CHANGING VALUES IN HERITAGE: SHIFTS FROM THE TANGIBLE TO INTANGIBLE IN URBAN HISTORIC ENVIRONMENTS
BO-KAAP AS CASE STUDY

Dissertation presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Conservation of the Built Environment to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, Department of Architecture Planning and Geomatics, University of Cape Town

February 2020

Tamar Shem-Tov

PNRTAM001

Supervisor: Dr Naomi Roux

University of Cape Town

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

University of Cape Town

The Melting Pot of Nations

The melting pot of nations
Of cultures far and wide
Of merging minds and values
to a new era abide

the restless soul forever searching
for new adventures in its realm
The energies of life forever connecting
like the melodies of Orphean

the ethos of nations so varied and rich
grows richer when cultures are shared
to appreciate the value of traditions
without our own values impaired

Poem by Mrs Abdeya da Costa from 'Glimpses into the Inner Journey of Abday da Costa: Book of Poetry' written 8th August 2003 (unpublished). Used with the gracious permission of Mrs da Costa , a 94 year old resident of Bo-Kaap.

DECLARATION OF FREE LICENCE

I hereby:
(a) grant the University free license to reproduce the above thesis in whole or in part, for the purpose of research;
(b) declare that:
(i) the above thesis is my own unaided work, both in conception and execution, and that apart from the normal guidance of my supervisor, I have received no assistance apart from that stated below;
(ii) except as stated below, neither the substance or any part of the thesis has been submitted in the past, or is being, or is to be submitted for a degree in the University or any other University.
(iii) I am now presenting the thesis for examination for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Conservation of the Built Environment.

Signed by candidate

Tamar Shem-Tov

Cape Town

30 October 2015

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and pretend that it is one's own. I have used a standard convention for citation and referencing. Each contribution to, and quotation in, this mini-dissertation from the work(s) of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.
This mini-dissertation is my own work. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.

Signed by candidate

Tamar Shem-Tov

Cape Town

30 October 2015

ETHICS IN RESEARCH CLEARANCE

EBE Faculty: Assessment of Ethics in Research Projects (Rev2)

Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form before collecting or analysing data. When completed it should be submitted to the supervisor (where applicable) and from there to the Head of Department. If any of the questions below have been answered YES, and the applicant is NOT a fourth year student, the Head should forward this form for approval by the Faculty EIR committee: submit to Ms Zulpha Geyer (Zulpha.Geyer@uct.ac.za; Chem Eng Building, Ph 021 650 4791)
NB: A copy of this signed form must be included with the thesis/dissertation/report when it is submitted for examination

This form must only be completed once the most recent revision EBE EIR Handbook has been read.

Name of ~~Principal Researcher~~/Student: **Tamar Shem-Tov** Department: **School of Architecture Planning and Geomatics**

Preferred email address of the applicant:

If a Student: Degree: **Mphil Conservation of Built Environment** Supervisor: **Dr Stephen Townsend**

If a Research Contract indicate source of funding/sponsorship: N/A

Research Project Title:
Value-based Heritage Conservation: Exploring Bo-Kaap's Heritage Singnificance

Overview of ethics issues in your research project:

Question 1: Is there a possibility that your research could cause harm to a third party (i.e. a person not involved in your project)?	YES	NO ✓
Question 2: Is your research making use of human subjects as sources of data? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 2.	YES ✓	NO
Question 3: Does your research involve the participation of or provision of services to communities? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 3.	YES ✓	NO
Question 4: If your research is sponsored, is there any potential for conflicts of interest? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 4.	YES	NO ✓

If you have answered YES to any of the above questions, please append a copy of your research proposal, as well as any interview schedules or questionnaires (Addendum 1) and please complete further addenda as appropriate. Ensure that you refer to the EIR Handbook to assist you in completing the documentation requirements for this form.

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

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

Signed by:

	Full name and signature	Date
~~Principal Researcher~~/Student:	**Tamar Karen Shem-Tov** Signature Removed	**04.09.2015**

This application is approved by:

Supervisor (if applicable):	**Stephen Townsend**	**16.09.2015**
HOD (or delegated nominee): *Final authority for all assessments with NO to all questions and for all undergraduate research.*	Signature Removed	6.10.2015
Chair : Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions.		

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to all those who have contributed and made this study possible. Firstly, I give thanks to the people of Bo-Kaap who so willingly participated in the study and offered their time, experiences, stories, anecdotes and personal archived documents.

To my supervisor, Dr Naomi Roux, my appreciation for the breadth of her academic enquiry and direction, and the richness it has brought to the thesis. And for getting me back on track when I had abandoned the idea of completing it.
Kind thanks, also, to Dr Stephen Townsend for setting me on this course of study and for his supervisory role at the early stage of the thesis project. I am deeply appreciative of his time, for offering valuable academic guidance and continuous encouragement.

Appreciation to my friends who took a critical interest in my project and followed its progress through the highs and the lows. A special thank you to my dear friend, Helen Hacksley, for her editing skills and support.

To all those who kindly gave of their time to meet and discuss aspects of my study, or read it in parts, and offered their critical advice. It has all been helpful.

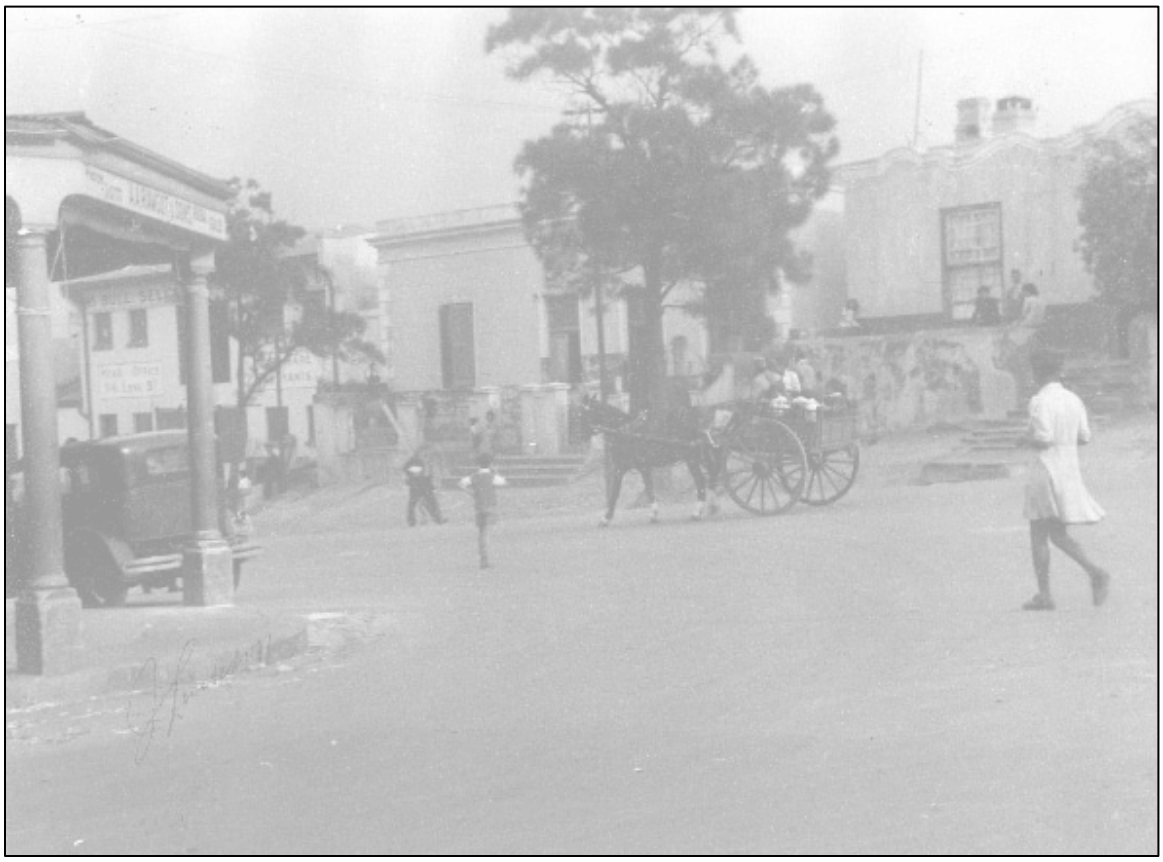
My deepest appreciation and thanks goes to my beloved family, my husband Ioel and three daughters Olivia, Emma and Georgia who accepted my absences and distractions, and gave me their unwavering support right up to the finish line. Thanks for allowing me the time to spend long hours writing, and rewriting this thesis.

Lastly, I give deep acknowledgement to my late mother, Tatu Penrith, a creative spirit who inspired my appreciation for all things aesthetic, taught me to encounter the world as a place of meeting and to value difference as a gift.

PLACE

~ a space engendered with emotion and association.

(anonymous)



ABSTRACT

This study explores the emergence of changing values associated with heritage in post-apartheid South Africa, expressed as a shift from tangible to intangible heritage values. Central to the study is an understanding of the evolutionary construction of changing values in a rooted heritage community within the urban historic environment of Bo-Kaap, the oldest residential area of Cape Town. Exploring changing values in Bo-Kaap, where tangible and intangible heritage intersect in the contemporary moment, showcases how heritage ably and fluidly adapts and transforms as an ever-shifting cultural process, and forges new, or altered, modes of identity construction.

Bo-Kaap, as the case study, is a significant historic urban environment of Cape Town's central city with a vibrant community having cultural rootedness in place, in slave ancestral heritage, and existing living heritage deserving of protection. It is examined against a backdrop of the localised political, governance and civic agency milieu.

The study follows the narrative of Bo-Kaap from its origins as a residential quarter of the early Cape colonial settlement, through the mid twentieth century when Bo-Kaap became largely fashioned and formed into an ethnically defined 'Malay' quarter, conforming to essentialised notions of race and ethnicity dominant in nationalist ideology, through the apartheid regime and the penetrating effects of Group Areas on the social and physical fabric of the area, until the present day where we are witness to a sea-change in outlook of the public on the very meaning and purpose of heritage. Heritage claims and heritage activism entered the realm of active public discourse in 2019 in response to free-market developmental pressures in Bo-Kaap, with inflections of social justice touching the edges of the heritage debate, and invited a broadening of the outermost limits of heritage discourse. Integral to this story is how heritage systems have been shaped by the past and colonial histories, new systems of governance post 1994, and a culture of intensifying identity politics.

Following the arc of time illuminates the complex interrelatedness of heritage values with social, historical, and political trajectories, and aims to examine just how dynamically heritage values arise, merge and shift within the inter-relational temporal space; what activates them, who activates them, and to what end; and how they have entered into a space of heritage activism and public discourse. I suggest that this present change in discourse and the display of emerging sets of heritage values requires a highly critical reflexivity on the part of heritage structures and the profession, to look at what these changes mean for heritage praxis and governance and, more importantly, how to advance the relevance of heritage to a sector of South African society advocating for a decolonised heritage value framework.

Keywords: Bo-Kaap, community, heritage values, identity, heritage activism, value-based heritage

NOTES

Values: The term 'values' is used in the sense of positive qualities or attributes to which people ascribe, and their inherent beliefs. It departs from the other common usage of the word meaning ethics, philosophies or normative codes of behavior.[1]

Community: With the understanding that the concept of community is complex and as entities communities are highly dynamic and changeable, bounded in different ways, with identity formations that are equally complex and dynamic and, themselves, posses power relations and political structuring, I use the term 'community' in the study as the best description I can find, acknowledging the theory and discourse around the concept which I engage with in the literature review.

Heritage professionals: Heritage professionals are those individuals with a primary focus on the understanding, evaluation, protection, management and recording of cultural heritage. They come from different disciplines which includes but is not limited to heritage conservation, archeology, urban planning, architecture, anthropology, social history and urban geography. They work in a broad range of public and private organisations, including government structures.

On terminology of race

The majority of critical academic enquiry undertaken in the South African context encounters ethnographic description of ethnicity or race. Unfortunately, we cannot position ourselves far away enough from apartheid or post apartheid to avoid it entirely, and the racial categories remain with us in our national population cencus as a legal and social fact.[2] I must at the outset therefore state that any reference made in the study to Muslim, Black, African, Coloured, Indian, or White is used as per the South African Population Census, as found in historical accounts, or as relayed in interviews with participants. I adopt Erasmus' conception of race in this thesis which sees race as a sociohistorical and political construct and challenges the idea that race has any biological or cultural basis.[3]

[1] Avrami et al. 2019: 30.
[2] Jeppie and Vahed 2005.
[3] Erasmus 2005.

List of Acronyms

ANC	African National Party
AHD	Authorised Heritage Discourse
BKYM	Bo-Kaap Youth Movement
BOKRA	Bo-Kaap Ratepayers & Residents Association (also referred to as 'the Bo-Kaap Civic')
CCT	City of Cape Town (also referred to as 'the City')
DA	Democratic Alliance
HPOZ	Heritage Protection Overlay Zone
HWC	Heritage Western Cape
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
LHA	Living Heritage Approach
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act (Act 25 of 1999) (also referred to as the Act)
NM	National Monument
NMC	National Monuments Council
PCA	People Centred Approach
PHS	Provincial Heritage Site
PRHA	Provincial Heritage Authority
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
VOC	Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company)

Images:

Front page image 1: historic photograph of Dorp Street. Source: Luckoff photographic collection, SA Archives.

Front page image 2: 2019 image of Bo-Kaap women demonstrating with placards on the steps of the Cape Town High Court during the 'Block development' interdict court hearing. Source: IOL media.

Front page image 3: Graffiti painted on a wall in Dorp Street, Bo-Kaap. Source: Photograph by author. December 2019.

Page v image: Historical image of Wale Street, corner of Rose Street, Bo-Kaap. Source: Luckhoff photographic collection.

Table of Contents

Personal reflection across time and place

I walk briskly across Buitengracht Street, mindful of impatient drivers in a fast- flowing river of vehicles leaving the city and the group of placard-holding Bo-Kaapers. I glance up Wale Street - the picture ahead is one that I know well but never fails to delight, the gentle green undulations folding themselves into a velvet textured backdrop to this urban village scene in the heart of my city. People busying themselves, courteous greetings of "*salaam alaikum"* and idling laconically on sidewalks. The day is melting into the final hours as the sun touches softly orange on plastered walls and intensifies the colour-collage of buildings. My destination is Rose Café, corner of Rose and Wale, to buy a warm and crispy mince *samoosa*. Rose Café has been there since I can remember. As a youngster I went there on Saturday mornings with my mother for sweet *koeksister* treats after purchasing supplies of aromatic spices, beans and other provisions from genteel Mr Ahmed of Atlas Traders. My memory holds those Saturday outings as joyful encounters with a place that was different from my neighbourhood. Always the interactions were friendly and warm and in my mind, a young girl from Hout Bay, this was a wonderful place. What a delight when in 1987, at 19 years old, I took residence in a flat in Carisbrook Road on the edge of Bo-Kaap and got to inhale its sights, sounds and tastes. I considered myself fortunate to live in this place, a place infused with vibrancy, songs of prayer, aesthetic beauty and kindliness. Little did I know then that I, an outsider to the area, would be weaving together inspiration, reflection, enquiry, curiosity and possibility in a way to better engage and dwell in heritage.

CHAPTER 1: VALUE SHIFTS IN A CHANGING PLACE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The research for the study began in 2014 with a research enquiry into what of the Bo-Kaap urban environment, the resident community valued most and attached the most heritage significance to, and for what reasons. Bo-Kaap, Cape Town's oldest and arguably most culturally-rich residential area in the central city, is set within a predominantly white urban context, and exists today as an archive of city-making written into both its physical and social fabric. It is a highly significant historic urban environment in a breath-taking setting of a natural mountain backdrops and views across the city bowl and out to Table Bay. Despite the changes that have occurred with the flux of time and modern city making, the area retains a unique sense of place, an authentic architectural coherence, a bounded community formation[4], and recognition as the historic birthplace of Islam in South African.

The enquiry in 2014 was centered on the physical and urban-heritage attributes of the Bo-Kaap and sought to frame significance in terms of the criteria set out in the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA).[5] The majority of the interviews with the Bo-Kaap community members, in this early stage, were undertaken in late 2015 as it had been my intention to complete and submit in early 2016, however, that did not transpire. This turn of fate turned out to be of benefit to the study because events in Bo-Kaap erupted into, yet unseen, scenes of heritage activism and returning to the thesis five years on offered the advantage of being able to track events in Bo-Kaap and notice how sharply they aligned with an emerging public discourse on heritage in the Cape Town setting, and observe the cultural currency that heritage holds in the popular imaginings of a self- and community identity; and also what it brought into focus beyond accepted understandings and logics of heritage which raises provocations of how the heritage

[4] I acknowledge that the idea of 'community' is introduced here in simplistic terms, however, the complex concept of 'community' and 'community formations' is dealt with later in the study.
[5] National Heritage Resources Act (Act 25 of 1999)

field engages with these unsettling heritage values in the current South African context. It also brought to the fore the complexity of the notion of community and how heritage, both as a theoretical concept and as a social process in community-making, cannot be understood, negotiated or separated from political agency at the different scales.

During this period the issue of protecting Bo-Kaap heritage against percieved threats of large developments and gentrification processes has been a ubiquitous topic in the media,[6] particularly in 2018 when Muslim Bo-Kaap community members came out to protest on the streets of Bo-Kaap, and burning tyre-smoke plumed into the city sky signally community discontent.[7] Press images and footage of placard-holding Muslim elders of the Bo-Kaap community and of Muslim youth defying combat-clad riot police in street confrontations shocked Capetonians and emotive attention was suddenly spotlighted on Bo-Kaap and swift action was taken.

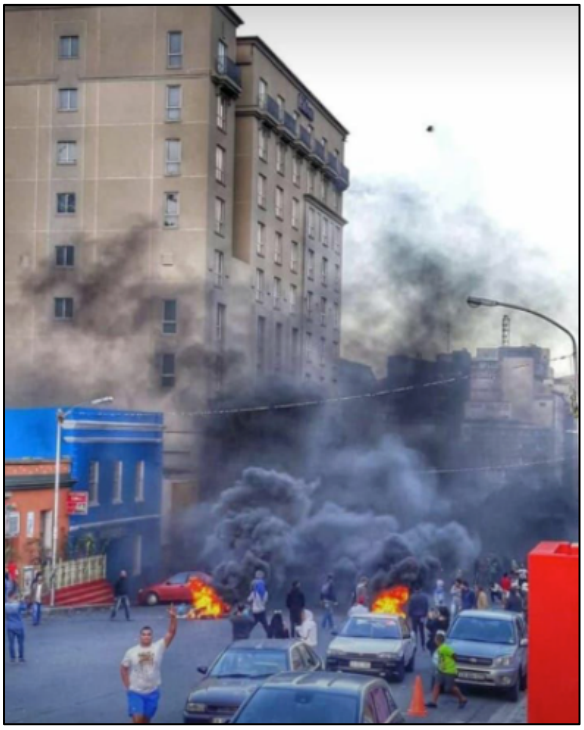


Fig 5: Image posted on BKYM Facebook 30 May 2018.

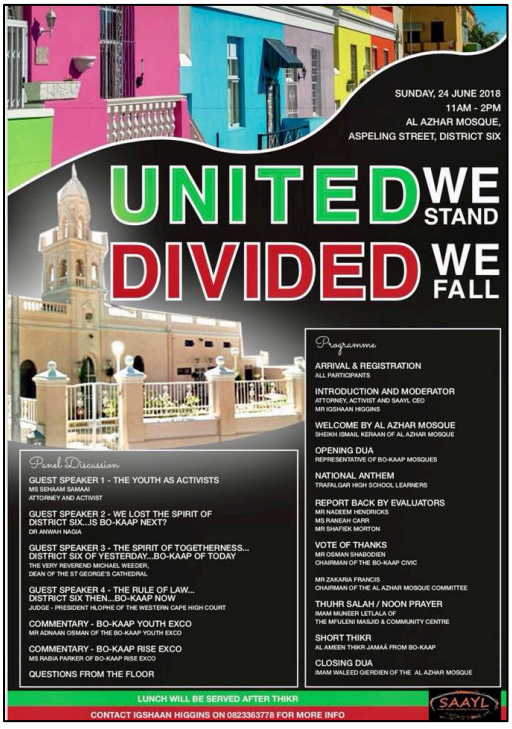


Fig 6: 2018 Poster SA Academy for Young Leaders.

[6] Hartley 2005, Jones 2018.
[7] Hyman 2018.

The local government administration, the City of Cape Town, quickly set in motion the formalisation of the long overdue Heritage Protection Overlay Zone (HPOZ), [8] the national heritage authority, SAHRA, quickly nominated nineteen sites in Bo-Kaap as National Heritage Sites, [9] and the two main political parties, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Democratic Alliance (DA), vied for political recognition as the drivers of heritage protection of the cultural jewel of Cape Town.

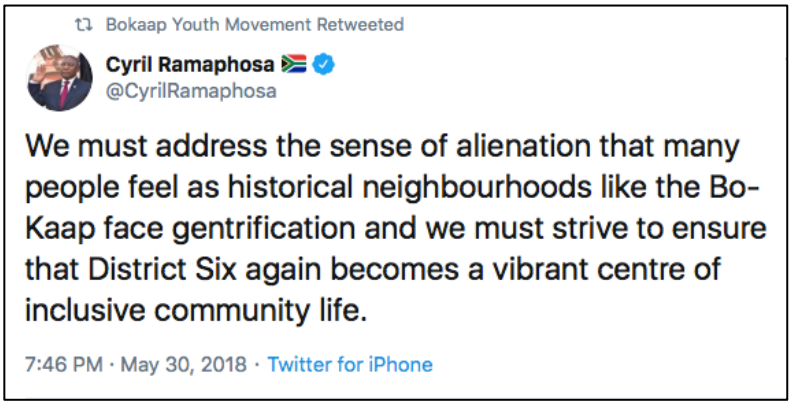


Fig 7: Tweet by President Ramaphosa, retweeted by BKYM 30 May 2018.

It was also within this five year period that the #RhodesMustFall movement and university disruptions captured international headlines, calls for decolonisation of South African knowledge institutions rang out across the country, [10] Jacob Zuma left the presidency, state capture and widespread corruption demoralised South African society at large, Cyril Ramaphosa rose to power unopposed as the new state president, the Constitution was amended among much public furor to allow for land redistribution motivated by the ANC's prioritisation of economic transformation policy, then Cape Town Executive Mayor, Patricia de Lille, resigned from office following the DA filing charges against her for maladministration and corruption and was replaced by DA member, Dan Plato; the global Sustainable Development Goals 2030 were adopted by the UN, the City and SAHRA simultaneously put heritage protections in place in Bo-

[8] The Bo-Kaap HPOZ was gazette and included in the Municipal Planning By-law on 12 April 2019.
[9] Ishmail 2019.
[10] Ruddock 2018.

Kaap just one month ahead of the May 2018 general elections. First Nations People rose as a collective in objection against the multi-billion rands redevelopment of the Two Rivers Urban Park (TRUP)[11], a development being proposed by the public land owner, Western Cape Provincial Government in partnership of the City of Cape Town; the National Department of Arts and Culture drafted the first ever policy on living heritage for South Africa,[12] and within academia and among heritage practitioners debate emerged around the relevance of social values,[13] living heritage and the very real impacts of profit-driven developments on the social matrices of communities and their longterm sustainabilty.

Fig 8: Image tweeted by BoKaapRise, 20 November 2019

[11] The TRUP Project is a 120ha, mixed-use, large scale urban development proposal in the Observatory area which is in close proximity to the central city.

[12] *Draft National Policy on South African Living Heritage*, 2009. Note: Sixteen years on from 1994 the Department of Arts & Culture published this Draft Policy as a national policy framework on safeguarding living heritage in South Africa. It is the first policy on living heritage and is long overdue, as the previous heritage legislation from the colonial and apartheid eras focused mainly on the conservation and management of tangible forms of heritage. Living heritage has largely been marginalised and thus does not receive any formal protection from government because it is not part of the 'National Estate'. The tentative promulgation of the Policy on Living Heritage is a progressive step towards the protection of intangible forms of heritage (Manetsi 2011).

[13] The Association of Professional Heritage Practitioners (APHP), a voluntary body, held a conference in Cape Town in 2019; the issues of social heritage and social impacts were central to the presentations. A position paper by APHP in 2020 captures the essence of this (APHP 2020).

Throughout this period I was employed as a senior heritage official at the City of Cape Town in the Environment and Heritage Mangement department assessing development applications on a daily basis, many of which were affected, either directly or indirectly, by this backdrop of national, provincial and local complexity. It is within this dense framework that I speak of the fortuity of having delayed the completion of the study. Although it necesitated significant changes to be made to update the study, to reorientate the research enquiry in response to the unfolding shifts and events, and to undertake a second phase of research interviews, it ably demonstrates just how fluid the heritage process is, how quickly things change and how deeply embedded it is in people's lives.

The study is a qualitative and descriptive study grounded theoretically in literature but geographically in Bo-Kaap. Bo-Kaap, as the case study, offers the opportunity to embed the theoretical focus into a real life context-dependent situation from which, as Flyvbjerg contends, the value of social research is derived.[14] The case method draws on key interview informants across different participant groups which has led to a rich set of findings illuminating the unfolding complexities of heritage in practice, in discourse and, importantly, in the every-day lives of the people for whom heritage is leveraged as a tool for the crafting of citizenry, shared community values and a sense of belonging – not merely as a contrivance but as an essential means of transferring imaginings of self and community aspirations into the future.

It shows that heritage is not limited to the inheritance of one's material past, but also encompasses the inheritance of values that dwell in those physical places, in memory, and in the realm of future imaginings. Tangible and intangible heritage values can, and do, coexist in a single frame.

[14] Flyvbjerg 2006: 221.

1.2 URBAN HISTORIC ENVIRONMENTS: WHERE VALUES DWELL

The heritage associated with historic environments, collectively known as urban heritage, has become a major heritage typology in the modern world requiring a heritage approach different to what Smith refers to as the 'traditional heritage conservation' paradigm[15] which is reliant on a set of criteria and principles emanating out of Western-based practice and heritage discourse in which the tangible and material is valorised, and the expert opinion is preeminent[16] in an entirely professionalised exercise of urban conservation.

Urban heritage, says Throsby, is a unique typology in that it comprises buildings, related streetscapes, parks, open areas, living environments and possibly industrial and commercial activities, but *also* social matrices of groups, collectives and communities who breathe life into their environments.[17] While the built areas represent the tangible expression of human presence, the social practices, religious customs, modes of creative cultural interaction, traditional knowledge and moral values of the people are all expressions of their intangible heritage values.[18] Because of this connection to geographic place and these intangible sets of values, intense emotions are attached to the historic environments into which people's histories, past and present lives are written and re-written. Smith recognizes that a failure to acknowledge this connection and attachment, and to not proactively and sustainably preserve urban heritage risks 'depriving communities of their sense of cultural identity, belonging and attachment'.[19]

It is recognised that, like all other heritage typologies, urban heritage is associated with a plurality of values: historical, socio-cultural, symbolic, economic, educational and functional,[20] and the values that bond people into community formations in urban environments flows from their connection to their past. The urban heritage is important

[15] Smith 2006.
[16] Hassan and Chirikure 2017: 209.
[17] Throsby 2002.
[18] Rojas 2007.
[19] Hassan and Chirikure 2017: 209.
[20] Smith 2004.

because it represents the continuity of symbolic meaning, harmony and aesthetics, sense of place and a sense of identity[21] for the host communities, from their past into the present and into the future. Urban historic environments are, therefore, repositories of vast and valuable heritage.[22]

The key challenge of sustaining the identities and functionality of urban historic environments over time as coherent units in city contexts is, according to Bandarin and Van Oers, 'continuity and compatibility',[23] given that urban environments, whatever their locality in the world, are dynamic organisms that keep changing in form and function. The concept of a single 'historical character' is therefore a fluid concept that is destined to change as society values change. And while the social structures, needs and aspirations of society evolve, so too does the physical fabric adapt in a constant process of adjustment.[24] This is an interdependent, relational process and the management of the urban historic environment therefore plays a major role in the representations of society.

1.3 VALUE SHIFTS BETWEEN PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

> *There is no one 'real' future but always just plurality of 'possible' futures. The very process of transforming nature into culture is at the same time the process of transforming the many possible futures into the one real past. Therefore being human is equivalent to being capable of transforming the Many into the One. (Walther Zimmerli)*[25]

Culture is understood as the process of transformation of nature by people, and the results of this transformation.[26] At the same time people are beings, both constituted by

[21] Throsby 2002.
[22] Jokilehto 1999.
[23] Bandarin and Van Oers 2012: 112.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Zimmerli 2010: 11.
[26] Ibid.

and constitutive of time. The very notion of cultural heritage thus comprises 'a whole range of transformations in time, from physical to intellectual transformations, from tangible to intangible'.[27] Our human products are cultural products only insofar as they are temporal entities being transferred from one generation to another, from one temporal existence to another. This transference process is what we commonly call heritage and the continuum of this transference is fundamentally dependent on human values.

An essential characteristic of being human is to distinguish between the past and the future by being present, and for this memory and imagination are the essential conditions. But, to differentiate past from future also requires the ability to distinguish oneself clearly from others, me from the other, my values from another's values, the subject from object; and to transfer that understanding into a conception of 'self' across a continuum of past-present-future. In a Western cultural context it took time to develop the idea of the relationship between culture, memory, the individual and imagining as well as social and collective identity values, and their dependence on the temporal dimensions of the past and future. This understanding has translated to a vast body of literature on the discourse of heritage conservation. In reflecting on this it becomes evident that the process of heritage production, over time, continually involves tides of evolutionary self-construction.

1.4 UNSETTLING HERITAGE: REFRAMING VALUES

The concern of heritage management is to preserve those attributes of heritage environments that symbolically transmit values through time so that both the continuity of the historic settings *and* the continuity of the sociocultural settings are sustained as a meaningful coherent whole.[28] It is not a small task to hold these in balance especially when there are changing and competing sets of interests and values at play, and when

[27] Zimmerli 2010.
[28] Jokilehto 1999: 23–42.

modern town planning requirements, the functionality of a city as a whole, and policy-level logics need to be factored into visioning and planning for their futures.[29]

The goal of sustainable heritage conservation management, therefore, demands that a sound legislative and public policy framework is imperative to guide management and development practices in the present and future in a coordinated, integrated and holistic manner.[30] Such public policies need cogently to respond and promote values that consider the physical and sociocultural settings so that they will be meaningful and rationally contextualised in time and place to contemporary society. Tensions can and do arise between local communities and government administrations tasked with built environment conservation when the guiding policies, commonly influenced by the political orientation of the administration, are misaligned with communities' values, goals and aspirations.

Because community values are changeable with time, and what was important decades ago might no longer have the same relevance today to their daily needs or to their symbolic expression in the future, an integrated practice of heritage management and planning requires thoughtful adaptive management strategies that can respond to ever-changing needs arising out of progress, modernisation and intensifying populations,[31] but also to what the contemporary moment presents in the public's perception of heritage.

While the goal, as Bandarin and van Oers submits, is to achieve 'compatible' change[32] and not to compromise the sustainable preservation of heritage in its physical form or sociocultural representations, heritage management is a constant negotiation between competing sets of values: economic values, political values and socio-community values. These categories of values, and the actors who advocate them, are by no means separate or identifiable. They are very often conflated, intersecting and

[29] Avrami et al. 2019: 1, 27.
[30] Ibid.: 6; Tarrafa Pereira da Silva and Roders 2012.
[31] Hassan and Chirikure 2017: 209.
[32] Bandarin and van Oers 2012.

contingent upon one another.

