Concluding Thoughts

Focusing on District One, this paper has demonstrated how heritage mechanisms can be used to engage with issues of memory and displacement in areas of racial dispossession in Cape Town. Given the strong perceived connection between heritage and whiteness in South Africa, and Cape Town in particular, it was important to establish the colonial ties to tangible heritage from the beginning of this paper. The significance of intangible heritage is, therefore, not only to ensure an inclusive country, but also to ensure the decolonisation of heritage practice.

In *Spaces of Insurgent Citizenship*, James Holston describes cities as layered palimpsests made up of stories that are told over time - "City surfaces tell time and stories" (Holston, 1998). This holds true for District One, with clear historic remnants that tell stories of a long and layered history that cannot be overlooked if one truly comprehends the evidence that remains. A contextual analysis of the current urban landscape of the case study area has established the heritage significance of the existing built environment – of which very few have been given formal heritage protection as per the heritage inventory of the City of Cape Town. The area has been 'Proposed' as the Somerset Road Heritage Protection Overlay Zone, which means that it has not yet been - and may not be – formalised and therefore has no bearing on the protection of the area. The City of Cape Town, as the local heritage authority, is responsible for the grading of buildings and the instituting of declared HPOZs within the Cape Metropol. If this is not done in accordance with the NHRA, the MPBL, and the MSDFs, then the local heritage resources of this city will remain unprotected.

Using historic imagery and social history, the relationship between social history and the changing urban morphology has been illustrated. The longstanding history between marginalised communities and District One started as early as colonisation, reinforcing its history of dispossession. This dispossession starts with the colonial occupation of the burial grounds of the Indigenous people, continues with the impertinent treatment of the burial grounds of Black, Coloured and enslaved people, the displacement of Black dockworkers in the 19th century, the dispossession of Coloured communities with the Slum Areas Act and the Group Areas Act, and the eventual erasure of these various communities from public memory. From this, the responsibility of the City of Cape Town to include intangible heritage as a tool for the allocation of HPOZs can be ascertained. In doing so, it is imperative that oral histories of the former residents of these areas of dispossession are recorded before the memory of District One, and areas alike are lost.

With the use of oral history interviews of former residents of District One, a sense of the community that lived in District One during the mid to late 20th century has been conveyed, giving way to the significance of both the social workings of the area, as well as the embedded spatial connection that this dispossessed community has with the urban landscape. These interviews have revealed that even with the vast demolition of its urban landscape, District One has withstood erasure in the greater sense of the word, as "places have a resilience all of their own since meaning does not coincide with their physical limits but encompasses

the trains of association which they evoke" (Augé, 2000, p. 79)(da Costa Meyer, 2009, p. 180). In this sense, memory practice, which has been a central theme throughout this paper, has provided a nuanced way to read the built landscape of District One as an inscribed landscape of intangible heritage.

With this comprehension of District One in the 20th century, it is clear that although intangible heritage/living heritage is included in the NHRA, the safeguarding of this heritage type is not adequately defined. This inadequacy has led to various interpretations of the limits of the NHRA in safeguarding intangible/living heritage. Until the NHRA can be ironed out, local policies must be implemented to safeguard intangible heritage and establish areas of dispossession to be redressed. The leading interpretation amongst heritage practitioners and heritage committees is that the NHRA holds no grounds for the protection of intangible cultural heritage/living heritage, unless inextricably associated with built forms. With this interpretation, intangible heritage has not been sufficiently engaged with in development applications and remains disadvantaged in the heritage sector. One of the easier ways to ensure that intangible heritage is safeguarded is by enforcing that the heritage council and committees at HWC are more diverse and representative of the cultures whose heritage is safeguarded in this province. As stated before, these committees have great influence over the interpretation of the NHRA and what is deemed significant in the industry.

A key take-away is the invisibility felt by this community. This community was first forcibly removed from their homes, they were then placed in the Cape Flats (where they continue to be side-lined), and their presence in the city remains unacknowledged by local, provincial, and national government structures. This national invisibility has been brought to light by the omission of District One as an area from which to claim land as per the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights and the Land Claims Court, which continues to hinder the process of land claim submissions for former residents of District One nearly sixty years later. Locally, the City of Cape Town have not yet formally identified District One as an area of dispossession. This oversight is currently coming into play with the City's development of the Foreshore Gateway Precinct Masterplan on State-owned land.

The analysis of this proposed development has given light to various ways in which public (and private) development in the city can be improved to become more inclusive and be used for both urban development and redress in areas of dispossession. It is essential that public projects are multi-authored within the CoCT, with more obvious transversal collaboration between departments to ensure that existing heritage and environmental policies inform the ways in which our cities are structured. Because of the necessity of registered heritage professionals in large-scaled development in South Africa, it is imperative that these professionals are held accountable for the work that they produce. Given the historic maps and aerial images at our disposal, it is unacceptable for registered heritage professionals to produce work that is devoid of social history and intangible heritage in a country that is still haunted by its past of racial segregation. Lastly, it is the responsibility of both public and private entities to

ensure that inclusive public participation processes are followed. The existing public participation processes set out by HWC are not sufficient when dealing with areas of dispossession and once again alienates these communities from the land in which they are inscribed.

To conclude, this paper sought to address three key objectives in demonstrating how heritage mechanisms can be used to engage with issues of memory and displacement in District One. These are as follows:

These findings have proven that the history of District One is sparsely acknowledged in the public history of Cape Town, resulting in a forgotten community who continue to be ignored in present society. It is of utmost importance that a dispossessed community be identified and that their memories and oral histories are recorded. In doing so, the role of intangible heritage in reinscribing forgotten communities into erased landscapes has been brought to light.

The significance of intangible heritage should not retract from role of tangible heritage. Cultural institutions like the Vos Street Mosque, the Sacred Heart Church and Prestwich Street Primary School all provide the displaced residents with a tangible preservation of collective memory in the area from which they were dispossessed. These built forms, furthermore, encapsulate the intertwined relationship between intangible and tangible heritage.

Finally, urban development in the city has the potential for spatial restitution if coupled with intangible/living heritage. The significance of intangible cultural heritage and the ways in which it can be safeguarded must, therefore, be acknowledged in both policies and practice. For without restitution and spatial justice, the racial disparity of South Africa cannot be diminished.

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