Assessing sense of place amongst returnees of District Six, Cape Town

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Declaration

I, Ashleigh Georgia Burgess, declare that this thesis, *Assessing sense of place amongst returnees of District Six, Cape town* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

This thesis was carried out from February 2020 to November 2022. The study was conducted under the supervision of Professor Bradley Rink of the Department of Geography, Environmental Studies and Tourism at the University of the Western Cape.

Signed: _Burges_   Date: 09/12/2022

Abstract

District Six was a pre-apartheid community destroyed by racialized forced relocations. Under the Group Areas Act of the apartheid rule, all District Six residents were forcibly relocated and scattered around the city and elsewhere. The area was obliterated and only places of worship were spared destruction. An affluent white inner-city suburb was one of the state's plans, but it was never realized as former residents protested this apartheid development objective. In the wake of the apartheid's demise, a land restitution programme was enforced as one way of addressing the country's national recovery through the operations of the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights, performed congruently with the Restitution of Land Rights Act (Act 22 of 1994). But this process has been dilatory and intermittent with respect to District Six, characterised as prolonged experiences of disappointment and occasional bursts of increased efficiency. Accordingly, only a handful of claimants have returned to District Six to date. Little is known about how the returnee community have re-claimed a sense of place in the re-settled District Six where only the immaterial memories still remain. This study thus seeks to fill that research gap through assessing sense of place amongst returnees of District Six. The study also recognizes that District Six is part of the corridor of rapid gentrification and seeks to explore how the by-products of gentrification stand to threaten the returnees' reconstituted sense of place. The study adopted a qualitative research methodology approach using the phenomenological/interpretivist approach. The qualitive methods used were semi-structured interviews, photo-elicitation interviews, and fieldnotes. These methods allowed for an in-depth exploration of the returnees' experiences of a sense of place in the re-settled District Six. The findings revealed complex renderings of place in District Six composed of memories and meaning-making from the past and present, contributing to geographical literatures on home, community and place. The findings of this study conclude that the relational geographies of District Six returnees are complex, multiple and ever-evolving while their struggle for home and a new sense of place is incomplete.

Keywords: District Six; Cape Flats; apartheid; forced removals; restitution; sense of place; sense of community; memory.

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Dedication

To my late dad whom I lost amidst this research journey. You were so proud when I had left for Cape Town to commence my Master's studies, and I know you would have been doubly proud to see this endeavour come to fruition. You live on forever in my heart.

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Chapter 1

The struggle for home

1.1 Introduction to the research study

Cape Town is a breathtakingly picturesque city (Field, 2019), but as Rassool (2019) postulates, is also a scarred and haunted city in many ways. Its historical colonial centre is tucked away in the city bowl, flanked by mountains and oceans. However, this natural beauty and its alluring surfaces belie painful sites of memories. Ironically, the perceived wasteland of debris and weeds where the District Six community formerly resided is hidden in plain sight on the fringe of the city (Figure 1). District Six was a pre-apartheid community destroyed by racialized forced relocations. During the 1950s, under Apartheid, all South Africans were racially categorized as coloured, black, Asian, and white. In addition, under the Group Areas Act of the apartheid rule, all District Six residents were forcibly relocated and scattered around the city and elsewhere. The area was obliterated and only places of worship were spared destruction. An affluent white inner-city suburb was one of the state's plans, but it was never realized as former residents protested this apartheid development objective (Field, 2019).

In the wake of Apartheid's demise, a land restitution programme was enforced as one way of addressing the country's national recovery through the operations of the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights, performed congruently with the Restitution of Land Rights Act (Act 22 of 1994). But this process has been dilatory and intermittent with respect to District Six, characterised as prolonged experiences of disappointment and occasional bursts of increased efficiency. The managing of District Six land claims, consolidated into a single development plan, has been met with political resistance among the national, the provincial and the local government, and has overall been typified by a lack of action by the city and the province, as they are reluctant to enable the return of low-income residents to prime real estate, the purview of economic development and modernist planning (Rassool, 2019).

On 20 November 2000, then Deputy President Thabo Mbeki assigned the task of redeveloping District Six to the District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust (D6BRT), formed on behalf of the former residents, at the celebratory homecoming ceremony, whereby 20 000 people comprising of 2600 claimants and their families were to be restituted in 4000 two- or three-story units on the 40-hectare land. The remaining of the development was envisioned to comprise of religious buildings, community and educational amenities, shops, offices, and some light industry (District Six Museum, 2005 as cited in Rassool, 2019). Following a decade of recording and verification of District Six land claims, the

erection of houses finally materialised in 2004. On the 11th of February 2004, the first few families received the keys to their homes in District Six. Additional restitution houses were erected and distributed by the D6BRT to the rest of the 24 oldest rent-paying claimants and were handed over in a special ceremony in 2005, entitled 'return of the elders' (City of Cape Town, 2005; Nicolson, 2011 as cited in Rassool, 2019).

Despite the grand visions promised to the claimants of District Six, by 2011, only 68 houses had been erected, with a 'Second Homecoming' ceremony hosted to handover keys to 44 returning families on 11 February 2011. At the event, the then President Jacob Zuma assured that the development of District Six would be completed in 2014 (Bamford, 2011 as cited in Rassool, 2019). In August 2013, Phase Two homes were handed over to 70, mostly elderly, claimants by Minister of Rural Development and Land Reform, Gugile, Nkwinti (Rassool, 2019). Succeeding this and in line with the lethargic and dilatory nature of the restitution plan of District Six, the last handover of houses in District Six to date was in May 2022 where 20 of the 108 Phase Three claimants received their keys to their restitution homes, marking the start of the Phase Three handover. The Inter-Ministerial Committee (IMC) on Land Reform and Agriculture assured claimants that more than 900 units would be finished in three years (Thebus, 2022).

The sentiments of one claimant encapsulate the overall feelings of those who have already returned, and those waiting to return:

> *"I want to go back to a District Six for the way it felt. I remember people singing in the street, whistling, and smiles. The friendliness of the people was such a beautiful culture. That is what I want back. To walk to my cousin's house. To not have to phone ahead first. Just to knock on the door and then walk inside."*

(Kiewit,2020).

What this claimant longs for is the return to a sense of place, and a home that was lost. Home in this sense is the place where one 'dwells' and offers opportunities to claim a sense of belonging and context (Zetter and Boano, 2010). Kellett and Moore (2003 as cited in Zetter and Boano, 2010) contend that it is also about the house being situated in a particular social world. According to Skotte (2004 as cited in Zetter and Boano, 2010), it is a location within a specific system of livelihood, and according to Saegert (1985 as cited in Zetter and Boano, 2010), it is the place where important everyday tasks take place and are thus infused with symbolic significance.

The idea that 'home' as a location is the anchor that connects the experiential entities of physical confinement, social relations, and psychological feelings has also been emphasized by Canter (1977 as cited in Zetter and Boano, 2010), reinforcing the way in which place mediates social life. Similar to

this, Gupta and Ferguson (1997 as cited in Zetter and Boano, 2010) also emphasize how the physical attributes of a house, as well as its specific geographic position and the meanings attached to it, work together to create strong emotional and sentimental ties between individuals and a place. Zetter and Boano (2010) emphasize that places are not rigid and static phenomena but are formed by people who attribute qualities to the physical and social things collected there. The home is constantly being consolidated, transformed, and adjusted as both an entity and a place. Thus, the loss of meaningful and significant places as a result of tragedy or conflict can have extremely negative effects on psychological wellbeing as well as on individual and collective identity, memory, and history (Zetter and Boano, 2010).

Murcia (2020) goes further and asserts that 'home' is a dynamic entity. It can be destroyed by war and displacement, but it can also be created and recreated. Even in severe instances, such as in refugee camps or slum areas, a meaningless place can become a meaningful home through regular social interactions. In fact, even when a person's 'world' - defined as their comfort, family, social ties, and cultural traditions - is destroyed by conflict, the displaced person is frequently able to envisage and even create a new world. These fluid notions of home suggest that a person can alter their feelings of home, whether it be in their places of origin or elsewhere (Murcia, 2020). Moreover, remaking home is best viewed as a process, one that is more significant than either returning to one's place of origin or relocating elsewhere (Murcia, 2020). According to Hage (1997 as cited in Murcia, 2020), the process of 'making a home' is an emotive construct that involves creating the sense of 'being at home'. This involves four additional, related emotions: security, familiarity, community, and a sense of possibilities. A person experiences a sense of security when they are in an environment where they can meet their basic human needs, set their own norms, and experience the absence of potentially dangerous or threatening otherness. Familiarity constitutes the creation of a space in where people have the greatest amount of practical and spatial knowledge - where one is familiar with 'how it works'. Community is the feeling of belonging to a place where people are acknowledged as 'one's own' and where that recognition is reciprocated; in other words, a place where moral and cultural values are shared. A sense of possibility stems from being in a place where one can have a feeling of personal development and advancement and where there are prospects for a better life. The fact that some displaced people can reconstruct home in a new cultural environment does not imply that losing one's home is a minor bereavement. According to Habib (1996) and Al-Ali and Koser (2002 as cited in Murcia, 2020), the loss of home may be so profound for some displaced persons that they may never feel at home again, whether in their places of origin or elsewhere.

1.2 Problem Statement

This study seeks to assess how the returnee community of District Six are 'remaking home' through the lens of 'sense of place' - the emotional attachment people have to certain places. For 28 years, after a new democracy put an end to South Africa's segregation laws and the implementation of the land restitution programme, only a handful of the original residents have managed to return to District Six with more claimants planning to return. Those who are returning are doing so because they are driven by dream of returning to the home or community where they feel they belong. This study seeks to investigate how the returnee community are reconstructing a sense of place or rebuilding community where only the immaterial memories remain. The study also recognizes that District Six is part of the corridor of rapid gentrification, as well as commercial and high-rise residential buildings growing out of the City Bowl and seek to investigate the effects of this on the returnees' reconstructed sense of place.

1.3 Rationale

A plethora of research exists on the history of District Six, the forced removals, the displacement of the community to the Cape Flats, and the role of the District Six Museum in reconciliation and restitution processes (McEachern, 1998; Dewar, 2001; Soudien, 2019; Rassool and Prosalendis,2001); Rassool, 2006; 2019; Beyers, 2008; Spencer and Jessa, 2014). However, limited research, if any, exists on the experience of return amongst the claimants of District Six. This study thus contributes to filling this research gap. In addition, the effort of rebuilding community following displacement in relocated areas or places of origin is a complex process and involves more than just resettling or returning to a physical location. It involves the creation of a physical and social environment that can facilitate the remaking home process amongst an affected community. This study offers a fresh contribution in this regard. Furthermore, through knowledge creation, the study seeks to contribute tothe National Development Plan (NDP) 2030, addressing Chapter 8 of the NPD, which focuses on *Transforming human settlement and the national space economy*. One of the key objectives in that chapter is to create spaces that are liveable, equitable, sustainable, resilient and efficient, and support economic opportunities and social cohesion. Overall, the study seeks to offer a theoretical contribution to the geographical literature on home, community and place.

1.4 Study Area

District Six is a suburb in the city of Cape Town that is situated against the northern slopes of Devil's Peak Mountain and next to the fringe of Cape Town's Central Business District CBD (Figure 1) (Spencer and Jessa, 2014). District Six, which is about 150 hectares in size, commands expansive views of the

Table Bay harbour and the declared Table Mountain World Heritage Site to the west. According to the official boundaries, the region stretches from Trafalgar Park and the suburb of Walmer Estate in the east to the main train station and Castle to the north, with Buitenkant and Roeland Streets in the west (Spencer and Jessa, 2014).
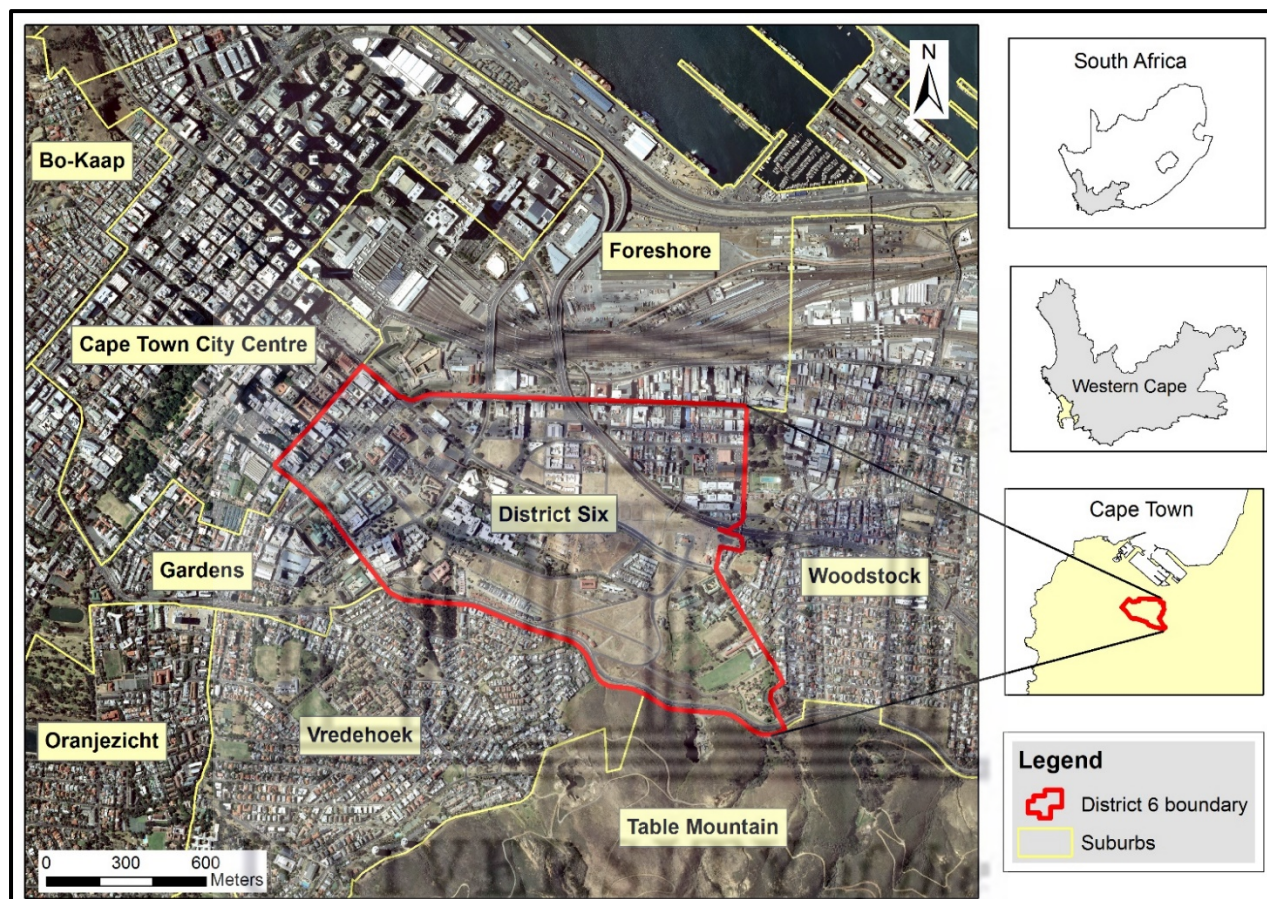
Figure 1:Study Area Map (Source: Compiled by the author)

1.5 Aim and Objectives

The aim of this study is to *assess sense of place amongst returnees of District Six, Cape Town.* To further support the aim of this study, the following objectives were identified:

- To assess the role of environmental, social and cultural factors in reconstituting a sense of place amongst the returnees.
- To assess the role of memory in reconstituting a sense of place amongst the returnees.
- To evaluate the integration of returnees' sense of place into land restitution and urban re-development processes.

1.6 Thesis outline

Chapter One introduces the research study. More specifically, this chapter briefly introduces the study through the concept of 'home' and the struggle to return to a sense of place and home for claimants. The chapter further provides an overview of the research problem and rationale of the study, delineates the study area, and outlines the aim and objectives.

Chapter Two provides atheoretical framework of the study. The chapter starts with a discussion on place as a foundational concept and then transitions to sense of place. This is followed by a discussion on memory and place. The chapter concludes with a focus on sense of community literature.

Chapter Three contextualises District Six. This is achieved by focussing on three key themes: a brief historical background of District Six and the forced removals; the land restitution programme of District Six; and gentrification in Cape Town's CBD.

Chapter Four outlines the research methodology employed in this study. More specifically, the chapter discusses the rationale for a qualitative study; the methodological approach; the research design; the ethical considerations; the data analysis process; and finally, a discussion of researcher reflexivity.

The findings of the study are divided into three empirical chapters. Chapter Five, *Memories: Life before removals* presents the findings related to the research participants' memory of District Six, which serves as an important contextual chapter to Chapter Six and Seven. Chapter Six*, Rupture: Trauma and the displacement of memory* presents the findings related to the memories of the trauma of displacement experiences amongst the returnees when they were forcibly removed from District Six during apartheid. This chapter is also an important contextual chapter to Chapter Seven. Chapter Seven, *Re-membering: Restitution, return, and a new sense of place* presents the findings related to the present-day lived experiences of the returnees in District Six. More specifically, the re-membering process of the District Six returnee community.

Chapter Eight concludes the thesis by bringing together the major findings and discussing how the research problem is answered.