Current heritage discourse in the localised Cape Town context has taken a turn towards highlighting the lack of recognition given to the intangible forms of heritage that coexist with, and within, tangible heritage urban environments; and the cultural, social and community values that continue to fall outside of the regulated system of heritage management and hence find no appropriate level of safeguarding. This phenomenon is increasingly vocalised by communities and heritage groups in, and out, of heritage processes who argue that economic value and urban growth values, guiding policy and planning initiatives cannot alone sustain social coherence or shared community values. Prior to this, heritage management in the post-apartheid South African governing framework, has for the most part limited itself to the protection and conservation of tangible built heritage – monuments, buildings and townscapes - considered to be of value to South Africans and therefore warranting oversight and protection, in line with the authorised traditional heritage approach.

Mounting heritage value claims are rising to the fore. Claims of intangible cultural values, identity values, social values, community values and indigenous knowledge values, demanding a fundamental reframing and rethinking of heritage which recognises host communities as the rightful cultural custodians of their environments, that tangible and intangible heritages intersect and coexist, and the imperative for a community-led heritage management practice founded on a pluralistic concept of meaning-driven heritage rather than one that continues to privilege the material and holds to its knowledge-centred approach. Included in this emerging dialogue is a central concern around the politics of space and place, as it relates to South Africa's socio-political history and heritage contestations, and how heritage was intended, in the writing of the National Heritage Resources Act in 1999, as a legislative mechanism to address transformation and enrich diversity.

These emergent claims have been manifesting in increasing opposition to mega developments and continuing gentrification processes taking place in heritage-rich

environments of Cape Town, and the impact on the local communities with multigenerational attachments to these areas. The issue has gained ground considerably, to the extent that it has entered the minds of a wider public audience and the collective eye of society. People are now weighing in on the debate of heritage, of what is to be valued and safeguarded and divergent voices are emerging, advocating or defending different sets of value and publically displaying the multivalence and plurality of South Africa's diverse society. The enactment of heritage contestation in the public fora, in media and across social media platforms has added a valuable and dynamic public discourse dimension. Importantly, it raises the question of the relevance of heritage values and the role of heritage practice to the contemporary South African society; and what, or who, unsettles heritage values and how they are mediated.

It appears this sea-wave of unsettling is calling for a new logic or altered rationality to underpin heritage understandings and has brought us to a significant juncture where society, the state heritage actors, and the professional heritage cohort have an opportunity to meaningfully and critically engage with these complex issues, examine what is visible and what is still made invisible in the processes; and to chart a new, more socially informed, course for heritage in the present and future. It is an opportunity to look back at how far we have come in the post-apartheid era, to assess where we are currently, and chart how the practice and discourse proceeds into the future where this change can be purposefully leveraged for transformation.

These are issues arising in our own setting but they are not unique to South Africa. They are symptomatic of similar unsettlings experienced across African countries in the post-colonial heritage reframing, and to deliberations over the past three decades in the international forum which have found expression in international charters, principles and normative heritage tools seeking to frame heritage significance in culturally specific value frameworks as a deliberate intention to counter the traditional heritage paradigm and promote the contemporary heritage approached which is a values-based paradigm centred on people and broad stakeholder engagement.

1.5 FROM AN UNSETTLING TO HERITAGE ACTIVISM

He who is reluctant to recognise me opposes me.
(Frantz Fanon)[33]

Recently, communities in the Woodstock and Salt River areas of Cape Town who perceive widespread development in the area as an overt threat to their social fabric,[34] and First Nations groupings who feel their right to have free access to their sacred land at the River Club[35] and Two Rivers Urban Park at the confluence of two important sacred rivers, is not being addressed by the developers,[36] have received a significant amount of public lobbying from social activist groups and NGOs advocating for cultural rights to be respected and for the heritage practitioners and decision-makers to give recognition to the intangible heritages which they claim are at risk.

In Bo-Kaap, there has been an intensifying position of defiance from local community members with generational ties to the area who raise their voices and fists in solidarity in support of their own efforts to protect their heritage environment and living cultural practices, and also with other historically marginalised groups of Cape Town facing contestation around heritage claims, who's social fabric and cultural ways of being and expression are at risk with the prevailing development pressures and gentrification processes that are seen to accompany the changes taking place in these areas.

Bo-Kaap residents have for the past two decades appealed to local and provincial bodies and politicians to recognise the gentrification dynamics as a real threat to their social cohesion and put protections in place to safeguard the area.[37] In Bo-Kaap, gentrification processes have and continue to result in a passive economic and social waves of displacement brought about by the influx of foreigners buying into the area,

[33] Fanon 1991.
[34] Kretzmann 2019.
[35] The River Club development land was purchased by a private developer from the City of Cape Town. The land has Public Open Space zoning and the developer is looking to rezone it to General Business allow for a mult-million rand mixed-use development.
[36] HWC Tribunal Minutes of the River Club Application, Case no. 17051090WD0525, 16 January 2020.
[37] Over the past two decades there have been numerous articles in the media about the gentrification of Bo-Kaap and more recently the debate includes Woodstock and Salt River areas.

rising property prices, increased rates, large-scale developments priced for the affluent purchaser, lack of economic opportunity, and the general rising costs of living. It echoes for the Bo-Kaap host community generational memories of apartheid-era displacement and social rupture and a sense of not being seen, heard or valued.

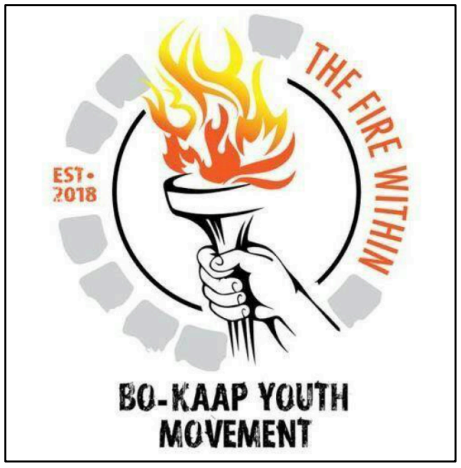


Fig 9 & 10: Emblems of the Bo-Kaap Youth Movement (BKYM). BKYM Twitter 20 September 2018.

These events, taking place at different localities in Cape Town, have together ignited a public discourse around the powerful symbolism of heritage for the South African society and set up, what Councilor Bryant refers to as the 'perfect storm' with the eye of this storm centred on Bo-Kaap. Different community groups, from newly founded youth groups to the community's elders, came out to protest on the streets, on the steps of the High Court, and across social media. These new groups have formed in response to escalating heritage claims and the youth are seeing "the opportunity to take the batten"[38] from their community elders, whom they feel are not talking out strongly enough to be heard by the authorities. The newly founded BKYM, Bo-Kaap Collective, Bo-Kaap Rise! emerged as different groupings with a united purpose to 'reclaim their heritage', demand protection for 'their heritage', 'their culture' and 'their area'. Civic society organisation joined their cause and, together with public sentiment, activated

[38] Personal interview with Mr Hartley, founding member of the BKYM, on 16 January 2020.

wide media coverage. What these scenes of heritage activism have brought to the surface is a much deeper, more intimate narrative of displacement, marginalisation, loss and community wounding. Inherent in this is the sense of being unseen and the question of how one builds on, or hold onto, one's identity when it is not mirrored by society is a critical consideration for the heritage discipline to contemplate. This has not as yet received an audience and debate within the heritage structures, beyond surface-level stirrings, although one imagines that this is fertile ground for such probing discussions to take place.

There are examples where these issues have, however, been deliberated and argued on legal grounds in the courts, going as far as the Constitutional Court, by communities holding persuasive cultural identity values or religious beliefs, made in opposition to developers defending entrenched, neoliberalist values inherent in property development rights, albeit narrowly defined in economic-value terms. The 2009 Oudekraal Judgment[39] and the recent 2018 Bo-Kaap 'Monster Building' judgment[40] are such examples. The so called 'Monster Building'[41] development on the edge of Bo-Kaap abutting the CBD, raised tensions between Bo-Kaap community groups and a large collective of heritage stakeholders including HWC, against the City of Cape Town who were viewed by the public as being unfairly biased toward the developers' short-term economic gain at the cost of sustaining long-term social cohesion (a stated policy objective of the City in its IDP and across approved strategies, frameworks and policy statements), and their mandate of responsible and sustainable heritage management.[42]

Then came the large-scale 'Blok' development[43] situated on the upper slopes of Bo-Kaap. It was this development (approved by the CCT in 2018 and now already constructed), that elevated the already simmering frustrations of the Bo-Kaap

[39] Application made by an activist group to set aside Council's decision of 1957 to approve a township development along the scenic Atlantic coastline on land on which sacred Muslim *kramats* were located. The application to court was made on the grounds that Council had failed to take into account 'that the area has great religious and cultural significance for the Muslim community' (Supreme Court of Appeal 2009: 3). The judge ruled in favour of setting aside the development approval and no development has since taken place.
[40] Pather 2018b.
[41] Dubbed the Monster building by public petition and media.
[42] CCT 2005, 2017.
[43] Commonly referred to as the 'Blok development' after the name of the developer, but also called '40 on Lion'.

community toward the CCT and its political leadership [44] for what they considered to be ineffectual protection mechanisms for the area, a problematic transfer of publically owned land (earmarked for social housing purposes in the CT MSDF) to a private developer and the removal of restrictive title deed conditions without a public participation process; and the City's apparent disregard for community objections and protestations that the unique heritage character of Bo-Kaap and the way of life of its community was being threatened by further 'monstrous' buildings not at all compatible with the physical or socio-historic setting of Bo-Kaap.

This, it seems, became the pivotal point that gave rise to the 2018 Bo-Kaap community demonstrations of resistance in the way of burning tyres in the streets, confrontations with riot police, public venting, physically marking and claiming of space with graffiti and posters on every street and multiple buildings, the holding of evening prayers in Wale Street, and the communal public breaking of the fast of Ramadan by the Muslim community.

Fig 11: Muslim community holding the evening prayer in Wale Street (Argus 15 June 2018).
Fig 12: Breaking of the Ramadan fast in Wale Street (BKYM Facebook, 2 June 2018)

Interestingly, each of the legal contestations referred to had been prompted by proposed large-scale developments and each was opposed by concerned members of

[44] See Cape Argus 2018; Parker 2018.

the Muslim Cape Town community, although not always successfully, whose primary concern had been the impact of development on cultural heritage values in respect of living heritage practices (e.g. access to the holy *kramats* at Oudekraal),[45] and the threat to the continuity of their cultural identity.[46] Claims to have one's cultural rights acknowledged and respected have constitutional legitimacy and cannot be ignored.

The mounting activist role of community groups, followed by widely publicised community protests in Bo-Kaap in 2018, literally and figuratively brought fire to the issue of cultural heritage. Community protests and social activism is a common and widespread phenomenon in post-apartheid South Africa, but that it has been activated in the name of heritage is an emergent phenomenon.

We have yet to see how the heritage sector will adjust to embrace this deepening issue and adopt a more inclusive community-led approach to heritage – one that draws on the voices of the people whose identity is invested in the urban heritage environments in which they live, derive meaning and perform their daily rituals, be they social, religious or cultural; and one which is less dependent on the legalistic minutiae of processes and can amount the tick the box exercise of fulfilling public participation.

1.6 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The picturesque area of Bo-Kaap, its narrow cobbled streets, multi-coloured buildings, omnipresent mosque towers and abundant street life, bears impressive material witness to the layers of history and stories that have shaped it as a lively residential neighbourhood, and a community formation with Islamic cultural roots, from its colonial beginnings in the mid-eighteenth century Cape settlement until now. It is often thought of as the heart or the soul of Cape Town.

[45] See Green and Murray 2012.
[46] Jones 2018.

Mention Bo-Kaap in conversation with a Capetonian and it will quickly render in the mind's eye a vivid picture of distinctive architectural character, the associated cultural way of life of Muslim families and Cape Malay food. It will likely also elicit animated discussion about recent community protests, the discontentment against what is perceived to be an unregulated gentrification programme aided by the local municipality,[47] vented across the media and social media platforms. Strong opinions on the pros and cons of development impacts on Bo-Kaap – the place and its people – abound. There have been growing fears that gentrification threaten the lived cultural experience of the people who inhabit Bo-Kaap, who stake a valid heritage claim to the area by way of their historic connections and continued intergenerational cultural and religious practices.[48] It has also been an area of study for researches interested in urban geography and cultural studies.[49]

The long-awaited HPOZ is considered a victory by many who view Bo-Kaap as one of Cape Town's most treasured cultural assets of high aesthetic qualities, where living cultural heritage is evident to the average visitor on almost every street corner. But why then, one may ask, if its significance is so manifest and tangible, did it take heritage authorities so long to protect it?

As has been shown, the issue of recent development pressures in Bo-Kaap and other heritage-sensitive areas of Cape Town, shifted the focus from gentrification as an environmental ill, which encompasses a host of interrelated impacts to the material culture and social environment, to one that sits far closer to the hearts and minds of people, to their internal landscape where identity, pride and values reside. It is less about what is visibly reflected on the exterior material world and more about what is refracted in their own interior worlds that requires close examination here, for indeed this can impede peoples' sense of existence, continuity and belonging in the world.
The aim of the study is to unpack the emerging claims to a wider set of intangible heritage values that do not yet find recognition in the heritage significance criteria set

[47] See Hartley 2005, Kotze 2013, Pather 2014.
[48] Ibid.
[49] See Bassadien 2017, Kotze 2013, Reitzema 2015.

out in the legislative tools and policies which focus on the protection and preservation of the materiality of urban environments. What is important is to bring together the different threads in the findings to look for a deeper understanding of why this public discourse is emerging in the present moment, what sustains it, and how it potentially relates to a larger post-apartheid, post-colonial reimagining of self, citizenship and the shaping of agency in a world engineered by power-politics; and what is the consequence of these value shifts to community configurations, identity politics, meaning-making and a sense of belonging and place attachment for communities, such as the people of Bo-Kaap.

The study critically engages with the emerging heritage claims within the heritage discourse frame to understand their legitimacy and consider the possibility that heritage can be used as a tool to leverage off when the deeper issues might actually lie in political-power relations, masquerading as heritage contestation. And coupled with this is the need to critically engage with the conception of community and what Benedict Anderson describes as 'imagined community' formations.[50]

Although the study started as a pragmatic enquiry in understanding Bo-Kaap's tangible built-historic environment - its buildings, architecture and landmarks - in order to inform the development of a set of guidelines for the area, it has shifted with the changes playing out in the area, and beyond. The shifts compel the study to zoom into the contemporary moment. However, the lens of enquiry simultaneously zooms out to encounter the outermost limits of heritage and where heritage intersects or overlaps with ideas of identity politics and social justice in this temporal space. Additionally, how those in the heritage sector can, or should, engage with these bold concepts in a practice currently dominated by built urban form policy directives and legislation geared towards the production of space and protection of tangible manifestations of the past.

Directly related to this is how we are witnessing in the local context an echo of the dilemma that theorists and researchers such as Avrami, Mason and De la Torre[51] in the

[50] Anderson 1983.
[51] Avrami and Mason 2019; De la Torre 2002.

international heritage fraternity have been grappling with for decades around the concept of intangible heritage, as a result of minority indigenous heritage groups globally affirming their rightful claims to their unique heritage forms;[52] to their traditions, customs and indigenous knowledge systems.

> *Values have long underpinned concepts of heritage and its conservation within the built environment. The last half-century bore witness to a critical period of political and social influence that shaped the field's institutional and professional development, and has broadened understanding of how multiple publics may ascribe different values to heritage. Analysis of evolving trends and emerging issues suggests that the contemporary field is characterised by two distinct, complementary perspectives: one centred on heritage values associated with the curatorial, materialist traditions, and the other on societal values (focused on economic, political, social, and environmental uses of heritage). Integrating these different yet interdependent views can advance learning and self-critique within the professional field and inspire more sustainable and inclusive practices of conservation.*
>
> *(Erica Avrami and Randall Mason)*[53]

The challenge faced internationally by cultural heritage management practitioners and agencies has been how to incorporate intangible values, which give foundation and definition to cultural communities and sustain their existence, when those very inherent value systems compete with the values promoted by neoliberal economic production systems. With cultural identity politics gaining public interest and a public sounding board, claims of heritage values and community sustainability are getting attention and taking centre stage in heritage discourse. The 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention marked a significant intervention into international debates about the nature

[52] De la Torre 2002: 165.
[53] Avrami and Mason 2019.

of cultural heritage values, and was presented as a necessary counterpoint to the authorised heritage paradigm, to acknowledge and privilege non-Western manifestations and practices of heritage which until then had been in the background of developing heritage discourse.[54]

In the study I contemplate if, within the local context, we are nearing a critical moment in which notions of tangible and intangible heritage can be coupled into a singular conception of heritage, or at least as complimentary perspectives, in historic urban environments such as Bo-Kaap with their animated living heritage, and thus reframe heritage from a binary lens of heritage to one that more credibly promotes just and principled values and acknowledges the changing nature of communities and their heritage values so that there is continuity of the physical *and* the intangible heritage.

Cultural heritage undergoes a continuous process of evolution.[55]

1.7 THE RESEARCH QUESTION: A QUESTION OF IMPULSE AND RESPONSE

Heritage management practice in the localised Cape Town context involves itself primarily with the assessment of development applications. There are different application processes, depending on the nature, extent and siting of proposed development,[56] but regardless of what triggers an application, it is through these processes that authorities and the practitioners apply heritage management in accordance with well-established, entrenched codes of practice and heritage principles.

In the absence of applied local research of the heritage management endeavour, the number of applications processed measures the efficacy of heritage management simplistically, yet the measure of its societal value goes unmeasured other than an

[54] Smith and Akagawa 2009.
[55] [Heritage and Society] 2015: 144.
[56] The NHRA and the CT MPBL provides for different categories of development applications requiring differing impact assessments.

occasional legal victory won in the courts. It is, therefore, unclear how, or if, heritage is serving a public good, as it is intended to do. Research and theoretical discourse development lies in the domain of academia, dislocated from the day-to-day unravellings of heritage practices. The disconnect of theory and practice is not unique to heritage management and this study is, in a way, a soft measure of the disjuncture that exists and is playing out in the every day lives of people as a result. It aids to zone in on questions of the value of heritage as a public good, and who it is serving best.

What is of deepening interest, within the status quo, is how the current fixed limits of heritage practice are being pushed and pulled, critically interrogated and challenged, not internally within the heritage profession or academia, but by a public claiming a newfound ownership, agency, and voice in the heritage arena. The discursive unfolding of this public heritage performance ties together varying themes but the core thread that runs through it speaks cogently to a public appeal to expand the outer parameters of heritage discourse and bridge discourse and practice and people's lives in order to meaningfully reflect and give affect to people's core values, which must be acknowledged as time and context-specific requiring an adaptable approach that mirrors society's changeability. To take account of 'the local' and draw on the views and expressions of the real experts in local communities who are 'experts at living where they do and who best understand the impact of change on their local environments, their emotional attachment, rootedness and stability'.[57]

The central question of the study is: What is giving effect to the emerging shifts in cultural values emanating from below – from values having a narrow focus on tangible heritage, to broad heritage values embedded in intangible heritage expressions – and how can the binary understanding of tangible-intangible heritage be undone and reimagined to have value and meaning to a broader South African society as a public good? Closely linked to this is the role that public discourse and activism plays in giving expression to the shifting values and repositioning the public from a passive audience on the periphery to an active participant body at the centre of heritage debate in

[57] Szymanski and Schofield 2016.

processes and discourse.

I look at how an emerging awareness of this unsettling has materialised in the academic and practice body and how the idea of social values and social justice are being coupled with intangible heritage discourse – how to engage with intangible values, bring intangible values into impact assessment, evaluate intangible values, spatialise intangible values, give form to intangible values in the material urban environments, and valorise community values.

These are all dilemmas that are currently poised in the air unanswered but it's nonetheless the beginning of an important dialog. As previously suggested, similar predicaments have been a challenge elsewhere in the world and there is extensive literature and a reliable body of research to guide the discussion to find suitable context-orientated solutions to these troubling issues. I imagine that if there is a real intent to do so we can collectively imagine ourselves into a future that holds cultural values central to our professional endeavour.

1.8 LIMITATIONS AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study reveals the intersection of heritage, as a process of meaning-making by way of exclusion and inclusion, and by objective 'othering', with matters which are of high-order significance to society and the daily lives of a community, such as politics, economics, power structures, agency, democracy, transformation, stability, continuity and sense of self.

It is impossible to remove heritage from these social processes, which is indeed what makes heritage such a multidimensional and multidisciplinary field of study and why it is so contested in its nature. I attempt to engage with these varied influential dynamics with the aim of demonstrating the complexity of negotiating heritage and the need for adopting a highly critical approach to understanding the range of values present and

their underlying logics; to be able to encounter, but also counter when necessary, the varied perceptions that live within and alongside any community formation.

However, the study is by no means a complete account of these multifarious effectors. The finer detail of the politics, power-relations and the individuals who might have direct bearing on the Bo-Kaap events, and the resultant public discourse is beyond the limits of this mini-thesis. Suffice to say that being witness to the Bo-Kaap events, processes and performances, and also to other public administration processes, the interconnectedness is clear and it is evident that such issues do require in-depth study to fully reveal and understand the intricacies of heritage and the different forms it takes.

In the recently published book, *A House Divided*, by Dr Olver[58] speaks to this need to make visible the influences and undercurrents of political events not directly in the public view but which directly impact peoples' lives, spaces, and value frameworks. His study of the City of Cape Town as a DA-led local administration under then-mayor, Patricia de Lille, exposes how property developers hold the power to influence decisions to their benefit in the face of fierce public objections even when within legitimate public participation processes.[59] It highlights how power and politics invariably tend to play into regulated processes where the voice and power of the ordinary citizen can barely compete. However, heritage has cultural currency in South Africa and is showing its capability in leveraging opposition to mega development.

That the case is limited to Bo-Kaap and events that have taken shape in relation to Bo-Kaap, within the past five years, albeit against a backdrop of Cape Town-based heritage performances, gives the study a measure of immediacy and current relevance, and has in my view been an advantage rather than a limitation as some critics of the case study method contend.

I take the administrative boundary of Bo-Kaap as the locality of the study. It has a

[58] Olver 2019.
[59] Child 2018.

relatively small resident community,[60] one that community sociologist usually call a 'face-to-face community'[61] given that it is within a relatively small residential area where 'everyone knows everybody else,'[62] as was described by many of the residents who participants in the study. This is a community that has ongoing systems of interaction with a stable sense of permanence, [63] but it is clear that there are patterned interactions and familial ties that occur naturally beyond this delineated boundary. This is therefore not a total, inclusive portrait of the locality – the place and people – nor does it represent the social universe for its inhabitants which are clearly much more complex and interconnected.[64] Delimiting the area is useful insofar as to understand the localism of the phenomenon, but it also highlights the artificiality of historical delineated divisions of the city based on race politics and how it remains embedded in the current conception of Bo-Kaap.

The study is not intended to be an examination of a distinct problem or to provide any definitive solutions to a problem, nor is it intended to test a hypothesis or build a theory. It is a descriptive, interpretive case study that uses qualitative methods of analysis to gain insights into the situation in Bo-Kaap in order to draw out a set of illustrative conclusions. It is limited by my localised knowledge and experience of working in heritage in a specifically Cape Town legislative framework where urban heritage governance occurs according to a particular set of legal instruments – local, provincial and national. As useful as a comparative study would be to thicken the description it has not been possible as part of this mini thesis. The generalisability of the case study findings is dependent on the level of descriptive detail.

Further, theoretical frameworks are generally constrained by assumptions about values, time and space, and boundary conditions that govern where theory can be applied and where it cannot be applied. Cultural studies theory has implicit cultural assumptions, temporal assumptions (e.g. whether they apply to youth or elderly), and spatial

[60] SA Census 2011 gives the Bo-Kaap population as just under 6,000 in an area 0.95 square kilometres.
[61] Bell and Newby 1971: 56.
[62] Ibid.: 56.
[63] Ibid.: 55.
[64] Ibid.: 63.

assumptions (e.g. they apply to certain localities but not to others). For theory to be useful all of these implicit assumptions that form the boundaries of the theoretical framework need to be properly understood and stated. That my theoretical readings are limited to English written texts, even if some are translated and therefore take a general Western worldview, does undeniably affect my study bias.

1.9 LOCATING MY INTEREST IN THE STUDY

My interest in the research enquiry originated in two ways: firstly from my own studies in the disciplines of architecture and heritage where I experienced a particular mode of study in the local university setting, with associated sets of theory and teaching; and secondly from my encounters in professional practice where similar methods and modes of thinking manifest.

The choice of Bo-Kaap as the case study emanated from my involvement as the heritage professional responsible for the management of Bo-Kaap area while at the City of Cape Town's Environmental and Heritage Management department, and before that at Heritage Western Cape. This brought me directly into what Ciraj Rassol describes as the heritage 'contact zone' [65] of contentious large-scale or mega development applications, and with the day-to-day heritage management in Bo-Kaap over the years. In my role as a heritage official I developed relationships with Bo-Kaap community members, with the local heritage interest group for the area the Bo-Kaap Civic Ratepayer's Association, the ward councilors and City politicians. I thus closely follow the litigation processes and the court judgments such as the most recent matters of the 'Monster building' and 'Blok' development.[66]

The detailed legal arguments and legal implications are intriguing as they show up the competing values intrinsic to opposing interest bodies and demonstrate how heritage

[65] Kratz and Rassool 2006: 347.
[66] See Charles 2019, Charles and Kamaldien 2018.

values can frequently become reduced within the legalistic minutiae of the process. And sometimes the real intent of heritage management gets lost or overshadowed by other more relevant or more reasonable factors within the legalistic framework. 'Economic viability' and the developers' 'bottom line' are difficult measurables to oppose and counter argue with immeasurable heritage values, perceived to be highly subjective and theoretical concepts. Worth noting is the contesting professional views held even among experienced independent heritage consultants[67] who get brought into the legal fray. On the one hand it can demonstrate the inevitable variances of expert opinions around judgements of heritage, but in some instances it does also raise the hard issue of ethics and accountability to the profession.

In 2017 I was a member of a City focus group workshopping the nomination dossier for the Bo-Kaap HPOZ together with representatives of the Bo-Kaap Civic Association's heritage sub-committee, a representative of the Tana Baru Trust and City heritage officials. These engagements precipitated energetic discussions around *inter alia* the identification of tangible and intangible heritage resources in Bo-Kaap, the designation of Bo-Kaap by SAHRA as a Grade 1 site of national heritage significance,[68] the limitations of the City's 2015 heritage audit of Bo-Kaap[69] which focused predominantly on the architectural attributes of the area but more specifically on the buildings, and the proposed delineation of the HPOZ boundary.

At the time, a member of the focus group jestingly expressed the view that 'the monumental thinking of the NMC is alive and well', a sentiment that touched my own thoughts on heritage endeavors being overly concentrated on the permanent, tangible, built nature of heritage, while social values and community values were of such low order as to be essentially ignored in the heritage processes. In my experience this had

[67] The Association of Professional Heritage Practitioners is a voluntary national body with which practitioners register in their respective disciplinary fields.
[68] The SAHRA Council approved the grading of Bo-Kaap as a Grade I site in 2004 but to date its formal declaration as National Heritage Site has not been undertaken.
[69] The CCT 2015 Heritage Audit was undertaken by an independently appointed heritage consultant and provides recommended gradings for each building in Bo-Kaap based on the NHRA criteria of cultural significance (aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value).

had also been the epistemological approach to heritage conservation, and other built environment disciplines in the academy.

It was at a similar time that dissatisfaction within Cape Town communities arose, claiming that the authoritative, expert-bound definition of heritage was at odds with broader understandings and values of heritage, particularly when their heritage configurations were not academically or authoritatively documented and retrievable from the archive; and that public participation was thus deemed by communities to have negligible value in heritage processes.

Events took a dramatic turn in Bo-Kaap between 2017 and mid 2019, when the street protests captured the attention of the public. Circumstances and narratives melded into a fascinating display of heritage performance worth closer examination. Through this, and in combination with other contributing factors playing out in a number of contested heritage cases in Cape Town involving community's heritage claims, a unique case emerged of public discourse leading the valorisation of intangible community heritage values.

The Bo-Kaap HPOZ is now formally in place and gazetted but experience shows that an HPOZ designation affords only limited control on urban form and streetscapes, but has cannot be used to safeguard intangible aspects of urban heritage environments. Decisions are still strongly lead by the existing suite of City policies such as the City's Densification Policy, Economic Growth Policy, and Urban Design Policy, which sway towards favouring development intensification. The intangible, social aspects of heritage are regrettably or unsatisfactorily not identified as heritage-worthy aspects in these City policies even though diversity, social cohesion and sustainable communities is vaunted across the City's Integrated Development Plan, strategies and policies as identified objectives. How are we to meet the Sustainable Development Goals' sustainability goals locally in a legislative environment that does not value heritage, social values and

community values as inherent activators of social cohesion and essential to social sustainability.[70]

1.10 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTERS

The thesis consists of five chapters and a conclusion. This first chapter, Chapter One entitled Value Shifts in a Changing Place, has set the context for the study and introduced the central research question located within the intellectual framework on heritage values in a changing contemporary environment; it has introduced Bo-Kaap as the case study and set out the scope and limitations of the study.

Chapter Two: Methodology, outlines the methodological implications of the study. It looks at the methods chosen to extract data in the research project so as to build up a qualitative 'thick description' of the shifting Bo-Kaap situation, and explicates the different community groupings both within Bo-Kaap and outside of it. It gives more detail about single case study methodology and explains the reasons for choosing Bo-Kaap as the case site. The general intention of the case study is to provide an in depth exploration of contemporary heritage conservation manifestations and thinking in the local context. The case study focuses on a close reading of the different perspectives of the divergent groupings. Further, the case study presents a collection social accounts and histories, relying on sources ranging across the archival, the published, the experiential, through the people and the actual spaces and buildings as they exist.[71]

Chapter Three: Literature Review, considers the theoretical locations of the study and situates it within current debates, global discourse and academic theory. The aim of the chapter is to provide a contextualising role in relation to events that have played out in Bo-Kaap and the media under the raised flag of heritage, and touches on contemporaneous shifts in scholarship in the cultural heritage discipline, and

[70] For SDGs for South Africa, see <https://www.za.undp.org/content/south_africa/en/home/sustainable-development-goals.html>.
[71] Murray 2010.

contemporary heritage practice in South Africa, in particular. This is an attempt to write about complex heritage configurations and reconfigurations using a broad methodological approach rather than through a narrow single lens. By giving an account of the inception and construction of an intangible heritage discourse in South Africa, the reception of recent events in Bo-Kaap by a growing public audience becomes both interesting and problematic, and a valuable potentiate for change. As literary theorist, Hayden White proposed in his influential text on the *Tropics of Discourse,* discourses operate to define disciplinary knowledge systems and modes of representation.[72]

Chapter Four: Bo-Kaap the Place, the Past and the Future, provides an historical account of Bo-Kaap since its early beginnings as a small residential part of the colonial coastal Cape settlement, through to the current moment. Set against the linear temporal progression across yesteryear centuries, the chapter suggests the idea of reading of the history of Bo-Kaap using 'moments' as a method for close critical inquiry. The idea of Bo-Kaap, seen as moments in the archive, when read together provides a cumulative set of readings about heritage and engagement under conditions of apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa.[73] It weaves together, by way of these chronological moments, a story of Bo-Kaap - the ancestral connections to distant places, to multicultural origins, to Muslim spiritual leaders and holy men, to slave routes and slave peoples, to a creole language, to exotic spice routes and flavorsome dishes, to the present, and on into the future.

In the last chapter, Chapter Five, entitled Exploring Shifting Community Values: The Research Findings, I present the analysis and findings of the research enquiry. The voices of the different community groups speak through, and enliven, the research project with extracts of personal accounts of the situation and, depending on proximity to the case, is often expressed with a deep-held emotional quality. Through collecting, grouping and theming of the data, what comes through strongest is that there is no one perspective of heritage and its influencers, but rather there are many perspectives and

[72] White 1978: 2.
[73] Murray 2010.

many themes and patterns that emerge. The task has been to listen to all of them and to move past looking for the point of confluence. The findings, while varied, are valuable as they elucidate that it is not only the value in the concrete and material that must be valorised, but the ability to feel into less tangible heritage symbolism and expressions.

Lastly, in the Conclusion, I reflect on the role and value of heritage conservation to heritage communities, and how heritage can be produced in public discourse, in practice as well as in the academy. In a consideration of the post-apartheid South Africa space that we occupy and co-create, I have attempted to think through possibilities for new modes of practice and production which go beyond, and even challenge, the authorised heritage discourse. The conclusion leads to a set of open questions such as whose heritage are we trying to safeguard and what is the public benefit of heritage? Is it only buildings that we want to protect? If we intend to safeguard the intangible heritages what tools need to be developed to do so? Is the thinking around heritage in the academy keeping pace with the shifts in public perceptions and thinking?

"What is created cannot itself come into being without those who preserve it" (Heidegger)[74]

[74] Heidegger 1971: 66

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCING THE METHODOLOGY

For the study I have used the intrinsic case study research method,[75] within a qualitative framework. The descriptive research paradigm is the overarching methodological frame,[76] and to engage with the phenomenon of shifting heritage values playing out in the local context, I use the single case study method. Bo-Kaap, the place and its intangible collective, is the selected study case.

The single case study method is used primarily because of the strength of its ability to uncover a range of social, political and cultural factors related to the expression and construction of the heritage-making processes[77] taking place in the local setting of Bo-Kaap. It allows for an in-depth investigation of the concepts and constructs under study within a real-life setting over a period of time, in which the experiences and perceptions of participants, and the context of actions, is fundamental to an understanding of the temporal processes and interacting sequences of events revealing themselves in Bo-Kaap and in its sociocultural contextual setting.[78] By way of the case study and the descriptive analysis of collated data, meaning is yielded which offers an opportunity for a potentially new way of being in the heritage world.

Since it is the internalised emotive values of community members and the selected participants that are relevant to the study, their subjective experience is central. For this reason, I use interactional interviewing with the participants, and participant observation as a means to reveal their positions, thoughts and values but also to highlight the social and cultural relationships. This is used as a meaning-orientated methodology and relies

[75] An intrinsic case study is the study of a case, e.g. an individual, specific group, community, occupation, department, organisation, where the case itself is of primary interest in the research exploration. The exploration is driven by a desire to know more about the uniqueness of complex scenarios.
[76] Descriptive research paradigm is often used synonymously with qualitative research although it is quite different (Bhattacherjee 2012: 103).
[77] Bhattacherjee 2012: 40.
[78] Ibid.: 94.

on the critical interpretive analysis of the concepts, themes and patterns that have emerged during the research in order to develop and advance as much of a nuanced understanding of the contextualised phenomenon as possible.

2.2 THICK DESCRIPTION OF THE CASE

Developing a layered description of the case and its contexts through the eyes and emotive feelings of the different participant groups (the resident community group, heritage professionals, heritage authorities, academics, politicians, and the general public represented by the media) is what philosopher Gilbert Ryle aptly termed 'thick description',[79] and later anthropologist Clifford Geertz developed as an interpretative research methodology - a way of interpreting analysis separately from observations - in order to reach an integrative synthesis which accounts for the production of actions, beliefs and values in a given context. This thick description is described by Lincoln and Guba as 'a way of achieving a type of external validity',[80] and Tracy and Hinrichs argue that it is 'one of the most important means for achieving credibility in qualitative research' findings if enough detail is provided to the reader. [81]

The ability of thick description to showcase the complex specificity and circumstantiality of the situation, [82] such as is being explored in the Bo-Kaap case study, has been a useful analytical research approach to adopt. It has demanded cyclical hermeneutic interpretation to understand peoples' positionality and the inter-relational production of meaning-making in the Bo-Kaap context, as well as my own orientation and proclivity to identify with a particular heritage stance, and to make sense of the findings. Using this approach has allowed for the critical players, and their well-established symbolic codes, to be identified and better understood. As Lincoln and Guba indicate, findings are not

[79] See Ryle 2009. Clifford Geertz's 1973 essay 'Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture', synthesises Ryle's approach. Thick description emphasised a more analytical approach, whereas previously observation alone was the primary approach.
[80] Lincoln and Guba 1985.
[81] Tracy 2017, Pandey and Patnaik 2014: 5749.
[82] Ibid.: 5747.

the result of thick description, rather they result from analysing patterns, concepts, or persons that have been 'thickly described' by the researcher in their contexts.[83] In addition, the researcher must have the adaptability to be both an 'outsider' and an 'insider'[84] to have a deep and rooted understanding of the semiotics,[85] the symbols and meanings of a community and their culture.

Geertz distinguishes thin description from thick description as involving surface-level observations and factual accounts of the observed phenomena or behavior under study, while thick description adds context[86] and requires interpretation. He views it as a methodological imperative to analyse the structure and nature of community formations[87] with contextual framing and the interpretation, without which research becomes context-independent and thin. Stake supports this when discussing social science case study design[88] and warns of the potential for harbouring over-simplification and abstracting research findings from real-life settings. The goal of the study is to establish the parameters of the situation in Bo-Kaap and provide enough detail and layering to allow readers to make decisions about transferability of the findings to different research contexts.[89] Further, 'the thick descriptions are a necessity to permit similarities and differences between contexts to be analysed'.[90]

> *All human behavior is context dependent and therefore the attempt to fabricate law-like context-free generalisations is a fallacy, as generalisations are not found in nature: they are active creations of the mind.*
>
> *(E. Gummerson)*[91]

[83] Lincoln and Guba 1985.
[84] Dwyer and Buckle 2009. The notion of insider and outsider research status can be "understood to mean the degree to which a researcher is located either within or outside a group being researched."
[85] Lincoln and Guba 1985.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Geertz 1973.
[88] Stake 2005: 447.
[89] Creswell 2014.
[90] Idowu 2016: 186.
[91] Gummerson, 2007.

2.3 A MULTI-MODE RESEARCH APPROACH TO ACHIEVE THICKNESS

I track the emergence of the changing heritage values in Bo-Kaap and the broader local scene through direct participant observation of the Bo-Kaap community groups, face-to-face interviewing, as well as of the protest action on the city streets, the public media reportage and the courts. I also draw on analysis of relevant archival materials, including government and non-governmental reports, policy documents, texts produced by residents and local academics, social media activity, and statements by officials, especially agents of local heritage management, the local government, the provincial government and applicable local, provincial and national policy and legislation.

To examine the situation, I bridge theoretical concerns in heritage values discourse, community theory, identity politics, urban studies, and public discourse. I place the research in a broader frame of reference by investigating the suite of international charters, declarations and guideline documents on heritage conservation management, and the current critical discourse regarding intangible heritage values emanating out of the most recent heritage charters, such as the ICOMOS Australia *Burra Charter*[92] and the ICOMOS Mexico *Declaration of Oaxaca*.[93]

The key heritage conservation initiatives that have been undertaken in Bo-Kaap, primarily by the Cape Town City Council, since the 1940s are examined and outlined chronologically to provide a contextual understanding of the community's, and the general public's, changing sensibilities to heritage conservation of the area and to the notions of *meaning* and place *attachment*. Archived documentation held at the City, SAHRA (all NMC files are now held in archive by SAHRA) and the South African National Archives were examined as well as numerous unpublished reports. Interviews, when overlaid with the archival research, brought out interesting points of interest and

[92] The Burra Charter, ICOMOS 2013. The Charter for Places of Cultural Significance.

[93] The Declaration of OAXACA, ICOMOS 1993. A declaration on 'Cultural heritage in daily life and its conservation through community support'. Adopted at the Seminar on Cultural Pluralism and emphasises the importance of recognition and inclusion of indigenous peoples in solving the principal problems facing human society. It does not relate directly to the conservation of material culture; rather, it is concerned with cultural pluralism, environmental management, and protection of the natural resources.

showed up the difficulties of memory work, and what gets included or excluded in the archive.

Using the multi-method approach leverages the unique strengths of each research method through the research process, from start to end, to generate insights into the case that might otherwise not be obtained using a single method and draw out the multifaceted social phenomena[94] that help paint a richly descriptive portrait of the Bo-Kaap situation today, mindful that one cannot capture it in its entirety in a fixed depiction as it is highly situational, conditional and fluid in its production.

I rely heavily on the 'soft' qualitative interview data to establish attitudes and perspectives of the participants, but include enough 'hard' quantifiable data[95] to understand certain contributing aspects of interest and relevance like property market value trends in Bo-Kaap, establishing the population size and growth of Bo-Kaap and general demographic information, the number of large developments approved and in process in Bo-Kaap area and other select statistical information. The number of participants selected to represent each of the interest groups included in the study, their gender, ages, ethnicity, nationality and professional status are themselves quantitative factors to consider, but more important than the quantifiable summation this information bares is their individual stories and subjective colouring of the 'portrait'. The interpretation is qualitative in nature but aims to be well contextualised and nuanced to emphasise the differing perceptions.[96]

Multiple source methodology, and case study generally, produces large amounts of data[97] requiring careful sorting in order to capture the essential patterns and themes of analysis, to find linkages across and within data that strengthen the findings, and determine if there are converging lines which can be useful and interesting to the research questions and the phenomenon of interest.

[94] Bhattacherjee, 2012: 86.
[95] Bell and Newby 1971: 187.
[96] Bhattacherjee 2012: 40.
[97] Idowu 2016: 185.

2.4 RESEARCHER BIAS AND REFLEXIVITY

Bhattacherjee and others caution that analysis and interpretation of the findings of a qualitative research project depends strongly on the observational and integrative ability of the researcher,[98] and that lack of control can make it difficult to establish causality.[99] Hence, it is less easy in qualitative research – especially in using a single case study, which does not include a replication of methodology or comparative study – to develop a reflexive perspective of one's subjectivity through the research process. The point made was fundamental to my awareness of my own bias, how easy it is, unwittingly, to identify with the different participant groups and their concerns or perspectives, and to look for convergence of attitudes and data where convergence does not necessarily exist.

In the synthesising and analysing of findings it became clear to me that when I undertook the early research interviews in 2015 I held a far less reflexive attitude to the research endeavor, but with the benefit of hindsight and a five-year lapse I am gratefully permitted to see a maturation of research ability and also how the study over this time has brought an improved depth of observation, integration and reflection. Lincoln and Guba consider this dimension of research advantageous and refer to 'prolonged engagement' and 'persistent observation'[100] as being interrelated aspects. They suggest that 'prolonged engagement' provides a scope to the study by spending time gaining reliable insights, observing the setting in different situations and times, and establishing trust and rapport with the members of the community. And 'persistent observation' enhances depth by spending time identifying the important characteristics and elements most relevant to the situation, and being open to multiple influences that one might otherwise not encounter – 'the mutual shapers and contextual factors'.[101]

There can be a real temptation in qualitative research to take on the views of the

[98] Bhattacherjee 2012.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Lincoln and Guba 1985: 304.
[101] Ibid.

participants who share their internal feeling world, especially when their feelings are traced against their stories of pain and trauma etched within their self-conceptualisation by an unrequited apartheid inheritance. Colin Bell in his seminal work on community, *Community Studies*,[102] stresses this point in a chapter on community study methods and highlights the requirement of the researcher to 'keep a critical eye at all times'.[103] He appropriately cautions that 'both the researcher's and the respondents' position in the social structure will determine what he or she will see'. [104] Accordingly, it is possible that the social structure will determine how participants respond, and answers get potentially tailored, if there is a perceived power dynamic.

The researcher's position as an outsider or insider to the participant groups,[105] and within the context of the study, can equally affect the responses and interpretations. From readings of the literature on insider-outsider research methodologies, the distance of the outside researcher has the potential for greater objectivity and adding value by offering a perspective that someone deeply involved or embedded in the case might not have.[106] Some researchers consider distance to be essential for valid research.

Initially I considered that my being a City employee and a white English-speaking female with a Jewish surname, albeit that I am not Jewish, I needed to be aware while interviewing participants of the Muslim community group of my perceived beliefs and attitudes, and adopt checks for myself and sound interview techniques not to allow this to impinge on what they were willing to share openly with me, and what I heard or interpreted to hear in the interview sessions. Returning to Colin Bell's insights into community study methodology, he held the view that respondents are not in a position to operate such checks for themselves,[107] so I tried to stay mindful of this. It was interesting when, late in the research process, while I was concluding my findings it was suggested to me by a Muslim Bo-Kaap community member that the protesting in 2018

[102] Bell and Newby 1971: 187.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Dwyer and Buckle 2009.
[106] Creswell 2007.
[107] Bell and Newby 1971.

and 2019 against developments in Bo-Kaap had a strong undercurrent of anti-Zionist sentiment.[108] I was unable to ascertain the veracity or test how widely such an opinion was held in the community due to time constraints, however, it does potentially add a further layer of global politics beyond the reach of the study but potentially interesting nonetheless and as Idowu points out, 'throughout the evaluation and analysis process, the researcher [must] remain open to new opportunities and insights'.[109]

2.5 THE PILOT STUDY: TOUCHING LIGHTLY INTO HERITAGE VALUES

At the outset of my research in 2015, and because I was at that time a relative outsider to the community of Bo-Kaap and novice researcher, I chose to undertake a pilot study with a small subset of the Bo-Kaap Muslim resident community group. Pilot testing can be an extremely important component of research but is often overlooked.[110]

The pilot testing was done by way of three informal discussions (45–60 minutes each) with three Muslim Bo-Kaap members (two females and one male) whom I knew personally through heritage work and who were raised and lived in the Bo-Kaap and are both accepted insiders in the Muslim community. Each of them had, in some way, been professionally involved with the local heritage issues of Bo-Kaap and the highly topical gentrification debates. I tested my research questions with each of them.

It served as a useful direction-giving step in the research process because it generated refined insightful questions of the what, how and why, problems and ideas that I had not necessarily touched on in my proposal; it helped establish what research had previously been conducted on the area of Bo-Kaap and in a similar theoretical frame; and where to look for evidence sources. It elucidated early on in the study the complexity of defining what I had uncritically viewed as a cohesive Bo-Kaap community, as if it were a

[108] Property development company, Blok Developers, and other developers in the area, as well as their employed private security companies, are claimed to have predominantly Jewish-based ownership. This claim is unverified.
[109] Idowu 2016: 187.
[110] Bhattacherjee 2012: 23.

homogenous bounded unit. I realised that I needed to take a more critical stance to be able to discern the underlying divides, and speak to different groups within the resident community and even different individuals in those groups, if I was to reflect a truer representation of the community's complexities. This helped me to see that I needed to expand on my theoretical enquiry into community and identity formation and to interrogate deeply the construction of the existing dominant narratives of the Bo-Kaap as they relate to a community and identity imagining.

The pilot study further revealed that heritage language, the processes and the heritage laws governing these processes is often not clearly understood by the average Bo-Kaaper[111] and that my questions therefore needed to be phrased without jargon-heavy professional understandings of the legal instruments. In addition, and importantly, the pilot study assisted with identifying suitable participants within the broad resident community whom I could approach to participate in the study.

Two of the pilot-study participants had themselves undertaken academic research on Bo-Kaap.[112] Since there was good overlap of interest in the notions and constructs which I was looking into, they could readily assisted in identifying potential participants, and directed me to a wide range of literary sources which enriched my understanding of the area, its social history and its Cape Muslim community group. Having local references when approaching potential participants for the study was helpful as a way of introduction, and to gain their acceptance and trust. As an outsider, I felt it definitely assisted in establishing a positive rapport from the outset.

I was cautioned by the pilot-study participants that I might experience some level of reservation form Bo-Kaap Muslim community group to share information with outsiders undertaking academic research on Bo-Kaap as they had previously felt that they had

[111] The Afrikaans term 'Bo-Kaaper' is colloquially used when referring to people from Bo-Kaap who have generational ties to the area.

[112] Heritage Impact Assessments, the drafting of the SAHRA nomination of Bo-Kaap as Grade 1 heritage site, the nomination to the World Heritage Fund as a threatened heritage site to obtain funding for a management plan for Bo-Kaap, masters study research and a doctoral study research project.

been taken advantage of in some way.[113] I fortunately did not experience any such apprehension on the part of the participant group.

I believe Bhattacherjee to be correct in observing that 'data collection efforts can be irrelevant, imperfect or entirely wasted' by jumping into data collection prior to fine-tuning the key research question' and that 'an abundance of data collection cannot make up for deficits in research … and particularly for the lack of [an] interesting research question'.[114] The pilot study was helpful in this regard at the initiation of the study but it was observing the events unfold in Bo-Kaap and media coverage over the five-year period that truly afforded interest and depth to the research question.

Bo-Kaap today is a reflection of a post-apartheid South Africa multi-ethnic, multicultural 'Rainbow Nation' residential neighbourhood of which the Cape Muslim community group is the majority group, comprising 90% of the resident population.[115] The remaining 10% of the resident community is made up of Europeans (Germans, English, Italians, Portuguese, etc.), South African Indians, and a small percentage of black Africans.[116] It become clear from early in the pilot study stage that the group considered to be the cultural custodians of Bo-Kaap are the Cape Muslim community group, a culturally distinct group bounded by their shared Islamic faith, familial connections, multi-generational ties to Bo-Kaap, shared historical roots and cultural traditions, but that within this formation of community there exist layers of divisions and discord, not least of which is made evident by the presence of eleven different mosques in the small area of Bo-Kaap (0.95 sq. km) having a Muslim population of 5,400.[117] Mr Hartley of the BKYM alluded to the divisions when he rhetorically posed the question: "Doesn't that tell you something?"[118]

[113] It was not clear to me in what way they had been taken advantage of but I accepted the cautioning nonetheless.
[114] Bhattacherjee 2012: 24.
[115] This is according to the 2011 SA Census. This figure is likely to have varied since then.
[116] The term 'Black Africans' is used here because of its use as a population classification in the .
[117] According to the 2011 SA Census. Many Muslims who no longer live in Bo-Kaap do still attend mosque there.
[118] Personal interview with Mr Hartley 16 January 2020.

2.6 PARTICIPANT INTERVIEWS

In addition to undertaking face-to-face semi-structured interviews with members of the Bo-Kaap resident community, I also held unstructured and open-ended interviews or discussions with a range of participants who have each had direct involvement with Bo-Kaap heritage management over the years, albeit in different capacities, dating back to the 1970s.[119] This is to give a breadth of views and a depth of understanding that can add to the 'thick description' discussed.

Interview respondents were selected principally to represent the Bo-Kaap resident community group, which I categorise for the benefit of the study and in accordance with social study description, as the 'insider' Bo-Kaaper group, who are all self identified as Muslim community members, and the 'outsider' non-Muslim group. This is also in line with the prevalent sentiment voiced by Bo-Kaap interviewees who see, in their minds, the community as being divided into two distinct groups described in their own words as 'Bo-Kaapers', 'us' or 'the community'[120]. Bo-Kaapers is the colloquially used term for people who live in Bo-Kaap, are Muslim, and come from a multi-generation family of Bo-Kaapers; and the other group described as 'gentrifiers', 'outsiders', 'foreigners', 'Europeans', 'whites' or '*them*', denoting the outsider group who have bought property in Bo-Kaap or rent in the area.[121]

The separation into '*us*' and '*them*' became increasingly complicated and blurred in 2020 when members of the local Bo-Kaap activist groups explained that a shift had taken place gradually in Bo-Kaap over the previous few years – the community concern regarding the gentrification of Bo-Kaap was now no longer centred on the European outsiders moving into Bo-Kaap but rather on "foreign nationals" (inferred to mean African immigrants) who had come to own and operate a significant number of small businesses in Bo-Kaap. The locals deemed this to be changing the face of the area and

[119] For example, Stephen Townsend and Lesley Townsend's involvement dating to the CCT Restoration Schemes in 1970s; David Hart's involvement as an official at the erstwhile NMC then at SAHRA and at CCT Heritage; and Graham Jacobs who was an official of the CCT Urban Conservation Unit from the 1980s.
[120] Most commonly the description 'the community' was used by interviewees but also by all other participant groups.
[121] The 'insider' community does not seem to differentiate between home owners and residents who rent in the area.

presumably, although unsaid, amounts to lost economic opportunities for the local Bo-Kaapers. It introduces an intriguing set of dynamics, as it is possible that the foreign nationals are themselves Muslims but their foreign national status is unsettling to the community and viewed as threatening.

It seems that the European outsiders are now far more accepted by the Bo-Kaap host community. As was explained to me: '…they are gentrifiers if they don't interact in the community, keep to themselves … don't attend any of the local community events or greet their neighbours'.[122] This is a very different perception from that expressed by the community participants in the early phase of my research. Once more, it shows how changeable a community is, how fluid are the processes that give formation to heritage debate, and how some things are more visible and explicitly stated in public discourse than others. I have not incorporated this specific new dynamic in the research and hence have retained the two groupings of insider and outsider community groups, but this point is interesting insofar as it evidences how race and ethnicity weaves itself into identity politics but then also into the politics of heritage in post-apartheid South Africa.

To obtain different views from the Bo-Kaap resident community, I invited four individuals from different government agencies, four professional heritage practitioners, a UCT social sciences academic,[123] and two politicians based on their personal involvement with Bo-Kaap or with academic heritage discourses. All selected participants accepted the invitation to participate. The choice of participants needed to be a considered aspect of the research planning at the initial 2015 stage and later research 2019–2020 phase.

The criteria for the insider community group was that participants were to be local Bo-Kaap residents who had lived a considerable length of time in Bo-Kaap and still live there, that they were widely accepted by the host community as insider members which usually meant that they were Muslim but not always (14 of the 15 participants were

[122] Personal discussion that I had with a Bo-Kaap resident in January 2020.
[123] Both UCT research/teaching academics, as well as Muslims males with research interests in heritage, history and the global South.

Muslim), were English or Afrikaans speaking adults and had a reasonable understanding of the local heritage framework.

I chose a diversity of ages and gender; a number of them were senior members of the community, or 'elders' as the community respectfully refers to the older generation, with memories or knowledge of the restoration projects that took place during the 1940s to 1970s. It turned out that the vast majority of them had been born in Bo-Kaap and were of multiple-generational Bo-Kaap Muslim families. Many of them had personal family ties to District Six, which brought to the surface memories, expressed pain and interesting thematic linkages to Bo-Kaap. They mostly self-identified as being Cape Muslim and all spoke of what that means to them and their ancestral heritage. All conversed comfortably in English so I believe there was no cause for any major misunderstandings. There was no challenge in finding participants who met the criteria. As the interviews proceeded it became evident that memories of the restoration projects were not always clear or congruent, something I discuss later.

The criteria for the outsider community group was that they were residents in Bo-Kaap, owned property in Bo-Kaap, were not Muslim and did not have family connections to Bo-Kaap. Of the six, one was Israeli, three were South African-Italians, and the others were South African nationals. It turned out they were all mature white adults, three were female and three male, and had had considerable involvement in the community in different ways. Each of them explained how they observed and experienced a very tangible sense of community and neighbourliness in Bo-Kaap that they had never experienced in any other neighbourhoods of Cape Town in which they had previously lived, but they were acutely aware of the division that existed in peoples minds of outsider and insider community group status. It was explained that the friendlier one behaves to one's immediate neighbours the sooner one is accepted by the larger Bo-Kaapers. 'One just has to be part of the *kanallah* spirit of Bo-Kaap' laughed Ms Avarim in her interview.[124]

[124] Personal interview with Ms Adaya Avarim 13 Novemebr 2015.

The criteria for the participants in the 'activist community group' was that they were community members who were personally involved in the 2018–2019 street protests and were founding members of one of the heritage activist bodies that came into being over that period (BKYM, Bo-Kaap Rise or The Bo-Kaap Collective). I only managed to interview one of the members of BKYM late in January 2020 who offered an interesting perspective that differed substantially from what had been said publically of the movement.

All of the participants in the different groups were selected for their ability to answer the questions adequately, to gain a breadth of understanding into the shifts in values, who had been involved, and why, and, importantly, to gain a diversity of perspectives on what has transpired over the years in Bo-Kaap.

2.7 THE INTERVIEW PROCESS

Once the pilot study had been concluded in mid-2015, I identified respondents and began interviews in October 2015. All the interviews with the Bo-Kaap resident participants were undertaken within a six-week period, as well as interviews with seven of the outsider participants. At the time the study was looking narrowly at the heritage values associated with the tangible buildings of Bo-Kaap but developed into a richer, more interesting exploration of emerging changing heritage values, from tangible to intangible; and the contemporary value of heritage to community identity, memory-making and symbolic cultural expression as the theoretical framework to the study. It was therefore necessary to update the interviews and introduce the voices of those new performers who have featured as central protagonists in the unfolding events of Bo-Kaap at that particular moment in time, in the hope that the range of differing perceptions might reveal the less obvious and more complex narratives and interplays.

A standard questionnaire was developed for the 2015 interviews with the intention of undertaking structured interviews of thirty minutes each. However, after the first two

interviews it was apparent that each participant had a personal story to tell that reflected *their* memories and *their* experiences and the structured interview approach limited this flow of storytelling. Consequently, for the interviews that followed, I adopted a more fluid, unstructured narrative interview approach allowing for greater participant involvement, using the interview questions merely as prompts to guide the interview, but only when necessary.

Maintaining a balance between keeping the direction of the interview on track, minimising any influence that I might have, and allowing participants to share their thoughts, views, reflections, opinions and beliefs that were not always directly related to the research enquiry was a challenging task. Perhaps the greatest learning curve of the research process was on research interviewing techniques. Another challenge was presenting questions to participants without in any way expressing a bias on my part or leading the answers. I had to pay particular attention to my tone, choice of words in phrasing questions and my body language.

The majority of interviews took ninety minutes but some led to lengthy discussions, which lasted as long as three hours. There were often areas of repetition and overlap but this was beneficial as it reinforced the cogency of the information and I collected a rich set of information from which to synthesise findings and draw useful conclusions.

All interviews were conducted in English and all were undertaken at venues convenient for the participant, which usually meant meeting them in their Bo-Kaap home or place of work. Only three interviews were conducted outside of the Bo-Kaap area. Interviews were recorded with the participants' explicit permission and this also allowed for an uninterrupted flow of conversation. My research intentions were made clear to all participants prior to interviews to avoid any potentiality for unmet expectations, and all the listed interviewees signed indemnity forms.[125]

[125] See Appendix A: List of Interviewees.

2.8 THE SINGLE CASE STUDY AS A RESEARCH METHOD

Critics of the case-study research argue that as a method it is overly subjective, that the findings are charged with causal determinism, cannot be readily generalised, allow too much scope for the researcher's own interpretation, are not valid and reliable, and therefore cannot contribute to social scientific development.[126] Proponents of the case-study method such as Flyvbjerg and Campbell, however, assert that for studies which seek to examine human behavior and social dynamics, social science cannot be reliant solely on 'context-independent theory'[127] but must investigate the concrete context-dependent realities that exist within society to develop 'a nuanced view of reality'.[128]

Bo-Kaap is selected as the case site as it offers a particularly rich, interesting set of historical and contemporary social circumstances, processes and dynamics that interconnect imperceptibly through time and space to reveal the complexities of heritage and the shaping of heritage values. As a case site it provides embedded themes of culture, community, identity and power relations and, although not all of these concepts are examined in depth in this study, they are key to the understanding of heritage values and heritage transformations. They are also central to the issues challenging heritage discourse and practice in South Africa.

Proximity to the case site, as a City heritage official, affords a reasonable level of awareness of the challenges facing the heritage authorities and also the communities trying to protect urban heritage environments like Bo-Kaap, with its unique characteristics and interplays.

The case-study method allows for an in-depth investigation of a local real-life situation. Insights gained into the dynamic processes underlying heritage and community values, and the study can hopefully add to understandings of community values and attitudes to heritage where there is a strong living heritage component. The intention is to develop a

[126] Flyvbjerg 2006: 219.
[127] Campbell 1975.
[128] Flyvberg 2006: 223.

set of illustrative conclusions emanating out of the case study rather than to provide definitive, conclusive hard evidence.

I acknowledged that the generalisability of the study would improve by replication using comparative multiple case-studies, however, the limits of a single case study is appropriate for the scope of a mini-thesis and hopefully there is enough thick descriptions in the study to permit similarities and differences between contexts beyond the case site to be analysed.

2.9 BRIDGING THE CASE AND THEORY

The study examines the theoretical discourse of heritage conservation and the emerging critical discourse in this field, bearing down on the validity of the traditional heritage practice and theory in contemporary society. In the past three decades heritage conservation has integrated with many other disciplines and evolved into a values-centred, society-orientated global discourse. [129] This is a marked shift from the traditional heritage conservation paradigm. It is moving from a top-down elitist endeavor to a community-led imperative.

By exploring the theoretical milieu, the study sets a background to understanding the evolution of the heritage discourse, and aspects of the contemporary heritage discourse. It looks to examine the complexities that have prompted and characterised a fundamental shift globally to a values-driven approach[130] – a paradigm shift in heritage thinking and practice.

To understand the origins of Bo-Kaap, the forces that shaped it and its embedded social memory, the spiritual importance of this area to a broad South African Muslim community, and the social matrix of the present-day heritage community, the study

[129] Avrami et al. 2019.
[130] Ibid.

traces the history and morphological development of Bo-Kaap from its genesis as part of the Dutch colonial settlement, and as a distinctive sub-strata of early colonial society, identifying important events and transformations that took place. It examines the impacts of colonial domination, apartheid ideology and segregationist policies and laws, and the more recent transformative political changes since 1994 in South Africa.

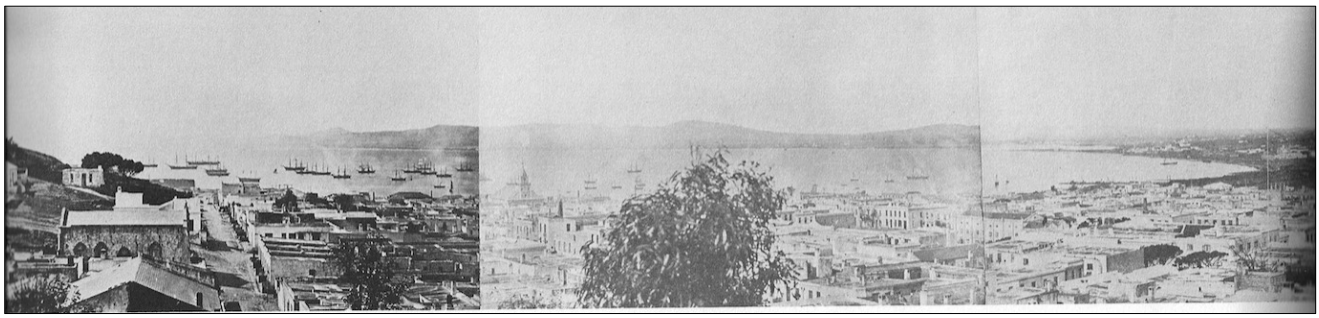


Fig 13: Panoramic photograph from Malay Quarter c1860. (Cape Archives AG13448A, B and C).