Chapter 2

Rendering District Six: A review of the literature

2.1 Introduction

This study aims to assess sense of place amongst returnees of District Six. To provide an overview of the relevant literatures that frame this study, four key themes were identified: place; sense of place; memory and place; and sense of community. Place is introduced as a foundational concept in geography, and is thus reviewed to ground the understanding of sense of place. In order to understand the concept of place in geography as a cornerstone theory in sense of place, it is unpacked under the context of the various definitional shifts it faced in the discipline until relatively recently. This is followed by an overview of the relevant literature on sense of place, including a 'negative' sense of place, followed by a discussion on memory and place. The chapter ends with an overview of sense of community literature. Sense of community is a place-based construct in its own right in geography; it is thus important to note that it is not explored to dilute the premise of the study – sense of place. Instead, it is introduced to contextualise the returnee community's effort of rebuilding their sense of community in District Six. These key themes are discussed respectively in this chapter.

2.2. Place

To define place, it is important to first understand what space is. Space and place are two major fundamental concepts in geography. In human geography, 'place' is commonly understood as being 'space' infused with meaning (Vanclay, 2008). According to Cresswell (2004), space is a more abstract concept than place. The most common understandings of space are outer-space or the spaces of geometry. Spaces are characterised as having areas and volumes; places have spaces between them. Tuan (1977) has compared space to movement and place to pauses – stops along the way:

> "What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value…the ideas 'space' and 'place' require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place."

(Tuan, 1977, p. 6).

Space has thus been perceived, in contrast to place, as a domain devoid of meaning – as a 'fact of life' that, like time, offers the fundamental coordinates for human life. Space becomes a place when people give it significance and subsequently develop some sort of attachment to it (Cresswell, 2004).

Thus, at the most basic level, place is defined as a meaningful segment of geographical space (Cresswell, 2008).

Place is a contested concept in human geography (Withers, 2009). Before the 'spatial turn' of the 1970s in the discipline, geographers strictly conceptualised place in absolute terms. Within this paradigm (as adopted by regional and quantitative geography), place was interpreted as simply an assembly of people in an enclosed locale (territory), occupying a physical portion of geographic space (Hubbard *et al.*, 2002). It was only since the 1970s, when geographers started embracing humanistic approaches (following the 'spatial turn'), that place was theorised and understood as a certain location encapsulating an array of meanings and attachments (Cresswell, 2009). Agnew (1987) identified three key components of place: location, locale, and sense of place. Location (objective) refers to the absolute location, the grid references we assign to areas of the earth's surface by conventional latitudinal and longitudinal positioning. Locale (objective) refers to the material context for social interactions, the actual morphometry of the setting (domestic, daily, etc.) that people occupy. Sense of place (subjective) is understood as the affective attachment that people develop towards place (Agnew, 1987). Sense of place was considered a phenomenon unique to a particular locale (Hubbard *et al.*, 2002), and thus, since the 1970s, humanistic geographers increasingly shifted their focus to the ideas concerning sense of place (Withers, 2009). Essentially, geographical definitions of place since the 1970s have focused on the combination of location (an objective, definable area in space) and meaning (Agnew, 1987; Tuan, 1977; Cresswell, 2004).

Along with these shifts from an 'absolute' place to a more 'relational' place, humanistic geographers, together with Marxist geographers, started to integrate a critical approach to challenge the distinctiveness of places in the context of a globalising world (Hubbard *et al.*, 2002). For example, Relph (1976 as cited in Hubbard *et al.*, 2002) challenged the individuality and 'sense of place' of traditional understandings of place in his book, *Place and Placelessness* (1976). He used various experiences of 'outsiderness' and 'insiderness' to investigate the idea of 'authentic' place-making and inauthentic place-making (placelessness). Relph found that an authentic 'sense of place' involved a sense of belonging, with an inauthentic being the contrary. He argued that inauthentic places are the predominate state of industrialised, mass societies and is born from passively adopting mass values. Therefore, placelessness is the condition of places losing their identity to the point where they not only look alike, but feel alike and provide the same vapid possibilities for experience. Essentially, he put forward that the relationship between people and place is altering as a result of a combination of economic and cultural globalisation and significant mobility, and therefore, place and place-making should be theorised accordingly. Relph's (1976) examinations correspond to a 'relational' understanding that conceives place as contingent and part of a broader context. According to Hubbard

et al. (2002), a relational view of place contends that places are not merely enclosed territorial structures but are formed, and are found in social, economic, political and historical contexts, which in turn they help to shape. Places are therefore conceptualised as extremely intricate structures that are located within and shaped by forces surpassing their own ideological confines. This also means that places should not be rendered romantically as pre-political structures but that they are influenced by commonly institutional forces and social relationships.

Along with Relph's (1976) attempts to redefine our understandings of place, Massey (1995) has also contributed to this respect significantly. She understands places as the complex intertwining and products of power geometries that function across many spatial scales from the body to the globe. In her view, places are therefore made up of, and the product of, several, intertwining social, economic and political interactions. Therefore, places and social relations within and between them, are the products of certain assortments of power, whether it is induvial and institutional, or symbolic and physical. As a result, places are not characterized by specific and distinctive location, but instead by the joining of various social relations spanned over certain places. These interactions function at a myriad of interlocking scales. Massey (1995) acknowledges the transparent and porous confines of place including the various interlinkages and interdependencies between places. She also recognises that some people are significant active participants in the global network, while others live more boundedly. As such, places are relational and contingent, lived and viewed disparately amongst people – they are plenty, contested, evolving and unpredictable (rather than bounded territorial structures).

In summary, recent work on place has commonly sought to shed light on the way places are not fixed, bounded and unchanging things but open and constructed by the people, ideas and things that pass in and out of them (Cresswell, 2008). Places are thus constantly being shaped and reshaped, and claimed and reclaimed. With the crucial understanding of place as a relational concept, , the next section transitions to sense of place.

2.3 Sense of place

One of the most notable humanistic geographers, Yi-Fu Tuan, used the traditions of existentialism and phenomenology to describe the processes where individuals – through observing, experiencing, imagining and dreaming – attached significance to their environment and thus converted the abstract space into a unique place filled with meanings. Tuan (1977) encapsulated this significant attachment as a 'sense of place', and defined it as "affective bond between people and place or setting" (Tuan, 1974, p. 4).

Sense of place is conceptualised as the symbolic meanings a person ascribes to a physical environment (Hodgetts *et al*., 2010; Tonts and Atherley, 2010). As a result, sense of place is not rooted in the physical environment but rather in an individual's beliefs that are shaped by their interactions with the place. Interactions with the environment and social interactions both contribute to the development of a sense of place (Hodgetts *et al.*, 2010; Tonts and Atherley, 2010). Developing a sense of place involves the intertwining of family ties, customs, shared experiences in these places, and memories (Arestedt *et al*., 2016). Once a sense of place has been formed, it gives people a sense of stability, belonging, and security (Hay, 1998; Hodgetts *et al*., 2010; Tonts and Atherley, 2010). The concept of sense of place is also frequently used to describe the ambiance, the environment, and the attraction of a place that fosters a sense of well-being, strengthens community ties, and inspires a desire to return to the place (Tonts and Atherley, 2010). As a result, sense of place is not exclusive to locals; frequent visitors and tourists can also form a deep bond with a place as it symbolizes a significant experience (Kianicka *et al*., 2006).

Since place and sense of place are nested concepts, they function on various levels and scales (Vanclay, 2008). Thus, a person may have a sense of place to number of places including their home, work places, recreational places, holiday places, places of origin, or a favourite spot. People can also feel a connection to a place on a variety of scales, including a very particular spot, a larger area nearby, the region beyond that spot, the state as a whole, and even the entire country. Vanclay (2008) elaborates further and asserts that sense of place is ingrained in people's memories and sometimes manifests as a sentimental yearning for the past. However, sense of place is not meant to be a harrowing experience; rather, it refers to the current, everyday connections people have with their local environments and how those connections give their lives purpose in the present. A person's wellbeing, overall health, and sense of fulfilment in life are all influenced by their sense of place (Vanclay, 2008). Place is essential to humans for "to be human is to live in a world that is filled with significant places: to be human is to have and to know your place" (Relph, 1976, p. 1).

More importantly, sense of place is also considered an umbrella term that encompasses other concepts describing interactions between people and physical environments (Shamai, 1991). *Identity* (cognitive), *attachment* (emotive), and *dependence* (conative) each reflect a separate dimension of sense of place, even though there is a great deal of overlap among them (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001).

Place identity is understood as the *cognitive* association between a person and their physical environment (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). It encompasses "those dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex

pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals and behavioural tendencies and skills relevant to this environment" (Proshansky, 1978, p. 155). The environment controls social interaction and enables a person to develop and preserve their identity. Place identity does not refer to the identity of the place itself, but rather to the relationship that a person has with it. Similar to how one can think of gender identity and role-identity, place identity is a substructure of a more holistic self-identification (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001).

Place attachment is interpreted as the positive association formed between a person or communities and their physical environment (Altman and Low, 1992). Since it encompasses the emotional context, it is encapsulated as the affective (emotional) dimension (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001; Lewicka, 2011). More importantly, Altman and Low (1992) describe it as "an interplay of affect and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and behaviours and actions in reference to a place" (p. 5). Studies in sociology and psychology that focus on place attachment show a connection between subjective attitudes towards place and the individual's behaviour in terms of social engagement and commitment of personal resources (Brown and Perkins, 1992; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). Place attachment also encompasses the sense of security connected to a particular place or quality (Jones *et al.*, 2000). Furthermore, according to Smith (2011), research indicates that attachment to a community is grounded in rootedness and bondedness (Smith, 2011). Rootedness denotes a person's long residency in their locality, commonly their place of origin. Rootedness also encompasses living and working close to one's family, owning property nearby, and wanting to remain in that place. Bondedness denotes a person's sense of belonging to the community, their ability to tell strangers from fellow community members, and the number of people they know in the community (Smith, 2011).

Place dependence is understood as the strength of association between a person and a particular place (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). Place dependence is referred to as the conative (behavioural) structure because it differs from attachment in that the strength of association might be negative and the strength of the connection can be based on behavioural goals rather than general affect (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). The two elements of place dependence are the place's quality in terms of the physical and social resources available to satiate a person's goal-directed behaviour and how the place measures up against alternatives (Smith, 2011). Therefore, a place's significance to an individual is determined by its functional worth (Smith, 2011).

Although not frequently regarded a key notion within sense of place, place satisfaction, alternatively also referred to as a summary judgement of the perceived quality of a place, is also essential to consider in order to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of sense of place (Stedman, 2003). Place satisfaction is understood as the utilitarian significance of a place to meet particular foundational

needs, ranging from sociability to services to physical qualities (Stedman, 2002). Stedman (2002) indicates that individuals can be satisfied with where they live and to not be particularly attached to that place. However, the relationship between satisfaction and attachment is commonly viewed as positive (Stedman, 2002).

Sense of place is thus understood as a concept constituting meanings, attachment, and satisfaction (Stedman, 2003). These four aspects of sense of place are potentially unique, and it is considered that each aspect varies substantially amongst people (Stedman *et al.*, 2006). Furthermore, given that the social and physical factors of a place are important to the development of a sense of place, it's important to understand what these common key factors are that contribute to the enhancement of a sense of place. According to Semenza and March (2009), social factors like community involvement offer people opportunities to interact and build friendships, which in turn heightens a sense of place. Sense of place is improved because residents see their neighborhood as having a social atmosphere and are thus more inclined to participate in community events. Additionally, it has been discovered that people who have children are more likely to get involved in their community and build relationships with others since they have greater links to it due to their children. People with children consequently feel a deeper sense of place than residents without children (Semenza and March, 2009). Additionally, establishing friendship networks through community involvement raises a person's level of social support within communities. This additional social support can come in the form of material assistance like lending and borrowing household items as well as emotional support like companionship and advise about problems. Social support makes it possible for a person to feel emotionally and socially supported by other community members and that they belong there, which leads to a stronger sense of place. As a result, a sense of place is enhanced through belongingness. Longer-term residents experience a feeling of belonging as a result of becoming familiar with the community after many years of residing there. They thus feel a stronger sense of place (Semenza and March, 2009).

The physical qualities of a place (i.e., landmarks), such as historical sites, malls, gardens, parks, and lakes increases sense of place (Semenza and March, 2009). Through symbolic place meaning, the physical environment's qualities have an impact on sense of place. Therefore, only landmarks that people associate with contribute to sense of place because they hold significance for them and influence how they view their community. A sense of place is also related to visual diversity. The identity and character of the place are strengthened by highlighting the cultural, physical, and biological characteristics unique to the place. As a result, communities that are designed distinct and diverse in terms of their aesthetic appearance provide an enhanced visual experience that heightens a sense of place (Semenza and March, 2009). Sense of place is also influenced by a community's layout

and design. For example, having community amenities like schools, churches, sports facilities, and open spaces; curvilinear rather than grid-style roads, and specialized roads like cul-de-sacs and lanes makes roads safer, inviting residents out of their homes. Subsequently, residents engage and participate in their community, building relationships and establishing a sense of place (Semenza and March, 2009).

Even through the above research indicates that high quality physical environments enhances both the visual and social attractiveness of a place, Brown *et al*. (2003) highlight that residents in communities with poor housing quality can have a sense of place if they are attached to that community. Brown *et al.* (2003) further assert that communities with poor housing quality often mourn their homes and neighbourhood for years when they are displaced due to urban renewal. Additionally, low levels of sense of place are experienced in areas with high housing quality if there are no possibilities for residents to form a place attachment. As a result, rather than just housing quality alone, the importance of attachment tends to contribute to the development of a sense of place in a community (Brown *et al.*, 2003). Brown *et al.* (2003) also suggest that residents' perceptions of crime in their community can influence their sense of place. Fear of crime keeps people at home and discourages them from participating in community events and activities and using public facilities (Brown *et al.*, 2003). Residents may feel less attached to their community as a result and have a diminished sense of place.

Sense of place is thus a multifaceted construct. It can be defined in a plethora of ways but its key understanding lies in the attachment an individual has with a particular place. This attachment may be positive and/or negative. This can be referred to as the 'shadow side' of sense of place which is unpacked in the next section.

2.3.1 A negative sense of place

Chawla (1992) argues that "if place forms the circumference of our experience, we are attached to it for better or for worse. Therefore, there is a shadow side … composed of … frustrating or frightening places" (p. 66). Chawla (1992) thus identifies a shadow side of sense of place that encompasses negative and ambivalent sentiments and experiences of place, and advises that attachments to place can contain a dynamic tension between phenomena like belonging and exclusion, as well as positive and negative affect. However, Manzo (2013) notes that this side of sense of place is still understudied and that the literature is largely silent when it comes to the negative aspects of attachments to residential settings.

In support of Manzo's (2013) argument, Shamai (2018) reviewed previous studies and found that research on place has tended to focus on positive affective attachments to places due to the strength and significance of the concepts of belonging and attachment (which are dimensions of sense of place). However, some researchers have emphasized the need of exploring negative or ambivalent feelings toward places in order to gain a more holistic understanding. For example, negative sense of place can develop when many qualities of a place contradict, fail to meet people's needs, and/or make them wish to leave the place (Kudryavtsev *et al.*, 2012 as cited in Shamai, 2018). Moore (2000, p. 213 as cited in Shamai, 2018) postulates that we should concentrate on the ways "home disappoints, aggravates, neglects, confines, and contradicts as much as it inspires and comforts us". As a result, when place studies almost solely focus on positive feelings toward places, they neglect not only negative feelings but also much more nuanced, diverse, and sometimes unpleasant attitudes to places (Shamai, 2018). As Frumkin (2003, p. 1451 as cited in Shamai, 2018) contends, "Some places are romantic and some places are depressing … There are places that are frightening and places that are safe".

Trentelman (2011) discovered that there was a small but significant group of research participants who had negative associations with places in her study of a mixed amenity location. Some even claimed they had no favourable sentiments about the place. Hummon (1992) discovered the phenomena of 'place alienation' which can be defined as an unfavourable view of and inability to identify with a place. Some people feel alienated in a place because they were uprooted and forced to relocate there and feel like outsiders. Others can feel unhappy because the place they loved and felt anchored in has changed. Manzo (2013) argues that just as much as positive experiences of belonging can influence how we feel about a place, so too can bad experiences of omission. He also indicates that it is important that we investigate the array of experiences people have in place if we wish to understand our intricate and multifaced emotional relationships to them (Manzo, 2003).

Another factor that is related to negative sense of place is 'topophobia', coined by Tuan (1980), which means 'fear of place'. Topophobia can develop when people may experience suffering in a place, perceive or imagine a place to be dangerous, or worry about natural catastrophes like earthquakes or floods. Topophobia can also stem from ideological and/or religious-cultural beliefs that illuminates a contrast between good and bad values and places (Tuan, 1980). Cucu *et al.* (2011) examined how people's attitudes towards several Bucharest (Romania) neighbourhoods and discovered that they fell along a spectrum ranging from topophobia to topophilia (the converse of topophobia). The former are repugnant neighbourhoods that have a poor outlook due to urban decay, crime, the presence of a population that is socially and economically marginalized, inadequate technical infrastructure, or environmental degradation, all of which develops attitudes of rejection referred to as urban

'topophobia'. On the other hand, topophilia was developed by the perception of enhanced infrastructure in a given place. High standards of housing quality, green areas, service accessibility, a good outlook of the place, and increased neighborhood beautification are characteristics of attractive neighbourhoods (which contribute to topophilia) (Cucu *et al.*, 2011). Significantly, González (2005) found that topophobia was discovered as feelings of repugnance, alienation and hostility in response to polluted environments, however, a community can simultaneously have positive attitudes towards their homes, creating a sense of topophilia.