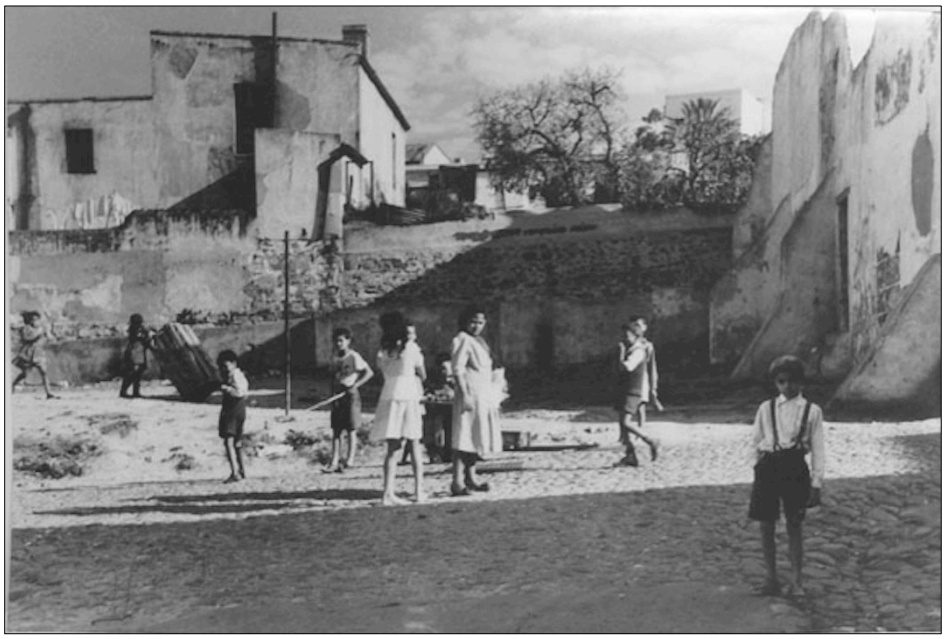


Fig 14: Children playing in an open area up Wale Street, Luckhoff photographic collection.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW: GROUNDING IN THEORY, DISCOURSE AND PRACTICE

3.1 HERITAGE VALUES

Heritage values are human values. (Smith)[131]

For millennia philosophers and thinkers have concerned themselves with the ethical complexities inherent in society and the value systems that underpin social structures.[132] The contemporary understanding of value is one of pluralisation involving the validation of multiple conceptions of value. The intention of the study is to look closely at what this understanding of values means for heritage conservation, which is by its nature a process of fixing meaning and value[133] to heritage objects, buildings or places, and the importance of the validation of values to community structures and notions of self-conceptualisation.

The idea of values is therefore central to heritage conservation, to the framing of the conservation practices and discourse but also to those that hold heritage as part of their identity construction. Heritage is conserved and managed according to the values that places, buildings or objects 'have', however, as Smith and others suggest, values are not innate or inherent to a place or to an object, but are assigned to them by people through complex processes of remembering and valuing.[134] Smith is critical of the traditional or dominant discourse of heritage, what she calls the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (or AHD), which she sees as defining and framing heritage as being 'all that is good, grand, monumental and, primarily of national significance'[135] and which she feels is a discourse still largely in existence.

[131] Smith et al. 2010.
[132] Price et al. 1996.
[133] Gibson and Pendlebury 2009: 1.
[134] Smith et al. 2010:
[135] Ibid:: 45.

Alois Riegel[136] is credited with developing Ruskin's concept of a 'voicefulness' into a systematic categorisation of the different values of a monument when in his 1908 essay, *The Modern Cult of Monuments*,[137] translated from German, he described a distinct set of values: historical value, artistic value, age value, commemorative value, use value, and newness value, as values to be applied to judgements of heritage worthiness or significance to society. At this early stage in the twentieth century Riegel demonstrated that values form the validation of significance, that there is no singular value, and that they can be conflicting.[138] It was only later in the twentieth century that the concept of value frameworks being culturally specific and constructed within specific social and temporal contexts, became an accepted theoretical position in the humanities and social sciences.

Indeed, all judgments about the values attributed to cultural properties and 'things', as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. This raised itself as a central point of departure in debates in the international heritage movement in the late twentieth century when countries, nations and indigenous groupings outside of Europe contested the Eurocentric claim of absolute *universal values* and *authenticity* that was dominating heritage discourse.[139] They called for a wider and more inclusive debate to counter this universalist approach and bring to the fore the imperative of valuing cultural difference, and accepting that significance lies in culturally-specific value frameworks and therefore cannot be deterministic

The 1994 Narra Convention in Japan presented a platform for robust debate on these issues and fuelled a major rethinking of the conception of heritage, resulting in the key heritage document, the *Narra Document on Authenticity,*[140] and a 'watershed moment in modern conservation history'.[141]

[136] Riegel 1982.
[137] Ibid 1908.
[138] Stanley Price et al. 1996.
[139] Ashworth et al 2007.
[140] ICOMOS, 1994.
[141] Stovel 2008: 9

> *Agreed to by those participating in the Narra meeting in 1994, it was the first effort in the 30 years since the Venice Charter to attempt to put in place a set of internationally applicable conservation principles. Yet while reflecting an important international consensus, the Narra Document also marked the final stage of the move from belief in universal international absolutes, first introduced by the Venice Charter, toward acceptance of conservation judgments as necessarily relative and contextual.*[142]

It was thus widely agreed that it is not possible to base judgments of values within fixed universal criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage must be considered and judged within the specific, layered cultural settings to which they belong, and that similarly there cannot be one, and only one, definition of authenticity or integrity.

Values underscore what is important to people, individually or collectively, and can be seen as the connective tissue within communities. Whether a community is made up of scientists, academics, heritage experts, or be it a cultural, ethnic or religious grouping of people, it is the commonly shared values and beliefs that both bounds them and sets them apart to define their existence. Value systems are therefore integral to the definition of identity making and belonging.

3.2 VALUE SHIFTS IN HERITAGE CONSERVATION THEORY

In developing a theoretical framework for examining the values-based contemporary heritage conservation discourse, the study discusses the development of a heritage

[142] Stovel 2008: 34.

conservation consciousness and how this early consciousness evolved into the an international heritage discourse, which in turn gave rise to the formulation and adoption of a number of key international heritage charters and documents. The key charters and documents are philosophical in nature and they are important for the reason that they chronologically map and encapsulate the underlying intellectual development in heritage discourses across the globe and provide a useful doctrinal framework with guiding principles for the practical management of heritage. This is intended to show how heritage moved beyond the confines of its Eurocentric lens and neat definitions to include values frameworks of other cultures, societies, ethnicities and peoples who relied on entirely different modes of being in the world and meaning-making, having value systems that were so vastly different that the notion of heritage had to be reconfigured and mediated through new understandings of cultural relativism and pluralism.

3.3 HERITAGE VALUES IN CONSERVATION DISCOURSE

The writings of Francoise Choay, Jukka Jokilehto, Ashworth et al. and Stephan Tschudi-Madsen have been critical in forming an understanding of the history of heritage conservation.[143] Through a review of existing literature on the historical evolution of heritage conservation theory, the study illustrates how a values-centred approach emerged out of a gradual global intellectual shift in heritage thinking from past centuries into the twenty-first century about values and the meaning that values have to contemporary society.

The theoretical and philosophical writings of Francesco Bandarin, Graham Ashworth, Brian Turnbridge, David Lowenthal and Noicholas Stanley Price[144] have also been key to understanding the past from the present and to see what has underpinned the transference of values across the discursive landscape of heritage conservation.

[143] Choay 1992; Jokilehto1999, 2007; Ashworth et al. 2007; Tschudi-Madsen 1976.
[144] Jokiletho ; Choay 1992; Bandarin ; Ashworth 2007; Turnbridge ; Lowenthal; Stanley Price

Jokiletho's *A History of Architectural Conservation*, [145] provides a very thorough and deep historical account of the development of the concepts and consciousness of heritage conservation and has been the central text in understanding the trajectory of heritage conservation and the value shifts that have accompanied time.

In developing the theoretical framework on the contemporary heritage discourse that emerged in late twentieth century as an impulse to the 1970s cultural turn and the heritage values that frame the conceptualisation of heritage in contemporary society, the research and writings of Marta de la Torre et al., Erica Avrami, Randall Mason, Marta Demas, Laurajane Smith and George Smith, and Munoz Vinas have been key texts.[146] Derek Petersen, Ciraj Rasool and Sarah Nutall's critical writings on how culture and heritage is viewed, constructed, performed, used, consumed and politicised in the South African context offers important depth and breadth of understanding into how values for South African society are contingent upon the socio-political setting in which they are constructed.

That concepts of value are constructed is a dominant theoretical approach across the humanities and social sciences – be they concepts of cultural, historical or social value. In a democratic society such as ours in post-apartheid South Africa, it is argued, definitions of value cannot be singular but must allow for plurality of interpretations and meanings.[147] 'A place or site can only be recognised and understood as heritage through the values that people ascribe to it – it possesses no inherent value that 'makes' it heritage; therefore, cultural heritage does not exist, it is made'[148] and the construction of heritage is a highly important aspect of a society's sense of belonging, to collective meaning, to community formation, and thus to the construction of a self identity.

[145] Jokilehto 1999.
[146] De la Torre 2002, De la Torre et al. 2005; Avrami et al. 2019, 2020; Avrami and Mason 2019; Smith 2004, 2006; Smith and Akagawa 2009; Smith et al. 2010.
[147] Gibson and Pendlebury 2009: 1.
[148] Smith and Akagawa 2009: 6.

3.4 THE NOTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

Cultural heritage is a wide and nebulous concept. The term 'cultural heritage' has traditionally referred to monuments, buildings, sites or artefacts that have acquired value over time to become significant expressions of cultural identity. However, this process of *acquiring* value and the notion of something as having *intrinsic value* came to be questioned and interrogated during the cultural turn of the early 1970s by cultural theorists. The emphasis began to shift away from expert evaluations of significance towards a deeper understanding of what was meaningful to society and held public value. Implicit in this reconceptualisation was an understanding that cultural heritage could be anything that held meaning for a group of people and was not limited to the tangible or to the classic aesthetic masterpieces.

In the recent decade there has been a deliberate move to make public values the essential common denominator of cultural heritage and so to bring the concept of heritage into the populist domain. The principles of this approach have been well set out in the 2005 *Council of Europe Faro Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*[149] (also referred to as the Faro Convention) in which the definition of cultural heritage is a reasonable departure point with which to begin a discussion of heritage:

> *Cultural heritage is a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions.*[150]

The production of culture is very much part of human everyday activities and the human propensity for creativity. It forms part of the social process whereby people communicate meanings, make sense of their world, construct their identities, and define

[149] Council of Europe 2005.
[150] Ibid.: Section I, Article 2(a).

their beliefs and values. With the passage of time the creative by-products of the human everyday existence takes on a new dimension when they come to be viewed as cultural inheritance and valorised, particularly when they contribute to a greater understanding of people's pasts.

Heritage is therefore not a de facto somatic phenomenon or a thing, it is a process, a process of social construction that is dependent on the social context in which it originates, as much as it is dependent on the contemporary social context of its beneficiary community. It is a process of negotiation between the past and the present, mediated and informed by culturally specific value frameworks at given moments in time. It is a continuous process and can be seen to be as much a consequence of constructivism as de-constructivism dependent on the role players: 'A key consequence of heritage is that it creates and recreates a sense of inclusion and exclusion'.[151] The idea that 'cultural heritage does not exist, it is made'.[152] is reinforced by the heritage theorists who argue that heritage is best identified as a verb rather than a noun, and have examined heritage as a body of knowledge and as a political and cultural process of remembering and forgetting, and of transference.[153]

Theorists of heritage agree that there is no heritage that is unconnected with controversy, dissonance and identity politics and the vast ethnographic literature in heritage studies documents the extent to which all heritage – even the grand and monumental – is dissonant and contested.[154]

Having previously referred exclusively to the monumental remains of cultures, the concept of cultural heritage has gradually come to include new typologies and categories that seek to broaden the meaning-making value of heritage. Today, heritage is not only manifested through tangible forms such as artefacts, buildings or landscapes but also through intangible forms including traditions, oral history, traditional skills,

[151] Smith 2006: 7.
[152] Ibid: 6.
[153] Graham 2002; Smith 2006.
[154] Tunbridge and Ashgate 1996; Graham et al. 2000; Littler and Naidoo 2005.

traditional technologies, religious ceremonies, dance, music, performance, storytelling, among others, that are valued as important expressions and symbols for groups or communities.

The expansion of the definition of cultural heritage to include the intangibles has been vital, not only for the reason that it no longer privileges the material, and the permanent but because it makes way for differing worldviews and makes it a more socially inclusive discipline, contributing to how people and communities see themselves and are seen by others. This is what allows for transference of values and the long-term sustainability of cultures and communities.

Whatever the form, category or typology of heritage, it is the intangible *values* that people hold dear through time that gives cultural meaning to their lives and prompts them to take actions of preservation and protection. It is through wilful acts of choice that the tangible and intangible manifestations of heritage contribute to society's sense of belonging, their sense of continuity and their collective meaning in the world, and it is therefore inevitable that actions of preservation and protection will be taken to ensure the continuum of these enduring values. Tangible heritage is considered inextricably bound up with the intangible heritage values and the contemporary conservation approach aims to preserve both of these. The preservation and protection of inherited ways of being, practices and objects can be seen as an outward expression of people's self-preservation and is therefore a vital endeavour.

3.5 THE TRADITIONAL CONSERVATION APPROACH

The conception of heritage conservation originated historically from the aesthetic value attributed to buildings of exceptional architectural merit deserving of preservation as architectural masterpieces or monuments of their time. The focus was historically on the physical, material nature of the monument and the aesthetic value attributed to the monument was of primary importance, determined exclusively by a small group of

experts in the field. 'The material heritage was the central subject of protection, and any intangible values were contingent on these'.[155] Responsibility for the management of heritage artefacts rested securely in the hands of an expert community who defined what physical vestiges were worthy of heritage classification and determined how they were to be conserved. They were the gatekeepers of heritage and made decisions on behalf of the greater public. The criteria of 'authenticity' and 'integrity' were essential to assessment of significance[156] and it was accepted that only those who had a sufficiently refined and sophisticated appreciation for high culture and aesthetic beauty, through training, were in a position to determine heritage value, heritage worthiness and what material expressions of culture were deemed worthy of preservation as cultural heritage assets.

Until recently the discourse of heritage sat comfortably in the domain of elitist experts, was knowledge driven and lacked a social discourse. It did not seek to elaborate on nor expand the concept of values beyond what was commonly understood and taught in knowledge institutions. It was assumed that a place's history or antiquity, its beauty and its uniqueness was self-evident,[157] that is to say, it possessed 'intrinsic significance', significance that was so self-evident to the well-trained eye, that it was unquestionable. The discourse and discipline was far removed from the everyday experience and understanding of the general public and those in the field saw no reason to include them.

A well-documented criticism of heritage conservation is that, as a practice and theoretical discourse, it has traditionally relied on a well-honed established set of Eurocentric essentialist values, [158] legitimised by Western-orientated knowledge institutions and professional affiliations, to identify heritage resources, determine their cultural significance and thus to decide what is valuable and worthy of preserving. A growing concern, led largely by nations whose cultural value systems differ significantly

[155] Smith and Akagawa 2009: 10.
[156] De la Torre et al. 2005.
[157] Ibid.: 219.
[158] Littler and Naidoo 2005.

from those of Western societies, is what gave rise to the rethinking of the notion of 'universal values' and to entirely new ways of viewing cultural heritage that is not in the material form but which has more ephemeral and intangible characteristics yet equally deserving of valorisation by communities and society.

3.6 INTANGIBLE LIVING HERITAGE

Recent writings by ICOMOS members[159] and critics of the notion of 'universal values', cultural positioning, subjectivity, and Western modes of being, which adopt uncritical assumptions of value, are central to an understanding of intangible living heritage.[160]

It is a concern globally that urban historic environments within cities are increasingly at risk of losing living heritage due to the forces of neoliberalism and globalisation processes and, as organic and evolving composites, they require a very different approach to heritage conservation from that employed in the conservation of individual buildings or sites where change is more manageable. At the heart of this approach is the primacy to intangible heritage values that lie embedded in the physical space and which are alive in the people that inhabit these environments, the heritage communities.

By their nature urban environments are complex interrelation systems requiring a multidisciplinary approach to heritage conservation and ideally should be integrated with planning policy actions. Importantly, an adept and highly ethical professionalism is necessary to navigate the range of values ascribed to buildings, to the parts and to the whole of the historic environment, and also the collective of values that a community holds dear, as well as all those expressed by possible stakeholders while also being guided by the values envisioned in policy.

[159] Rodwell 2015, 2018; Ripp and Rodwell 2015.
[160] Deacon 2014; Deacon and Olwen 2007; Hassard 2009; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004; Smith and Akagawa 2009.

The question arises as to whether the identification, inventorising, grading and the implementation of declarations, guidelines and heritage management frameworks can go far enough to give due recognition to the intangible heritage that enlivens these environments, to protect and transmit their expression into the future as a means of safeguarding the spirit of place together with the host community's future self-imagining.[161] For forms of living heritage to transmit into the future there is an imperative to dislocate the tangible-intangible binary understanding, to understand community heritage values and be guided by them in scholarly thinking and in practice.

3.7 COMMUNITY AND IDENTITY FORMATIONS

The concept of community and how it applies as a notion to the people of Bo-Kaap who seemingly refer to, or define themselves comfortably as Cape Muslim, Cape Coloured or Bo-Kaapers as a mode of differentiating themselves from 'others' who they view as being not from Cape Town, non-Muslim, not *of* Bo-Kaap, or of a different ethnicity, is complex and has required a deep delving into the discourse. My own outsider perception of the Bo-Kaap community and the self perception of the people of Bo-Kaap – what values bind the community, what heritage is shared and what is not shared - is central to the study and intersects with notions of identity construction. The seminal work by Bell and Newby, *Community Studies*, [162] has been critical, as has the anthropological writing of Geertz and Ryle[163] to understand community formations, and their structures.

Edward Said's *Orientalism*[164], Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture*[165] and Stuart Hall's *Questions of Cultural Identity*[166] are seminal works critiquing the Western mode of cultural representation, perceptions of *otherness*, and the pervasive colonial prejudices

[161] Manetsi 2011.
[162] Bell and Newby 1971.
[163] Geertz 1973; Ryle 1949, 2009.
[164] Said 1978.
[165] Bhabha 1994.
[166] Hall 1996.

that have traditionally informed theoretical discourse and the construction of cultural, heritage and identity formations. These writings have been key in understanding the philosophical underpinnings of heritage conservation theory and for conceiving of other, new ways of thinking about heritage in a post-colonial framework that have wider social relevance for contemporary society.

The writings of Achmat Davids, Yusuf Da Costa, Shamil Jeppie, Vivian Bickford-Smith et al. and Nigel Worden et al.[167] have been key in understanding the development of Bo-Kaap as a place, as a community born out of slave origins, and how its identity has been constructed out of place, history, faith, cultural customs, story and social values. Jeppie's writings on Muslim identity and Davids' on narrative have also been referred to.

The influence of I.D. du Plessis, Afrikaans writer, poet and lecturer, cannot go unnoticed when reflecting on the story of Bo-Kaap and what Benedict Anderson calls 'imagined communities.[168] Du Plessi's personal interest in the East and the Cape Malay people is evident in his writing and poetry and led him to write his thesis in 1931 on the contribution that the Cape Malays made to the South African anthem, later published in 1935 in Afrikaans. His books on Malay ethnicity and Malay culture became, over time, the prominent and 'authorised' discourse on what was understood as the 'Malay way of life' and proved to have a marked influence on the attitudes of his fellow Afrikaans Nationalists to the Bo-Kaap Malay community.

Du Plessis' appointment as head of the Institute of Malay Studies at the University of Cape Town University was clear recognition of the academic authority that he held in this field of study. However, it was his position as Commissioner and later Secretary and Adviser for Coloured Affairs (1953-1963) under the Nationalist Government that most enabled him to influence the future of the Malay community living in Bo-Kaap in what was then a politically turbulent period of South Africa's history. He became a key role-player in conservation efforts in the Bo-Kaap and, significantly, he was able to

[167] Davids 1980, 1981, 1989,1991; Da Costa and Adams 1994; Jeppie 1987, 2001, 2004; Worden 1998, 1999.
[168] Anderson 1983.

secure Bo-Kaap as a designated 'Malay Area' under the Group Areas Act and to ensure that this ethnic community did not become displaced like so many other non-white communities during this period. This was possibly the only case in South Africa's apartheid history where a non-white community found themselves afforded the 'privilege' of not being removed under this draconian piece of legislation, where the community's culture, identity, heritage and 'way of life' were proactively preserved, albeit by way of a perverse paradox. As a consequence he has been credited for preserving the Bo-Kaap and his writings have dominated the narrative of Bo-Kaap.

Du Plessis' writings appreciably contributed to the construction of what can best be described as an imagined Cape Malay identity as seen from the outsider's perspective and, as became apparent during the research interviews for this thesis, his is a narrative that has remained dominant and is not easily deconstructed. Local writers such as Jeppie and Davids have been critical voices in offering alternative narratives and re-imagining a Bo-Kaap Muslim identity and future. [169]

The role of communities within the field of heritage studies has steadily been gaining authority in heritage debates, evidenced by the foregrounding of the term 'community-driven heritage' or 'heritage communities' in the most recent international framework documents and charters, but also in academic writings. Within a broader public-policy debate globally the idea of community has similarly gained visibility around government goals of community cohesion and community sustainability in the face of globalisation and its effects. The SDGs speak directly to this as a universally identified public good and an imperative for governments to prioritise, The relationship, therefore, between heritage and community is one that holds significant currency at the different levels. It is pushing the scope of traditional heritage management where communities are now actively participating in heritage and discursive processes.

As a broad framework to the theory of social formations and how they represent themselves from the inside or get represented from the outside, the critical works of

[169] Davids 1980, 1981, 1989; Jeppie 1987.

Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida[170] have been important to the intellectual milieu of the study. Foucault and Derrida critique assumptions of the Western philosophical tradition and question how these inform and build dominant discourses. They focus on the power relationships that exist in society as expressed through language and practices to elucidate how bodies of knowledge, language and practices become organised in regular and systematic ways and how society in turn becomes shaped or constructed by these.[171] A critical analyses of the discursive process in the study allows a deeper understanding of how authority comes to be perceived as legitimate power in social structures, how discourse becomes the theatre of power relations and inevitably of politics, and how power inscribes itself into perception of 'the self'.

3.8 NOTIONS OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

Cultural identity lies at the heart of current debates in both cultural studies and social theory and is inextricably linked to the heritage theory as it touches on all aspects of human life and activity be it art, archaeology, history, religion, politics, society etc. Hall interrogates why and how the contemporary question of culture moves so easily to being a highly charged question of identity.[172] In his *Questions of Cultural Identity* he offers illuminating theoretical insights into the different approaches to understanding the notion of cultural identity.[173]

Smith, in interrogating the different dimensions of heritage, defines culture as an all encompassing 'set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of a society or social group, encompassing, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs'.[174] And if the notion of community can be understood as a group of people having a self-ascribed sense of connectedness and whose sense of identity or connectedness emerges from a shared

[170] Foucault 1972; Derrida 1991.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Hall 1990.
[173] Hall and du Gay 1996.
[174] Smith and Akagawa 2009: 66.

historical or contemporary relationship, then the notion of cultural community must be understood to be a community which distinguishes itself from other communities by its own set of cultural values or cultural design.[175] Smith sees 'the cultural community as a new and significant actor with whom governmental bodies must interact directly and seek to build partnerships.'[176]

3.9 VALUES AS CRITERIA OF SIGNIFICANCE

"...man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun..."
(Clifford Geertz)[177]

For contemporary cultural heritage conservation the subject of values has become increasingly central to deciding what material vestiges of the past to conserve and how best to conserve them.[178] The determination of cultural significance is only a first step in the heritage process to inform decisions of 'what' and 'why' to conserve[179] and requires, first and foremost, to establish for whom the resource or heritage form, tangible or intangible, has meaning and why it holds meaning. If no person, group, community or society finds value in a resource then it is self-evident that it holds no meaning and preservation serves no purpose.[180]

Values are signifiers of meaning and emotional attachment and it is essential therefore that tangible things from the past have relevance to people in the contemporary moment and that heritage conservation, as a discipline, creates a sense of continuity for people between their past, their present and their future. Heritage is a means of negotiating this continuity while at the very same time a means of carefully managing change, using values as a moral or ethical compass. In this way heritage conservation can add value

[175] Smith and Akagawa 2009: 60.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Geertz 1973.
[178] Avrami et al. 2000: 1.
[179] Decisions about *how* to conserve, although crucial to the conservation endeavour, are often taken independently from those dealing with *what* and *how* to conserve due to of the relative isolation of different groups or spheres of professionals that engage in conservation work.
[180] Avrami et al. 2000.

to society, rather than positioning itself as an autonomous, self-referential discipline, and be seen as a moral good for society.

Cultural significance is the term widely used in contemporary heritage conservation practice and theory to denote a collection or aggregate of values that surface through assessment processes and which affirms an object or place as having worth (synonymous with having cultural significance) thereby giving it an inferred status of something worthy of protecting. But not all values are necessarily considered to be of worth, that is to say, not all values are taken to be relevant to the determination of cultural significance, and not all carry equal weight. It is only certain categories of values that get adopted or codified in legal statutes and fall into the yet undefined basket of 'heritage values'. These values become listed in the statutes or guideline documents as 'criteria' for the determination of cultural significance and it is values associated with the tangible, material past that have traditionally been seen to be the most important. However, heritage conservation discourse has shifted considerably since the World Heritage Convention to give equal importance to values associated with intangible heritage, to forms of cultural practices that are as much part of a cultural community's identity as the bricks and mortar of the environments in which they live.

The process of determining cultural significance evinces how different groups of people prioritise different value sets, and how values subtly or overtly influence attitudes towards heritage environments or objects. In turn, attitudes of value impact on people's behavior towards their local built environments.

3.10 A VALUES-CENTRED CONSERVATION APPROACH

A brief overview of the origins and development of the heritage discourse is outlined here to show how and why a values-centred approach to heritage conservation came into being as a counterpoint to the traditional heritage conservation approach, and what some of the impulses were that led to a re-theorisation of the meaning of cultural heritage, and consequently to a far broader discourse of cultural heritage conservation

and management practices. Ultimately we see that it was through the community-led values-based approach that the concept of intangible heritage was accepted as paramount to the cultural meanings of indigenous communities and brought into the main discursive arena, highlighting the fact that all heritage is intangible meaning-making processes.

The modern theoretical discourse and practice of heritage conservation and the question of values is traced back to the eighteenth century where it took root during the Enlightenment, a period that propagated 'free enquiry into the world of ideas and laid foundations of a new autonomous scientific paradigm that pervaded and shaped societal attitudes towards culture and values, and new concepts of philosophical reasoning emerged.'[181] Immanuel Kant described Enlightenment in his 1784 essay *What is Enlightenment*[182] quite simply as the freedom to use one's own intelligence, but more broadly it was ideals of scientific rigor, empiricism, social equality and reductionism that marked the period and became signature characteristics of a dawning modern era. However, industrialism threatened to destroy immense cultural wealth and prompted early decrees to protect property, material vestiges and aesthetics artworks.[183] Romanticism as a counter movement exalted the imagination and emotions and sought to emphasise an appreciation of the past and the aesthetically beautiful. The value and treatment of architectural monuments and ruins became the merging point of philosophical and artistic debate.

Ruskin (1819-1900) and Pugin (1812-1852) were important critical voices of their time expressing concern for the environment and for the spiritual well-being of humanity corrupted by modern life. Crucially, they both gave impetus to a common understanding of the value that cultural heritage preservation offered to society[184] even though they held deeply differing philosophical views on how best to conserve.

The international charters and conventions are key documents in tracing how notions of

[181] Hassard 2006: 270.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Jokilehto 1999.

values, culture, diversity and community have become ever more prominent in the globalised heritage frame. A brief referencing of the legal framework in South Africa, particularly in the Cape Town context, is to illuminate how these international ideas, theory, principles and practice continuously influences the heritage discipline locally, albeit sometimes there is a delay in response.

By examining the historical development of heritage conservation from its beginnings as a philosophical concept into an intellectual discourse and highly formalised practice, into what today can be called the 'heritage superstructure', augmented by a succession of international charters and guiding documents that have set the ethical compass for heritage conservation globally and brought principled and common understanding of what, why and how to conserve cultural heritage resources, it reveals how noticeably the doctrine has moved to incorporate pluralistic world views and adjusted to postcolonial thought and the dismantling of outdated metanarratives.

The late twentieth century saw a shift in attitudes towards the theory and practice of heritage conservation. De la Torre and other heritage theorists became increasingly interested in the emergence of a values-based model to heritage conservation, where understandings of values began moving away from concise and limited definitions in favour of broader and more fluid concepts; concepts that were less knowledge-centred and more meaning-driven.[185] According to De la Torre:

> *Postmodern theory, the rise of multiculturalism and the arrival of stakeholder inclusion….transformed the language and practice of heritage conservation management over the past decades. Gone are the monuments and buildings of the steadfast International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (1964 Venice Charter), instead values, cultural significance, and stakeholder opinions are taken as the principal informants in the decision-making processes and this has led to the awareness that different values are often in conflict and protecting them*

[185] Poulios 2010.

> *simultaneously is a complex issue that cannot simply be decided on by specialist groups of experts. This type of heritage management is perhaps best known, and often considered best practiced, as set out in the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter (Burra Charter). Values-based heritage conservation management is an approach in which the main management goal is the preservation of the values that people (not experts) attach to a place.*
> *(Marta de la Torre)*[86]

The practice and theory of heritage conservation has thus substantially broadened the scope of heritage significance to include multiple values and to promote diverse and multidisciplinary approaches to heritage management with the deliberate intention of shifting it towards a more symmetrical approach which seeks to integrate social discourse with the material disciplines such as architecture, archaeology, planning and a range of other disciplines, putting people at the centre of debate since they are ultimately the raison d'*être* of heritage.

Crucial to the values-centred approach adopted in contemporary heritage practice is the understanding and balancing of values by the heritage management regimes before significance is ascribed to tangible or intangible heritages. Only then can decisions be taken on how best to preserve or protect and ensure heritage resources and cultural practices are safeguarded for future generations. But it is also important to take cognisance that our physical environments are, themselves, a by-product of values that existed at the particular moment of their production and within the particular cultural framework that existed at that given moment in time. And values, like culture, are in a constant state of flux and cannot be immutably fixed in stone, brick or concrete. It is not only the extant contemporary values that need continually to be negotiated and renegotiated, but also those that are manifest in the physical past, meaning those values that existed 'way back then'.

Developed from early philosophical contemplations heritage has evolved through the

[186] De la Torre et al. 2005: 4.

eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries into an accepted field of academic enquiry and professional practice. As a society-orientated universal discourse it is currently referred to as the People Centred Approach (PCA) and is arguably becoming the new norm globally.[187]

3.11 THE HERITAGE LANDSCAPE OF SOUTH AFRICA

The development of the contemporary heritage discourse is paralleled with the development of legal frameworks that came into affect internationally and within South Africa, usually as a response to the mainstream theoretical discourse of its time.
Examination of the advancement of the legislative framework in South Africa is undertaken to illuminate how attitudes and approaches evolved locally against the backdrop of the international discourse, and became entrenched in the local law.

The promulgation of the NHRA in 2001 in South Africa and its implementation fundamentally altered the country's heritage landscape and shifted the relative position of the governmental agencies involved in heritage conservation, with particular regard to the local communities' role in identifying what should be officially regarded as forming part of the 'national estate'. Until then it had been the prerogative of the state to decide which cultural items to include within the domain of official cultural heritage and the apartheid state apparatus effectively used heritage to privilege the white Afrikaans society and to construct an exclusively white national identity. Deacon *et al* view the inclusion of intangible cultural heritage, within the national culture, as an opportunity to democratise the heritage and the process by which values are ascribed to heritage, giving a larger role to local communities whose cultural identities depend far more on intangible forms than on material 'things'.[188]

[187] Chitty, 2017.
[188] Deacon et al. 2004: 11.

Both internationally and in the South African context there has been a process to democratise the heritage management practice, to embrace more pluralistic definitions of heritage based on values of difference and the recognition of the country's cultural diversity, and to incorporate it into the everyday experience of society at large. However, a shift to a more inclusive process is not an easy or seamless one and in the South African context this is still, albeit guided by the national imperative for transformation, at an early phase of transition. For the heritage sector to embrace a values-based approach to heritage management requires detachment from the traditional notions of authority, expertise and judgments of what has historically been the primary focus of conservation activity, the material past; to meaningfully engage with communities rather than paying lip-service to public-participation; and to expand the concept of cultural heritage to the intangible aspects of heritage.

In the South African context heritage management under the National Monuments Council in the mid- to late twentieth century was almost entirely focused on the material past and lauded the object d'art colonial architecture as pre-eminent, relying on the knowledge of a limited elite group of experts to be the evaluators of significance according to set pre-defined categories of value that were themselves defined by the expert body. Vernacular forms of architecture were viewed generally as being notable contributions to the built environment but not worthy of cultural heritage status and the voice of the ordinary citizen was not at all a contributor to heritage debate in South Africa; debate which was perhaps less influenced at the time by international heritage discourse owing to the country's political isolation at that time.

Perspectives of significance in South Africa were up until the 1990s loaded with colonial, and hence Western, values of what constituted 'culture' and 'heritage' and the focus was almost exclusively on the grand, the monumental and the nationally significant. It was burdened with the political agenda of the day and the cultural hegemony of the white apartheid government that sought, aggressively, to construct a white national identity as a powerful tool of exclusion against South Africa's non-white population groups.

It is possible that the political isolation of South Africa between the 1960s and early 1990s meant that the dynamic evolvement of conservation theory and conservation methodologies experienced internationally around the 1980s was less known locally, but what is important to the historical trajectory of heritage conservation in South Africa is that while African countries across the continent were ridding themselves of the imperialist yoke during the wave of 1960s liberation wars and embarking on bold projects of nation building – deploying heritage as a central bastion to the rise of the post-colonial nation state, and attempting to incorporate diverse people into a unified whole – South Africa remained locked in its colonial narrative and apartheid ideology, and this despite the strong and ever growing anti-apartheid movement. The state under the white Afrikaner was working hard to keep divisions in place, making '*their* history and *their* architecture the basis for an exclusionary nationalism'.[189]

The then commonly adopted conservation approach of monumentalisation only came to be questioned in South Africa in the late 1980s and changes in theoretical position and practice were only to become noticeably apparent in the late 1990s as a result of a nascent political and cultural turn that was to dramatically transform South Africa.

While there was nothing in South African heritage law prior to 1994 preventing engagement with non-white community groups in an effort to elicit diverse views or to understand how different cultures valued their surroundings or what they deemed to be heritage, it was simply not part of the White national conscience to do so. Even the designation in 1962 by the National Monuments Council (NMC) of an area of Bo-Kaap its subsequent formal declaration can be seen as an act of apartheid governance; the Bo-Kaap community was not included in the process nor had their views on the known as 'the Old Malay Quarter'[190] as a 'nationally significant' National Monument and designation been canvassed. It was due exclusively to the efforts of a small group of politically well-connected cultural activists, and the fascination of a particular white

[189] Peterson 2015: 16.
[190] The old National Monument was declared in terms of the NM Act but it has since become a Provincial Heritage Site in terms of the NHRA keeping the same boundary. The very same area is also often referred to as the 'historic core of Bo-Kaap' or alternatively 'the Malay Quarter' which can be misleading.

nationalist Afrikaaner, ID du Plessis,[191] with the Malay community of Bo-Kaap, that the 'Old Malay Quarter' became a focus of the NMC and gained status as a national monument.

What is important is that it was due to the Bo-Kaap area's aesthetic, architectural, quaint and picturesque qualities and its imagined community[192] that it came to be declared a National Monument. What was different, however, and unusual for this time, was that this was a monument of modest, urban vernacular architecture rather than a grand and monumental set piece of colonial architecture.

Traditionally heritage conservation in South Africa has been an elite, exclusionary and hegemonic practice with a driving nationalistic agenda, pre 1994, used highly effectively to privilege what was then the white ruling minority, and marginalised other cultural formations to the distant periphery. Twenty-five years into the country's democracy it is useful to reflect on how far the discipline and the academy have come in fostering a different conception of the role of heritage conservation.

In post-1994 South Africa the National Heritage Resources Act came into effect replacing the old and out-dated National Monuments Council Act. The NHRA encompasses a broad set of heritage criteria to be employed in identifying and protecting heritage assets of the national estate, and in its wording it clearly demonstrated, at the point of promulgation, the values espoused by the then already grounded national narrative of diversity, redress, human rights and ideals of a people-centred democracy, wholly aligning with the country's noble Constitution enshrining social justice at all levels of government and citizenship.

In practice these principles have not fully translated into an established professionalised practice post 1994, and heritage management continues to a large degree, to be limited to the continued preservation of colonial vestiges of the built environment, that is to say to tangible heritage resources, by adopting values of significance selectively from the NHRA to align with the focused specialist values of trained built and urban environment

[191] Izak David du Plessis (1900-1981) published under the name I.D. du Plessis.
[192] Du Plessis had written his thesis on the Malay.

professionals, than with matters of social justice and intangible heritage values which fall far outside the spectrum of built environment specialisation.

There appears to be an emerging local interest in reframing notions of values and cultural significance in post-apartheid South Africa and this points to a concern that local heritage discourse, and the practical field of heritage conservation, does not sit as comfortably within society as one would hope. For heritage conservation work to gain general public acceptance and be valued by South Africans it needs to move away from its tight academic corner and draw the public into engaging and uninhibited dialogue so that notions of value can emanate from the bottom up and not be dominated by expert opinions. It is hoped that as a body of enquiry develops the discourse of the values-centred approach will become more prevalent locally and become integral to the everyday heritage conservation practice.

The year 1994 was an exciting turning point for South Africa. As it ushered in newfound democracy, dismantled apartheid structures and unsettled the thinking. Freedom of expression, cultural diversity became the guiding metaphors of the country. Culture and heritage were harnessed as powerful agents of change and became a central theme of political rhetoric. The promulgation of the NHRA was not only a regulatory tool for identifying and managing heritage resources but it was also, importantly, intended to be a mechanism for recognising cultural diversity in South Africa's pluralistic society, for redressing past inequalities, encouraging public participation, allowing different and even conflicting voices to be heard and ultimately for the transformation and democratisation of the heritage landscape. The intention was that marginalised voices, not yet heard or listened to, would become part of the mainstream discourse so as to inform the criteria and determine cultural significance and hence to inform what should form part of the country's cultural heritage assets.

2014 marked twenty years of freedom and democracy in South Africa and the country embarked on nation-wide celebratory programmes reflecting on the country's legacy of cultural diversity and sought to engender pride in the country's shared values, its cultural capital and heritage legacies. It was starkly ironic that this momentous moment

in South Africa coincided, or rather collided, with the vehement and impassioned nationwide #RhodesMustFall movement signalling, to the South African government and citizenry, the inherent power of cultural transformation, and that the deeply entrenched hegemonic value frameworks were being powerfully contested in the public realm by groups united in a desire to force meaningful change, to rethink the past, to restructure conceptions of heritage and national identity, to unsettle the value framework and shift values to align with the contemporary moment so as to serve and create relevance and meaning for contemporary society. This, as a piece of live public national theatre, revealed the inevitable fault lines that still exist within our multicultural society, but more importantly it was emblematic of the complexity of cultural heritage and the important role that values play in defining cultural identity – where one situates oneself in relation to another or to 'the other'. It also bears the message of how important it is for values to be communicated: values must be marshalled, must be heard, respected and sensitively negotiated.

The status quo regarding the narrow scope of heritage values employed in heritage conservation in South Africa and the importance given to tangible heritage has until recently been stable and not publically challenged in any significant way. That was the case until the #RhodesMustFall movement broke with dramatic intensity and shook heritage structures, academic institutions, the state and its citizenry to re-evaluate the potency of cultural heritage values and to take stock of the magnitude of their symbolic meaning, and how persuasively they can be mobilised in transforming identity construction of a nation, let alone a community. This was a pivotal moment in post apartheid South Africa and its charge continues to reverberate in academic discourse across a range of scholarship. Of primary importance was the acknowledgement of existing hegemonic value frameworks that defines society structures, and the symbolic power of cultural heritage as an agent of change. This ability of cultural heritage to manifest itself as a change agent is what the NHRA intended to harness in its pursuit of transformation, as evoked in the Preamble of the act.

3.12 VALUES OF SIGNIFICANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Different terminologies have been used over time to describe and label objects, places and conceptions of heritage. Historic structures or sites have been referred to variously as cultural heritage, cultural resources, cultural property, cultural assets, and heritage resources. The NHRA provides no definition of 'cultural heritage' per se but defines

heritage resource as 'any place or object of cultural significance',[193] where 'cultural significance' is taken to mean the 'aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value or significance'.[194] Criteria of significance have thus been broadened with the implementation of the Act so as to include categories of intangible values (social, spiritual) and while the Act specifically provides a definition of 'living heritage' which it says 'means the intangible aspects of inherited culture, and may include; cultural tradition, oral history, performance, ritual, popular memory, skills and techniques, indigenous knowledge systems, and the holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships'[195] and mandates the heritage authorities to consider all heritage resources which are of cultural significance 'or other special value for the present community and for future generations….as part of the national estate' and further that 'the national estate may include places to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage',[196] in the Act, and most certainly in practice, the emphasis remains on the tangible past, and more particularly on buildings and physical archaeological remains.

The heritage surveys by the City in the early 1980s were undertaken with the aim of identifying areas of Cape Town that had particularly special urban and architectural characteristics that were then given recognition as Urban Conservation Areas (UCA) and afforded a level of protection through the local planning mechanism, the then Cape

[193] NHRA 'Definitions'.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid: Section 3(1)
[196] Ibid.

Town Zoning Scheme. Urban conservation theory had come into being as a cross-pollination of traditional architectural conservation and urban planning and had gained traction in Europe in the mid twentieth century. Bo-Kaap, was one of a number of areas identified in 1986[197] as warranting declaration and protection as a UCA to safeguard its architectural qualities however due to the political climate of the time and the distrust of the Bo-Kaap community towards the City this was never achieved.[198]

Surveys that were undertaken at that time and those that have since been undertaken by the City[199] have all been based on criteria relating almost exclusively to the architectural qualities of buildings and places, with negligible regard for the more intangible values associated with buildings and without regard for the 'heritage values' held by the host community that might better inform or augment heritage significance unless, of course, a place or building possesses an explicit association with a particular individual or event in history and has unquestionably marked its place in social memory or within the historical texts. Similarly, lists of the provincial and national heritage resources demonstrate the same preoccupation with the tangible manifestations of the country's past.

Smith reflects on the internationally ubiquitous practice of listing and inventorying cultural heritage and advances the argument that: 'the very act of creating a list is not only an act of exclusion, it is also a performance of meaning making. In this process "heritage" is "identified" and "assessed" against predefined "criteria" … this inevitably recreates or over-writes new meanings and values'.[200] Her concern is how, in the process, 'the primary values and meaning of heritage become framed and understood by being placed on the list'.[201]

[197] City of Cape Town file held in Environment & Heritage Management Department archive.
[198] Personal interview with David Hart of CCT E&HM Department, 22 October 2015.
[199] In 2015 the City embarked on a surveying audit of certain select areas within the City's municipal boundaries, undertaken by appointed independent heritage consultants. Bo-Kaap is one of the areas that was re-surveyed.
[200] Smith and Akagawa 2009: 4.
[201] Smith and Akagawa 2009.

3.13 CHANGES IN VALUE REFLECTED IN THE INTERNATIONAL CHARTERS

The key international heritage charters, declarations and guideline documents are examined as the doctrinal framework that developed through the twentieth century to elucidate how shifts in worldview, influenced particularly by postmodernist thinkers, gave impetus to narratives of pluralism, multiculturalism, *petits récits,* [202] the heterogeneity of human existence, and to the importance of values in modern society.
International heritage conservation organisations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) have arisen as a united response to global pressures threatening heritage places, landscapes and practices, as a result of political conflicts, religious and cultural intolerance, and hegemonic power struggles, but also increasingly resulting from environmental damage. These international organisations, together with other heritage bodies set up by individual nations, represent the heritage collective that seeks to protect against the irreversible loss of cultural assets and to protect the enduring values that societies place on their tangible and intangible heritage.

When the Venice Charter was formulated in 1964 by the growing international conservation movement in Europe[203] it was accepted as an important modern milestone for the conservation movement as it outlined the basic doctrine of what became to be accepted as an appropriate approach to dealing, in philosophical terms, with historic buildings. It firmly acknowledged that cultural heritage held more than one value, and that to understand these values was paramount to determining what appropriate interventionist action to take or conservation approach to adopt.

With the Venice Charter, the concept of *heritage* was expanded beyond monuments and sites to include almost the whole built environment. Importantly, it recognised that heritage was not bound to the geographic limitations of Europe and North America,

[202] A term brought into prominence by Jean-Francois Lyotard in 1984 to mean 'small histories' with his claim that the postmodern had a mistrust of the grand narratives.
[203] Although the international conservation movement gathered momentum much earlier and the Athens Charter had existed since 1931, the modern philosophy of conservation was articulated in the Venice Charter and until today it remains the basic reference document for all theoretical developments in the field.

where it had until then been intellectually cultivated, but was a broader, global concept that had relevance and value to all societies. Accordingly, the very notion of 'value' merited more attention, study and role identification.

In 1972 UNESCO hosted its General Conference in Paris at which the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage,* more often called the World Heritage Convention (WHC), was adopted. The WHC emerged as a result of international concern for the loss of significant cultural artefacts during World War II[204] and followed on from the 1954 *Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property* which set out guiding principles for the protection of cultural heritage which it saw as important to all nations of the world and therefore warranting international protection.

The WHC was conceived as a guiding framework and an instrument (administrative and financial) to conserve sites and places of outstanding cultural or natural importance and introduced the specific notion of a world heritage whose importance transcends political and geographic boundaries and is considered the common heritage of humanity. The WHC gave effect to a list of World Heritage Sites that once they had met specific criteria of significance and expert definitions of value became regarded as cultural assets having 'outstanding universal value' to all mankind to be safeguarded in perpetuity.

The focus on protecting material heritage and the essentially Western-centric heritage paradigm adopted in the identification and listing of early World Heritage sites came under intense criticism globally and forced the World Heritage Committee to reconsider the concept of 'universal' heritage. It led to the inclusion of cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List in 1992, and, two years later, to the introduction of the Global Strategy for a representative, balanced and credible list[205] and was key in reframing ideas of values, to the evolvement of the Nara Document on Authenticity in 1994 and to recognising the importance of intangible values associated with place.

[204] Deacon and Olwen 2007.
[205] Ibid..

In 2003 UNESCO adopted a separate convention covering Intangible Heritage 'intended to safeguard heritage forms not located in place, like ritual, performance or knowledge systems'.[206] The WHC was thus another milestone in modern heritage conservation that gave stimulus to emotive theoretical debates around values and the multidisciplinary nature of heritage, and deep reflection of how far heritage conservation had come and how far it still had to go.

The contingent nature of heritage permeated heritage management practice and centred on the question of whose values should inform significance. The Australian *Burra Charter* proved to be a key document addressing these issues and it has had influence far beyond its initial national concerns. First adopted in 1979, its popularity internationally came after its last revision in 1999, derived principally from the importance it placed on following a systematic sequence of research and analysis prior to any intervention taking place, and the emphasis placed on defining *significance*; what it is that makes a place important before deciding what can be done with it.[207]

The starting premise of the Burra charter is that cultural significance cannot rely entirely on conventional expert values. It identifies the importance of recognising the non-expert values of stakeholders and community groups through wide public participation, through robust debate and reflection as a means of determining cultural significance, beyond the appraisal of physical architectural fabric that is but one dimension of significance. The Burra Charter has thus changed perspectives on heritage conservation significantly and is considered by heritage theorists as the key document that led to the values-based approach.[208]

The 1994 NARA Document on Authenticity is the document that is perhaps the most important in its recognition of cultural relativism and the growing awareness of the centrality of culture and its relation to identity. It brought into focus the duality of tangible and intangible significances and shifted the discourse of heritage into an entirely new

[206] Ibid.
[207] Gibson and Pendlebury 2009: 8.
[208] Ibid.

trajectory that was to open up new conceptions of heritage so much richer and more meaningful than before. The Narra Document states that: 'significance may lie in the intangible or symbolic, and in preservation of the craftsman's skills rather than of the fabric itself'.

The clear self-conscious delineation of heritage that originated in the nineteenth century at the national scale remained very much defined at this level until postmodernist thought shifted and challenged the established conception of heritage. The idea of a single national heritage was a fundamental constituent of the nation-state:

> Indeed nationalism and national heritage developed synchronously in nineteenth-century Europe. The nation-state required national heritage to consolidate national identification, absorb or neutralize potentially competing heritages of social-cultural groups or regions, combat the claims of other nations upon its territory or people, while furthering claims upon nationals in territories elsewhere.[209]

But the escalating emergence of the local as a counterpoint to the national demanded that heritage, and all other forms of cultural expression including literature and history, be negotiated in different ways. And so, the concepts of 'participation' and 'local community' were leveraged to moderate and validate new understandings of heritage, and to bring heritage out of the halls of academia into the social arena where it could find a wider public appeal and contribute to new personal ways of remembering the past and scripting the 'small' histories of people and their communities. This was a bold move away from the national story.

Kuhn put forward the idea that all fields of scientific study inevitably undergo periodic paradigm shifts rather than solely progressing in a linear and continuous way, and it can be said that in the field of heritage conservation there has been a significant shift in recent decades in thinking and attitudes which has allowed for a new approach to open

[209] Graham et al. 2000: 183.

up in the heritage discourse to understanding what would previously never have been considered valid or acceptable.[210]

It is not a coincidence that the increasing importance of the role of value-based conservation came from outside Europe, where there are issues of indigenous communities who have different sets of values from cultural, social and spiritual points of view than Western-orientated values; thus new seminal charters were established such as *The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance*[211] and *The Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value by ICOMOS New Zealand*.[212] Countries with ancient civilizations and distinct value systems pertaining to the conservation of cultural heritage have invited international organisations to revisit how values are assessed.

The 2005 *Framework Convention on Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (*Faro Convention)* is one of the more recent international documents but is important to mention because of its recognition of the imperative to put people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage. Although it has particular relevance to a Western European context it contributes enormously to the universal heritage debate around putting ordinary people's values first, and celebrating the diversity and plurality of values. The Convention stresses the need to involve *everyone* in society in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage and shows a self-conscious move away from any notion of expert-driven heritage management practice towards a genuinely, socially inclusive, values-based process where the everyday and the ordinary deserves as much merit as the exceptional and iconic. These principles have momentous implications for community groups who ordinarily see themselves as marginal to the heritage process.

The international conventions referred to here are not an all-inclusive list but they attempt to show how philosophical approaches to heritage have changed and how this

[210] Kuhn 1962.
[211] ICOMOS 1981.
[212] ICOMOS 2010.

in turn has transformed heritage practice globally. There is today more of an emphasis placed on why to conserve – what are the social and cultural benefits in so doing. They seek the broadest possible definition of cultural heritage: intangible, tangible, perceptual, physical, action, performance, customs and 82ndeavor, as well as objects and buildings.

Heritage is today viewed as a central part of the everyday real life of the ordinary citizen. The Faro Convention, as an example, sees heritage as a process of creating, constructing, using and modifying heritage. It is thus quite different to the Venice Charter and the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, which are most concerned with how to protect the physical fabric of special monuments, buildings or places. The values-based approach is a people-centred approach,[213] and focuses on the people who construct, use and celebrate - or oppose - heritage. In this sense heritage has been redefined in the dialectics of heritage discourse as a verb rather than a noun.[214]

3.14 RECONFIGURING THE NARRATIVE OF BO-KAAP

The study reviews the literature on the development of Bo-Kaap to understand how this urban quarter of Cape Town took shape and form and what influenced its physical morphology through time. Inextricably tied to the physical place-making of Bo-Kaap is the origination and development of the Bo-Kaap community – a Muslim community with a history in the diaspora and lines of slave ancestry. The influence of the apartheid regime's Group Areas Act on the Bo-Kaap's Muslim community group is particular to Bo-Kaap and offers an interesting set of dynamic relations when viewed through the theoretical lens of identity construction, imagined communities and conceptions of 'the *other'.*

There is a considerable body of academic writing on the history of Bo-Kaap and the

[213] Chitty 2017.
[214] Fairclough 2009: 29.

birth of Islam in Bo-Kaap, and images of Bo-Kaap's colourful buildings and culinary fair abound in tourism marketing material and glossy coffee-table books on Cape Town, but there is little academic enquiry into the intangible heritage of Bo-Kaap and what the community's collective attitude is towards the heritage environment of which they are now the custodians. This study seeks to engage with these ideas by sourcing views directly from community members of Bo-Kaap.

The study traces how the form and architectural expression of Bo-Kaap resulted from a range of colonial influences and how the present day Muslim Bo-Kaap community[215] has forged itself into a bounded identity and a heritage legacy out of a hybrid past: multi-ethnic ancestries and plural narratives have firmly rooted themselves in the physical place and defined space, publically and privately, and scripted themselves into history books – some more authoritatively than others.

> *[We]…should begin what is perhaps the most important South African dialogue since the national dialogue that led to the writing of the constitution. This is the dialogue about writing the land. (Njabulo, Ndebele)*[216]

This extract is from Njabulo Ndebele's opening remarks entitled 'Breaking Free of the Present', for the exhibition *blank_Architecture, apartheid and after* in Rotterdam, 16 December 1998. In this address he succinctly called for renewed debate about the history of place- and space-making in the South African landscape.[217] It speaks to postcolonial critics of spatiality, LeFebvre and Foucault's, notions of historical space production.[218]

[215] See Jeppie 2005, Davids 1885a, Tayob 1996 and Baderoon for discussion on Muslim identity in South Africa.
[216] Ndebele 1998.
[217] Murray 2010: 1.
[218] Foucault 1972; Lefebvre 1991.

Homi Bhabha's concept of the 'hybrid' as a form of plurality appears as an essential aspect of Bo-Kaap. Bhabha asserts: 'Hybridity has no perspective of depth or truth to provide: it is not the third term that resolves the tension between two cultures, or two scenes of a book, in a dialectical play of "recognition" ... it is always the split screen of the self and its doubling, the hybrid'.[219]

Fig 15 top left: Wale Street, Bo-Kaap

Fig 16 top right:The Kramat at Tanu Baru cemetery with Lions Head in the distance.

Fig 17 bottom left: 1954 photograph of the Royal visit to Bo-Kaap.

Fig 18 bottom right: Children playing in Helliger lane (date unknown)

[219] Bhabha 1994: 67.

CHAPTER 4: BO-KAAP: THE PLACE AND THE PEOPLE

> *In my veins courses the blood of the Malay slaves who came from the East. Their proud dignity informs my bearing, their culture a part of my essence. The stripes they bore on their bodies from the lash of the slave master are a reminder embossed on my consciousness of what should not be done. (Thabo Mbeki)*[220]

4.1 MOMENTS IN THE ARCHIVE

I use the idea of chronological moments from of the archive to tell a story of Bo-Kaap. The idea is not to give a full detailed account but rather a set of moments that together weave a reading of temporal processes and how we have arrived at the contemporary moment.

The development of Bo-Kaap, as a physical place, and the social makeup of its present-day community, both have their origins in the colonial project and it is therefore necessary to refer, first, to the establishment of the Cape as a colony in the mid-1600s and to the social, political and economic dynamics that influenced its development into what is now a metropolitan city – before it is possible to fully understand Bo-Kaap as it exists today. The interview process highlighted just how deeply people root themselves not only to their personal memories but to their historic narrative which seems to transmit at an almost cellular level and that to understand and appreciate another community's values means to see them inlaid against their historic tapestry. The story of Bo-Kaap – the place and its people – cannot be told without knowing the story of Cape Town.

[220] Mbeki's 1996 'I am an African' speech. At the time Mbeki was vice president of South Africa under the presidency of Nelson Mandela.

4.2 PRE-COLONIAL AND 17TH CENTURY CAPE

Prior to the arrival of the Dutch in the Cape the area would have been occupied by indigenous Khoikhoi herders and San hunter-gatherers taking advantage of the abundance of animals, marine life and wild plants that was so freely available in the area and on which they relied for survival. Given their nomadic existence these peoples had no reason to create permanent settlements.[221]

The first signs of settlement at the Cape came in 1652, a century and a half after discovery of the Cape sea route by Portuguese explorers, when the Dutch East India Company (also known as the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie or VOC, 1602–1796)[222] established a refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope[223] under the commandment of Jan van Riebeek, intended as a layover port for the watering and re-supply of the Company's ships on their way back and forth to the spice producing islands of the Indonesian archipelago where the Dutch had established their most important colonial interests, enslaved entire populations and coerced them to produce crops and spices not found in Europe.

The VOC had no intention of founding a permanent colony at the Cape and looked to the indigenous Khoikhoi and San in the Table Bay area to trade in cattle but soon trading relations degenerated into raiding and warfare and after some years the Khoikhoi and San found themselves dispossessed of land, livestock and the natural water sources, despite some heroic battles, as the Dutch took more and more control of the area and their presence expanded. As a pastoral people they had neither a strong political organisation nor an economic base beyond their herdsmen and ongoing conflicts led to the consolidation of European landholdings and a gradual breakdown of

[221] Worden et al 1999.
[222] It was a powerful Dutch-chartered company possessing quasi-governmental powers including the ability to wage war, imprison and execute convicts, negotiate treaties, strike its own coins and establish colonies.
[223] First called 'Cape of Storms' by the Portuguese explorer Bartolomeu Dias in 1844 and later renamed by John II of Portugal as 'Cape of Good Hope' (*Cabo da Boa Esperança*) because of the great optimism engendered by the opening of a sea route to the East.

Khoikhoi society. Individual Khoikoi men and women were incorporated into the colonial society but as low-status servants.

There were many convicts and political exiles sent to the Cape by the Dutch for political agitation against the Dutch colonists in the Eastern territories. Convicts would be set to work for the Company on their arrival and effectively lived under slave conditions until their term of punishment was completed, but exiles were generally kept at a distance from the slave community so as to avoid any political influence over them, many being sent to Robben Island. Those exiled were often devout religious men of high standing in their homelands and who followed the Muslim faith and were forthright in their rejection of the colonists' religious and political domination.

4.3 18TH CENTURY CAPE SETTLEMENT EXPANSION

In the early part of the eighteenth century slaves were being sourced from the Indian subcontinent, brought to the Cape and put to use in every sector of the economy. Conditions of slavery were harsh. Slaves were forced to work long hours and live in overcrowded and squalid conditions. They were regarded by their owners as possessions, not permitted to marry, their children were born directly into slavery, they had little chance of education and no freedom, often being locked up at night and requiring a pass to leave their place of employment.

The Dutch and other European settlers continued to arrive at the Cape throughout the eighteenth century and with the outbreak of war between France and England in 1780 many French troops arrived at the Cape to guard it against British occupation, the Netherlands then being on the side of France. Then in 1795 France's occupation of the Netherlands proved a decisive factor in changing the course of the colony's political, economic and social future.

Control of the Far East trade routes around the Cape was of vital economic interest to the warring nations and given Britain's standing interests in Australia and India it decided that to prevent the Cape Colony and the sea route from coming under France's control it would seize the colony. Following the Battle of Muizenberg in 1795 Britain took occupation of the territory but improving relations between Britain and Napoleonic France and its vassal state, the Batavian Republic, led the British to return the colony to the Dutch in 1803, under the terms of the Peace of Amiens. The VOC had since gone bankrupt and transferred all of its territories and claims to the Batavian Republic and by 1795 it had ceased to exist, and so the Cape Colony came under the direct rule of the Dutch Batavian Republic. Administration of the colony by the Batavian Republic was, however, nominal and short-lived.

The Napoleonic Wars soon invalidated the Peace of Amiens and following the Battle of Blauwberg in 1806, the British took control of the colony for a second time (with the Netherlands formally ceding the colony to Britain as a permanent possession in 1814). It is recorded that the population was some 60,000 at the time: 27,000 of whom were white Europeans, 17,000 free Khoikoi, and 16,000 slaves.[224] Different historical sources give differing population figures but what is clear is that the slave population made up a significant component of what was a relatively small, burgeoning and mixed colonial society. It is said that in 1710 the adult slave population outnumbered the adult colonial population by as much as three to one[225] and they would undeniably have had a cultural influence on the colonial society by their sheer numbers.

4.4 CAPE TOWN: FROM COLONY TO UNION

With the second occupation of the Cape in 1806 the British integrated the colony into the international trading empire of industrialising Britain, having faith in the free market, free labour and free enterprise and it continued to grow under British occupation.

[224] Armstrong 1986.
[225] www.sahistory.org.za-slavery

Severe unemployment problems experienced in Britain, as a result of the Napoleonic Wars, prompted the British government to encourage immigration to the Cape colony and in particular to the frontier area of the country, what is now the Eastern Cape. Most of these immigrants went on to the frontier area (the 1820 Settlers) but others remained in the Cape and swelled the number of English colonists.

Unification of Britain's four separate colonies in 1910 (Cape Colony, Natal Colony, Transvaal Colony and Orange River Colony) resulted in the formation of the Union of South Africa, which lasted up until 1961 after which the sovereign Republic of South Africa was established. The Afrikaans-speaking National Party Government, which had come to power in 1948, began institutionalising its grand designs for Apartheid.

4.5 FROM MOUNTAIN SLOPE TO URBAN SETTLEMENT

The earliest form of development to take place in what today is known as Bo-Kaap was up on the slopes of Signal Hill. The VOC granted a relatively large tract of land to a free burgher, Andries Thomasz, for the purpose of establishing a market garden to supply the Company's trading fleet. Thomasz named his farm *Scotschekloof* (meaning Scott's Kloof) and in circa 1707 he built himself the *Scotschekloof* homestead.

In 1760, the sexton of the Oude Kerk, Jan de Waal, bought part of the *Scotschekloof Farm* and the following year he was granted an adjacent piece of land. Here he laid out two blocks in an area that became named *Waalendorp* and between 1763 and 1768 he built rows of small '*huurhuisjes*'[226] above Buitengracht, between Dorp and Wale Streets, hence the name Waalendorp.[227] The Cape Town Map of 1767 shows the area of *Waalendorp* developed on the northwest of the town with the two blocks of development aligned with the city grid.

[226] Dutch word meaning rental houses.
[227] Meaning Waal-and-Dorp.