Furthermore, Atkinson (2015) indicates that displacement, also known as un-homing, can cause feelings of bitterness and place mourning. The negative effects of displacement can create feelings of injustice that is played out through social inequalities and strong emotional ties to one's home and community. It might cause feelings of rejection, despair and alienation. Those who have been forcibly relocated (evicted) frequently still harbour intense resentment toward their forced relocation, which is also accompanied by the development of notable levels of fear and worry about an unclear future. According to Atkinson (2015), displacement can cause significant practical difficulties, emotionally charged sentiments of loss, and intense feelings of animosity and alienation toward the new place, as well as a stronger sense of nostalgia for eroding social connections and lost relationships. Shamai (2018) asserts that mourning a lost place is generally very severe because the former place is remembered and glorified in stark contrast to the uprooted individuals' new homes. Experiences of displacement can be shaped by the degree of force used against the removed people, their ability or inability to influence the choice to uproot them and its specifics, the degree of change in both private and communal life, and other factors. Displaced persons may experience feelings of violation and helplessness to engage in any form of resistance or counterchange (Shamai, 2018). A negative sense of place can also be seen through place detachment. Place detachment can emerge, particularly when people want to distance themselves from a place and the meaning it holds for them as a result of unwanted personal memories, encounters, and/or difficult-to-reconcile historical events (Atkinson, 2015). Contrarily, place detachment does not necessarily follow when a place elicits negative memories or unpleasant past events (Shamai, 2018). Places can both repel and attract people at the same time, as seen by the concept of "thanatourism" and the relationships people have with places like concentration camps and battlefields.

In summary, the most common understanding of sense of place refers to positive feelings towards the place, but people sometimes have negative feelings towards a place due to variety of reasons. Sense of place is thus a complex concept which is constantly being reconceptualised to describe the ever-evolving feelings people develop towards places. Although negative sense of place has begun to

appear in current studies, it is rarely the focus of the research. To further expand on the diverse ways people are tied to places, this chapter now transitions to the role of memory in place.

2.4 Memory and place

Marcus (1992) affirms that most people's most telling memories revolve around places - their childhood home, their secret places of their formative years, the place where they first fell in love, their first home's neighborhood, where they raised their children, the summer house they erected in the woods, their first garden, and so on. Othman *et al*. (2013) go further, contending that we typically connect to a place both physically and mentally; both of these connections play a significant role in how we perceive a place. Memory association is crucial in developing a sense of place. Our experience of the present is framed by the passing references to earlier things and experiences. Memory and place can be compared to a tapestry; our individual and collective history and identities are interwoven with space and places. We identify places by tagging them with a unique memory that marks them in our mind. Thus, we may say that in order to have an identity and a sense of place, we need to remember (Othman *et al.*, 2013). To further understand this relationship between memory and place, it is essential to understand both personal memory and collective memory.

According to Johnson (2012), memory is the diffusion and alteration of meaning across time, and space is crucial to both daily routines and unique moments of remembrance connected to birth, death, and other significant events in both individual and collective histories. The mapping of key historical events and the articulation of personal identity depend on memory as recollection, remembering, and representation. Memory is the ability to remember and revive facts, events, impressions, or to recall and identify past experiences (Johnson, 2012). Our memories allow us to preserve past experiences (Boyer and Wertsch, 2009). When an event occurs and some time has passed after it, what is left in our memory is the space of the events (Lim, 2000). Mowla (2004) asserts that we remember places by having been in them, by having walked through them. A sense of place is created by this sense of familiarity with a place. However, if our experience of space does not match our previous notions or expectations, then it may feel as though we have not been in place (Mowla, 2004).

A place can also be identified by its memories, which can be personal or collective (Proust, 1981). A person has a distinct and individual memory image. The image that conveys a sense of place is tied to our physical senses, although it is limited. Someone may physically find dirt or a muddy environment unpleasant and unclean, but for someone else, the smell of mud will always evoke memories of their childhood schooldays spent cycling through a paddy field and the sense of freedom and joy they felt

there. Some consider memory as our marker of a place; it is our distinct memory and individual conception. The remnant of memories, the sedimentation of images and memories, and the intimate layering of memories on memories fill places (Proust, 1981).

The imagined and the unseen experiences of people evokes a sense of place in their minds of what it might be like (Mowla, 2004). However, the reality conveys an instant sense of place that may be totally different from what they had imagined. Preconceived notions of a space are influenced by a person's culture and their unique memory of a place. Layers of feelings and images are 'stored' in their memory over time based on both their imagined and actual experiences of a place. The stabilizing durability of place as a container of experiences is what significantly enhances its intrinsic memorability. An awake and active memory makes a spontaneous connection with a place, discovering in it elements that are favourable to and parallel to its own actions (Mowla, 2004). Memory can even be considered as naturally place-oriented or at least place supported (Casey, 1987).

Collective memory on the other hand, is important to interpret as the relationship between shared memories of place and their association to a public historical understanding of space (Mowla, 2004). Young (1993) defined public memory as the viewers' reaction to their own reality in the context of a memorialized past—the effects of memory. As commonly understood, a place's history is its collective memory. It could be both collective and individual, but over time, collective memory outlasts individual memory in the urban place-making. Rather than a collective memory, Young (1993) favours a collected memory of several discrete memories that are organized into shared remembrance spaces and given common meaning. Public memory is an overall compilation of its members' countless memories. People share types of memory, including the memories they inspire, but not the exact memory (Young, 1993).

People have a special grasp of their place's landmarks, signs, sounds and organisations (Hayden, 1995). Utilising the urban fabric, they try to depict history by integrating shared time in the form of shared territory. They acknowledge that the cultural frame of their history and memory is crucial; understanding and remembering our history shapes who we are. Memory and identity are inextricably linked: both our personal memories and the communal and social memories connected to the history of our families, neighbours, co-workers, and ethnic communities (Hayden, 1995). In summary, our sense of place develops from both our practical and in-depth interpretations of space associated with our cultural background and the influence of time upon our understanding of that space. There will be no experience of place without memory association with that place. Without association, a place has no meaning, without memory, a place is just another meaningless space.

2.5 Sense of community

Hammond (2004 as cited in Murcia, 2020) defines 'community formation' as the process of creating social, cultural and political attachments where one lives and the process of establishing a sense of identity and belonging through everyday social practices (Hammond, 2004 as cited in Murcia, 2020). According to Murcia (2020), Hammond's conception of 'community formation' is largely similar to Korac's (2009 as cited in Murcia, 2020) notion of 'reconstructing life', which Korac describes as the process of becoming part of a new community after being displaced. The process of 'reconstructing life' is influenced by both the need for continuity and the need for change, where the need for continuity refers to a need for connections with social roles, meanings, and identities that were embedded in one's life prior to the relocation process. Change necessitates flexibility and a readiness to redefining former roles, meanings, and identities (Murcia, 2020). To further understand this process of rebuilding community in District Six, it is crucial to understand what a sense of community entails.

Sense of community is commonly defined as "a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together" (McMillan and Chavis, 1986, p. 9 as cited in *Francis et al.*, 2012). This focus on affiliation and belonging are understood to distinguish sense of community from other place concepts (e.g., place attachment, place dependence, sense of place). Furthermore, in the current era of improved technology and mobility, a sense of community is not bound to a geographical area (Francis *et al.*, 2012). However, the close proximity of neighbours offers uncommon opportunities for social connection and support, such as mail collection, child supervision in an emergency, or house surveillance. Additionally, for individuals who are less mobile, such as those who work from home, the elderly, parents of young children, and the socioeconomically disadvantaged, neighbourhood resources, including neighbours, will always be useful. Paradoxically, as the awareness concerning the merits of a strong sense of community burgeons, there are concerns that sense of community is dwindling globally. Numerous factors have been identified as contributing to this trend, including fewer family networks, suburbanization, lengthier commutes, the aging population's continued independence, and the widespread use of social media and television for leisure (Francis *et al.*, 2012).

Nevertheless, studies of community indicate that despite local characteristics, people will strive to forge a sense of community (Hummon, 1992 as cited in Wise, 2015). McMillian and Chavis (1986 as cited in Wise, 2015) theorised this concept of sense of community. They put forth that sense of

community is based on four conditions: *membership*; *influence*; *integration or fulfilment of needs*; and *shared emotional connections* (Wise, 2015). These four conditions are summarised in Wise (2015). The first condition, *membership*, is an important element. Generally, communities are defined or distinguishable by their geographical boundaries. Those who live in either fluid or defined boundaries work to defend their sense of belonging against outside forces and threats, or to distinguish insiders from outsiders as boundaries can be so unrecognisable yet known only by those residing in them (McMillian and Chavis, 1986 as cited in Wise, 2015). Dunham (1986 as cited in Wise, 2015) described social processes of place with relevance to the attempt to be a member of a broader collective group, without neglecting the recognition of the very places where people create a sense of place. The second condition, *influence*, concerns social capital, and is commonly based on culture, economics, and politics, as the presence of these three contributing factors grant the principal structures of influence. As García *et al*. (1999) assert, politics profoundly (powerfully) influence communities.

The third condition, *integration and fulfilment of needs* is introduced in several community case studies to contextualise how influential factors reinforce individual and group relations (Jenkins, 2008 as cited in Wise, 2015). Additionally, reinforcement promotes social behaviour and it is a given that for any group to sustain a strong sense of unity, the individual-group association should incentivise its members (McMillan and Chavis, 1986 as cited in Wise, 2015). García *et al.* (1999 as cited in Wise, 2015) align with this view as they assert that integration and fulfilment are needed to encourage and maintain a greater sense of community. Such a view also suggest the recognition of the various processes that need to be formed to render personal satisfactions possible while collective demands can also be fulfilled (García *et al.*, 1999, as cited in Wise, 2015). For example, infrastructure such as schools, churches, community halls, pavilions, and recreational spaces function as entities of integration. These examples enable members of the community to establish and structure their needs to meet community objectives and enhance social capital and maintain sense of community. Lastly, García *et al.* (1999 as cited in Wise, 2015) expand on conceptualisations of *shared emotional connections* addressed in former work, highlighting that people commonly reminisce on their history, celebrate successes, or come together in trying circumstances. Collective emotions are anchored via contact, engagements, bonds, investments, culture, or values – denoting shared emotional connections (Brittan, 1973 as cited in Wise, 2015).

Further to the above understandings of sense of community, during their review of the definitions of community, Garcia *et al.* (1999) identified only two studies that focussed overtly on the idea of history. This led them to recognise the potential significance of the role of history in meaning creation in communities. According to Garcia *et al.* (1999), history would not be useful as a passive contextual

issue. It should be valued in terms of how the community connect with it in an active way (Acua, 1986 as cited in Garcia *et al.*, 1999). This can be strengthened through interpreting it critically to inform the community of its resources and knowledge. This is exemplified in Libertador, an underprivileged Caracas neighborhood. The inhabitants have significant knowledge of the history of their community that is then passed on to the new generations. In pivotal situations such as when they retaliated to an eviction threat, this understanding was crucial as it provided information about former experiences that was transmitted to the current situation. This simultaneously afforded members in the community confidence given that the community had been successful in former battles (Garcia *et al.*, 1999).

This historical dimension's significance is not limited to times of threat or conflict (Garcia *et al.*, 1999). History also offers a general understanding of those events and characteristics that constitute communal life. Daily life appears in history as an unequivocal example that supports a sense of identity and belonging among community members. As a result, accounts of community events, such as gatherings, games, funerals, courtships, and conflicts, etc., take on special significance for a community and are preserved in its history. The community's development is bolstered by the incorporation of a vast network of meanings through its history (Garcia *et al.*, 1999).

2.6 Chapter summary

This chapter provided an overview of the theoretical framework of the present study. The review of place and sense of place serve to contextualise the returnee community's effort of reconstituting a sense of place in District Six. In addition, literature on a negative sense of place was also reviewed to address the comprehensive and nuanced understanding of sense of place. Literature on memory and place was reviewed to ground the understanding of the role of memory in place and thus to contextualise how the returnees are using memories to reconstitute a sense of place in District Six. Finally, the chapter presented an overview of literature on the concept of community to relate it to returnee's present-day efforts of rebuilding a sense of community, as another dimension to their sense of place.

Chapter 3

Contextualising District Six

3.1 Introduction

This chapter supports the contemporary exploration of District Six through an historical contextualisation of the area, particularly through the trajectory of the apartheid period. By illuminating the sequence of events leading up to the forced removals in District Six and the repercussions in the lives of former residents that followed their removal from the area, this chapter helps to articulate the former community's rich cultural history which provides significant context to the study's findings. This chapter also traces the trajectory of the land restitution process of District Six within the time-period pertinent to this study, and within the context of a problematised land restitution programme. Finally, this chapter considers the role of gentrification in Cape Town's CBD, in the context of how this is transforming the urban space of the city centre. District Six is part of the corridor of rapid gentrification, including commercial and high-rise residential buildings expanding out of the City Bowl. This helps to develop an understanding of how these processes stand to affect the working-class returnees of District Six. In sum, all the issues addressed in this chapter aim to contextualise the findings of the study.

3.2. Historical background of District Six and the forced removals

According to McEachern (1998), District Six was the sixth district of Cape Town, an inner-city area where individuals from the working and artisanal classes have lived since the 19th century, many of whom worked in the city and at surrounding docks. Although property ownership was mostly concentrated in the hands of white landlords, District Six had long been a relatively mixed area where working-class white, coloured, and African people all lived. Such a diversity was problematic long before apartheid as Africans were forcibly relocated from District Six to the new township Ndabeni as early as 1901, supposedly due to the outbreak of the plague. During the 20th century, the Cape Town City Council and the landlords' overall unwillingness to maintain and enhance housing and other amenities, and rapid population growth (particularly caused by rural in-migration), led to the development of what all researchers refer to as a 'slum' - a highly overpopulated and neglected area (McEachern, 1998).

In 1948, the National Party rose to power in South Africa, ruling on the basis of a manifesto promising to address the issue of crowded cities brought on by widespread and unchecked rural-to-urban

migration. Through what Mamdani (1996 as cited in McEachern, 1998) terms 'artificial deurbanization', population control became a cornerstone of apartheid policy as it sought to organize and channel capitalist development in South Africa for the benefit of one sector of the population - white South Africans. This meant that colour segregation, which existed before the apartheid period, was systemised and legalised as race started to affect how rights were distributed. Key to the system of enforcement of racially based rights was the Population Registration Act, which categorized racial identity, and the Group Areas Act, which aimed to comprehensively enforce racial difference by regulating non-white populations in terms of residence, which followed respectively. Thus, apartheid was a spatial system that operated primarily at the local level. The city and the urban were particularly important to policy. In order to maintain the proper link between whiteness and urbanization, the city was considered as being white and constructed by whites for whites, hence non-white entry to the cities for any purpose, whether residential or employment, had to be carefully regulated by the Group Areas Act. Only on white terms were non-whites permitted to live and work in metropolitan areas (McEachern, 1998).

Cape Town was South Africa's most integrated city in 1948 (Christopher, 1994). Although economics caused a form of segregation, namely, civil inequality, when it came to working class regions in particular, residential patterns were typically integrated due to the liberal history of the Cape and the comparatively high population of coloured people. These were the areas that were destroyed as area after area was proclaimed white or coloured (mainly the former), dislodging all other classifications of people (Christopher, 1994). One such place was District Six (McEachern, 1998). It was praised as a diverse community of workers and small business owners where people of various ethnicities, religions, and cultures interacted, coexisted, and experienced the tribulations of poverty and neglect collectively. The National Party was determined to regularize and codify the informal and frequently economically motivated forms of segregation that were already in place in 1948, which Goldin (1987 as cited in McEachern, 1998) contends were fuelled by the fear of miscegenation as a result of the significant amount of intergroup marriage that occurred. District Six thus epitomized the ideological foundation and spatial planning that underpinned the Apartheid's vision of the city, found at the core of its regime and its manner of portraying South Africa as a whole. Under the regime of the National Party, space itself was to be racialized and changed, ultimately changing people (McEachern, 1998).

District Six was only declared 'white' in 1966, despite the Group Areas Act having been passed into law in 1950. In total, between 55,000 and 65,000 individuals were removed from District Six, generally displaced to the townships out on the Cape Flats (see Figure 2 below) and split up from family and friends (McEachern, 1998). Most people experienced considerable material loss. Property investments were lost, and the cost of commuting from the Cape Flats commutes became significantly

more expensive. Only a few houses of worship remained after the architectural fabric—the actual streets, schools, shops, cinemas, and people's homes —was bulldozed. The remaining religious buildings were still used for worship both during and after the demolitions and going there from afar was a means to maintain community relationships (Lea, 2007).
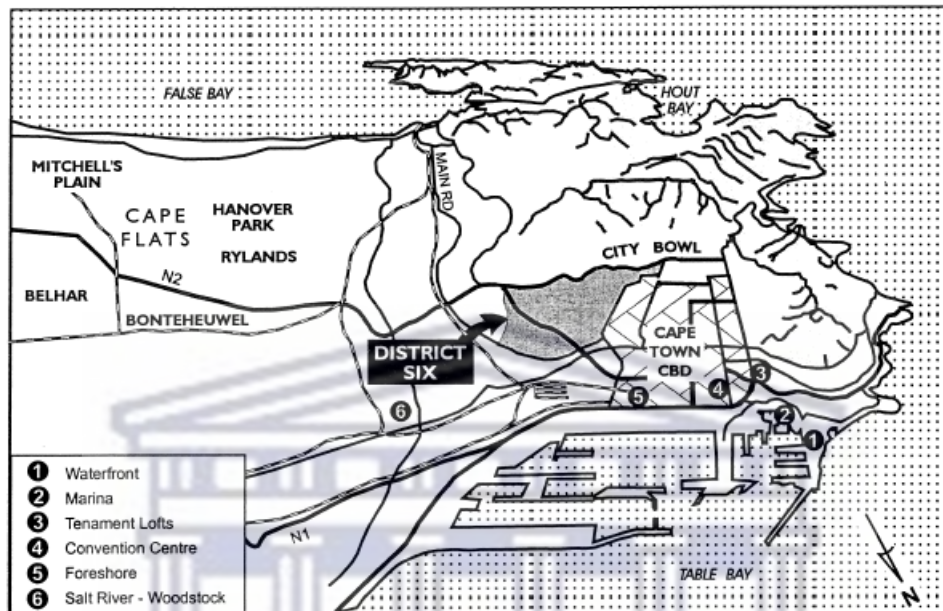
Figure 2: Map showing location of District Six and the Cape Flats region in Cape Town (Source: Dewar, 2001)

In 1970, the area was renamed Zonnebloem after the original location of a colonial farm. This was part of a strategy to lure in new investment in the area. The area was to be viewed as a clean canvas, even though a third of the original District Six population was still living there in 1976. Over the years, the area remained contested and investors were wary because of all the negative publicity. Another significant reason for the area's lack of redevelopment was the opposition of black and coloured developers and workers, who refused to work on 'salted earth'. This was motivated by the Hands Off District Six (HODS) assemblage of civics and other organisations which united in 1987 to resist the redevelopment of District Six without the integration of the displaced former residents (Rassool, 2019). Succeeding, in the early 1980s, the Cape Technikon (CPUT) became the first development project, for white students (Lea, 2007).

Furthermore, Monty (2006 as cited in Soudien, 2019) writes about the activist collective action in the mobilisation of formerly enslaved people in the Cape which existed in District Six. Since the 1650s, succeeding the Dutch East India Company's arrival in Cape Town, people were seized on the coasts of Indonesia, India, Madagascar, and Angola, and enslaved. Under these dreadful conditions, cultural

organizing, such as the establishment of choirs and the preservation of inherited culinary traditions, for example, were a crucial tool for enslaved people to create community, often in secret. To commemorate the historic day (2 January) when enslaved people were permitted to celebrate the New Year, former slaves started the tradition of the *Tweede Nuwe Jaar* (second New Year) celebrations. This tradition later developed into a carnival, parade, and live music festival. People in District Six were entertained by performances by the Kaapse Klopse, who performed while wearing brilliantly coloured matching suits and hats and accompanied by singing and marching brass bands. In Cape Town, this ceremony is still held every year on January 2nd.

Housing in District six was very small and often overcrowded, but the area had a sense of community of note (Soudien, 2019). The philosophy of 'kanala' which was defined as a spirit of generosity, was prevalent, even amidst families who had little to give. However, even though the widespread narratives of District Six were that of racial and cultural harmony, former residents sometime advocate for the addressing of racism that existed in the district and the internalised prejudices which were visible in lives of community members. The portrayal of the tapestry of such nuanced narratives and the collection of stories of people who lived in District Six is housed in the District Six Museum (Soudien, 2019). As McEachern (1998, p. 518) assert, "The District Six Museum has become one place where the sense of absence can be linked to the District's presence in people's lives and popular memory". Summatively, the lively and multifaceted heritage of District six is commonly recounted as being one of the greatest losses that resulted from the forced removals (Soudien, 2019).

Succeeding the community's displacement from District Six, they commenced their uprooted lives scattered on the Cape Flats (Lea, 2007). 'The Flats', as referred to by the residents, is a large area located to southeast of central Cape Town (refer to Figure 2 above). The Cape Flats spatially typified the racial segregation of apartheid planning, segregating the displaced people in allocated townships. Coloured people were placed in Bonteheuwel, Hanover Park or Mitchells Plain, while Africans were placed in Langa, Guguletu or Khayelitsha (Lea, 2007). According to Marks *et al.* (2002), the planning of these townships were grounded in the concept of 'Neighbourhood Unit'. They were divided from one another by freeways, greenbelts, industrial estates and railways. Thus, assuring control of the areas for the apartheid authorities. Concerning both construction and size, the housing structures in the townships were unsatisfactory, resulting in former residents longing for what they once had. The townships typified uniformity both in terms of physical organisation and colour. The community essentially suffered great discontinuity on the Cape Flats (Marks et al., 2002).

In line with the narrative of discontinuity experienced on the Cape Flats, novelist and political activist, Richard Rive, who was born in District Six, wrote about everyday life in the old community in his novel 'Buckingham Palace. District Six (1986)' (Lea, 2007). Below is an excerpt from his book which poignantly summarises the significant disruptions in the lives of the community experienced on the Cape Flats:

> *Many were forced to move to small matchbox houses in large matchbox townships which with brutal and tactless irony were given names by the authorities such as Hanover Park and Lavender Hill to remind us of the past they had taken away from us. There was one essential difference between the old places and the new ones. District Six had a soul. Its centre held together till it was torn apart. Stained and tarnished as it was, it had a soul that held together. The new matchbox conglomerates on the desolate Cape Flats had no soul. The houses were soulless units piled together to form a disparate community that lacked cohesion.*

(Rive, 1986, p. 127 as cited in Lea, 2007)

The old community's structure had, in some ways, kept gangsterism under control, but on the Cape Flats, a deteriorating sense of community identification and alienation caused a rise in violence, and more so than before, gang activity started to affect people who weren't gang members. However, life was not that miserable. As Dewar (2001) assert, over time, people invested significance and character in place. So, music continued to flourish on the Cape Flats, inspired by, among others, the word-famous jazz musician, Abdullah Ibrahim, a former District Six resident; sports clubs were established, commonly with the names commemorating District Six such as Hanover Bees Soccer Club and Bloemhof Cricket Club; and people began forging ties in the local shebeens (Lea, 2007). On the other hand, place and space had ingrained itself on the collective human psyche. Distance and the passage of time enhanced memories of, and longing for District Six (Dewar, 2001).

The implementation of the land restitution programme which followed the demise of apartheid and the birth of a democratic South Africa in 1994, meant that the dream of returning to District Six might become possible for the dispossessed community. Accordingly, the section below looks at the land restitution process of District Six. It is important to note that this section proceeds from the introduction provided in Chapter One, and expands on the developments within the land restitution process of District Six following the February 2011 handover and up until the August 2013 handover. Since Rassool's (2019) book chapter, *Remaking Cape Town: Memory Politics, Land Restitution and Social Cohesion in District Six*, provides a comprehensive synthesis of the trajectory of the land restitution process of District Six, this section proceeds with the overview adopted from his synthesis.

3.3 Land restitution

Although the D6BRT was established in 1997 to consolidate and administer the restitution process in consultation with the claimants (i.e. they had adopted the role of representing claimants), by 2011 two additional organisations were established. This was the District Six Claimants Committee, established six years prior and representing roughly 200 claimants, and the District Six Advocacy Committee, representing roughly 300 former homeowners in District Six (Cape Times, 2011 as cited in Rassool, 2019). At the onset of the restitution process of District Six, the D6BRT agreed that the programme of return would entail an integrated development plan and that the elderly including those who had been tenants rather than homeowners, would take priority over other claimants. In addition, the D6BRT had also developed a 'social compact' for the redevelopment of District Six. This social compact entailed the circumvention of property speculation and social ills including dealing in drugs and alcohol (which were common ills in the 'townships' of Cape Town); the request that approved claimants occupy their homes for at least 5 years; and working together to forge a healthy community with the fullest integration (Layne, 2008 as cited in Rassool, 2019).

Furthermore, the D6BRT were also aware that land restitution comprising low-income returnees posed a threat to inner-city gentrification and that burgeoning land values could very quickly succumb to market forces, with land restitution merely being integrated into urban housing development. Their belief of restitution for the District Six community encompassed a notion of citizenship grounded in the ethos of unity and the forces of resistance, "and not any managerial notion of a new orderly, land owning, rate-paying client of the city, who citizenship resided rights to service delivery on the part of the state" (Rassool, 2019, p. 322). On the other hand, the Advocacy Committee and the Claimants Committee sought to represent the rights of former homeowners, who wanted to be prioritised for return, and who claimed to never having been properly consulted (Johns, 2011 as cited in Rassool, 2019).

Moreover, a new Task Team comprising city and provincial officials including the land commission was established to expedite the land restitution process with a commitment to creating a new business plan for the design of houses. Full-scale development administered by a 'special purpose vehicle' would ensure the delivery of 2500 houses to land claimants. Also, an additional 2500 houses would be delivered and rendered available to the open market, with a mixed-use component. As representatives of the claimants, the D6BRT had considered themselves as development agents. Instead, the whole process was grounded in a professional foundation, propelled by the government through a formal development framework, and the D6BRT ostensibly turned into claimant representatives persuading buy-ins and participation and determining the order and categorisation of

eligible returnees to be issued houses as they were being erected. By December 2011, with consensus from all tiers of government, it was declared that a huge headway had been reached and the redevelopment plan for District Six was ready (Nicholson, 2011 as cited in Rassool, 2019). Minister Gugile Nkwinti assured that the plan will enable the claimants to return to dignified homes, which will rebirth the lively non-racial ethos and which will epitomise a thriving, sustainable community through the construction of an integrated and economically solid future, for all those who will return (Rassool, 2019).

This plan was made available for public inspection at the Trafalgar High School where the minister encouraged the widest possible participation (Nicholson, 2011 as cited in Rassool, 2019). The tentative plan rejected the choice of providing claimants with free houses and selling off District Six land to compensate for the costs of restitution, as that would result in the area's crown jewels being sold, and thus losing the area's legacy. Alternatively, the plan provisioned that the claimants pay R250 000 towards their homes where they would also acquire shares in the proposed 'special purpose vehicle (SPV)' that would control the development. Essentially, by becoming shareholders, all land would fall under the control of the claimants, and revenue would also be generated through the renting of land and sale of additional homes. The plan approximated that claimants would begin receiving dividends from their investments within 5 years. And, District Six restitution homeowners who had benefited from government grants, would not be able to sell their houses for 10 years, while they would be encouraged to hold on to their asset for at least 15 years (Nicholson, 2011 as cited in Rassool, 2019).

The plan also proposed the incorporation of the old Zonnebloem Estate and Trafalgar Park of the former District Six, including the post-forced removals infrastructure such as the Good Hope Centre and CPUT. More importantly, the plan envisaged the reestablishment of the old historic street grid, with Hanover Street reinstated as the area's economic hub. The new plan provided the opportunity for significant curative justice to reverse the trauma inflicted by the forced removals and presented the material promise of rebuilding and healing as the foundation of social cohesion (Nicholson, 2011 as cited in Rassool, 2019). Furthermore, the plan promised that the design of the houses would be sensitive to the history and memory of District Six, whilst proposing the special purpose vehicle (SPV) option of investment as way of safeguarding the area's crown jewels. Through the attainment of shares in the District Six development vehicle, claimants would gain an asset. Claimants would be able to own and rent out primal residential and commercial property grounded in a development framework that contains checks and balances to deter gentrification (District Six Task Team, 2011 as cited in Rassool, 2019).

Despite these progresses, in September 2012, a workshop was scheduled by Minister Nkwinti, for registered claimants only, both tenants and landowners, on the development plans at the Cape Town International Convention Centre (CTICC). What produced from this workshop was the establishment of a Reference Group, which was democratically elected, to study and unpack the nature and outcomes of the business plan and SPV, and report on all the social aspects of restitution (South African Press Association, 2012; District Six Social Integration Team, 2013 as cited in Rassool, 2013). The Reference Group was established to restore integrity to the problematised restitution process. It was declared that 15 years of delays had caused the claimants to start losing faith in the D6BRT for not operating honestly and in supposedly having become 'referee and player' in the restitution process of Phase One and Two for District Six pilot housing (DLDLR, 2013; District Six Reference Group, 2013 as cited in Rassool, 2013).

In January 2013, the Reference Group delivered their reports on their considerations on the technical matters of the restitution and social integration. The Reference Group claimed that the 2011 Final Draft Development Framework endorsed a business plan with the predetermined agenda of prioritising business interests above the restitution of the claimants through the building of high rise density units. They asserted that the claimants rejected this framework as it expected them to return to a District Six that never existed (District Six Reference Group, 2013 as cited in Rassool, 2019). The Reference group also critiqued the economic motivations of the D6BRT which placed significance on the value of the land and that claimants would gain an asset and not only a home, and for using the threats of gentrification to induce fear in the claimants. The claimants felt as though the D6BRT would be operating as a 'Big Brother' over them. The Reference Group also rejected any social compact which would unlawfully restrict the full ownership rights of claimants, particularly to sell their property and capitalise on their properties in their lifetime (District Six Reference Group, 2013 as cited in Rassool, 2019).

Accordingly, by denouncing the foundations of the Final Draft Development Framework, the Reference Group advised that claimant restitution land for residential purposes be separated from any land that may be reserved for transfer to an SPV for commercial and business investment, and that the choice to invest in an SPV be separated from claimants' restitution. Considering the extremely reduced available land for land restitution, the team also advised that 2800 single and/or duplex units be built for residential use in the final stage of redevelopment, on plots that should be no smaller than 210 m^2, leaving room for future development. In addition, the claimants should not be expected to pay contributions to the cost of their houses, and claimants are advised to buy shares in the

development with down-stream benefits, at their own will (District Six reference group, 2013 as cited by Rassool, 2019).

Furthermore, the Reference Group requested a District Six land audit, specifically of undeveloped and developed residential and commercial/retail land sold off after the area was proclaimed restitution land for the forcibly removed community. They proposed that earnest consideration be given to expropriation of land such as Bloemhof Flats, Drury Lane Flats, Stirling Flats and Eaton Place, to be available for claimants who missed the 1998 claim deadline. Moreover, it was reasoned that the CPUT campus, erected on the heart of District Six as a visibly poignant reminder of the injustices perpetrated by the apartheid government, should be returned and transformed into a multipurpose integrated community facility, with the educational provision relocated elsewhere in the city. The CPUT site, as the hustling and bustling centre of the new community, could be developed into a hotel on Hanover Street, and offer its space as a conference centre, including for retail, restaurants and franchises facilities. With creative imagination, it could be transformed into an iconic space of restitution prominence and produce a tourist attraction that can surpass the Waterfront. There could also be space for a potential hospital and huge gym facility. Along with this wild imagination of the Technical Team, they also suggested that the District Six Museum could be moved to the CPUT campus and be expanded to include sports heritage (District Six Reference Group, as cited in Rassool, 2019).

In August 2013, 70 Phase Two houses were handed over by Minister Nkwinti to mostly elderly District Six claimants. This was marked as a jubilant occasion but concurrently demonstrated burgeoning dissatisfaction and persistent tensions in the land restitution process. With this handover, the Minister announced that claimants were exempted from paying R250 000 as originally set out by the task team and the D6BRT. Claimants did not have to pay for two-bedroom homes but would be expected to contribute to the cost if they wish to have bigger homes. And for the first time, former land owners, who had felt abandoned by earlier operations, were also included amongst the returnees. The D6BRT participated in the handover but refused to share the platform with the leaders of the provincial and city government, which they deemed to be lethargic and prolonging the land restitution process. 42ha of land still needed to be handed over by the city to the D6BRT to erect more housing units (Kamaldien, 2013; Nicholson, 2013 as cited in Rassool, 2019).

Rassool (2019) concludes that the D6BRT and the Reference Group, in their contrary ways, had been cemented into the stakeholder procedures and systems of governmentality, land restitution and development, as claimant representatives and brokers, but they treaded contrary paths in endeavouring to forge a new community. The D6BRT did this through the 'symbolic politics' of a social

compact and a plan for claimants to invest in their control over all aspects of the area, and the Reference Group approached these complexities in ways that might produce a new District Six as a restitution-oriented environment, with new, unrestrained forms of commerce and accumulation in its midst (Rassool, 2019). Thus, as Rassool (2019, p. 329) argues, "the future of land restitution is not about housing; rather its success as social cohesion lies in the field of symbolic politics, in understanding District Six as a landscape of memory".

3.4 Gentrification in Cape Town's Central Business District (CBD)

According to Andersen (2021), gentrification is simply the process of employing improvements to the physical environment and services in low-income neighbourhoods that are facing urban decay, turning the areas into places that attract people from the middle class for both housing and employment. The result of gentrification is often the social and physical displacement of the area's working-class population. The process of gentrification is occurring in major cities around the world, making it a global phenomenon (Andersen, 2021).