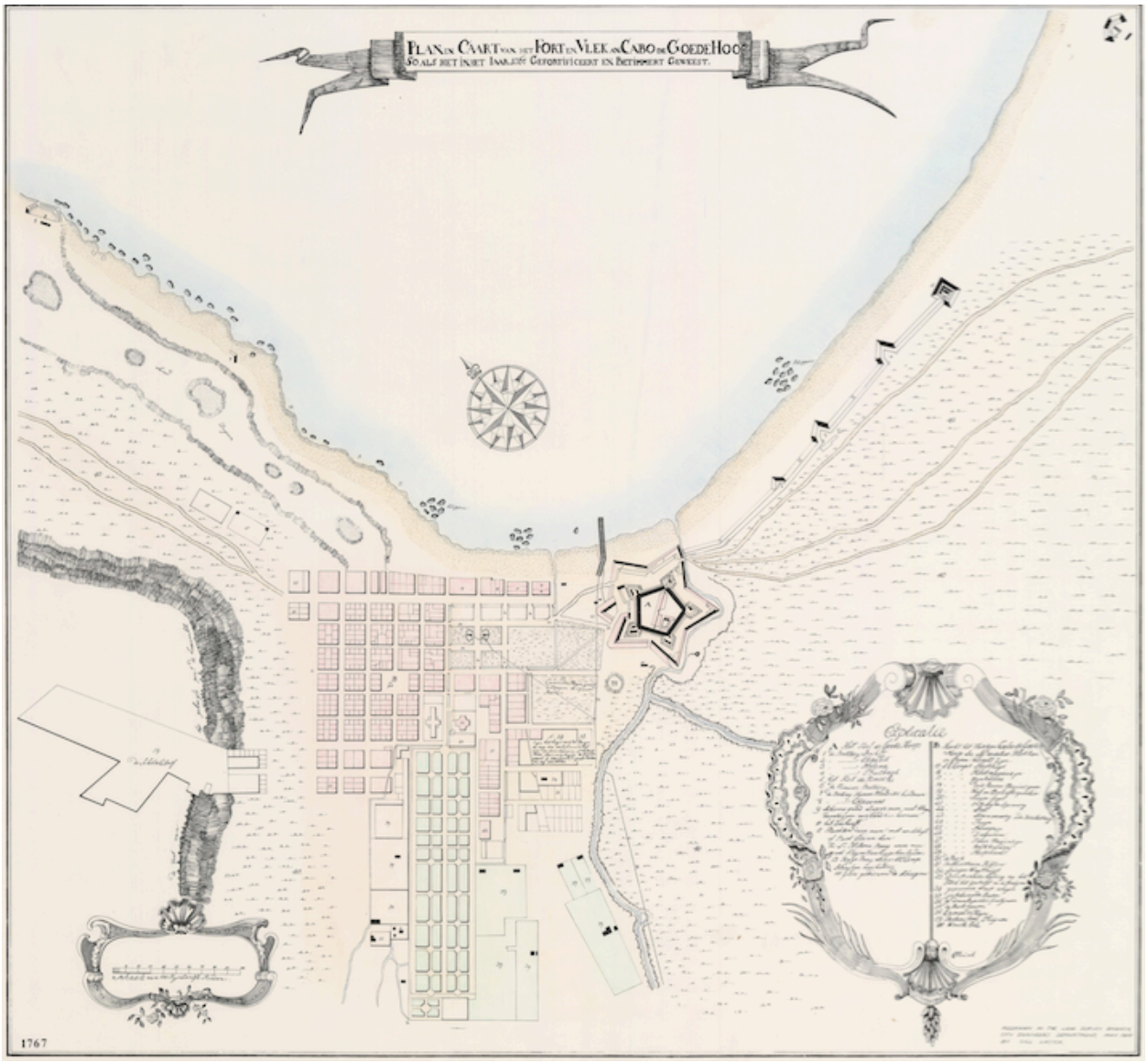


Fig 19: 1767 Map of Cape Town (Source: Cape Town historical maps).

Two of these original houses still survive today, namely the Bo-Kaap Museum in Wale Street (72 Wale Street) which was restored in the 1970s by the CCT, and another house that is situated above Buitengracht, between Dorp and Leeuwen Streets with a curvilinear parapet which is today in private ownership.

The Cape's population was growing rapidly and the town expanded considerably during the late 18th century as troops, of various nationalities, were stationed at the Cape to

help defend it against the British, at the same time attracting many immigrants and '*plattelanders'* to supply their needs of the growing town. This increased presence of in the Cape raised demand for accommodation in the city and from the 1780s the town expanded considerably. The city grid was extended up to the slopes of Signal Hill towards the area then known as *Waalendorp* and land was parcelled out into lots for housing construction.

In 1870 Wale, Church, Shortmarket, Longmarket, Hout and Castle Streets were extended across Buitengracht and houses were built in contiguous rows within the well defined block pattern, however the density of the built fabric was far denser than in the town, with narrow street frontages only half that of the average street frontages elsewhere. By the 1880s two remaining market gardens had also been developed so that by 1885 the Bo-Kaap had, more or less, taken on its current size.

Fig 20: Historical photograph of the Bo-Kaap Museum curvilinear building dating back to 1700s. One of the two remaining huurhuise of Waalendorp.

A comparison between the Thompson survey c1830 and the Snow survey c1862 provides a picture of how much the area had developed over this short 32-year period and continued to grow into the early 20th Century, hence the variety of built form and architectural building styles that make up the character of the area today.

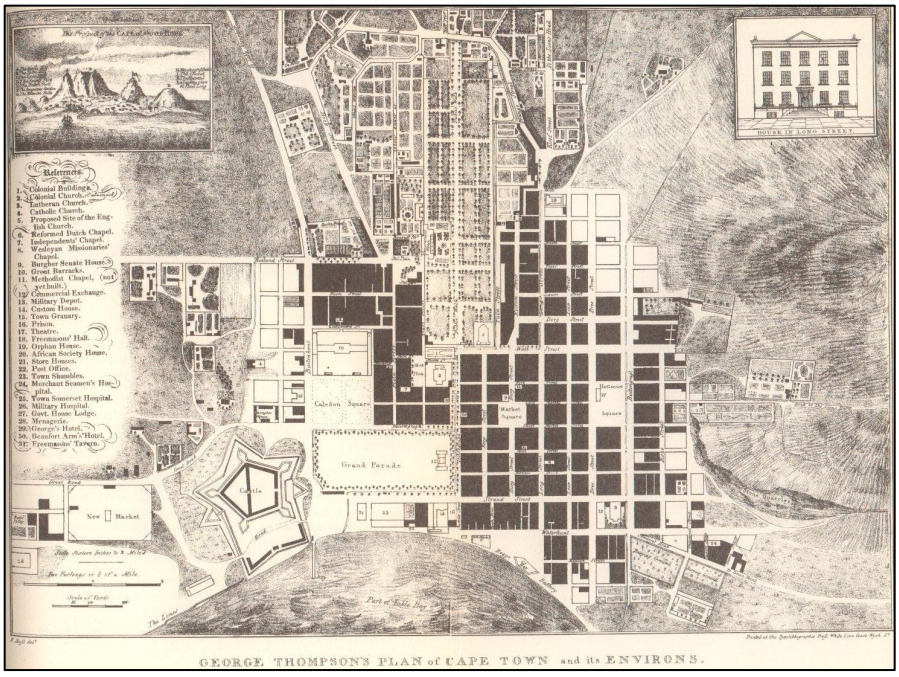


Fig 21: c1830 Thompson map

Fig 22: c1862 Snow survey

4.6 MULTI-CULTURAL AND MULTI-ETHNIC COMMUNITY FORMATIONS

The Cape society in this period was diverse. The traditional languages of the slave community, originating from the Indian Ocean basin, included Melayu and Malayo-Portugese and it was thus the identification with the commonality of language rather than the origin of the slaves that gave birth to the collective term, Malay, a term first used in written records as a classification in 1875.[228]

Afrikaans, the new vernacular language of the colonials, began to emerge in the 18th century as a form of Cape Dutch with borrowings from the Malay, Portuguese, and Bantu languages.

Development of the area near Waalendorp continued to be in the form of modest '*huurhuisjes'*, typically flat-roofed and single-storey houses. Many of them let to immigrant artisans, craftsmen and the working class population of early Cape Town, mostly of European origin. However, the area also housed many 'vrywartzen' from as early as 1800 including Muslims who came to the Cape from Indonesia as exiles or slaves and in 1803 the British gave the Muslim community permission to construct a mosque. By 1811 the Auwal Mosque (meaning 'first mosque') was built in Bo-Kaap in Dorp Street and is still in existence today, and construction of more Mosques in the area followed. By 1854 there were two Muslim schools in the Bo-Kaap and smaller schools were being accommodated in the houses of imams.

The emancipation of slaves in 1834 resulted in an increased need for affordable modest housing and hence a boom in the local rental market. Consequently from the 1840s speculative building occurred at a rapid rate in both Bo-Kaap and District Six. Many Muslim freed slaves moved into the new parts of Bo-Kaap or took over houses from immigrants, who had begun to move out of the area to the newer Southern Suburbs of Cape Town.

[228] Hutchinson 2006: 110.

The Cape had also been used as a convict station by the Dutch and on serving out their sentences many of these freed men chose to stay in the Cape and became part of what was known as the 'Vrywartzen'[229] community. This group practiced Islam and formed a small clerical class. A leading figure of this group was Tuan Guru who assumed leadership of the Cape Muslim community in the late 18th Century. Religious activity was severely restricted by the Dutch and private prayer took place in private Bo-Kaap homes or in the 'Prayer' quarry in Chiappini Street.

4.7 EARLY NOTIONS OF A BO-KAAP IDENTITY

Throughout the 19th Century the term 'Malay' was used to refer to Muslims of all origins. Worden describes how Bo-Kaap developed its own distinct identity according to the lifestyles and practices of the Malays who lived there, however, he cautions that 'this should not be overstated'.[230] It was a neighbourhood made up primarily of artisans and waterfront workers during this period, not all of whom were of the Muslim faith. Achmat David's research into street directories of that period puts forward that the Bo-Kaap population had always been a mixed and multicultural community[231]and not a singular Muslim community. The common denominator appears then to have been one of working class status rather than a cultural, ethnic or religious identity.[232]

Worden explains that during the first half of the 20th Century the term Malay became a 'self descriptive term for many Afrikaans-speaking Muslims with free-black or slave roots, who hoped that what was accepted by whites as an elite black identity would bring advantages in a racist context.'[233] Worden contends that the Cape Malay Association, which held its first conference in 1924 and for the first time the Coloured Muslims of Cape Town had organised themselves politically, had been particularly

[229] Dutch word for 'Free Blacks'.
[230] Worden 1998.
[231] Davids 1980.
[232] Ibid.
[233] Todeschini and Japha 2004: 190.

susceptible to I.D. du Plessis's invention of the Malays that he constructed partly from nineteenth century writings and partly from then popular theories about race types.[234].

4.8 THE 1934 SLUMS ACT

During the 1880s a serious smallpox epidemic first raised middle-class fears about poverty and poor living conditions in overcrowded inner-city neighbourhoods such as Bo-Kaap. After the Black flu of 1918 concerns again focused on Bo-Kaap, parts of which had become seriously dilapidated. The City Council identified Bo-Kaap as a slum and advocated its clearance on the grounds of public health. Slum clearance was a worldwide phenomenon of the colonial era and was happening across Europe.

The Slums Act of 1934 gave the Cape Town City Council far reaching powers to intervene in such areas and from 1936 the Council proceeded to expropriate properties in Bo-Kaap block by block including many that were in relatively good condition, despite the protests of the inhabitants. It was the Council's intention to demolish the buildings and redevelop the area for commercial and social housing use. This agenda was aided by the introduction of Cape Town's then new zoning scheme in 1941 that designated much of the Bo-Kaap for such uses. However, due to a lack of alternative housing the Council found that it had to lease rooms in the expropriated buildings of Bo-Kaap. Whereas the original owners of the buildings had maintained them in a reasonable condition, lack of maintenance by the Council and the replacement of the predominantly Muslim inhabitants by 'displaced' people resulted in severe deterioration and parts of the area becoming a veritable slum.

[234] Worden 1998.

4.9 EARLY HERITAGE CONSERVATION EFFORTS IN BO-KAAP

The earliest documented conservation efforts in the Bo-Kaap, that I have been able to trace, date back to the 1940s. At this time the Council owned the majority of properties in the area by way of expropriation under the 1934 Slums Clearance Act and through lack of maintenance and management of its housing stock it had allowed the condition of the buildings to deteriorate even further than when they were declared slum buildings.

A group of prominent Cape Town citizens, aware of the Council's attempts to have a town planning scheme approved in 1941 by the Administrator so as to permit commercial activity in the Bo-Kaap, and its planned slum 'clean up' programme entailing total erasure of buildings to make way for the intended commercial development, rallied together in opposition to the Council and formed themselves into an action group, calling themselves the Group Working for Preservation of the Malay Quarter (GWPMQ). The group was made up of several very prominent and politically well-connected figures of the time, including I.D. du Plessis, representatives of the National Monuments Council and the architects Reg De Smidt and Magda Sauer. Their principal aim was to conserve the buildings, which they valued primarily for their aesthetic qualities and the contribution they made to the unique character of the area, but also to preserve the so-called 'Malay way of life'. The intention was to establish the area as a cultural zone, specific to the Malay identity and way of life that was considered 'to represent respectability and good family values'.

Under the auspices of the GWPMQ, Sauer and De Smidt surveyed the buildings in the area bounded by Upper Leeuwen Street, Upper Strand Street, Buitengracht and Chiappini Street, and prepared a report in 1943 on the condition of the built fabric based on their findings. The report identified the majority of the houses surveyed in this area as being of Cape Dutch, Georgian or early Victorian architectural style and noted that 'most of these are *un-spoilt* and most of the rest could be made to harmonise by the removal of minor objectionable embellishments and other features'. Although the survey

focused on the buildings' facades, and not the buildings' interiors or their structural or sanitary conditions, the architects note that the buildings 'appear to be of solid construction with few cracks, and built by persons possessing a sound knowledge of local materials and conditions', alluding to the skill and craftsmanship of the slave descendant community who had, in all, probability built the dwellings.

The Council was initially opposed to conservation efforts, demolishing several historical houses which had become dilapidated, but as a result of the mounting pressure placed on the Council by the GWPMQ, the NMC and the local community, and owing to the Administrator's refusal to approve the proposed town planning scheme to permit rezoning of the area to commercial use, the City Engineer was instructed by Council to consult with the pressure group, GWPMQ, to identify a section of the Malay Quarter for restoration and to formulate a restoration proposal for Council's consideration. As a result, the block between Chiappini, Shortmarket, Rose and Longmarket Streets was identified and 17 houses, and a mosque (Longmarket Street mosque), were restored and completed by 1951. This City project is commonly referred to as the First Restoration Scheme. Thereafter the GWPMQ and NMC continued the campaigned to have adjacent blocks restored in a similar manner but this work was not carried out and buildings continued to deteriorate; and light industry and commercial uses began to move into the fringes of the area.

The introduction of two pieces of legislation caused the Council to re-evaluate and adjust proposals for the Council-owned properties in the area. In 1957, despite the protests of many residents, Bo-Kaap was declared a ' Malay Group Area' under the Group Areas Act. The Act stipulated that 'by 1962 no one other than designated 'Malays' could own property there'. This effectively prevented the further commercialisation of the area.

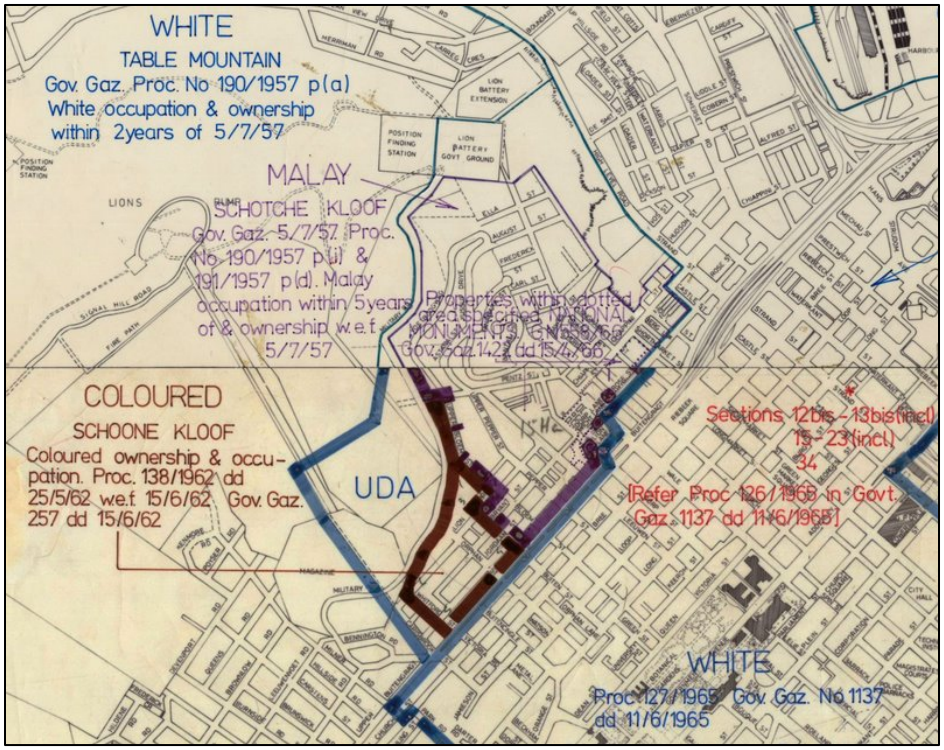


Fig 23: Extract of 1975 Group Areas Map 01 and 04. (Land Survey Branch, Municipality of Cape Town).

4.10 NOMINATION OF BO-KAAP AS A NATIONAL MONUMENT

In 1966 the central core of Bo-Kaap was declared a National Monument (NM) by the NMC. The declared monument was made up four urban blocks bounded by Rose, Longmarket, Chiappini and Wale Streets, with several houses on the other side of Wale Street. The 1966 declaration notice stated:

> Portions of the Malay Quarter specified in the schedule are interesting and historical parts of Cape Town, with a special character derived from the customs and ways of life peculiar to the Malays that live there, and is also of exceptional architectural merit.

Between 1966 and 1976 the Council implemented a further process of renovation under the supervision of the NMC, commonly referred to as the First Extension Scheme. The scheme, comprising of 52 units, included the restoration, construction of new houses behind old facades, and the complete reconstruction of certain buildings all within the NM area. Each of these 52 properties had already been expropriated and was in Council ownership.

The Council thereafter approved a second extension scheme, comprising 73 units, in 1977 and this scheme was carried out in the mid 1980's. New social housing was constructed in the general character of Bo-Kaap on land where buildings had already been demolished and cleared for development by the Council.

The consequence of the Council's three conservation projects, conducted over a period of almost four decades, was that the restoration and reconstruction work resulted in the physical fabric of the historic parts of Bo-Kaap being substantially changed and a resultant loss of material authenticity. This, despite concerted effort by the Council to replicate the character of the original layout and architectural aesthetics of the Bo-Kaap historic core.

4.11 BO-KAAP TODAY AND INTO THE FUTURE

The collection of distinctive buildings that make up Bo-Kaap are a clear manifestation of the area's colonial past and, while it can be expected that the mosques hold unquestionable importance to the Muslim community as valued cultural symbols of their ethno-religious identity, their spiritual collectivity and as markers of their cultural domain, it is possible to imagine that the colonial-styled buildings might be less valued by the Muslim community of Bo-Kaap and possibly even rejected as ubiquitous physical reminders of cultural domination, religious intolerance and social injustices to which their slave ancestors were subjected during the colonial past. Or perhaps, instead, they hold other, more positive, memories and associations that act to bind them as a

community. But it is the community itself that best understands what time-honoured values have endured, what of the built environment represents their past, and what of the it gives meaning to their distinctive ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious and above all, cultural identity; and what it is they wish to preserve for future generations.

Bo-Kaap, the place and its people, is historically linked to the 1600s Dutch settlement. Its buildings and its predominantly Muslim resident community have survived as a direct consequence of apartheid's grand scheme to racially classify and spatially separate and isolate different population groups from the 1950s onwards using the Group Areas Act. It is the oldest surviving area of Cape Town, it is where Islam found a home in South Africa and where the first Muslim community established itself; its collection of colonial domestic architecture makes it an architecturally distinctive area, it has a well-established community with deeply entrenched cultural traditions and value systems; it has a very active and long-standing civic organisation which represents the community on matters of heritage.

It has a predominantly working-class community living within an area that is exceptionally valuable in real estate terms and is being subjected to rapid urban change as a result of the high-rise commercial developments and the gentrification processes that threatens its character.[235] As a result pensioners find themselves forced to sell their homes as property rates escalate. and move out of the area,[236] and younger professionals are moving out of the area into the suburbs which offer larger garden areas for their children to play in and less limitations to building additional accommodate for an expanding family. It is the Muslim custom to add on to the house as the children get married and have children but space limitations and heritage constraints prevent such additions to be made.

Consequently, the social make-up of the Bo-Kaap community and its physical urban environment is at a critical point of change. Bo-Kaap residents and heritage activists are

[235] Hartley 2005.
[236] Isaacs 2014.

constantly challenging development applications or at least trying to influence the outcome, but as the chairman of the Bo-Kaap Civic Association, Mr Shaboodien, attests, it is almost a full-time job to keep up with the many aspects with which they involve themselves and resources are scarce.[237] While it is accepted that change is a precursor to progress and cannot be halted, the current pace of change potentially threatens to alter this unique area, its urban character and the social fabric of the community which is as much part of its character as is the built form.

That Bo-Kaap is culturally significant is undisputed. In 2004, the national heritage authority, SAHRA, whose mandate it is to identify and protect sites of national heritage significance, identified Bo-Kaap as a National Heritage Site.[238] The formal declaration process was never concluded and the area therefore does not benefit from formal protection as a NHS, the highest level of protection offered by the NHRA but it nonetheless demonstrates the exceptionally high cultural significance of the area to all South Africans.

The nomination document prepared by SAHRA officials at the time describes Bo-Kaap as 'having an immense physical presence with an intoxicating spirit of its own, which possesses a rich cultural, religious and architectural heritage very unique to Cape Town and South Africa'[239] recognising it as 'a prime example of the intricate link between a tangible built heritage and the intangible cultural-religious values' and puts forward that 'the area has multiple significance and heritage values'.[240] It goes on to explicate the different significances embodied in Bo-Kaap, listing them according to a set of categories of values – historical, architectural, aesthetic, spiritual, scientific and social value, and includes Cultural- Culinary- Religious Practices.[241]

[237] Personal interview, 22 October 2015.
[238] Minutes of SAHRA Council meeting. At this meeting the council approved the nomination of Bo-Kaap and the Tana Baru burial site as Grade 1 site. The formal declaration however was never formally gazetted and Bo-Kaap remains an identified Grade 1 site but not a declared NHA.

[239] SAHRA 2006: 1.
[240] Ibid.: 1.
[241] Ibid.: 2.

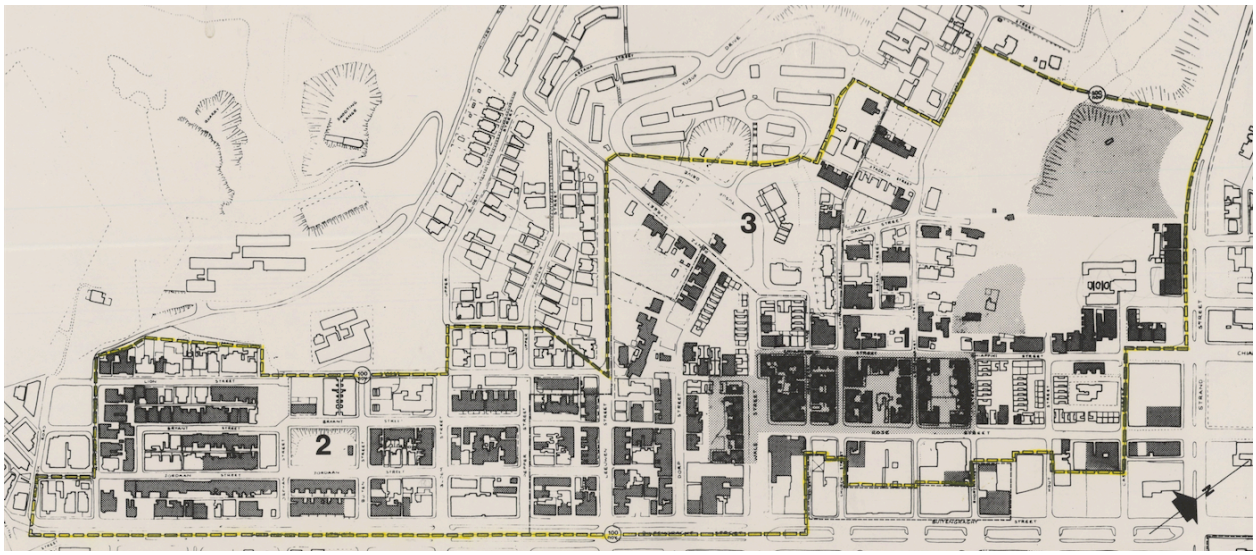


Fig 24: The proposed 1986 boundary of the Bo Kaap Conservation Area. The SAHRA Council in October 2004 adopted this demarcated boundary for the identified Grade I area. (SAHRA Library).

It is interesting that the document explicitly refers to the tangible built heritage and to intangible forms of heritage and recognises that it is the combination and the layering of these significances that need to be safeguarded: '….the conservation potential of Bo-Kaap as a heritage resource lies in the careful management of both the tangible built environment and the intangible values of a culture which were brought about by the complex historiography of Cape Town and therewith South Africa'. [242] SAHRA's nomination of Bo-Kaap as a Grade I heritage site was done without any public participation involving the community of Bo-Kaap. That was to follow as part of the formal declaration process, as prescribed by the NHRA, but the formal declaration never happened.

19 sites in Bo-Kaap were nominated and formally declared by SARHA in 2019 as National Heritage Sites. The community also applied to have Bo-Kaap listed on the watch-list of the US-based World Monuments Fund which recognises Bo-Kaap for its 'distinctive vernacular architecture and its enduring Muslim culture'[243] and goes on to say that this unique area is at risk from 'the impact of social, political and economic

[242] Ibid.: 6.
[243] www.worldmonumentsfund.org

change'.[244]

Post-apartheid Bo-Kaap is a reflection of South Africa's multi-ethnic, multicultural 'Rainbow Nation'. The Cape Muslim community group is the majority group in the area comprising 90% of the 6000 resident population according to the 2011 SA Census.[245] The remaining 10% of the resident community is made up of Europeans (Germans, English, Italians, Portuguese, etc.), South African Indians, and a small percentage of black Africans.[246]

Bo-Kaap offers an examination of a particularly rich and interesting set of historical and contemporary social circumstances, processes and dynamics that interconnect through time to reveal the complexities of heritage and the shaping, or construction of heritage values. As a case site it provides embedded themes of culture, community, identity and power relations and, although not all of these concepts are examined in depth in this study they are all key to the understanding of values and heritage formations. They are also central to the issues challenging heritage discourse and practice in South Africa currently.

[244] Ibid.
[245] The last comprehensive consensus was performed by Statistics South Africa in 2011. The information is therefore out-dated but the most reliable information available. The next census will be done in 2021. http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=3836, accessed January 2016.
[246] The term 'Black Africans' is used here only because of its use as a population classification in the SA Census.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 FOREGROUNDING THE ANALYSIS

Analysis and interpretation of the data has lead to many different perspectives emerging rather than a single coherent truth moment. What surfaces is that heritage is easily caught up in highly complex social and political processes and it is difficult to extricate heritage out of the real life mix. Context is all-important to understanding heritage making and human meaning making. This is indeed the highly contested nature of heritage, and positionality and conditionality complicates the situation but also adds interest.

What has surfaced through the analysis of data derived from the many sources used, is a multi-hued collage, a collage of themes, which I elaborate on in this chapter. When viewed together these themes cast themselves into an interesting portrait of the situation. Some angles have more focus and clarity than others while some are less distinct but add thickening, and some are so nebulous that I have not included them. What comes through, however, as a constant thread in the analysis is an intense unsettling of values associated with heritage, be they values held communally within communities, by sectors of a community group, by individuals, the heritage industry, the public, politicians or within the academy.

As far as possible I am mindful to retain a critical stance and at the same time be aware of my own subjective position and the potential for ‘othering’ or a tendency at times to self-identify. What I have attempted to capture is the participant voice so that their story is captured and their perceptions foregrounded. Granted, it is not the full story, only partial, and even within this one hears the different and competing narratives. It is made apparent by participants that Bo-Kaap is a community of different groupings with publically undeclared internal divisions and heritage values are used in different ways to achieve different things for different reasons.

5.2 INTANGIBLE LIVING HERITAGE AND THE BUILT HERITAGE

> "*Increased property sales to outsiders at crazy [high] prices is resulting in the area changing [physical] character completely……more importantly its our community that gets affected*".[247]

Participants in interviews have repeatedly cited this as the major factor threatening the changes in Bo-Kaap, what they refer to as the gentrification threat to Bo-Kaap, and the resultant escalation in property rates increase. And yet, interestingly, my earlier research findings in 2015 found that it is not the built heritage environment per se that the Bo-Kaap Muslim resident community values. It was then less about the actual buildings and more about the community that is of value. This is taken to mean the cultural expressions and traditions of the Muslim community group. What was then portrayed as a unified community form has since been questioned and it is now evident that such coherency exists more in an imagined form, an imagined community as Benedict Anderson[248] describes it.

While Bo-Kaap is known for its unique architectural character and brightly coloured buildings, and the community called for the HPOZ to be put in place to protect the built heritage, their heritage claims are not currently on the buildings. As was expressed to me by Mr Munier Parker:

> "*They've just made us buildings – we're more than just buildings*"[249] and echoed by Mr Mujahid Hartley when he said: *"We're more than just pretty buildings"*.[250]

This same sentiment was clearly expressed by many of the resident participants and it became clear that the built urban environment is valued as a symbol of a shared past, shared memories and a place in which members feel a sense of attachment, a place where they belong and thereby derive a sense of community and identity. The

[247] Personal interview with Mr Emeraan on 28 October 2015.
[248] Anderson 1983.
[249] Personal interview with Mr Parker on 25 October 2015
[250] Personal interview with Mr Hartley, January 2020.

architectural quality is less important. What it means to their internal world is of highest importance.

For those who have come to live in the area more recently and do not have multigenerational family ties to Bo-Kaap and imbedded memories, they firmly agree that it is more than the buildings that make Bo-Kaap worthy of heritage protection. For them the cultural richness is in the everyday experiences of children playing in the streets or walking to Madrassah school, the generational respect shown to Muslim elders, the ubiquitous corner cafés that are disappearing in Cape Town neighbourhoods, the diversity of people living peacefully beside one another, "the spirit of the place".

The spirit of Bo-Kaap is not easily described but the Grade 1 SAHARA nomination for Bo-Kaap[251] does its best to capture the many layers of heritage significance. The intangible practices, traditions and living heritage manifest in the area is, however, what is being shown to be most valued by the community and yet how does this get protected when the discipline and statutory framework adopts, wholesale, a built heritage approach. How does the call to prayer for the Muslim faithful get safeguarded against public demands to the City to "ban the call to prayer"[252] on the basis that it contravenes the City's noise by-law? "Community fabric of Bo-Kaap has not been broken"[253] but the concern is that the pace of change is so rapid and intense that there is a real possibility that the community bonds and the attachment to place is being affected.

> *"We call it Kanallah spirit, or you can say Ubuntu – its always there, seen or unseen".* [254]

The varied street names depicting the diversity of people and cultures associated with Bo-Kaap through the centuries (e.g. Dorp, Chiappini, Almonda, Helliger, Bryant, Sachs, Jordaan, Pentz, Stadzicht), the children's street games, spiritual and cultural events

[251] SAHRA 2006.
[252] Argus 2017.
[253] Personal interview with Mr Shabodien 22 October 2015.
[254] Ibid.

such as weddings and burials which spill out onto streets to which "everyone gets invited", the locally spoken slang, the local cuisine, the corner café, annual riempie cutting, Eid celebrations, Christmas choirs, the Cape Minstrels are all culturally infused intangible heritage expressions and performances that give life to the living heritage of Bo-Kaap. Protecting the inanimate buildings will not protect the inhabitants' lived experience. *"What goes on behind the facades and in the open public streets is what's valuable here,"* is how Fabio Todeschini put it.[255]

Buildings are seen as cultural artefacts; like any other artefacts as symbols of meaning they are valuable for what they represent. This is not to say that Bo-Kaapers do not want their buildings to change, they are saying their social and cultural environment cannot adjust to the pace of change and is consequently being eroded.