From the 2000s, there has been a substantial movement away from inner city decline in Cape Town, in contrast to other major South African cities (Kotze, 2013). In the case of Cape Town, this has been endorsed by initiatives like the Central City Improvement District (CCID) and significant infrastructure investments, such as in transportation, conference facilities, new hotels, office renovations, and the developments at the Victoria and Albert Waterfront and Marina, which have demonstrably reversed the trend of the city's decay. The turnaround plan was facilitated by the development framework of the national and local governments, which significantly contributed to the redevelopment of Cape Town's CBD (Kotze, 2013).

During July 1999, the Cape Town Partnership (CTP), a non-profit management agency, was formed (Visser and Kotze, 2008). The CTP constitutes representation of the City Council, the Cape Metro Council, the South African Property Owners Association, private businesses and their representative organisation. The CTP's mandate was to spearhead and oversee the revitalization of Cape Town's CBD and to market it as a location for international trade, investment, retail, entertainment, and leisure, establishing Cape Town as a major player on the world stage (Visser and Kotze, 2008).

A significant time in establishing the formation of neo-liberal localisation is reflected in one of the CTP's key projects – CCID – formed in November 2000, an area the size of the old CBD (Miraftab, 2007). The additional profits raised by the CCID through the collection of an additional rate from property-owners, has significantly been used to 'clean up' the city of crime (including permanent security

managers, private security officers, mobile patrol vehicles, mounted patrol officers, parking marshals and a CCTV network co-operating with public law enforcement agencies) and refuse removal, transforming the city into an attractive place in which to invest and/or place business (Miraftab, 2007).

Since the CCID began operating seven years ago, the central district of Cape Town has witnessed a remarkable shift due to significant private investment in renovations, new construction, and lease agreements as companies flocked to the city's central spaces. An area no larger than 4 square km has received more than R15 billion in investments overall. This is a considerable transformation from the late 1990s period, when businesses and inhabitants were emigrating from the deteriorating and criminally active city centre that had been hogged by street vendors and vagrants (Lemanski, 2007).

As it is evident in many cities elsewhere, private-public partnerships that have been implemented as quasi-urban government are not always well-received (Pirie, 2007). With respect to Cape Town, the CTP has been questioned about whether it can serve the interests of informal entrepreneurs and homeless people. Lemanski (2007) has evidently raised these questions by appraising the proficiency of 'Southern cities', like Cape Town, aiming to become globally competitive through leading CBD regeneration (and ultimately gentrified), while at the same time tackling domestic socio-economic redistribution to a greatly indigent urban population outside Cape Town's gentrifying central districts. In retrospect, analysts claim that these individuals are completely excluded from these spaces—both literally and symbolically (Lemanski, 2007).

The prominence of long-standing business interests in the CTP raises concerns about the commodification of heritage and property as well as the constricting of public policy debates and the discontinuation of significant public participation in service provision (Visser and Kotze, 2008). These effects, according to McDonald (2008 as cited in Visser and Kotze, 2008), should be viewed as the product of neo-liberal localization. According to some analysts, the emergence of the CTP results from a weak city government that ignores its civic duties in the face of private pressure. Others maintain that the current terms 'security' and 'safety', mobilises support for neoliberal planning similarly as the terms 'sanitation' and 'hygiene' did for the 19th century urban reformism and colonial planning. Although Cape Town has experienced a rise in a stronger local government since the CPT was introduced, the fact that the new officials of local political power are recognisably more neo-liberal in their political economic outlook, may serve to further delay the role of local government, not as a result of poor urban planning, but intentionally. Moreover, "for the recently arrived 55 000 'new middle-class' residents occupying the newly redeveloped CBD, this move towards greater privatisation will probably be embraced and encouraged" (Visser and Kotze, 2008, p. 2570).

As argued by Visser and Kotze (2008), in a democratic South Africa, at least rhetorically, there is unequivocal concern about city centre residential developments from which the majority of everyday downtown workers and shoppers are excluded by virtue of their poverty. Race is no longer the deciding factor in the access to civic facilities for the mass of Cape Town's population, rather it seems as if 'apartheid' redlining based on race, has been replaced by a financially exclusive property market that establishes property and privilege, and makes it accessible to foreign investors, business entrepreneurs and tourists. As is the case everywhere else in the metropole, rising residential property process in the past ten years have destroyed the hopes of a mixed-use, mixed-income, socially inclusive central city. "Given property prices—current—and, we would argue, for a considerable time in the future—mass settlement of the urban poor in the CBD is utopian and empty rhetoric" (Visser and Kotze, 2008, p. 2589).

The above discussion contextualises the threat the working-class returnee community of District Six poses to urban development plans of Cape Town's city centre, and consequently, the threats urban development poses to the returnee community. Therefore, based on the above, the integration of the working-class returnee community within the urban development plans of Cape Town's city centre, arguably renders the returnee community extremely vulnerable to the by-products of said development enforced by the local and provincial government.

3.5 Chapter summary

This chapter served to support the contemporary exploration of District Six. This was thus achieved through the review of the historical background of District Six. It also traced the land restitution process of District Six to illuminate the various factors at play that have contributed to politicizing and problematising it, which have thus also resulted in the dilatory return of claimants to District Six. The role of gentrification in Cape Town's CBD was also explored in this chapter to contextualise how this is transforming the urban space of the city centre, and thus stand to threaten the working-class returnees of District Six. The themes addressed in this chapter thus render District Six as a space characterised as a multifaceted tapestry, interwoven with lauded rich traditions, loss, suffering, triumphs, tribulations, and issues of contestations. Chapter Four outlines this study's research methodology.

Chapter 4

The Methodological Roadmap

4.1 Introduction

As part of introducing this chapter, it is important to first provide background context to the undertaking of the present study. I commenced with my Master's studies at the University of the Western Cape in late January 2020, the year when the covid-19 lockdown was enforced in March. The entirety of this study was thus undertaken under the covid-19 pandemic. This background context is essential to contextualise the many challenges, which will be delineated in this chapter, faced during the entirety of this study vis-à-vis the covid-19 pandemic. This chapter describes the methodological roadmap of this study. Firstly, the methodological approach of the study is discussed. This is followed by the delineation of the study's research design which comprises the sampling strategy; the recruitment process; and the data collection methods. This is followed by the ethical considerations, the data analysis process, and lastly, the researcher reflexivity discussion.

4.2 Methodological Approach

The aim of this study is to assess sense of place amongst the returnee community of District Six. Since sense of place is primarily a concept of interest in human geography, the study adopted a qualitative approach to address the research aim. This rationale is further supported by Smith (2011), who explains that sense of place is a multifaceted construct that has been studied from non-positivist (e.g., phenomenology; ethnographic), and positivist (i.e., behavioural) approaches. Phenomenological approaches to capture sense of place probes the relationship between person and environment and do not employ empirical techniques to 'test hypotheses' in a formal sense. Consequently, phenomenological research prescribes that concepts should be addressed holistically, allowing for a more intuitive, reflective assessment of the concept being examined, and maintains that probing a multifaced concept can result in the essence of the overall concept to be lost (Smith, 2011).

Understanding qualitative research begins with the notion that meaning is socially constructed by individuals in interaction with their reality (Merriam, 2002). The reality is not the static, single, accepted, quantifiable phenomenon that it is assumed to be in positivist, quantitative inquiry. Instead, there are many shifting and evolving ways that reality is constructed and understood. What those interpretations are at a specific time and in a specific context is what qualitative researchers are interested in investigating. Moreover, in qualitative research, you find three

overarching theoretical perspectives: *interpretive*, *critical*, and *postmodern*. Lather (1992 as cited in Merriam, 2002), presents these three overarching theoretical perspectives in terms of *understanding* (interpretive), *emancipation* (critical), and *deconstruction* (postmodern). A research study can be approached from any of these theoretical stances in qualitative research (Merriam, 2002). Accordingly, for this purpose of the present study, an *interpretative* qualitative approach was considered as its interest lies in how human beings experience and interact with their social world, and the meaning it has for them. The phenomenological/interpretivist approach is thus unpacked below.

4.2.1 The Phenomenological/Interpretivist Approach

According to Donalek (2004), all research methods have a particular foundational philosophical belief about how we know or what the nature of reality is. Phenomenological research was founded in a 20ᵗʰ century, European philosophical movement. Oiler Boyd (2001 as cited in Donalek, 2004), elucidated some of the movement's general beliefs:

> *"Perception is original awareness of the appearance of phenomena in experience. It is defined as access to truth, the foundation of all knowledge. Perception gives one access to experience of the world as it is given prior to any analysis of it. Phenomenology recognizes that meanings are given in perception and modified in analysis…"*

> (2001, pp. 96-97 as cited in Donalek, 2004)

These philosophers always perceived their investigations as "an effort to get beneath or behind subjective experience to reveal the genuine, objective nature of things" (Schwandt, 2002, p. 192 as cited in Donalek, 2004).

The phenomenological paradigm is built upon a metaphor that is primarily "mental"; in other words, the importance of human consciousness (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The phenomenological paradigm emphasizes the distinctions between the object of the natural and social sciences, whereas positivism emphasizes the similarities between them. The presumed connection between the study of man and the study of society is based on the human mind or consciousness, not the human body. According to this approach, the aim of the human sciences is to understand rather than to explain people. People are not first and foremost thought of as biological organisms, but rather as conscious, autonomous, symbolic human beings. Phenomenologists stress that all human beings are involved in the process of making sense of their reality. Human beings are constantly interpreting, creating, and giving meaning to, defining, justifying and rationalising their behaviour. The phenomenological viewpoint contends that any understanding of social science research should take into account the

fact that individuals constantly construct, develop, and change their everyday (common-sense) perceptions of their reality (Babbie and Mouton, 2001).

Methods of phenomenological research have many similarities, despite some real differences found in the phenomenological movement that have formed research paradigms (Donalek, 2004). These methods are employed to investigate issues where little is known or to uncover sensitive content. The researcher seeks potential research participants who have experienced the phenomenon under investigation and are willing and able to describe their experiences. Research participants are often interviewed rather than requested to write their experiences. Effective interviewing demands engagement and sensitivity. Participants can be thought of as co-researchers who collaborate with the researcher in order to jointly examine the participant's experience and co-create an insightful description, rather than to summon up and state a prior experience like playing a recording. The researcher then analyses the descriptions, identifies and extracts themes, and finally, merges these themes into a meaningful description of the fundamental elements of the phenomenon under study (Donalek, 2004). Phenomenology is a key approach to understanding phenomena of the geographical lifeworld (Relph, 1981). Therefore, a phenomenological approach was used to address the research problem of the present study; to successfully probe and encapsulate the lived experiences of the returnees of District Six.

4.3 Research Design

4.3.1 Sampling

Non-probability sampling is commonly related to qualitative research (Taherdoost, 2016). The traditions of qualitative research lie in focusing on small samples and to explore real-world phenomena, not to draw conclusions about the general population. Although a sample of participants or cases does not have to be random or representative, there must be clear justifications why some instances or people should be included and not others (Taherdoost, 2016). Therefore, non-probability sampling was employed for the study, using purposive and snowball sampling techniques.

Purposive sampling is a strategy whereby particular places, persons or events are intentionally chosen to gather important information that cannot be gathered from other choices. It is a strategy where the researcher includes cases or participants in the sample that they believe need to be included (Taherdoost, 2016). Snowball sampling is a strategy whereby the researcher uses a few cases to help encourage other cases to participate in the study, thus increasing the sample size. This approach can largely be used in small populations that are difficult to access (Taherdoost, 2016).

Purposive sampling, using age as inclusion/exclusion criterion, was initially employed in the present study. Participants in an age range from 70 years of age with no upper age limit were considered. This was important to the sampling strategy as participants in this age range would have been old enough to have established a sense of place before being forcibly removed from District Six, and thus - as returnees - are in in the process of rebuilding that sense of place. The age range was the only criterion to be met as all race, gender and cultural groups were eligible to participate. In order to have gained access to these potential participants in District Six, I set out to establish contact with the District Six Museum (will be referred to as the Museum hereafter) where I aimed to work through the Acting Director and the returnee group, the *Seven Steps Club* (an honorary club for former District Six residents). These established structures and networks were considered critical entry points into the returnee community to identify participants for the study. The transition to snowball sampling is unpacked in the recruitment process section below.

4.3.2 The Recruitment Process

I commenced with fieldwork in November 2020, after receiving ethical clearance. As previously mentioned, my starting point was the Museum to have gained access to the Acting Director and the *Seven Steps Club*. At that time, the Museum was facing possible closure due to the covid-19 lockdown, resulting in the Acting Director being swamped with efforts to keep the museum operating. As a result, various efforts, such as sending emails and making telephonic phone calls to arrange an appointment to meet with the Acting Director were unsuccessful. I then proceeded to pay the Museum a visit hoping to establish a gateway into the community.

The 13th of November 2020 marked the first day of fieldwork upon my first arrival at the Museum in Buitenkant Street, District Six. During this visit, I was advised by the Museum to speak with the Educational Manager of the District Six Homecoming Centre (a homecoming centre for returning families and a centre for education and memory work), since the Acting Director was unavailable. After getting a brief overview of the museum, their collections, and the way forward with meeting the Educational Manager, I left the Museum on a positive note.

During my meeting with the Educational Manager the following week at the Museum, I was advised to attend the annual 11th of February commemorative event (an annual event spearheaded by the Museum to mark the date when District Six was declared a 'white' area) coming up the following year; to establish 'a natural relationship of mutual giving and receiving' with members from the community. This recommendation followed the discussion on managing the research fatigue in the area and the

museum's policy of not sending researchers into the area as to avoid jeopardizing their relationship with the community. However, due to the absence of members from the *Seven Steps Club* at the Museum at that time (the pandemic restricted many of their usual meetings and activities at the Museum), the Educational Manager provided some assistance by establishing contact for me, via email, with a returnee from the community, who was potentially able to speak with me. Unfortunately, nothing materialized from this. Thus, my way forward at that time was to attend the annual commemorative event in February the following year. Unfortunately, this event was cancelled due to the covid-19 lockdown restrictions in place at the time, which included the restriction of mass gatherings. Consequently, this meant that I needed to return to the museum to try again.

On the 4th of March 2021, through a referral established by the Museum, I met with my first participant, Faris at the Museum. As a qualitative researcher, researching a highly sensitive and emotive study, and due to the nature of my interviews being in-depth, I favoured establishing rapport first with the participants. According to Welman *et al.* (2005), establishing positive rapport with the respondents offers up many opportunities for the researcher and facilitates the gathering of useful data. Thus, my first encounter with Faris involved rapport building and we arranged to have a formal interview on a different day that suited us both. According to Merriam (2009), in qualitative research, it is advised that the researcher build rapport by integrating into the participant's routines, relating to them on a personal level, occasionally lending a hand, being friendly, and expressing interest in activities.

On the 9th of March 2021, I conducted a formal interview with Faris at the Museum. On that same day, I also interviewed three other returnees – Liyana, Daisy, and John. These three additional interviews were arranged by Faris prior to our interview, after gently requesting that he refers me to more potential participants to speak with. Aiming to gain more interviews after the first four interviews were behind me, I tried relying on Faris's help again to refer me to potential participants in the community. However, he was unable to assist me further due to returnees being reluctant to talk and the Ramadan period approaching at that time.

Amidst the delays of struggling to recruit more potential participants, I was referred to speak to a returnee in the community, Azra, who was able to refer me to potential participants. I met with Azra on the 3rd of May 2021, and he referred me to three returnees who were willing to speak with me. This was Thana, Rumaysa, and Safira. On that same day, I had an interview with Thana at her home. The two other returnees requested that I see them the following day. Due to an incredibly long interview with Rumaysa on the 4th of May 2021, my interview with Safira had to be rescheduled. I still

proceeded to meet with her that day though to establish rapport and reschedule the interview. However, this interview never materialized as Safira was never able to meet with me again due to unavailability issues on her part.

The search for recruiting further potential participants continued so I tried relying on participants who I had already interviewed. From these attempts, Daisy was the only participant who was willing to refer me to one other person – Hadiya. However, Hadiya requested to only meet me after Ramadan. This meeting was pushed back even further due to personal reasons on Hadiya's part.

Whilst awaiting communication from Hadiya, and with the urgency of completing fieldwork, I went back to District Six on the 8th of June 2021 to seek Azra's help again in reaching more participants. He immediately referred me to speak to Idris who stayed in the same building as him. Idris was willing and cooperative and so we had a formal interview that same day in Azra's home. Azra could not assist me further that day as he was preoccupied with personal activities. With some extra time to spare, I decided to meet Hadiya to try and establish rapport with her since I was in the area. During that visit, Hadiya's niece, who was visiting Hadiya at that time, offered to arrange an interview for me with her mom, whom is also a returnee in the community. This offer came after hearing my plight of recruiting more potential participants.

On the 21st of June 2021, as per arrangement with Hadiya's niece, I interviewed her mom, Aleah at her home in District Six. That same day, my interview with Hadiya finally materialized, following the interview with Aleah. Hadiya then referred me to speak with another returnee, Sharon. This interview took place on the 30th of June 2021, as per arrangement with Hadiya. The interview with Sharon marked my 10th and last interview in District Six.

In conclusion, the overall sample size of the present study was ten face-to-face/mask-to-mask semi-structured, in-depth interviews. As Creswell (2007) emphasise, given that the quality rather than the quantity is the most crucial factor in qualitative research, even a sample of ten can be considered a reasonable size.

4.3.2.1 Description of Research Participants

The demographic profile of each participant is illustrated in Table 1 below. An overall of ten returnees participated in the study, with more females than males. All participants identified as coloured and their ages ranged from late 50s to late 80s, with the youngest participant being 57 and the oldest participant being 88. All participants except for one being unemployed, are pensioners. No

participants' length of residence were less than 7 years, which is important to the study as a longer length of residency contributes to the development of a sense of place.

Participant	**Faris**	**Liyana**	**Daisy**	**John**	**Thana**	**Rumaysa**	**Idris**	**Aleah**	**Hadiya**	**Sharon**
Gender	Male	Female	Female	Male	Female	Female	Male	Female	Female	Female
Race	Coloure d	Coloured	Coloure d	Colou red	Coloure d	Coloured	Colou red	Coloure d	Coloure d	Coloure d
Age	77	64	77	88	67	75	64	82	72	57
Source of income	Pensio n	Pension	Pensio n	Pensi on	Pensio n	Pension	Pensi on	Pensio n	Pensio n	Unemp loyed
Length of residence in years (as a returnee)	8	7	16	8	8	8	7	8	16	8

Table 1: Demographic profile of participants

4.3.3 Data Collection Methods

The three sources of data used in this study were semi-structured interviews, photo-elicitation interviews, and fieldnotes. These three data collection methods are discussed below, as further to the recruitment process previously outlined.

4.3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

Most qualitative researchers favour the use of semi-structured interviews, which allow for the flexible ordering of questions to consider the importance given to each topic by the interviewee (Barbour, 2008). Thus, semi-structured interviews conducted in either English and/or Afrikaans (See Appendix D) with the research participants were the primary source of data collection. Since I am fluent in both languages, it was not necessary to recruit a translator for the interviews. The interviews were guided by a list of questions or issues to be explored that were in line with answering the research aims and objectives.

All interviews were conducted at the participant's favoured location; either at the District Six Museum - in a private room - or at the participant's respective homes in District Six. In both settings, the participants were relaxed and motivated to share his/her perceptions and experiences of living in District Six, which allowed for the collection of in-depth information. Before commencing with each interview with the 10 participants, I performed all the necessary ethical research protocols. This included reading out the information sheet (See Appendix B) - which were printed out in both English and Afrikaans - to the participants which detailed the nature and rationale of the research study in

laymen's terms to ensure that the participants fully understood the research aim. This was then followed by signing of the consent forms (See appendix C) which were also printed out in both English and Afrikaans. Demographic details of the participants were also recorded before commencing the interviews. The duration of the interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 3 hours long. The interviews were recorded using a cell phone to retain an accurate account of the interview which could be replayed for analytic purposes and to allow the participants to speak freely and at their own pace. This was followed by transcribing the recorded interviews as truthfully as possible and translations into English were made where necessary. Pseudonyms were used to anonymise the participants in the write-up of the findings, including the entirety of this study.

4.3.3.2 Photo-elicitation interviews

The potential offered by visual approaches has also caught the attention of qualitative researchers (Barbour, 2008). This has involved a variety of methods, using visual images as a source of information for analysis as well as a means of eliciting data and presenting findings. Particularly when compared to the power of spoken word, photographs and videos offer a fresh approach of exploring subjects or issues that may be elusive or challenging to depict (Barbour, 2008).

Given that one of the objectives of the study is to assess the role of memory in rebuilding a sense of place, incorporating the method of photo-elicitation interviews was considered. During the semi-structured interviews, participants were invited to share and reflect on their own photographs taken in District Six before their forced removal from the area. These photographs served as a component of semi-structured interviews in the form of photo elicitation (See appendix D) as participants narrated the 'text' of the photograph, and thus unpacked memories and meaning-making from the past. I could then connect those narrations to the present in order to explore memory and meaning-making. The photo-elicitation method can reveal dynamics and insights not otherwise seen through other methodological approaches, whether used alone or in conjunction with other qualitative methods like participant observation or interviews (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004).

Conducting these photo-elicitation interviews turned out to be more challenging and less fruitful than anticipated. Achieving both interviews (semi-structured and photo-elicitation) in one sit-down with the participants were not always possible due to time constraints – relying on public transport and the far distances in Cape Town meant that time was of the essence when I was in the field. Additionally, most times participants did not have any photos nearby or at hand and some did not have any photos at all, during the interviews. In the case of the former, we would agree that I would return on a different day to conduct the photo-elicitation interview when they were better prepared. However,

this did not always materialise due to being limited by financial resources to travel to District Six and availability issues on the part of the participants. Most importantly, I believe that the lack of rapport building with most participants limited the success of the photo-elicitation interviews. During rapport building, I would have been able to inform the participants about the photo-elicitation interviews so that they could priorly gather any photos they were willing to share with me in the formal interview. Overall, only three photo-elicitation interviews were conducted. This data is interwoven in the empirical chapters of this study.

4.3.3.3 Fieldnotes

Fieldnotes comprise the ethnographical accounts of ethnographic or participant observation research and are considered the most crucial component of the fieldwork process (Shaffir, 2004). Containing the chronological account of experiences in the field, fieldnotes include descriptions of people, events, the environment, conversations with people, interactions that were witnessed, sequences and lengths of events, as well as the researcher's experiences related to the investigation. It is also essential that the observer record anything related to the overall condition of him or herself that may have an effect on the nature or quality of the data. These records can also include interpretations of witnessed events and encounters and insights into the culture investigated. In sum, fieldnotes encompasses the information from which the analysis derives (Shaffir, 2004).

In line with the above-mentioned, fieldnotes were recorded as analytical memos during the entirety of the data collection process. These included demographic details of the participants which were recorded during the interviews, including the date and time and the duration of the interviews. Various observations and interactions experienced in the field were recorded, which included virtual experiences too, for example, encounters experienced via WhatsApp with some participants. Reflections on the data collection experience were also recorded. These fieldnotes served as valuable information in the data analysis process and were re-written to include in the write-up of this study. Most of this data is interwoven in the 'recruitment process', the 'data collection methods' and the 'research reflexivity' section of this chapter.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

Considering the emotions related to District Six removals, and present-day efforts to reconstitute a sense of place from memories of the past, every effort was made to deal with participants with confidentiality and care. This research was subject to ethical clearance by the Human and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC), whose policies and guidelines informed the research

design and implementation. This involved but was not limited to obtaining informed consent, permission for voice and/or video recording, and anonymity on the part of participants. Verification of ethics clearance is provided in Appendix A.

Furthermore, Welman *et al*. (2005) outlines four ethical considerations to which the researcher should pay attention:

- *Informed consent.* The researcher should obtain the needed permission from the respondents after they were thoroughly and truthfully informed about the significance of the interview and the study.
- *Right of their privacy*. For example, the respondents should be informed that their identity will remain anonymous.
- *Protection from harm*. The respondents should be assured that they will be indemnified against any physical and emotional harm.
- *Involvement of the researcher*. Researchers should ensure not to manipulate respondents or regard them as objects or numbers rather than human beings. They should refrain from using unethical tactics and techniques of interviewing.

Accordingly, I ensured that I followed these ethical considerations during the fieldwork process to the best of my ability.

4.5 Data Analysis

While some researchers employ programming to prepare and instruct their data, others favour the use of traditional manual methods (Alhojailan, 2012). Software is effective in analysing qualitative data in the sense of gathering all the evidence and organising and grouping it into similar themes or ideas. In this respect, analysing qualitative data using software is useful in terms of increasing the rigours of the analytical steps for conforming that which does not express the researcher's perceptions of the data. But sometimes software is less useful (Alhojailan, 2012). In line with Alhojailan (2012), Welsh (2002) argues that software can turn out to be less effective than expected. Given the dynamic and creative way themes develop using traditional manual methods ensures the validity and reliability in thematic ideas that develop during the data analysis process (Welsh, 2002).

Promoting creativity in findings is a common feature of data analysis in thematic analysis (Vaismoradi and Snelgrove, 2019). Essentially, creativity, intuition and innovation are vital to data analysis and theme development. The researcher's creativity addresses the empirical side of the data analysis

method, surpasses the current framework of knowledge and develops relevant and creative themes in response to the research question (Vaismoradi and Snelgrove, 2019).

Thematic analysis is a type of qualitative analysis that is applied to data to analyse classifications and develop themes (patterns) relevant to that data (Alhojailan, 2012). It is argued to be the most suitable analysis technique for any study that aims to discover using interpretations. It affords a systematic way of analysing data and enables the researcher to relate an analysis of the frequency of a theme with one of the entire contents. This will ensure validity and intricacy and improve the research's entire meaning (Alhojailan, 2012).

In line with the above arguments, the traditional manual method of thematic analysis was employed in the data analysis process of this study. Following the data transcription, which was performed manually, the transcripts were read over multiple times to sharpen and refine the data by omitting any irrelevant data. This was then followed by assigning codes to the data. The key significance of coding in thematic analysis is to connect various components of the data. Findings are coded into categories with the intention of framing it as theoretical concepts. Coding allows the researcher to analyse all of the data by determining its most essential meaning (Alhojailan, 2012). The coded transcripts were then read over multiple times to note any patterns in the data. Common codes were then clustered into categories of similar meaning. These categories were developed into various themes to fit the theoretical framework of the study. Codes builds themes, therefore, using thematic analysis, I was able to comprehensively analyse and interpret the data.

4.6 Research reflexivity

Reflexivity in qualitative research involves an "acknowledgement of the impossibility of remaining 'outside of' one's subject matter while conducting research" (Willig, 2001, p. 10 as cited in Click or tap here to enter text.). The most common understanding is that interpretation demands reflexivity which functions as an assertion of the researcher's position in relation to the subject being studied. (Williams, 2003; Yin, 2003; Alvesson, 2011; Creswell, 2013; Chanza, 2014 as cited in Williams-Bruinders, 2019). Mauthner and Doucet (2003 as cited in Williams-Bruinders, 2019) argue that research should not be considered an objective approach to represent participants' voices, since the process of data collection and analysis involves substantial input from the researcher, who chooses, refines and categorises the information. Ultimately, what is conferred about participants' narratives will reflect the researcher's own opinions. Thus, personal reflexivity should involve reflecting on how, as a researcher, my own values, experiences, interests, beliefs, political commitments, wider aims in life and social identity have influenced the research (Willig, 2001, p. 10 as cited in Williams-Bruinders,

2019). Accordingly, my positionality as a young, coloured female student, born and raised in Gqerbeha (Port Elizabeth), has undoubtedly affected this study in known and unknown ways.

First and foremost, being an 'outsider' to District Six and Cape Town at large, presented its own challenges, such as participants potentially being reluctant to speak to an 'outsider', as well as establishing entry into the community. Secondly, approaching a well-trodden, research-fatigued study meant that members of the community were fatigued with past research and thus would be reluctant to participate in my study. Given that District Six is a highly sensitive and emotive issue, also meant that participants would be reluctant to participate as to avoid opening old wounds. Speaking to an outsider rendered these issues even more challenging. However, I think that given I was a student from the University of the Western Cape, and a South African citizen, in some way, opened a door for me into the community as returnees were able to relate to me somewhat. Overall, gaining access into the returnee community involved a great deal of negotiation and rapport building. This was not only limited to the returnee community; but included the Museum as well which was considered a critical entry point into the returnee community.

In some cases, rapport building was not always possible and thus my first encounter with participants involved the formal interview. There was a level of discomfort that arose from this as the nature of the interview was very intimate and conversational, which resulted in feelings of hesitance on my part to explore certain issues. However, with the natural momentum of the interview, I managed to develop some ease with the participants. I was also not only interested in extracting information from participants to write my study; but favoured the forging of bonds with the participants in the process of gathering my data. Therefore, as part of my rapport building, I valued expressing considerable interest in the participants' lives. For example, during my rapport building with Faris, he alluded to a youth project that he was planning in Mitchells Plain at the time; I thus offered potentially lending a hand. Furthermore, my negotiation efforts in the community were a multifaceted process. In some cases, it involved offering to traverse the area with participants in trying to reach potential participants, in other cases it involved remaining respectful, sensitive and patient to myriad circumstances, such as the Ramadan period, and personal reasons on the part of participants (and potential participants) which caused delays.

Despite such pure intentions with the participants, my encounters with them, including potential participants, were not always positive. I had one participant who refused to greet me sometime after our interview, which was an extremely puzzling encounter as I had no idea what the source of such unsavoury behaviour was. With respect to potential participants, I experienced disappointments with

some returnees just brushing me off after agreeing to meet with me. However, others were very helpful in my plight of recruiting potential participants for my study by referring me to other potential returnees in the community.

Other issues experienced in the research process included my interviews with returnees who identified as affiliates to some of the political organisations in the community. The nature of my interview with these individuals tuned out to be very politically-oriented for the most part. I thus had to navigate these interviews with engagement and neutrality. There was also the issue of managing very strong emotions that surfaced from the participants during the interviews. Some expressed sorrow and grief by shedding a few tears, while others expressed immense anger and frustration. In both cases, I had to navigate the interview with great awareness and sensitivity. However, those emotions were valuable as they elicited significant information.

Overall, in managing the negotiation, rapport building, the various delays arising from the research fatigue and the participants themselves, the covid-19 restrictions and some other challenges, required immense humility, perseverance and tenacity from me in the process. These demands have undoubtedly contributed to the growth and development of my research skills as a qualitative researcher.

4.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter outlined the methodological roadmap of the study. It detailed the methodological approach; the research design constituting the sampling strategy, the recruitment process, and the data collection methods. This was followed by a review of the ethical considerations, the data analysis process, and lastly, the researcher reflexivity discussion. The subsequent chapters will present the empirical chapters of this study through a spatio-temporal lens. This means that Chapter Five presents the findings related to the participants' experiences of living in District Six before the forced removals; Chapter Six presents the findings related to the participants' experiences of being displaced from District Six; and Chapter Seven presents the findings related to the participants' present-day lived experiences in District Six. The themes generated from the data analysis process is thus presented in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 5

Memories: Life before removals

5.1 Introduction

Memories of living in District Six are still deeply etched in the minds of the returnees and these memories constantly surfaced in the interviews as returnees tried to sketch their present-day lived experiences in the re-settled District Six. These memories revealed the presence of a very strong sense of community in District Six before the forced removals. This chapter will thus explore the narrative accounts describing this sense of community. The importance of this chapter is two-fold: first, it illuminates and explores experiences of a sense of community in the pre-apartheid District Six and how these memories shape the participants' feelings and experiences in the present; and second, it serves to contextualise the later chapters that explores how the returnee community are reconstituting a sense of place in the present.

5.2 Sense of community in pre-apartheid District Six

As postulated by Soudien (2019), District Six had a sense of community of note. From the perspectives of the participants, this is indeed true. The boundaries between the concepts of 'family' and 'community' overlapped in District Six. The community did not function on the grounds of mere fellow residents living in the same neighbourhood; they functioned as one cohesive unit - like a family. This overlap between family and community fostered kinships which were expressed by everyone through actions and acted to build bonds between residents of District Six. Thus, the melding of family and community helps to foster a sense of belongingness that is rendered through attachment to place. Such community cohesion helps to develop a sense of place and attachment to community which, as Brehm *et al.* (2006 as cited in Vanclay, 2008) note, is different to attachment to the natural environment. The overlapping boundaries of family and community is underscored by Liyana who shed light on how residents were always welcome to waltz into each other's homes freely:

> *Because we used to be in and out of each other's houses. You didn't even need to knock; you could just walk in and so.*

There were no boundaries that existed between residents in District Six as underscored by Liyana; everyone was family and were thus treated as such. Even when it came to special occasions, like weddings, people were treated like family. This meant that the community celebrated together which further denotes how cohesive the community was because everyone generally came together during

joyous celebrations. As elicited by García *et al.* (1999 as cited in Wise, 2015), sense of community involves shared emotional connections, which denote people commonly reminiscing on their history, celebrating successes or coming together in trying circumstances. As Faris describes:

> *You know everybody, if there was a wedding, the whole street was invited. And so, you know, most of the weddings were held in houses, we had mos big halls in the houses. But weddings, wow, that atmosphere, unbelievable! I remember when I got married, I had to go invite the gang downstairs. My dad said, "Hey, you grew up in front of them, go invite them". And you know with the wedding ceremony in the mosque, they were there. Okay, most of them were there. But in the afternoon with the reception and that, some of the guys came up just to wish and that but my brothers and the guys that served, had to go downstairs on the corner, to serve those guys.*

The community was so tightly knitted that even gang members were included in special occasions, as revealed by Faris above. People were not divided by religion either. Religion brought residents together in the community, particularly as children. Muslim children attended Christian schools in the community. There was thus a strong integration of people in various respects of life in District Six. Through these intertwines the community leant each other's religions and beliefs and thus reciprocated respect and recognition for each other's faiths and beliefs. As Daisy jovially describes:

> *We had, after being for about I think 4 years, we had an activity play, our group. And who sang the most and the loudest? Were the Muslims, because they went to Christian schools, like the school St. Marks, it was compulsory for everyone to go. And the Bible, they can quote for you and so can I speak about the Quran. And often in tour groups, and then people say, "But how come you know this?". But it's natural. You were living under each other and got used to each other, that was normal, you know.*