South Africa has a built heritage legacy and what is surfacing in public discourse is that the intangible heritage needs to be brought into the decision-making and policy development frame. The National Department of Arts and Culture's Living Heritage policy[256] goes some way to address the policy gap, however, being in draft form it has no status and it is hardly known to the public as a policy document.

The study shows that the prevailing sense of pride and cultural authority attributed to the Bo-Kaap community identity does not reside in the physical built environment in the way that one might assume it would. Most participants did suggest that the buildings contribute to their cultural setting and are therefore part of who they are but there was a sense that the buildings are taken for granted, 'something that has always just been there'.[257]

For the community it is not just a question of the physical context of Bo-Kaap but its cultural context and the objections shown or voiced through heritage and planning processes to the loss of the historical environment seems to be more a means of

[255] Personal interview with the late Prof Todeschini 11 November 2015.
[256] Draft National Policy on South African Living Heritage, 2009.
[257] Personal interview with Muneer Jacobs. This was my original conclusion based on my research findings of 2015.

expressing a vulnerability to the loss of cultural identity than expressing a concern for the built environment itself. Participants were unanimous that the spirit of Bo-Kaap and its sense of place come form both the physical context and the intangible.

5.3 HERITAGE CONTESTATION, ACTIVISM AND CIVIC AGENCY

In 2019, during the organized protest action in Bo-Kaap, the Bo-Kaap community representative body, BOKRA, presented to their ward councilor Brandon Golding a list of demands.[258] They had found a public and political audience and were looking to seize the opportunity to have a number of issues addressed such as liquor licensing, property rates rebates, traffic and parking management measures, tourist busses, sports facilities, public participation processes, a responsible tourism plan, and planning issues among others. Heritage was the banner under which the protests took to the streets and burnt tyres with placards and slogans of “Hands off our Heritage”, “Declare & Protect Bo-Kaap a National Heritage Site”, “Don’t Destroy Our Heritage”, “Hands Off Bo-Kaap” “Save our Tanu Baru Cemetry”, and “Jou Kop is op die Blok”.

Mujahid Hartley of BKYM explained that all the issues under discussion impacted in one way or another on the community and while BKYM’s emphasis was more on economic upliftment and job opportunity he was candid in saying it was “*easier to roll tyres down the hill to get attention around heritage*”.[259] The ex Bo-Kaap ward councilor, Dave Bryant, said that it was the first time in his experience as a City councilor that he had seen heritage activism anywhere in the city and a sense of militancy in the community. He was eluding to the way the youthful protestors dressed and their body language.

It was also around this time that the community mobilized themselves into activist groupings under the different names of Bo-Kaap Youth Movement, Bo-Kaap Rise! and the Bo-Kaap Collective. Each of them seem to have had their own reasons for starting

[258] Personal interview with Ward Councilor Golding February 2020.
[259] Personal interview with Mr Mujahid Hartley January 2020.

up or splitting off, and their membership caused great consternation to families and have been cause for enduring rifts in the community. Other civil social activist bodies and coalitions such as Reclaim the City, Ndifunda Ukwazi and Unite Behind joined in a stance of solidarity against the City administrators and developers in what they viewed as a state of "capture".

Each of these groups became very visible across social media platforms and while each of them spoke loudly to heritage protection they also became public slandering campaigns against one another and at times took very personal tones. It has since been clarified to me that the divisions that formed were not only generational – youth opposed to an older leadership style entrenched in the BOKRA body – but has classist overtones and their agendas relate to specific modes of class and privilege inherent in Bo-Kaap.[260] To the outsider the claims to heritage appeared to converge around the call to protect Bo-Kaap from "greedy developers" and City officials and executives who were not paying heed to the surfacing problems. The Bo-Kaap Rise! Slogan talks of "A voice for change, A call to action. A celebration of heritage".

Shakirah Dramat a founder of the movement said in an article: "*we definitely can respect and learn from our elders, but we're taking a more radical approach to say: pay attention to us, because you've been ignoring our elders for the past 20 years."* [261] She goes on to say that: "*For a long time young people were not very active in he community. They only became active recently with this new awakening and this newfound revolution that's happening in the area.*"[262]

It is said that protesting is the language of the unheard and unseen[263] and this is what inspired the different youth groups to take action and claim agency. The act of claiming the space of Bo-Kaap by holding street protests, marking the buildings with placards and graffiti, and holding public evening prayers in the open streets was a act of

[260] Interviews with Hartley, Vawda and Samie 2020.
[261] Pather 2018a.
[262] Pather 2018a.
[263] Martin Luther King: "The riot is the language of the unheard."

ownership and defiance against what was dubbed a “violent” act on the part of developers coming into the area with no regard for the culture and living heritage. This claiming of space resonates with claims of spatial and land injustices.

Added to the activist atmosphere of the 2018-2019 Bo-Kaap protests were the overt signs of support for the Pro-Palestinian movement. Flags in the Palestinian colours were flown across Wale Street, the main entrance into Bo-Kaap, and a large “Free Palestine” banner. Through the series of the 2020 interviews the theme of Pro-Palestinian–Anti-Zionism politics surfaced and it seems that the idea that the DA’s stance of being pro-development under the de Lille leadership equates to being pro-Zionist exists, although this idea could not be verified and did not form part of my research. It was explained by three of the participnts that any community member seen willing to engage with the property developers were viewed as sell outs within their Muslim community. This makes for a very fraught and complex scenario.

5.4 THE VISIBLE AND THE INVISIBLE

In our contemporary world it is not enough to assume that the heritage that one person values will be valued by others or that values are fixed and immutable.[264] There are diverse ways of valuing heritage and social dynamics and structures of power are continuously at play, influencing the way that heritage is valued by diverse players within and across society. A key consequence of heritage is that it creates and recreates a sense of inclusion and exclusion[265] and it is continuously recreating or over-writing new meanings and values. Because values cannot be fixed in time and place the question of whose values shall prevail is an ongoing challenge in determining cultural significance. And tied to this is the inevitable question of “whose heritage is it that people want to save?”[266]

[264] De la Torre et al 2002.
[265] Smith 2009: 6.
[266] Howard 2006 in Smith 2010.

A key question is to ask, 'What is the purpose of the heritage conservation endeavour'? In the case of Bo-Kaap there has been a shift in attitude of the community. Whilst before heritage was described as a "tool of oppression" in that it prevented people from doing the changes they wanted for their own properties, it is now utilized as a tool of power and agency, and the bearer of a righteous claim to ownership of an identity and heritage community. The fear of erasure of identity and being rendered invisible is a real fear that lives within all humans, and it is therefore only acceptable levels of change that can be tolerated. The situation in Bo-Kaap taps into the existential condition of thinking that "if I can't be seen then I do not exist". And heritage is a critical mirror for self-identity in contemporary society; hence its purpose is to reinforce self-identity, attachment and a sense of belonging.

The narrative of displacement in the South African context is omnipresent, and Bo-Kaap despite being 'created' a Muslim area by the stroke of the apartheid pen, does not escape the writing of displacement into personal family histories. It was evident from the interviews with the older generation of community members that traces of the apartheid legacy still live in personal memories and stories and colour perceptions of events as they are unfolding around them. One cannot help but ask what it means to be without a sense of place and an attachment to place. How then can one measure one's sense of belonging? It is important to humans that their relationship to a physical space is both personal and relevant.

The challenge of the conservation field stems not only from the cultural heritage resources and sites themselves, but also from the contexts in which society embeds them. These contexts, the values that people draw from them, the functions that heritage objects serve for society, the uses to which heritage is put, are the real sources of meaning of heritage, and the raison d'être for conservation in all senses. As society changes values change and so too does the role of conservation, and the opportunities for conservation to shape and support society.[267]

[267] Avrami et al 2000: 64.

5.5 A FUTURE IMAGINING

Heritage conservation is intensely subjective and political, engaged in privileging the values of certain groups and excluding others. Conservation can mediate between the actors in the process, give voice to multiple narratives, empower communities, and negotiate change. According to the Gramscian version of Marxism, 'we have to reject any elitist conception of culture. Culture is 'ordinary' and as such needs to be defended against any denigration from above.'[268]

Babich postulates that we must, however, at the same time be cautious not to slavishly adopt a naïve populism that celebrates existing cultural practices, heritage formulations and identities as de facto legitimate and self-chosen, [269] but to view them through a critical lens that can differentiate elitist fabrications from populist fabrications. This then is the function of heritage discourse and practice. It should make allowance for the non-expert, ordinary citizen to move from the periphery to the centre of the heritage processes of identification, assessment, protection and management of both their tangible and intangible heritage resources.

Studies by De la Torre, Avrami and Mason have been useful in showing the benefit of adopting a more symmetrical and values-driven approach to heritage conservation and encourages heritage communities to take a more proactive role in protecting their heritage environments and in turn allows for more creative measures to be used in safeguarding and managing them.[270]

It can play a role in community building by reinforcing shared histories, cultivating collective identities, and providing a sense of belonging. Alternatively, it can marginalize or exclude, define difference, and prevent rather than manage change. New concepts, frameworks, and approaches leave open the possibility of creative and diverse solutions within the theory and practice of contemporary heritage conservation. This points to the

[268] Babich 2017: 77.
[269] Ibid.: 78.
[270] De la Torre et al 2005.

role of conservation professionals in the future to act as facilitators enabling people to engage with their cultural heritage, rather than as experts prescribing certain actions.

In order to prevent academic ossification into a sterile discourse cut off from praxis the research aims to tie it to ongoing social life. This networking of the heritage discipline with emergent concrete problems seen in Bo-Kaap and other local contexts is intended to open a more flexible conception of heritage and the value it holds to people.

> *In the eyes of Heidegger, history is not merely past events, but the way in which "the world is originally opened up for us by our relationship to our future and our past." (Heidegger)*

CONCLUSION

The study set out as an exploratory process to understand how events and processes in Bo-Kaap have given rise to an unsettling of heritage values in the local context and how heritage activism from 'inside' the community is shaping a current public heritage discourse. The claims push hard against the existing confines of the tangible heritage typology and the logics of expert knowledge that underlie the current singular conception of heritage, to create a new understanding of heritage and its role in post-apartheid South African society in which fractures, exclusions and omissions remain present in every day life.

The role of public discourse has been pivotal in giving expression to the changes in values and in repositioning communities that are ordinarily marginalized audiences on the periphery of heritage processes to an activist collective at the very centre stage of heritage. The display of heritage as social activator signals the need to undo the binary understanding of tangible-intangible heritage and allow for complimentary perspectives to co-exist so that communities can imagine themselves, and their children, within a past-present-future continuum.

Bo-Kaap as the case study, highlights the importance of theorising from place, and offers a location that allows a different angle of vision in telling an ongoing story of the past in the present. It offers an opportunity for the heritage discipline, in practice and academia, to critically evaluate the role and importance of the heritage continuum for meaning making, identity and self-conceptualisation. The interviews contribute a dynamic understanding of the larger forces that have come together in the present moment to activate community responses, calling for a change in values that reflect their 'intrinsic' value systems rather than 'attributed' values that look through a narrow lens at the material fabric of place and render invisible the people and the intangible values that dwell there.

In considering the conservation of urban historic environments which are human made complex, layered and changeable systems, Bandarin and van Oers ask the question: 'Is urban conservation a chimerical dream?'[271] Analysis of the findings supports the view that that preserving intangible structures but not the values that society or a community strive, themselves, to preserve as the guardians of their collective identity and memory for sustaining their own sense of continuity into the future, is a utopian ideal.[272]

The contention and complex perspectives that reside in heritage have surfaced but one thread across the interviews is the shared perspective that the cultural expressions, symbols and practices that give life to the area are as much part of a shared inheritance from the past as are the aesthetically pleasing buildings and aged cobbled streets. It appears that within the domain of shifting heritage values there is added complexity in the negotiations that are defining the present, the claim to agency, stated ownership of heritage and identity politics. It provokes questioning how must, or will, the heritage discipline engage with these changing heritage values, conceive and reframe heritage practice and discourse in response to the changing context and debates? What this reframing will look like is yet unknown but I propose that the moment presents an opportunity to initiate a deep look at the competing logics, the relevance, purpose and role that heritage plays and contemplate if heritage can contribute to transformative justice.

"In the end we will conserve only what we love;
we will love only what we understand;
and we will understand only what we are taught."
(Baba Dioum)[273]

[271] Bandarin and van Oers 2012: ix.
[272] Ibid.
[273] The much anthologised statement by Baba Dioum of Senegal in his presentation at the General Assembly meeting of the IUCN in 1968.

APPENDIX A: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES & PARTICIPANTS

2015 INTERVIEWS

BO-KAAP COMMUNITY MEMBERS: The 'Insider' Community Group

1: Ms. Shireen Nackerdien – Local tourist guide (dates)
Self identifies as a Cape Muslim female.
Born and lives in Bo-Kaap.
Personal, semi-structured interview in Bo-Kaap
9 October 2015. 1-hour interview.

2: Ms. Jackie Poking – Member and Chair of the Bo-Kaap Civic Heritage Substructure of the Bo-Kaap Civic & Ratepayers Association.
Self-identifies as a Coloured female.
Lives in Bo-Kaap since 2010. I include her as an insider as she is the Chair of the BKC and is more an insider than outsider.
Personal semi-structured interview held at the Bo-Kaap Community Centre
9 October 2015. 1.5-hour interview recorded.

3: Ms. Quahnita Samie – Ex resident, ex SAHRA official and worked on the SAHRA Grade 1 Nomination dossier HWC committee member and a professional heritage consultant.
Self-identifies as a Muslim female.
Born and grew up in Bo-Kaap. She no longer lives there.
Personal unstructured interview held at the Radisson Hotel, Green Point
10 October 2015. 1.5-hour interview.

4: Ms. Fowzia Achmat – Long-standing member and secretary of the Bo-Kaap Civic Heritage Substructure.
Self-identifies as a Cape Muslim female.
Born and lives in Bo-Kaap
Personal semi-structured interview held at her home in Bryant Street, Bo-Kaap
12 October 2015. 1-hour interview partly recorded.

5: Ms. Shereen Misbach Habib – Local tour guide
Born and lives in Bo-Kaap. Her family owned the Noon Day Gun restaurant now no longer operating.
Personal interview at the Bo-Kaap Museum
15 October 2015. 1-hour interview.

6: Ms. Abdeya da Costa – Retired business owner
Born and lives in Bo-Kaap. Her father was the Imam of the Long Street Palm Mosque. A respected elder of the community. She met the British Royals when they visited Bo-Kaap in 2019.
Personal semi-structured interview at her home in Bo-Kaap
15 October 2015. 2-hour interview.

7: Ms. Bilqees Baker – Community volunteer and local tourist guide
Self-identifies as a Muslim female.
Lives in Bo-Kaap since 1995
Personal semi-structured interview held at her home in Bryant Street, Bo-Kaap
20 October 2015. 1.5-hour interview recorded.

8: Mr. Munier Parker – Ex resident and filmmaker
Self-identifies as a Muslim male
Born in Bo-Kaap.
Personal semi-structured interview held at his office in Bo-Kaap
20 October 2015. 1-hour interview.

9: Ms. Sehaam Samaai – Ex resident, attorney and legal adviser to the Bo-Kaap Civic.
Self-identifies as a Muslim female
Born in Bo-Kaap.
Personal semi-structured interview held at her husband, Mr Munier Parker's, office in Bo-Kaap
20 October 2015. 1-hour interview.

10: Mr. Osman Shaboodien – Business owner and longstanding Chairman of the Bo-Kaap Civic Association.
Self-identifies as a Muslim male
Born and lives in Bo-Kaap
Personal semi-structured interview held at his office in Culemborg, CT
22 October 2015. 2-hour interview recorded.

11: Mr. Majid Joseph – Ex resident and architectural technician
Born in Bo-Kaap
Personal semi-structured interview held at his home in Vredehoek, CT
27 October 2015. 1-hour interview recorded.

12: Mr. Hussein Emeraan – Retired Principal of Trafalgar High School
80 years, born in Bo-Kaap (lived for a period in District 6)
Personal semi-structured interview held at his home in Bo-Kaap
28 October 2015. 2.5-hour interview partly recorded.

13: Mr. Abdul Muhamien Bassier – Boorrhanol trustee and transport engineer at the City of Cape Town. His father was the respected late Imam of the Long Street Mosque.
Born and lives in Bo-Kaap
Personal semi-structured interview at his office in the Civic Centre, Cape Town
2 November 2015. 1-hour interview.

14: Mr. Wahab Ahmed – Owner of Atlas Trading Company
Self-identifies as an Indian male.
Born in Bo-Kaap.
Personal semi-structured interview held at his office,Atlas Trading Company in Bo-Kaap
3 November 2015. 1-hour recorded interview.

BO-KAAP RESIDENTS: The 'Outsider' Community Group

i: Prof Fabio Todeschini – Resident since 2005
Academic, architect, urban designer and heritage practitioner
South African white male
Personal interview held at his home in Dorp Street, Bo-Kaap
11 November 2015. 1.5-hour interview.

ii: Ms. Adeya Avarim – Resident since 2001
Retiree
Israeli white Jewish female
Personal informal discussion held at her home in Bryant Street, Bo-Kaap
13 November 2015. 1-hour discussion.

iii: Mr. Neil Franks – Resident since 2010
Architect at Neilmarie Architects
South African white male
Informal discussion
28 October 2015

iv: Ms. Raymonda – Resident since 2008 (lives 6 months of each year in Germany and six months in Bo-Kaap)
Business owner in Germany
German white female.
Informal telephonic discussion, 25 October 2015

v: Messrs. Alietta and Mario Marconi – Residents since 2010
Export business owners
Italian white female and male
Informal discussion held at their home in Jordaan Street, Bo-Kaap
16 November 2015

HERITAGE AUTHORITIES & HERITAGE PRACTITIONERS

A: Ms. Lesley Friedman Townsend – Architect, ex SAHRA official (dates) and co-author of the book *Bokaap Faces and Facades.*
Personal interview at her home in Observatory, CT
20 October 2015

B. Dr. Stephen Townsend – Architect, ex CCT senior official in the then Urban Conservation Unit (dates), co-author of the book *Bokaap Faces and Facades*, ex HWC CEO (dates), HWC committee member (dates), and heritage practitioner
Informal discussion at his home, Gardens, CT
26 October 2015

C. Mr. Graham Jacobs – Architect and heritage practitioner, ex CCT official in the then Urban Conservation Unit (dates), assisted in public participation process, HWC committee member (dates).
Telephonic discussion
1 October 2015

4: Ms. Hannetjie du Preez – Chief Director DCAS, ex NMC official (dates).
Telephonic discussion
27 October 2015

D: Mr Andrew Hall – Ex HWC CEO (dates)
Skype internet call
9 November 2015

E: Mr. David Hart – CCT senior heritage official in the Environment & Heritage Management department (dates) and ex SAHRA CEO (dates)
Informal discussion held at his CCT office 44 Wale Street, CT
22 October 2015

F: Ms. Harriet Clift – CCT official in the Environment & Heritage Management department (dates), member of the HPOZ nomination task group, and archeologist.
Informal discussion held at her CCT office 44 Wale Street, CT
22 October 2015

2020 INTERVIEWS

Quahnita Samie – Heritage practitioner for the St Monica's redevelopment project. Ex resident of Bo-Kaap.
Unstructured interview.
12 January 2020. 1.5-hour interview, unrecorded.

Ms Jackie Poking – Secretary of the Bo-Kaap Civic & Ratepayers Association.
Unstructured telephonic interview.
16 January 2020. 1-hour interview, unrecorded

Mr Mujahid Hartley – member of the Bo-Kaap Youth Movement.
Unstructured interview held at his home in Bo-Kaap.
16 January 2020. 1-hour interview, recorded.

Ms Bilqees Baker – Bo-Kaap tourist guide.
Unstructured interview held at her home in Bryant Street, Bo-Kaap
21 January 2020. 2-hour interview recorded.

Cllr Dave Bryant – Currently a councilor at City of Cape Town. He was previously the ward councilor for Bo-Kaap. DA member. He put forward the motion to Council to declare the HPOZ in Bo-Kaap.
Unstructured interview held in his work office at 44 Wale Street, Cape Town.
30 January 2020. 1-hour interview, recorded.

Cllr Brandon Golding – Currently the City ward councilor for Bo-Kaap. DA member. He took over as the ward councilor from Stewart Diamond.
Unstructured interview held in his work office at 44 Wale Street, Cape Town.
30 January 2020. 1-hour interview, recorded.

Prof. Shahid Vawda – Academic. Director of Humanities Department, UCT.
Unstructured interview held in his office, Beatty Building UCT.
30 January 2020. 1.5-hour interview, recorded.

APPENDIX B: 2015 INTERVIEW QUESTIONAIRE/GUIDE

Prepared by Tamar Shem-Tov, October 2015

A: General background information of interviewees:
Name, age, address, profession/work, and community involvement e.g. member of a community organisation.

B: Interview Questions:

1. Were you born in Bo-Kaap and/or how long have you lived in Bo-Kaap?
2. How many generations of your family have lived in Bo-Kaap?
3. How do you culturally identify yourself?
4. How would you describe the Bo-Kaap community and has it changed in any way as a community over time?
5. Do you consider yourself part of this community?
6. What, do you think, is the character of the Bo-Kaap area and what gives it a sense of place?
7. What, do you think, of the physical built environment is most valuable to the community and why? Do you think it's mostly the age of buildings, the Bo-Kaap architecture, material authenticity, uses/function of the buildings, building heights, or could it be the association with the past that is most valued?
8. What is your opinion of the changes that have happened to Bo-Kaap that you have witnessed in your lifetime?
9. What buildings and/or places in Bo-Kaap are most important to you and why? And what do you think the community would want to see preserved for the next 50–100 years?
10. Do you think there are different values in the community regarding the buildings of Bo-Kaap? Have values changed over time?
11. What motivates the community to get involved with heritage matters?
12. How are the community's values being represented to the heritage authorities and do you think the values are adequately informing decision-making?
13. What role do the buildings of Bo-Kaap play in contributing to a Bo-Kaap community identity?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abercrombie, Nicholas, Stephen Hills and Bryan S. Turner, 1984. *Dictionary of Sociology*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Adler, P.A. and P. Adler, 1994. 'Observational techniques', in N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, London: Sage, 377–92.

Alonso Gonzalez, Pablo, 2014. 'From a given to a construct: Heritage as a commons', *Cultural Studies* 28(3): 359–90.

AlSayyad, Nezar (ed.), 2013. *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism*, London: Routledge.

Anderson, Benedict, 1983. *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso.

Appadurai, Arjun, 2001. 'Deep democracy: Urban governmentality and the horizon of politics', *Environment and Urbanization* 13(2): 23–44.

Araoz, Gustavo F., 2011. 'Preserving heritage places under a new paradigm', *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* 1(1): 55–60.

Armstrong, James C., 1986. 'The Slaves, 1652–1795', in Richard Elphick and Hermann Gilliomee (eds), *The Shaping of South African Society 1652–1820*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman, 75–115.

Ashworth, G.J., J.E. Tunbridge and B.J. Graham, 2007. *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*, London: Pluto.

Association of Professional Heritage Practitioners, 2020. 'Reconnecting Heritage: Unpacking Heritage dissonance', Position paper from APHP conference, April 2019, Cape Town.

Avrami, Erica, Susan Macdonald, Randall Mason and David Myers (eds), 2019. *Values in Heritage Management: Emerging Approaches and Research Directions*, Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

Avrami Erica and Randall Mason, 2019. 'Mapping the issue of values', in Avrami et al. (eds), *Values in Heritage Management: Emerging Approaches and Research Directions*, Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

Avrami, Erica, Randall Mason and Marta de la Torre, 2000. *Values and Heritage Conservation: Research Report*, Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

Babich, Babette, 2017. *Hermeneutic Philosophies of Social Science*, Boston: De Gruyter.

Baderoon, Gabeba, 2014. 'Oblique figures: Representations of Islam in South African media and culture', Doctoral dissertation, University of Cape Town.

Baldwin Brown, G., 1905. *The Care of Ancient Monuments*, Cambridge: University Press.

Bandarin, Francesco, Jyoti Hosagrahar and Frances Sailer Albernaz, 2011. 'Why development needs culture', *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* 1(1): 15–25.

Bandarin, Francesco and Ron van Oers, 2012. *The Historic Urban Landscape: Managing Heritage in an Urban Century*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Bassadien, Mishkah, 2017. 'The effects of gentrification and sustainable cultural tourism development in the Bo-Kaap, Cape Town', MTech thesis, Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

Bell, Colin and Howard Newby, 1971. *Community Studies*, London: Allen and Unwin.

Bell, Jonathan S., 2013. 'The politics of preservation: Privileging one heritage over another', *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 20: 431–50.

Bezzoli, Marco, Rafael Marks and Martin Kruger, 2002. Texture and Memory: The Urbanism of District Six, Cape Town: Cape Technikon.

Bhabha, Homi K., 1994. *The Location of Culture,* London: Routledge.

Bhattacherjee, Anol, 2012. *Social Science Research: Principles, Methods, and Practices*, Tampa, Florida: University of South Florida. <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/oa_textbooks>

Bickford-Smith, Vivian, 1994. 'Meanings of freedom: Social position and identity among ex-slaves and their descendants in Cape Town, 1875–1910', in Nigel Worden and Clifton C. Crais (eds), *Breaking the Chains: Slavery and Its Legacy in the Nineteenth-century Cape Colony*, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 289–312.

Bickford-Smith, Vivian, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Nigel Worden, 1999. *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century: An Illustrated Social History*, Cape Town: David Philip.

Bird, William Wilberforce, 1966. *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*, Cape Town: Struik.

Bowe, Meghan, Bianca Capeneti, Ian Dull and Jessie Lipkowitz (eds), 2014. *Heritage Studies: Stories in the Making*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Bradlow, F. and Cairns, M., 1978. *The Early Cape Muslims*, Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.

Brandi, Cesare, 2005 [1963]. *Theory of Restoration*, Florence: Nardini.

Brink, Yvonne, 2008. *They Came to Stay: Discovering Meaning in the 18th Century Cape Country Dwelling*, Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University Press.

Byrne, Denis, 2014. *Counterheritage: Critical Perspectives on Heritage Conservation in Asia*, New York: Routledge.

Campbell, D.T.,1975. 'Degrees of freedom and the case study', *Comparative Political Studies* 8(1): 178–91.

Capazorio, Bianca, 2011. 'Neighbourhoods lose cultural heritage', *Weekend* Argus, 24 September, < https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/weekend-argus-saturday-edition/20110924/281930244717347>, accessed 3 October 2019.

Cape Argus staff reporter, 2018. 'Blok told to halt #BoKaap development until next court date', *Cape Argus*, 6 December, <https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/news/blok-told-to-halt-bokaap-development-until-next-court-date-18405167> accessed 2 January 2019.

Charles, Marvin, 2019. 'Blok urban developers sell Bo-Kaap property', *IOL*, 13 May, <https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/news/blok-urban-developers-sell-bo-kaap-property-23145708>, accessed 25 August 2019.

Charles, Marvin and Yazeed Kamaldien, 2018. '#BoKaap chaos spills onto streets as residents block developers', 20 November, <https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/news/watch-bokaap-chaos-spills-onto-streets-as-residents-block-developers-18194544>, accessed 2 January 2019.

Child, Katherine, 2018. 'Does Cape Town have something to hide, asks housing policy researcher', *Times Live*, 26 July. <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-07-26-does-cape-town-have-something-to-hide-asks-housing-policy-researcher/> (accessed 22 November 2019.

Chitty, Gill (ed), 2017. *Heritage, Conservation and Communities: Engagement,*

Participation and Capacity Building, 1st edition, Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Choay, Francoise, 1992. *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, trans. Lauren M. O'Connell, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

City of Cape Town, 1977. 'Restoration of the Old Malay Quarter: A review and re-estimation of the Second Extension Scheme of 1977: Second Report', City Engineer's Department Report, May.

City of Cape Town, 2005. *Cultural Heritage Strategy for the City of Cape Town. Environmental Resource Management Environmental & Heritage Management Branch, Heritage Resources Section.* Approved 19 October 2005. MC 17/10/05.

City of Cape Town, 2017. *Five-Year Integrated Development Plan: July 2017–June 2022.* City of Cape Town.

Clark, Kate (ed.), 2006, *Capturing the Public Value of Heritage: The Proceedings of the London Conference 25–26 January 2006*. London: English Heritage.

Coetzer, Nicholas, 2013. *Building Apartheid: On Architecture and Order in Imperial Cape Town*. Surrey: Ashgate.

Cohen, Anthony Paul, 1985. *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, London: Tavistock.

Conzen, M.R.G.,1966. 'Historical townscapes in Britain: A problem in applied geography', in J.W. House (ed.), *Northern Geographical Essays in Honour of G.H.J. Daysh,* Newcastle: Oriel Press, 56–78.

Conzen, M.R.G., 1975. 'Geography and townscape conservation', in H. Uhlig and C. Lienau (eds), *Anglo-German Symposium in Applied Geography, Giessen-Würzburg-München, 1973*, Giessen: Lenz, 95–102.

Coughlan, Sean, 2016. 'Oxford Rhodes Statue Row Is Part of Global Protest', *BBC News*, 26 January. <https://www.bbc.com/news/education-35441074>

Council of Europe, 2005. *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*, 27 October, Council of Europe Treaty Series No. 199.

Creswell, John W., 2007. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches,* London: Sage.

Creswell, John W., 2014. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed*

Methods Approaches, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Da Costa, Yusuf and Achmat Davids, 1994. *Pages from Cape Muslim History*, Cape Town: Shuter and Shooter.

Davids, Achmat, 1980. *The Mosques of Bo-Kaap: A Social History of Islam at the Cape*, Cape Town: South African Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies.

Davids, Achmat, 1981. 'Politics and the Muslims of Cape Town: A historical survey', in Christopher Saunders et al. (eds), *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, Vol. 4, Cape Town: UCT Press, 174–220.

Davids, Achmat, 1983. 'The revolt of the Malays: A study of the reactions of the Cape Muslims to the smallpox epidemics of nineteenth-century Cape Town', in Christopher Saunders et al. (eds), *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, Vol. 5, Cape Town: UCT Press, 47–79.

Davids, Achmat, 1985a. 'From Complacency to Activism: The Changing Political Mood of the Cape Muslims from 1940–1985', 5th Workshop on the History of Cape Town, 6–7 December 1985, Cape Town, UCT History Department.

Davids, Achmat, 1985b. *The History of the Tana Baru*, Cape Town: Committee for the Preservation of Tana Baru.

Davids, Achmat, 1989. 'The Words Slaves Made', Paper presented to the conference on *Cape Slavery and After*, 10–11 August, Cape Town, UCT History Department.

Davids, Achmat, 1991. 'Community Participation in Conservation and Urban Regeneration: The Case of Bo-Kaap', in Derek Japha and Vivienne Japha (eds), *Proceedings of the National Urban Conservation Symposium, Johannesburg*, 1990, Cape Town: Oakville Press, 86–92.

Deacon, Harriet and Beazly Olwen, 2007. 'The safeguarding of intangible heritage values under the World Heritage Convention: Auschwitz, Hiroshima and Robben Island', in Janet Blake (ed.), *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Challenges and Approaches*, UK: Institute of Art and Law, 93–108.

Deacon, H., L. Dondolo, M. Mrubata and S. Prosalendis, 2014. *The Subtle Power of Intangible Heritage*, South Africa: HSRC Press.