Here Daisy reflects on a community Christian activity play that took place four years after their (Phase One returnees) return to District Six. She explains that during this activity play, Muslim returnees were able to participate because they attended Christian schools when growing up in District Six and thus it was natural for them to participate in this activity play. Daisy's statement above underscores the residents' immersion in each other's religious practices that occurred when they grew up in District Six and thus highlights the unity that existed between them back then. As McEachern (1998) highlights, District Six was praised as a diverse community of workers and small business owners where people of various ethnicities, religions, and cultures interacted, coexisted, and experienced the tribulations of poverty and neglect collectively. This is further supported by Rumaysa who notes:

> *I was amongst multicultural people of all colours; black, white, Asian, Jewish, all types of people - multicultural people. And people that...we lived happily together. Also, we respected one another.*

The kinship of generosity was also strongly embraced and practiced by residents of District Six. Residents could rely on their neighbours during difficult times. The community always expressed care for one another by sharing no matter how indigent they were. Their love for another thus transcended

so many boundaries and circumstances and it was always reciprocated. As Soudien (2019) notes, the philosophy of 'kanala' which was defined as a spirit of generosity, was prevalent in District Six, even amidst families who had little to give. As Rumaysa richly reflects:

> *We were not rich people. Most of us were everyday people, but we were never without food because we looked after each other. And because of our close community, there was always somebody handing...reaching out for you. So, none of us could say we had to go sleep without something to eat, [..]. […] And I think, even our neighbours.... If I, my husband used to say, "If you go to the market" … He used to go to the market, and he buy a bag of onions, bag of potatoes, "Share it with a neighbour, give half to the aunty". That's how we were. "Find out if they don't have." And you will always hear they say, "Gee 'n koppie melk en 'n koppie suiker - ons leen vir mekaar." [Give a cup of milk and a cup of sugar - we borrow to each other]. They borrow. And those times you could make a pot of food by going to the lady next door and say...her husband went to the market, and he picked up a whole lot of carrots, that loose carrots and he brings a bag full. Then she will send to the neighbours. So, she'll give me some carrots and I can make a pot of food of vegetables, food for the kids. And that is how we were. And if I don't have, I can go to the next-door neighbour and say, "Haven't you got two potatoes for me?", and the other one just say, "I need a cup of rice." And there won't be a question of why do you need it? Where's your money, where's your husband, isn't he working. There won't be things like that.*

Residents thus always had the assurance that they were able to rely on one another during difficult times, denoting their strong sense of community. As founded by McMillian and Chavis (1986, p. 9 as cited in Francis *et al*., 2012), sense of community is commonly defined as "a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together." In addition, the kinship of sharing was not only common during tough times but was common during faith-based events too. From the perspective of the participants, Muslim residents used to share food with the community during Ramadan. The kinship of sharing was thus deeply entrenched in the community's cultural practices. As Sharon blissfully reflects:

> *Like when it's during the fast when we, as a Christian family, we…our table in District Six was laden with food because we used to get from all our neighbours. And when it's Boeber evening, the 15th day of Ramadan, then we would like, oh, ((exclaims excitingly)) we had so much boeber [Cape Malay name for a South African pudding], our bellies used to swell.*

The residents of District Six were indeed a family. They cared for another and expressed that care tangibly, as underscored by Rumaysa and Sharon above. Their customary practices fostered a strong sense of community amongst them. As Hammond (2004 as cited in Murcia, 2020) notes, 'community formation' is the process of creating social and cultural attachments where one lives and the process of establishing a sense of identity and belonging through everyday social practices (Hammond, 2004 as cited in Murcia, 2020). Further to this strong sense of community that prevailed in District Six, participants commonly reflected on the kinship of shared parenting in the community. This entailed

parents having the authority to mould, shape and discipline fellow parents' children in the community when necessary, and parents never responded with hostility or aggression. This underscores the level of goodwill experienced amongst parents as a result of their strong sense of community. As Faris and Rumaysa notes:

> Your mom was my mom, your dad my dad. If I did something wrong, your dad pitch me on the back side, I wouldn't dare go tell my parents, then I get another one, "What did you do?". Can you believe it, our gangsters, right, our gangsters, they could actually reprimand us. Ja, now that is what District Six meant to us. We miss it! (Faris)

> There in District Six I used to...if my...if the neighbour gave my son a hiding because he was naughty, and he comes to me and he tells my husband, "Oh, aunty Miena gave me a hiding.". You get another hiding on top of that. Because nobody in District Six will reprimand you unnecessary unless you did something wrong. (Rumaysa)

From the perspectives of the participants, residents also experienced a strong sense of security amongst each other. This means that residents felt safe amongst each other because no one was a source of harm of threat; not even the gangs in the community. Residents were familiar with each other, and no one ever had to look over their shoulders. The residents even felt safe amongst the gangs in the community as the gangs cared for their fellow residents; gangs used to safeguard residents' homes when the residents were not home. As Hage (1997 as cited in Murcia, 2020) notes, the sense of feeling at home involves an emotion of security. A person experiences a sense of security when they are in an environment where they can meet their basic human needs, set their own norms, and experience the absence of potentially dangerous or threatening otherness (Hage, 1997 as cited in Murcia, 2020). Residents were thus able to feel attached to their community because they felt safe in it. As Faris reflects:

> Now as I told you, it was all about the respect. Can you imagine, New Year's Day, right, like they have the 2nd New Year March. Now we had that in District Six. Now as soon as the coons start marching, everybody, everybody from up the road will be in Hanover Street with the little benches and chairs and watching the coons. The houses alone, open, nothing gets missing! You know our house, we had the balcony like I told you, right. People would come up and ask my dad or my mom can they go and stand on the balcony to go and watch. It's beautiful view from there. People we don't know, in and out of the house, money is lying in the dining room…maybe change on the table. Everything is in the house, nothing gets missing! So, there was no need…look the law is strict in those days, but there was no need for that. The gang on the corner, they would actually look after your house, mom going shopping, "Hello, ek gaan gou town toe nuh. [Hello, I am going to town quickly.]"; "Moet nie worry mama, ons sal agter die plek kyk." [Don't worry mama, we will look after the place.].

Even in their homes, residents experienced a sense of security amongst their fellow residents. This sense of security thus strengthened their sense of community and ultimately their sense of place. As

studies have found, once a sense of place has been formed, it gives people a sense of stability, belonging, and security (Hay, 1998; Hodgetts *et al.*, 2010; Tonts and Atherley, 2010).

In light of these fond memories, participants lamented how they long for that life again. They yearn for that sense of community, sense of security, the cultural traditions like choirs singing on the street corners, and just everyday life like it used to be in District Six. In some cases, this yearning is more emotional for some than others. This longing for the past supports the presence of a strong sense of place amongst the residents before they were forcibly removed. As Vanclay (2008) asserts, sense of place is ingrained in people's memories and sometimes manifests as a sentimental yearning for the past. As Faris and Liyana describes:

> *You know, the hustle and bustle every day, to freely play where you wanted to, to walk around at night where you wanted to, not looking around who's following you, okay. Protection from the gangs, "Hey, leave him alone"'. Fantastic. That is the way…that is what I feel about the area. […] So, life in District Six for us was beautiful ((says emphatically)). We wish all that can come back again. (Faris)*

> *We used to play outside in the evenings when the guys used to sing on the corner. Oh, I miss that! Ah! I miss that some evenings when they sang on the corner. When they sang on the corner, jiraa they sang good. It's always still in my memory, then I lay in bed, it's like that assurance, don't worry man ((starts sobbing)). (Liyana)*

However, Vanclay (2008) notes that sense of place is not meant to be a harrowing experience; rather, it refers to the current, everyday connections people have with their local environments and how those connections give their lives purpose in the present. The later chapters will thus explore how memory shapes the returnees' current sense of place in District Six.

5.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored experiences of a sense of community amongst residents in pre-apartheid District Six. The proof of this strong sense of community was evident in the tightknit structure of the community – not even religion could divide them. The strong sense of community was also evident in the support and anchorage residents provided one another in difficult times; how parents acted in unison when it came to the upbringing of their children; and the level of safety, comfort and security they felt amongst each other. This deep sense of community thus enabled the residents to have a sense of belonging to both the community and the place itself. What resulted from this was the development of an 'authentic sense of place' which Relph (1976) defines as a sense of place that involves a sense of belonging. That some returnees still long and yearn for the pre-apartheid District Six affirms that this sense of belonging certainly existed amongst the residents. With its strong sense

of community and authentic sense of place, the aftermath of its tragic obliteration thus posed considerable challenges in the lives of the displaced residents. The next chapter thus explores the participants' experiences of discontinuity (rupture) in their sense of place when they were displaced from District Six during Apartheid.

Chapter 6

Rupture: Trauma and the displacement of memory

6.1 Introduction

Apartheid acted to rupture the community's established sense of place in District Six when they forcibly removed and displaced the community to townships on the Cape Flats. It is thus expected that the scope of sentiments of trauma and loss that followed the forced removals were prodigious amongst the affected community as they had experienced a massive degree of discontinuity in their uprooted lives on the Cape Flats. This chapter thus explores the narratives relating to the trauma of displacement when the community was scattered and forced to commence their uprooted lives on the Cape Flats. The importance of this chapter is thus to assess the degree of rupture that occurred in their sense of place when they were displaced and how this may serve to affect the process of reconstituting that sense of place today.

6.2 Trauma and loss

District Six was a meaningful geographical space for its residents. It was a stable place where people lived together like a family; it was filled with customs, shared experiences and memories. In other words, the residents had a sense of place in District Six. As studies have found, once a sense of place has been formed, it gives people a sense of stability, belonging and security (Hay, 1998; Hodgetts *et al.*, 2010; Tonts and Atherley, 2010). Therefore, when apartheid laws uprooted this community and scattered them to the Cape Flats, their sense of place was ruptured. They were forced to commence their uprooted lives on the Cape Flats, dislodged from family and friends, in a new physical and social environment that was completely unfamiliar to them. As Daisy reflects:

> *When living in Hanover Park ja, I was fraught with resentment. You know, why did we have to leave and… Because this was a stable place. This is where we knew the people in your area, and you belonged to the netball club. I used to play soft ball and I was in a drama society, so these were all things that I knew, and having to leave here was this loss of culture and loss of your friendships because you were scattered.*

For Daisy, the 'stability' of District Six as a community through both its built environment and social networks was broken by the trauma of displacement. Just as the bricks of its former homes and institutions were uprooted and scattered, so too were the relationships that formed an integral part of the District Six 'family'. Memories of the people, places and activities were left in the ruins of District Six.

Figure 3: A photograph of Daisy in the church brigade in District Six (Source: Daisy)

Figure 3 above depicts Daisy as a young female adult in the church brigade in District Six on Palm Sunday after church. The picture depicts a group of people marching through the area whilst residents are watching them. These were thus one of the cultural customs that took place in the community before it was left in ruins. Moreover, this picture demonstrates how District Six was a "stable place" for Daisy as she had a sense of belonging through her membership with the brigade of the St. Marks Church, amongst other things. She noted that being part of the brigade helped shaped the person she is today.

District Six personified a stable place even much deeper for residents who were homeowners. When people are homeowners, their home symbolizes stability, permanency and fixity. Thus when residents were evicted from District Six, they lost properties. As McEachern (1998) notes, most people experienced considerable material loss - property investments were lost. Thus, some residents were consequently forced to rent thereafter, rendering their lives unstable and uncertain indefinitely. This accentuates further the loss of stability people endured when they were displaced. As Aleah describes:

> We were always renting all the years, you know. All the years we were renting. We didn't have a ownership house. So, we stayed 20 some odd years in this house from this owner in Belgravia but then suddenly… Well, I know if it's not your house it's not forever. Then suddenly he said he wants the house, he wants to fix the house, he wants to give it to his son. So, I had to buck up the people from the Trust, the District Six Trust, to say when are we going to get the house because we really need a house now. […] But then we also didn't get out there at a certain time. But in the meantime, we moved to my cousin in Mannenberg. He made his house bigger - he build-on. So, he said why don't you come stay by me, I got a two-room, a three-room, that's empty while you waiting. So, we moved to him, and we stayed there for 2 years.

Aleah and her family were homeowners in District Six and after being evicted from the area, they were forced to rent all the years until their relatively recent return to District Six. They thus had to move

around a lot after being evicted from District Six, rendering their lives incredibly unstable for many years.

6.3 Displacement

The forced removals and the disintegration of the District Six 'family' brought upon significant disruptions in the daily lives of the displaced residents. In District Six, the community had a kinship of generosity (as seen in Chapter Five), which meant that the community was a safety net during harsh times. This was thus lost when the residents were displaced and scattered to the Cape Flats. So residents had to pick up their lives from scratch which even led to children going out to work to make ends meet in the family. Children's lives were thus completely turned around. Adjusting to their new physical environments was also an excruciating experience as most of these areas had unfavourable environmental conditions. As Dewar (2001) indicates, the state and quality of the architectural design in the new housing settlements were extensively documented and criticized. The settlements were bland, uniform, windswept, typically out of reach from places of work, and lacking human scale, public amenities and retail facilities. In essence, the townships functioned to re-establish the sense of alienation experienced by their residents (Dewar, 2001). These conditions thus made residents suffer from place alienation and place mourning on the Cape Flats. As Liyana reflects:

> *Look, when we were put out here in Cape Town, then I had to go work, then I was still a child, I was 13/14 years old. And that's not what I wanted but I had to do it because why…jina… We couldn't adapt with the sand and when it rained, then you walk in such waters ((illustrates with hand how high the level of water was)). Now we weren't used to that. It was a whole adjustment, it was bad! Because why, your heart was sore because every time when I drove with the bus to Cape Town, yoh, it was a physical pain when you see that mountain. Then you think jinaa, then you must go back to a place where there is nothing, you know what I mean? They didn't just remove us; they affected everything. Everything.*

Liyana's statement above underscores how alienated she felt in Mitchells Plain because she had no emotional attachment to the place as it had "nothing". In District Six, residents were attached to their community through both the built environment and social relationships. The Cape Flats thus acted as a discontinuity in both respects and residents thus felt alienated in these areas. Hummon (1992) defines place alienation as an unfavourable view of and inability to identify with a place. Some people feel alienated in a place because they were uprooted and forced to relocate there and feel like outsiders (Hummon, 1992). The residents also suffered from place mourning when they were displaced. Atkinson (2015) indicates that displacement can cause feelings of bitterness and place mourning, and Shamai (2018) asserts that mourning a lost place is generally very severe because the former place is remembered and glorified in stark contrast to the uprooted individuals' new homes. As John describes:

You know what, for the first time when I left South Africa to go to London, I sit, sit, and then I came from London. That was a evening, I'll never forget that. I tell you, I sat right in the tail, right in the tail, from the small plane. I sat, I sat, I sat. So, I'm sitting on the left side. As we approach coming over the horizon, the captain announced, "We will be turning… In two minutes time we will be turning left.". And on the right side, it was going to be Table Mountain. You know, I was watching that tail to turn. I won't tell you a word of a lie, the moment it turned its ass, to turn his nose that way, I got up from my seat and I went over to the right side. As we came up, Table Mountain was so clear, do you know how the tears was running down. I was living in Mitchells Plain….

The mountain (Table Mountain) symbolized home to the displaced residents as underscored by Liyana and John. As founded by Semenza and March (2009), through symbolic place meaning, the physical environment's qualities have an impact on sense of place. Therefore, only landmarks that people associate with contribute to sense of place because they hold significance for them and influence how they view their community (Semenza and March, 2009). Residents thus mourned the loss of this significant landmark when they were dislodged from it. More painfully, residents were not only dislodged from their physical environment but from family and friends too. As McEachern (1998) notes, between 55 000 and 65 000 individuals were removed from District Six, generally displaced to the townships out on the Cape Flats and split up from family and friends. Residents of District Six thus had to commence their uprooted lives on the Cape Flats severed from family and friends, as such family units were obliterated. As Idris describes:

We had four houses, the family. My father, my grandmother, my aunty, my uncle. So, we were a family, you know. Four houses, next to each other.

Families and friends were completely disintegrated as everyone was scattered on the Cape Flats. And most of these families from District Six were not wealthy people. Therefore, it was not always possible to keep in touch as people needed money to visit their scattered family and friends. As McEachern (1998) notes, the cost of commuting from the Cape Flats became significantly more expensive. Residents were thus affected psychologically as they were completely isolated from family and friends. As Liyana reflects:

And these forced removals affected you in a way…I don't know. Because why look, you [hypothetical reference made to author] were my neighbour nuh, we stayed next to each other but now they put me in Mitchells Plain and they put you in Lavender Hill. Actually, they divided us. You must remember we were poor people. When they put us out, we had to start from scratch. Now if you don't have money to dinges [travel] then how can you go visit your friend in Lavender Hill? It was a survival thing. Yoh, I don't know. It's very terrible what the aftereffects did to our people.