Deacon, Jeanette (ed.), 1996. *Monuments and Sites of South Africa,* Sri Lanka: ICOMOS, Sri Lanka

De la Torre, Marta (ed.), 2002. *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage: Research Report,* Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

De la Torre, Marta, Margaret G.H. MacLean, Randall Mason and David Myers, 2005. *Heritage Values in Site Management: Four Case Studies*, Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

Demás, Martha, 1997. 'Planning for Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites: A values-based approach', in J.M. Teuronico and G. Palumbo (eds), *Management Planning for Archaeological Sites*, Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 27–54.

Department of Arts and Culture, 2009. 'National Policy on South African Living Heritage', first draft, March.

Derrida, Jacques, 1991. *A Derrida Reader: Between the Blinds*, ed. Peggy Kamuf, New York: Columbia University Press.

Duff-Gordon, Lucie, 2013 [1921]. *Letters from The Cape*, ed. John Purves, London: Humphrey Milford.

Du Plessis, I.D., 1935. *Die Bydrae van die Kaapse Maleir tot die Afrikaanse Volkslied*, Cape Town: Nasionale Pers.

Du Plessis, I.D., 1944. *The Cape Malays*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller.

Du Plessis, I.D., 1945. *Tales from the Malay Quarter*, Cape Town: Maskew Miller.

Du Plessis, I.D. and C.A. Lückhoff, 1953. *The Malay Quarter and Its People*, Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.

Dwyer, Sonya Corbin and Jennifer L. Buckle, 2009. 'The space between: On being an insider-outsider in Qualitative Research', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 8(1): 54–63.

Emmison, Michael and Philip Smith, 2000. *Researching the Visual: Images, Objects, Contexts and Interactions in Social and Cultural Inquiry*, London: Sage.

Erasmus, Zimitri, 2005. 'Race and Identity', in John Daniel et al. (eds), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2004–2005*, Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Fairclough, Graham, 2014. 'What was wrong with Dufton? Reflections on counter-mapping: Self, alterity and community', in John Schofield (ed.), *Who Needs*

Experts? Counter-Mapping Cultural Heritage, *Heritage, Culture and Identity*, Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 241–48.

Fairclough, Graham, Rodney Harrison, John Schofield and John H. Jameson (eds), 2008. *The Heritage Reader*, London: Routledge.

Fairclough, Norman, 1989. *Language and Power*, London: Longman.

Fairclough, Norman, 2009. 'A dialectical-relational approach to critical discourse analysis', in Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (eds), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage, 162–86.

Fanon, Frantz, 1991. *Black Skin, White Masks*, New York: Grove Weidenfeld.

Field, Sean, Renate Meyer and Felicity Swanson (eds), 2007. *Imagining the City: Memories and Cultures in Cape Town*, Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Flyvbjerg, Bent, 1998. *Rationality and Power: Democracy in Practice*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Flyvbjerg, Bent, 2006. 'Five misunderstandings about case study research', in *Qualitative Enquiry* 12(2): 219–45.

Fortuin, T.-L., 2005. 'Preserving Muslim culture and moving with the times in Bo-Kaap', *Cape Argus*, 10 February, p. 11.

Foucault, Michel, 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* New York: Pantheon.

Fransen, Hans, 2004. *A Guide to the Old Buildings of the Cape*, Cape Town: Jonathan Ball.

Fransen, Hans and Mary A. Cooke, 1980. *The Old Buildings of the Cape*, Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.

Gabrium, Jaber F. and James A. Holstein (eds), 2001. *The SAGE Handbook of Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft*, London: Sage.

Geertz, Clifford, 1973. 'Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture', in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays,* New York: Basic Books, 310–23.

Gerber, Jan, 2018. 'Bo-Kaap to be declared national heritage site – Nathi Mthethwa', *News24*, 17 December, <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/bo-kaap-to-be-declared-national-heritage-site-nathi-mthethwa-20181217> accessed 2 January 2020.

Gibson, Lisanne and John Pendlebury (eds), 2009. *Valuing Historic Environments*, Surrey: Ashgate.

Graham, Brian, 2002. 'Heritage as knowledge: Capital or culture?', in *Urban Studies* 39(5–6): 1003–1017.

Graham, Brian, Greg J. Ashworth and John E. Tunbridge, 2000. *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy,* London: Routledge.

Graham, Brian and Peter Howard (eds), 2008. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, Hampshire, UK: Ashgate.

Green, Louise and Noëleen Murray, 2012. 'Private property and the problem of the miraculous: the kramats and the city of Cape Town', *Social Dynamics*, 38(2): 201–20.

Grenville, Jane, 2007. 'Conservation as Psychology: Ontological Security and the Built Environment', in *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 123(6): 447–461.

Gummerson, E., 2007. 'Case study research and network theory: Birds of a feather' *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management* 2(3): 226–48.

Hall, Andrew. 1992. 'National monuments: A new focus in Natal', *Natalia* 22: 55–64.

Hall, Andrew and Ashley Lillie, 1993. 'The National Monuments Council and a policy for providing protection for the cultural and environmental heritage', *South African Historical Journal* 29(1): 102–117.

Hall, Stuart, 1990. 'Cultural identity and diaspora', in Jonathan Rutherford (ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference,* London: Lawrence and Wishart, 222–37.

Hall, Stuart, 2005. 'Whose heritage? Un-settling "The Heritage", Re-imagining the post-nation', in Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo (eds), 2005, *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacy of Race*, London: Routledge, 3–13.

Hall, Stuart, Jessica Evans and Sean Nixon (eds), 1997. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London: Sage.

Hall, Stuart and Paul du Gay (eds), 1996. *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: Sage.

Hall, Stuart and Bram Gieben (eds), 1992. *The Formations of Modernity*, Oxford: Polity Press.

Haron, Muhammed, 2001. 'Conflict of identities: The case of South Africa's Cape Malays'. Paper presented at the Malay World Conference, Kuala Lumpur, 12–14 October.

Haron, Muhammed, 2005. 'Gapena and the Cape Malays: Initiating connections, constructing images', *Sari* 23: 47–66.

Harrison, Rodney, 2010. 'What is heritage?', in Rodney Harrison (ed.), *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 5–42.

Harrison, Rodney, 2013. *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, New York*:* Routledge.

Hartley, Aziz, 2005. 'Bo-Kaap "being lost to gentrification"', *IOL News*, 4 February <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/bo-kaap-being-lost-to-gentrification>, accessed 25 October 2015.

Hassan, Yehia and Shadreck Chirikure, 2017. 'Conflict between local communities and heritage managers in the conservation of Historic Cairo', in Webber Ndoro, Shadreck Chirikure and Janette Deacon (eds), *Managing Heritage in Africa: Who Cares?* New York: Routledge, 209–20.

Hassard, Frank, 2009. 'Intangible Heritage in the United Kingdom: The Dark Side of Enlightenment?' in Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (eds), *Intangible Heritage*, London: Routledge, 270–288.

Hay, Robert, 1998. 'Sense of place in developmental context', *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 18: 5–29.

[Heritage and Society], 2015. 'Nara + 20: On heritage practices, cultural values, and the concept of authenticity', *Heritage and Society* 8(2):144–47.

Heiddeger, Martin, 1971. *Poetry, Language and Thought*, New York: Harper and Row.

Herwitz, Daniel, 2012. *Heritage, Culture and Politics in the Postcolony*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Herzfeld, Michael, 2010. 'Engagement, Gentrification, and the Neoliberal Hijacking of History', *Current Anthropology* 51(S2): 259–67.

Hinchman, Lewis P. and Sandra K. Hinchman (eds), 1997. *Memory, Identity, Community: The Idea of Narrative in the Human Sciences*, New York: State University of New York Press.

Hodder, Ian, 2010. 'Cultural heritage rights: From ownership and descent to justice and well-being', *Anthropological Quarterly* 83(4): 861–82.

Hodges, A. and S. Watson, 2000. 'Community-based heritage management: A case study and agenda for research', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6(3): 231–43.

Hutchinson, Michael, 2006. *Bo-Kaap: Colourful heart of Cape Town*, Cape Town: David Philip.

Hyman, Aron, 2018. 'Bo-Kaap's daily smoke signals over new "forced removals"', *Times Live*, 2 June, < https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-06-02-watch--bo-kaaps-daily-smoke-signals-over-new-forced-removals/>, accessed 1 October 2019.

Idowu, O.E., 2016. 'Criticism, constraints and constructions of case study research strategy', *Asian Journal of Business and Management* 4(5): 184–88.

Immelman, René F.M. and Gerald D. Quinn, 1968. *The Preservation and Restoration of Historic Buildings in South Africa.* Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.

Isaacs, Lisa, 2014. 'Bo-Kaap resident fear loss of identity', *IOL News*, 4 April, <http://www.iol.co.za/business/news/bo-kaap-resident-fear-loss-of-identity>, accessed 25 October 2015.

Ishmail, Sukaina, 2019. 'SA Heritage Resource Agency to monitor Bo-Kaap sites', *IOL News*, 3 May, <https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/news/sa-heritage-resource-agency-to-monitor-bo-kaap-sites-22408875>, accessed 1 October 2019.

Jeppie, Shamil, 1987. 'Afrikaans-speaking intellectuals and their re-invention of the "Malay" in South Africa, 1930s–1950s', Honours thesis, University of Cape Town.

Jeppie, Shamil, 2001. 'Modern housing for the district: The Canterbury and Bloemhof flats', in C. Rassool and S. Prosalendis (eds), *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six Museum,* Cape Town: District Six Museum, 113–30.

Jeppie, Shamil, 2004. *Toward New Histories for South Africa: On the Place of the Past in Our Present,* Lansdowne: Juta Gariep.

Jeppie, Shamil and Soudien Crain (eds), 1990. *The Struggle for District Six: Past and Present,* Cape Town: Buchu Books.

Jeppie, Shamil and Goolam Vahed, 2005. 'Multiple communities: Muslims in post-Apartheid South Africa', in John Daniel et al. (eds), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2004–2005*, Cape Town: HSRC Press, 252–86.

Jerome, Pamela, 2014. 'The values-based approach to cultural-heritage preservation', *APT Bulletin* 45(2/3): 3–8.

Jivén, Gunila and Peter Larkham, 2003. 'Sense of place, authenticity and character: A commentary', *Journal of Urban Design* 8(1): 67–81.

Johnston, Chris, 1992. 'What is social value? A discussion paper', Australian *Heritage Commission Technical Publications Series 3*, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, <http://www.contextpl.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/What_is_Social_Value_web.pdf>.

Jokilehto, Jukka, 1998. 'International trends in historic preservation: From ancient monuments to living cultures', *APT Bulletin* 29(3/4) 17–19.

Jokilehto, Jukka, 1999. *A History of Architectural Conservation*, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Jokilehto, Jukka, 2007. 'International charters on urban conservation: Some thoughts on the principles expressed in current international doctrine', *City and Time* 3(3): 2.

Jones, Aidan, 2018. 'Battle for Bo-Kaap's future', *GroundUp,* 26 June, <https://www.groundup.org.za/article/battle-bo-kaaps-future/>, accessed 19 August 2019.

Joyce, J.P., 1981. 'Cape Town and the origins of the Slums Act of 1934', BA Honours Thesis, University of Cape Town.

Kamaldien, Yazeed, 2015. 'Bo-Kaap residents fight for heritage preservation', 24 November, <https://yazkam.wordpress.com/2015/11/24/bo-kaap-residents-fight-for-heritage-preservation> accessed 24 November 2015.

Kerr, A., 2007. 'Considerations for a value-based approach to heritage conservation within Canada', Vancouver Heritage Foundation <www.vancouverheritagefoundation.org>, accessed 3 August 2015.

King, Anthony D., 2004. *Spaces of Global Cultures: Architecture, Urbanism, Identity*, ArchiText Series, London: Routledge.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 2004. 'Intangible heritage as metacultural production', *Museum International* 56(1–2): 52–65.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 2006. 'World heritage and cultural economics', in Ivan Karp et al. (eds), *Museum Fictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations,*161–203.

Klopper, Sandra, 1996. 'Whose heritage? The politics of cultural ownership in contemporary South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Art*, Fall: 34–37.

Knight, Andrew and Les Ruddock, 2008. *Advanced Research Methods in the Built Environment*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Kotze, Nico, 2013. 'A community in trouble? The impact of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap, Cape Town', *Urbani Izziv* 24(2): 124–32.

Kratz, Corinne A. and Ciraj Rassool, 2006. 'Remapping the Museum', in Ivan Karp et al. (eds), *Museum Fictions*, Durham: Duke University Press*,* 347–56.

Kretzmann, Steve, 2019. 'Cape Town's battle for special justice', *Daily Maverick*, 31 October, < https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-10-31-cape-towns-battle-for-spatial-justice/> accessed 14 November 2019.

Kuhn, Thomas S., 1962. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Larkham, P.J., 1990. 'Conservation and the management of historical townscapes', in T.R. Slater (ed.), *The Built Form of Western Cities*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 349–69.

Larkham, P.J., 1992. 'Conservation and the changing urban landscape', *Progress in Planning* 37(2): 83–181.

Larkham, P.J., 1996. *Conservation and the City*, London: Routledge.

Lefebvre, Henri, 1974. *The Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith 1991, Oxford: Blackwell.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 1978. *Myth and Meaning: Cracking the Code of Culture*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Lincoln, Y.S. and E.G. Guba, 1985. *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Littler, Jo and Roshi Naidoo (eds), 2005. *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacy of Race*, London: Routledge.

Lowe, Nazeem, 1999, 'Letter to editor', *Cape Argus*, 18 September.

Lowenthal, David, 1985. *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Lowenthal, David, 1998. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Manetsi, Thabo, 2007. 'Can intangibles be tangible? Safeguarding intangible heritage in the new South Africa: Towards formulating policy for the conservation and sustainable management for living heritage', Masters thesis, University of Cape Town, unpublished.

Manetsi, Thabo, 2011. 'Safeguarding intangible heritage in South Africa: A critique of the draft national policy on living heritage', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 6: 58–69.

Mason, Randall, 2002. 'Assessing value in conservation planning: Methodological issues and choices', in M. de la Torre (ed.), *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage*, Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 5–30.

Mason, Randall, 2006. 'Theoretical and practical arguments for value-centred preservation', *Cultural Resources Management* 3(2): 21–48.

Mason, Randall, 2008. 'Be interested and beware: Joining economic valuation and heritage conservation', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 14(4): 303–18.

Mason, Randall and Erica Avrami, 2002. 'Heritage values and challenges of conservation planning', in J.M. Teuronico and G. Palumbo (eds), *Management Planning for Archaeological Sites*, Los Angelese: Getty Conservation Institute, 13–26.

Matero, Frank G., 2007. 'Loss, compensation and authenticity: The contribution of Cesare Brandi to architectural conservation', *Future Anterior* 4(1): 45–58.

Mbeki, Thabo, 1996. 'I am an African', Speech delivered on behalf of the African National Congress in Cape Town, 8 May, on the occasion of the passing of the new Constitution of South Africa.

Mbeki, Thabo, 1998. ‘The African renaissance: South Africa and the world’, Speech delivered to the United Nations University, Tokyo, 9 April.

McKenzie, Kirsten, 1997. ‘Gender and honour in middle-class Cape Town: The Making of Colonial Identities 1828- 1850’, Doctoral thesis, Oxford University.

McKenzie, Kirsten, 1998. ‘“Franklins of the Cape”: The South "African Commercial Advertiser" and the creation of a colonial public sphere, 1824–1854’, *Kronos* 35(1998/99): 88–102.

McKenzie, Kirsten, 2003. ‘Dogs and the public sphere: The ordering of social space in early nineteenth-century Cape Town’, *South African Historical Journal* 48(1): 235–51.

Meskell, Lynn, 2010. ‘Human rights and heritage ethics’, *Anthropological Quarterly* 83(4): 839–60.

Minkley, Gary and Andrew Bank, 1999. ‘Genealogies of space and identity in Cape Town’, *Kronos* 25: 4–16.

Morris, S., 1968. ‘The restoration and preservation of historic buildings’, in R. Immelman and G. Quinn (eds), *The Restoration and Preservation of Historic Buildings in South Africa*, Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 57–58.

Mouton, J., 1996. *Understanding Social Research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Mouton, J. and H.C. Marais, 1990. *Basic Concepts in the Methodology of Social Sciences*, Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Mrubata, Mbulelo. 2001. ‘The production of history at the Castle of Good Hope in the 20th century’, Masters thesis, Department of History, University of the Western Cape.

Muñoz Viñas, Salvador, 2005. *Contemporary Theory of Conservation*, Oxford: Elsevier-Butterworth/Heinemann.

Murray, Noëleen, 2010. ‘Architectural modernism and apartheid modernity in South Africa’, Doctoral thesis, University of Cape Town.

Murray, N., N. Shepherd and M. Hall (eds), 2007. *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City*, London: Routledge.

Ndebele, Njabulo, 1998, 'Breaking Free of the Present', Opening address, Exhibition '*blank*_Architecture, apartheid and after', Netherlands Architecture Institute, Rotterdam, unpublished,16 December.

Ndoro, Webber, Shadreck Chirikure and Janette Deacon (eds), 2017. *Managing Heritage in Africa: Who Cares?* New York: Routledge.

Nora, Pierre, 2001. *Rethinking France,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nuttall, Sarah and Carli Coetzee (eds), 1998. *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Oberholster J.J., 1972. *The Historical Monuments of South Africa*, Cape Town: The Rembrandt van Rijn Foundation.

Olver, Crispian, 2019. *A House Divided: The Feud that Took Cape Town to the Brink*, Cape Town: Jonathan Ball.

Palm, Kaylynn, 2019. *Bo-Kaap left smitten after Harry and Meghan's heritage day visit*, *Eye Witness News*, 24 September <https://ewn.co.za/2019/09/25/bo-kaap-left-smitten-after-harry-and-meghan-s-heritage-day-visit>

Pandey, Satyendra and Srilata Patnaik, 2014. 'Establishing reliability and validity in qualitative inquiry: A critical examination', *Jharkhand Journal of Development and Management Studies* 12(1): 5743–53.

Parker, Rabia, 2018. 'Bo-Kaap: We will block BLOK and the City's attempt to ransack our heritage', *Daily Maverick*, 8 July, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2018-07-08-bo-kaap-we-will-block-blok-and-the-citys-attempt-to-ransack-our-heritage/>, accessed 1 August 2019.

Pather, Raeesa, 2014. 'The gentrification of Bo-Kaap', *The Daily Vox*, 2 May, <http://www.thedailyvox.co.za/the-gentrification-of-the-bo-kaap>, accessed 25 October 2015.

Pather, Raeesa, 2018a, 'Bo-Kaap unites in protest to hold onto heritage', *Mail & Guardian*, 28 May <https://mg.co.za/article/2018-05-28-bo-kaap-residents-take-on-city-of-cape-town/>, accessed 5 January 2020.

Pather, Raeesa, 2018b. 'Bo-Kaap residents lose bid to stop development', *Mail & Guardian*, 22 August, <https://mg.co.za/article/2018-08-22-bo-kaap-residents-lose-bid-to-stop-development/>, accessed 5 January 2020.

Peterson, Derek R., 2015, 'Introduction', in Derek R. Peterson, Kodzo Gavua and Ciraj Rassool (eds), 2015. *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories and Infrastructures*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–36.

Peterson, Derek R., Kodzo Gavua and Ciraj Rassool (eds), 2015. *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economies, Histories and Infrastructures*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pieterse, Edgar, 2009. 'Post-apartheid geographies in South Africa: Why are urban divides so persistent?', *Interdisciplinary Debates on Development and Cultures: Spaces, Conflicts and Agency*, Leuven University, 15 December.

Pistorius, Penny, 1989. *General Guidelines for National Urban Conservation Areas*, Cape Town: National Monuments Council.

Pistorius, Penny, 1998. 'Guidelines for maintenance, improvements and new buildings in Bo-Kaap', prepared for South African National Monuments Council.

Poulios, Ioannis, 2010. 'Moving beyond a value-based approach to heritage conservation', *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 12(2): 170–85.

Pwiti, G. and W. Ndoro, 2001. 'Heritage management in southern Africa: Local, national and international discourse', *Public Archeology* 2(1): 21–34.

Randolph, Justus J., 2009. 'A guide to writing the dissertation literature review', *Practical Assessment, Research and Evaluation* 14(13): 1–13.

Reitzema, A. 2015. 'Accounting for the differential gentrification outcomes of the Bo-Kaap and De Waterkant', Masters thesis, University of Cape Town.

Rennie, John, 1978. *The Buildings of Central Cape Town*, Volume 1 and 2, Cape Town: Cape Provincial Institute for Architects.

Ridd, Rosemary, 1993. 'Creating ethnicity in the British colonial Cape: Coloured and Malay contrasted', Seminar paper, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town.

Riegel, Aloïs, 1982 [1908]. *The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin*, trans. Kurt W. Forster and Diane Ghirardo, Oppositions 25: 21–51.

Ripp, Matthias and Dennis Rodwell, 2015. 'The geography of urban heritage', *The Historic Environment: Policy and Practice 6(3): 240–276.*

Rodwell, Dennis, 2015. 'Reconnecting the city: The historic landscape approach and the future of urban heritage', *Journal of Architectural Conservation* 21: 1–3.

Rodwell, Dennis, 2018. 'The Historic Urban Landscape and the Geography of Urban Heritage', *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice*, 1–27.

Rojas, E., 2007. 'The conservation and development of the urban heritage: A task for all social actors', *City and Time* 3(1): 41–47.

Ruddock, Peter, 2018. 'Decolonising education in South Africa', *IOL News*, 9 March, <https://www.iol.co.za/news/opinion/decolonising-education-in-south-africa-13679313>, accessed 25 November 2019.

Ryle, Gilbert, 1949. *The Concept of Mind*, London: Hutchinson.

Ryle, Gilbert, 2009. *Collected Essays 1929–1968*, London: Routledge.

SAHRA, 2006. 'Heritage Sites for SAHRA Publication, Bokaap and Tana Baru Cemetery, Cape Town', November, SAHRA File No 9/2/018/0008.

SAPeople, 2019. 'Cape Town's famous Bo-Kaap under threat from development', *SAPeople*, 6 January, <https://www.sapeople.com/2019/01/06/cape-towns-famous-bo-kaap-under-threat-from-development/>, accessed 13 November 2019.

Said, Edward W, 1978. *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon.

Savova, Nadezhda Dimitrova, 2009. 'Heritage kinaesthetics: Local constructivism and UNESCO's intangible-tangible politics at a favela museum', *Anthropological Quarterly* 82(2): 547–86.

Sharr, Adam, 2012. *Reading Architecture and Culture: Researching Buildings, Spaces, and Documents,* London: Routledge.

Shaw, Brian J. and Roy Jones (eds), 1997. *Contested Urban Heritage: Voices from the Periphery*, London: Ashgate.

Shell, Robert, 1994. *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652–1838*, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Shaboodien, Osman, 2019. 'The Bo-Kaap Civic and Ratepayers Association welcomes the decision by the full council of the City of Cape Town to pass the Heritage Protection Overlay Zone for Bo-Kaap', *The Heritage Portal*, 30 April,

<http://www.theheritageportal.co.za/notice/bo-kaap-civic-and-ratepayers-association-welcomes-decision-full-council-city-cape-town-pass>, accessed 23 October 2019.

Shoba, Sandisiwe, 2019. 'City of Cape Town proposes amendments to municipal planning by-laws to aid inclusivity', *Daily Maverick*, 12 March, <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-03-12-city-of-cape-town-proposes-amendments-to-municipal-planning-by-laws-to-aid-inclusivity/>, accessed 3 July 2019.

Silberman, Neil, 2007. 'Sustainable heritage? Public archaeological interpretation and the marketed past', in Yannis Hamilakis and Philip Duke (eds), *Archaeology and Capitalism. From Ethics to Politics*, Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 179–93.

Silberman, Neil, 2013. 'Discourses of development: Narratives of cultural heritage as an economic resource', in Russell Staif, Robyn Bushell and Steve Watson (eds), *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement*, London: Routledge, 213–25.

Silberman, Neil, 2014. 'Changing visions of heritage value: What role should the experts play?', *Ethnologies* 36(1–2): 433–55.

Silverman, D. (ed.), 2008. *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice,* London: Sage.

Skrzypaszek, J.A. 2012. 'Intangible heritage and its role in the formation of social and personal identity', in R. Amoeda, S. Lira and C. Pinheiro (eds), *Heritage 2012*, Barcelos: Greenlines Institute for Sustainable Development, 1: 1491–97.

Smith, G., P.M. Messenger and H. Soderland (eds), 2010. *Heritage Values in Contemporary Society*, California: Left Coast Press.

Smith, Laurajane, 2004, *Archeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*, New York: Routledge.

Smith, Laurajane, 2006. *Uses of Heritage,* London: Routledge.

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

Sokrithy, Im, 2007. 'Social Values and Community Content', *Living with Heritage: Report of the Living with Heritage Technical Committee*, Phnom Penh: APSARA Authority.

Stake, R.E., 1995. *The Art of Case Study Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stake, R.E., 2005. 'Case study', in N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 443–66.

Stanley Price, Nicholas, M. Kirby Talley Jr. and Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro (eds), 1996. *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of* Cultural Heritage, Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

Stovel, Herb, 2008. 'Origins and Influence of the Nara Document on Authenticity', *APT Bulletin*, 39(2/3): 9–17,

Supreme Court of Appeal, 2009. 'Media summary: Judgment delivered in the supreme court of appeal'. <https://www.justice.gov.za/Sca/judgments/sca_2009/sca09-085%20ms.pdf>

Szmygin, Bogusław (ed.), 2016. *Heritage in transformation: cultural heritage protection in XXI century: problems, challenges, predictions*, Poland: ICOMOS, *Heritage for Future* 1(3).

Szymanski, Rosy and John Schofield (eds), 2016. *Local Heritage, Global Context: Cultural Perspectives on Sense of Place*, New York: Routledge

Tainter, J.A. and G.J. Lucas, 1983. 'Epistemology of the significance concept', *American Antiquity* 48(4): 707–19.

Tarrafa Pereira da Silva, A.M. and A.R. Pereira Roders, 2012. 'Cultural heritage management and heritage (impact) assessments', Proceedings of the Joint CIB W070, W092 & TG72 International Conference on Facilities Management, *Procurement Systems and Public Private Partnership,* 23–25 January, Cape Town.

Tayob, Abdulkader, 1996. 'Counting Muslims in South Africa', in *Review of Islam in South Africa*, Cape Town: Centre for Contemporary Islam, UCT.

Terre Blanche, Martin and Kevin Durrheim, 1999. *Research in Practice: Applied Methods for the Social Sciences*, Cape Town: UCT Press.

Throsby, David, 2002. 'Cultural capital and sustainability concepts in the economics of cultural heritage', in Marta de la Torre (ed.), *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage*, 101–117.

Todeschini, Fabio, 1957. Thesis on Bo-Kaap, University of Cape Town

Todeschini, Fabio, 2003. 'Some reflections on place, tangible and intangible heritage and on identity construction', Paper presented at ICOMOS conference.

Todeschini, Fabio, and Derek Japha, 2004. 'Cultural identity and architectural image in Bo-Kaap, Cape Town', in Nezar AlSayyad (ed.), *The End of Tradition?* London: Routledge, 198–220.

Townsend, Lesley and Stephen Townsend, 1977. *Bokaap: Faces and Facades*, Cape Town: Howard B. Timmins.

Townsend, Lesley Freedman, 1992. 'Local conservation and community participation', Paper presented at the Wits History Workshop *Myths, Monuments, Museums: New Premises?*, 16–18 July.

Townsend, Stephen, 1993. 'Architectural and urban conservation in the dawning second republic'*, Architecture SA*, May-June 29–31,26–28.

Townsend, Stephen, 1996. 'Conservation in the urban environment: Conservation areas in Cape Town'*,* in *Monuments and Sites: South Africa*, Colombo: ICOMOS, 143–50.

Townsend, Stephen, 2003. 'Development rights and conservation constraints: Urban conservation-oriented controls in the city centre of Cape Town', Doctoral thesis, University of Cape Town.

Truluck, T., 1989. 'Bo-Kaap: Changing attitudes and actions', Honours thesis, University of Cape Town.

Tschudi-Madsen, Stephan, 1976. *Restoration and Anti-Restoration: A Study in English Restoration Philosophy,* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Tunbridge, J.E. and G.J. Ashgate, 1996. *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict,* Chichester: Wiley.

Van Riet Lowe, C. and B.D. Malan (eds), 1949. *The Monuments of South Africa*, 2nd edition, Pretoria: SA Commission on Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques.

Van Schalkwyk, L.O., 1992. 'A new relevance for old monuments: The Isandlwana model', *SAMAB* 21: 40–43.

Waterton, Emma, 2015. 'Heritage and Community Engagement', in Tracy Ireland and John Schofield (eds), *The Ethics of Cultural Heritage*, New York: Springer, 53–67.

Western, John, 1981. *Outcast Cape Town,* Cape Town: Human and Rousseau.

White, Hayden, 1978. *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Whitelaw, Gavin, 2000. 'New legislation for cultural heritage', *Natalia* 30: 58–63

Witz, Lesley, Gary Minkley and Ciraj Rassool, 2017. *Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts*, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

Worden, Nigel, 1998. 'Space and Identity in VOC Cape Town', *Kronos* 35(1998/99): 72–87.

Worden, Nigel (ed.), 2007, *Contingent Lives: Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World*, Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Worden, Nigel (ed), 2012, *Cape Town Between East and West: Social Identities in a Dutch Colonial Town*, Johannesburg: Jacana.

Worden, Nigel, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith (eds), 1998. *Cape Town: The Making of a City: An Illustrated Social History*, Cape Town: David Philip.

Worden, Nigel, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith (eds), 1999. *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century: An Illustrated Social History*, Cape Town: David Philip.

Yin, Robert K., 2003a. *Applications of Case Study Research*, 2nd edition, London: Sage.

Yin, Robert K., 2003b. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 3rd edition, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zimmerli, Walther Ch., 2010. 'A philosophical preface', in Dieter Offenhauser, Walther Ch. Zimmerli and Marie Theres Albert (eds), *World Heritage and Cultural Diversity*, Germany: UNESCO, 11.

ICOMOS CHARTERS AND DECLARATION DOCUMENTS

ICOMOS, 1931. The Athens Charter: Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments, Paris: ICOMOS. <http://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/167-the-athens-charter-for-the-restoration-of-historic-monuments>

ICOMOS, 1964. The Venice Charter: International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, Paris: ICOMOS. <https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf>

ICOMOS, 1987. The Washington Charter: Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas, Paris: ICOMOS.

ICOMOS, 1994. The Nara Document on Authenticity. Paris: ICOMOS. <https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>

ICOMOS, 1996. The Declaration of San Antonio.

ICOMOS, 1999. (The Burra Charter) Charter for Places of Cultural Significance.

ICOMOS, 1999. Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage.

ICOMOS, 2003. Charter? Principles for the Analysis, Conservation and Structural Conservation of Architectural Heritage.

Council of Europe. 2005. Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society: Faro, 27 October 2005.

Council of Europe Treaty Series 199. Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe. Accessed 31 July 2018. <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/0900001680083746>

ICOMOS, 2006. Charter for Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites.

ICOMOS, 2011. The Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas.

ICOMOS, 2013. The Burra Charter (amended): The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance. Burwood: Australia ICOMOS. <http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf>

South African Legislation:

Bushman-Relics Protection Act, 1911.
Natural and Historical Monuments Act, Act No. 6 of 1923.
Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act, Act 4 of 1934.
National Monuments Act, Act 28 of 1969.
War Graves and National Monuments Amendment Act, Act 11 of 1986.
National Heritage Resources Act, Act 25 of 1999 (came into effect 1 April 2000).
Draft National Policy on South African Living Heritage, 2009.