Liyana underscores how difficult it was for the displaced residents to be separated from family and friends on the Cape Flats. She also notes how immensely traumatic the impacts of the displacement was on the community. As Dewar (2001) notes, the impacts of the forced displacements on the

cohesive community of District Six have been recorded extensively and involves psychological trauma, fear, misery, stress, the dislocation of families, loss of community and various kinds of social pathologies (e.g., crime, vice, violence, prostitution, domestic abuse, alcoholism, drug abuse and anomie). The colossal loss in comfort and stability that followed the forced relocations were therefore an extremely tumultuous experience for the displaced residents of District Six. As Rumaysa explains:

> *So, every morning I had to bring my three children to school. My baby, he was born, he was 6 months old, my daughter was seven. My second eldest son was nine and my eldest was eleven, so those three still had to come through to school...to town, to come to school. Then I used to leave 5:00 o'clock in the morning when it's dark and where I stayed was a farm, a potato farm and there was no roads. So, you need to get up early in the morning to come through to town because of traffic. I'm new, I have never ventured in those areas. So, to me it was totally different. So, then every morning when I come through, I had to drive, De Waal Drive, and I look down at my house. I see my house; the area and you reminisce. You see all these things and you know the pictures doesn't go away. And then I got goosepimples. A lump in my throat. Many mornings I had to shed a tear just to make me feel a bit like... […].*

Rumaysa describes how she had to travel unfavourable distances to get to the city centre daily – the area that was formerly a stone throw away from her home – to get her children to school. The discomfort and suffering that the displaced community endured was thus not only symbolical but enormously tangible too.

Furthermore, when District Six residents were displaced and scattered to the Cape Flats, they were forced to commence their uprooted lives amongst displaced residents from other communities of Cape Town. This integration also acted to traumatise the community even further as these residents had completely contrasting community identities that were not aligned with that of District Six residents. Residents thus felt further alienated by these experiences as they shared no common identity with these residents. As Liyana reflects:

> *And another thing you must remember, in Mitchells Plain, say for instance they put us next to people, that come from say, Retreat. Now those people knew nothing about the culture of the people from District Six. So, you couldn't take those people a plate of food, you know what I mean. Then they will say, "Why do you want to bring us food, we don't eat that." Because one day a girl came there, a visitor there, now we always, when someone came in, we made tea. So, she said, "Why are you making for us tea?" You know what I mean? Those other people had a totally different culture. Now that affected us. You first had to ask do you want some tea? Or do you want this or that because you didn't know how the people would react. Because why, they put you between people who didn't have a community spirit, you know what I mean? It was very, very difficult. It was very, very difficult.*

The sense of community of District Six was the cornerstone of the residents' lives and certainly, their sense of place in District Six. Liyana's account above thus illuminates how difficult it was to reside with people who did not identify with such a sense of community. Tuan (1980) indicates that topophobia can stem from ideological and/or religious-cultural beliefs that illuminates a contrast between good

and bad values and places. Therefore, Liyana experienced feelings of topophobia when she discovered how unfavourably disparate the sense of community of other displaced communities were. This resulted in her feeling even further alienated in the new place, hence further traumatized.

6.4 Chapter Summary

Apartheid clearly acted to rupture the sense of place of District Six residents. This chapter demonstrated the significant loss in materiality, stability, culture, customs, relationships, comfort, familiarity, activities, landmarks and places in the lives of the affected community following their displacement from District Six. In other words, a sense of community, a sense of belonging and a sense of place were all lost with the community's forced removal to the Cape Flats. This chapter also demonstrated the immensely unfavourable uprooted lives the residents were forced to commence on the Cape Flats amongst other affected communities, which deepened their experiences of trauma and distress. In other words, place alienation and topophobia were prevalent amongst the residents in these places. The experiences of a ruptured sense of place with the community's displacement to the Cape Flats begs the question of whether the returnee community has been able to rebuild the lost sense of place and re-member their community in the re-settled District Six today. Chapter Seven thus probes experiences of the restitution, the return and the new sense of place in the re-settled District Six today to answer this question.

Chapter 7

Re-membering: Restitution, return, and a new sense of place

7.1 Introduction

The Restitution of Land Rights Act (Act 22 of 1994) emerged in the wake of Apartheid's demise. The Act was designed to address the claims of those who were involuntarily dispossessed of their property, and meant that the dream of return to District Six might become possible for the dispossessed community. The vision of restitution entailed a return to dignified homes that would rebirth the displaced community's unparalleled sense of community and epitomise a thriving, sustainable community for all those who will return. Accordingly, this chapter explores the process of 're-membering' District Six, i.e., how the returnee community is reconstituting a sense of place in the 're-settled' District Six. This will be achieved by presenting the findings related to the new physical environment, the new social environment, the present-day sense of community, the factors hindering the re-membering process, and finally, the meaning and values encapsulating the returnee community's new sense of place.

7.2 Return to a new physical environment

The restitution plan for District Six claimants entailed a return to a new physical environment comprised of institutions, essential facilities (or the lack thereof), and certainly, the restitution housing and the built environment. This new physical environment fulfils the livelihood needs of the returnee community but is simultaneously also fraught with flaws and shortcomings. These physical flaws and shortcomings negatively impact the returnee community's overall quality of life in District Six today. Place satisfaction, one of the key dimensions within sense of place, is understood as the utilitarian significance of a place to meet particular foundational needs, ranging from sociability to services to physical qualities (Stedman, 2002). According to Stedman (2002), individuals can be satisfied with where they live and to not be particularly attached to that place. However, the relationship between satisfaction and attachment is commonly viewed as positive (Stedman, 2002). It was thus important to include the assessment of the quality of the new physical environment in the assessment of the returnees' new sense of place in District Six. Accordingly, the above use of the word institutions involves local places of worship and healthcare facilities accessible to the returnees in the community. With respect to places of worship, the community has access to mosques and churches in the area. These are the same places of worship that were saved during the area's demolition under apartheid. The long-standing existence of these religious places are still used by the returnee community today,

representing some sort of continuity. The community's healthcare needs are fulfilled by the state-owned District Six Day Hospital which is a stone throw away from the residential houses. Healthcare is thus accessible to the community which is rather important given that the returnees are aged residents. The participants commonly voiced voices of satisfaction for this institution.

Figure 4: The Zeenatul Islam Mosque, one of the long-standing mosques in District Six (Source: Author)

Figure 4 above depicts the modernised Zeenatul Islam Mosque (one of the three mosques) in Chapel Street in District Six that was not demolished under apartheid. It forms part of the community's institutions and serves the religious needs of the Muslim residents in the community.

Figure 5: The District Six Day Hospital in District Six (Source:
https://www.westerncape.gov.za/news/construction-new-district-six-community-health-facility-complete)

Figure 5 above depicts the community's healthcare facility in the area – the District Six Day Hospital. It is located a stone throw away from the residential houses in District Six and serves the healthcare needs of the returnee community. On the bottom left of the building is a mural. This was part of a memory project by the returnees of District Six. The mural comprises silhouetted photos of some of the returnees, spray-painted with symbols which remind them of their old community. The significance of the mural is to preserve the memory of District Six.

Although religious and healthcare needs are accessible to the returnees, essential (retail) facilities in the immediate area are not. The nearest provision of these facilities is located in the city centre (CBD), which is rather a walking distance, particularly for aged people. Therefore, essential facilities are inaccessible to the returnee community as it is not within favourable walking distance and not all returnees own a personal car. In the past, essential services, such as markets, supermarkets, entertainment, hair salons, etc., were accessible in the community. The government assured that the provision of these facilities would be incorporated into the redevelopment plan of District Six, but up to today, this has not materialised. The residents are immensely unsatisfied with this issue as accessible essential facilities are crucial to their quality of life. As Liyana bemoans:

> *There is a hospital but there aren't shops. We must come to Cape Town (CBD) if we want to come to shops. And in the past, you could just walk down the road, say two doors down and*

then, on every corner was a shop, you know. And there was a butcher and entertainment and cinemas and all that. Everything was a minute or two away.

Furthermore, the claimants of District Six were promised that they would return to dignified homes. From the perspective of the participants, this promise was not met. Returnees are experiencing significant structural flaws in the housing designs. They have described an incident where a roof sheet blew-off from one of the housing units, how water seeps into the houses when it rains, and the poor design of two/three story units for elderly residents. In essence, they have found the houses to be unsafe, unsatisfactory, and unfulfilling. This serves to weaken the returnees' ability to reconstitute their sense of place today as the quality of their physical environment is important to their sense of place. As Gupta and Ferguson (1997 as cited in Zetter and Boano, 2010) emphasize, the physical attributes of a house, as well as its specific geographic position and the meanings attached to it, work together to create strong emotional and sentimental ties between individuals and a place. As Hadiya laments:

This [her house] is rubbish! There is nothing. If it rains, these doors and windows aren't aligned, the water comes through there, constantly have to push that bolster against the doors and things. And we didn't even grow up like that. […] There is nothing that's straight, nothing that's really…I am trying to make it liveable, but time and again it is so sad.

Hadiya bemoans how the water seeps into her home when it rains and claims that they never had such issues before their forced removal from the area. She bemoans the poor quality of her house, claiming that she tries her best to improve it somewhat, but it often has an emotional impact on her. Sharon points out the unfriendly design of the restitution housing for elderly returnees:

I mean, elderly people crawl up staircases here to get to the... You know what, they are freaking... I mean really man? Even here you will see elderly people that live not on the ground level.... But they crawl up. They hardly come out; they can't come out. There are no lifts for easy access and convenience. Did they think we were still going to be in our 20s, 30s, because this happened like 50 years ago. Do they think is still going to be that age? They never designed these places so that it become accommodating to the age group.

The redevelopment of District Six comprised housing the claimants in two- or three-story units. As Sharon points out above, the houses are immensely unfriendly to the elderly as there are no lifts to allow easy access and convenience. This structural flaw in the housing design serves to discourage residents from leaving their homes which results in them becoming isolated from the community and thus impacts their sense of belonging to the community, and ultimately prevents them from developing a sense of place. However, on the other hand, some returnees feel that they have been restituted with dignified homes. From the perspective of some participants, they have been restituted with functional, spacious homes that they did not previously have in District Six which has thus improved their quality of life in the area today. As Rumaysa voices:

Like I said, I've got better living, my house. I've got a little garden, I've got bathroom, in the district, had a toilet in the yard. We didn't have bathrooms, we didn't have...some people have got garages, we didn't have garages. We've got parking. We didn't have that. I've got a nice 3-bedroom house.

Figure 6: Two-story units with verandas and garages in District Six (Source: Author)

Figure 6 above depicts some of the two-story restitution units in District Six. These units have verandas which may serve to allow engagement between neighbours. These units also have garages for residents who owns cars thus providing an enclosed and safe space for their cars. The units also have trees in the front which serve to provide beautification to the residents' houses. Claimants have thus returned to modernized homes but some of these houses are however fraught with structural flaws as lamented by some participants.

Figure 7: Three-story units in District Six (Source: Author)

Figure 7 depicts some of the three-story restitution units in Reform Street in District Six which look less visually appealing. These are indeed quite high-rise buildings for elderly residents. The backdrop of the image depicts one of the three mosques in the area, the CPUT campus, and the Devils Peak Mountain.

Figure 8: The parking bays adjacent to the houses in District Six (Source: Author)

Figure 8 above depicts the parking bays residents have adjacent to their homes. Therefore, some have garages while other have parking bays for their cars. The image above also depicts how brightly-

coloured painted some units are in District Six, which have been painted by residents themselves. Figures 6, 7, and 8 above depict the two- and three-story units in District Six which were built by the D6BRT as part of the Phase One and Two of the District Six pilot housing.

Some participants have critiqued the design of the built environment as lacking creativity and visual diversity. According to them, the built environment provides no aesthetic pleasure leaving them feeling alienated and unhappy which thus serves as a challenge to their attempt of recreating a sense of place in District Six. As found by Semenza and March (2009), a sense of place is also related to visual diversity. The identity and character of the place are strengthened by highlighting the cultural, physical, and biological characteristics unique to the place. As a result, communities that are designed distinct and diverse in terms of their aesthetic appearance provide an enhanced visual experience that heightens a sense of place (Semenza and March, 2009). Some returnees are thus finding it difficult to connect with their new built environment. As Hadiya notes:

> *And why make a city, a town, with these ugly residences? No aesthetics. If you think of Stellenbosch, you know that leafy town and that historical town, the architecture, and the student buildings and all that and that. And UCT and all that. Not here. […] Look at this park, these are not modern stuff. When you go to Seapoint, there's nice modern, you know, nurseries and stuff there…and so on. Have you ever seen trees standing in a straight row like that? ((Points towards the trees in park opposite the house)). How about letting it just come about or plant it…hell man!*

Hadiya laments that the built environment lacks visual pleasure, attributing this flaw to various things such as the visual features of the housing, the unmodern park, and the organization of the trees. In essence, she feels that the built environment lacks visual diversity and creativity.

Figure 9: The community park in District Six (Source: Author)

Figure 9 above depicts the community park in the area which appears to only cater for children in the community as it only has playground equipment, such as swings and playground spinners. Thus children in the community have a communal space to play. It also depicts the trees planted in a straight in a row as lamented by Hadiya.

The new physical environment of the re-settled District Six is clearly characterized by both positive attributes and limitations. However, the limitations outweigh the positive attributes and thus serve to challenge the returnees' ability to reconstitute a sense of place in the re-settled District Six. The new social environment in the re-settled District Six is also fraught with many issues.

7.3 Return to a new social environment

The claimants of District Six have also returned to a new social environment. This new social environment comprises an environment plagued with rising crime such as burglary, mugging and theft from motor vehicles; social ills infested in the community such as drug dealing; and the settlement of squatters and vagrants on the surrounding vacant land in the area that is marring the outlook of the community. All together these issues provide an enormous deterrence to the returnees' effort of reconstituting a sense of place in the resettled District Six as it brings about feelings of unsafety, vulnerability, rejection and repugnance amongst them. The new social environment has thus caused the returnees to experience feelings of topophobia. Topophobia involves attitudes of rejection in

neighbourhoods that have a poor outlook due to urban decay, crime, the presence of a population that is socially and economically marginalized, inadequate technical infrastructure, or environmental degradation (Cucu *et al.*, 2011). Experiences of topophobia thus serve to weaken a sense of place or result in a negative sense of place.

Cape Town Central has the highest crime rate in South Africa (le Roux, 2022) and is now among the most unsafe places in Cape Town (Tshuma, 2022). Given that District Six forms part of Cape Town Central, the rising crime has spilled over into the area and crime-related experiences have been voiced by the participants. From the perspective of the participants, the area is highly unsafe today due to common experiences of theft from residents' motor vehicles, residents' and students (of CPUT) being mugged, and burglary in the residents' homes. Residents thus have to be vigilant daily as they move around the area. These issues undoubtedly impact the returnees' sense of safety in the area. As indicated by Brown *et al.* (2003), residents' perceptions of crime in their community can influence their sense of place. Fear of crime keeps people at home and discourages them from participating in community events and activities and using public facilities. Thus, residents may feel less attached to their community as a result and have a diminished sense of place (Brown *et al.*, 2003). As Aleah notes:

> *No, the safety today, here, is not good. Since we moved in here, we were robbed twice. Twice, break-in.*

Aleah has however contradicted the above statement by noting that issues of burglary have somewhat plummet in recent times due to further redevelopment in the area with the return of more claimants. Thus, the returnees' sense of safety and security may somewhat be improving. As Aleah explains:

> *No, it's more quiet now because there is more security. It's mos building up now, it's mos now 8 years. That was now just a year or 9 months or 10 months when it happened. But we haven't heard anything in the past 2/3 years about break-ins. But that time was a lot of break-ins when we move in newly. Not only us, lots […]*

Burglary was thus a common issue in the area during the early years of the return process when the area was still largely undeveloped. But due to further development and the consequent return of more residents, security has improved, rendering the community less prone to crime.

The new social environment is also fraught with social ills, such as drug dealing inside the community, brought upon by some members of the community, particularly young residents. This issue is aggrieving the returnees as it is impacting their ability to rebuild their community, create a new sense of place, have a good quality of life, and raise their families. It is also contributing to a poor outlook of the area as some residents have become drug addicts in the community due to this issue. Another social ill that arose in the findings is the incidences of murders in the community supposedly perpetrated by insiders of the community. This finding stands to contrast the present considerably

against what it was in the past. Back then in District Six, residents were incredibly safe amongst each other, and they lived together like a family. Social ills like murders were thus not even conceivable. Residents thus feel unsafe and vulnerable in the area today as they never conceived their return to District Six would present such grim incidents. As Sharon states:

I mean there was a murder here, there was a murder in that house. There were deaths in every block here, people that died. We had two murders here. But just the fact that you came into a space that is supposed to be new and safe because you in the city.

District Six's new social environment also comprises the settlement of squatters and vagrants on the undeveloped land in the area. Large areas of land are lying vacant in District Six as the redevelopment of District Six is occurring at a tremendously slow pace. This issue has led to participants feeling tremendously vulnerable to crime, and has caused feelings of rejection and repugnance as it has given the area a poor outlook. As Liyana bemoans:

[...] but the problem is this: the government and the DA council created squatter camps right around us. You don't feel safe about that because why there's a field, there a lot of squatters, there's a field, there's a lot of squatters. You can't feel safe because why, man they whole day... and they talk ugly. I mean, man... God!

The returnees feel frustrated at the burgeoning problem of squatters around them, due to the large areas of vacant land and the consequent rise in the settlement of vagrants and squatters, as they feel significantly unsafe and vulnerable to crime. The residents are also aggrieved at the situation as it scars the image of the area.

Figure 10: Squatters and vagrants on vacant land in District Six (Source: Author)

Figure 10 above demonstrates the settlement of squatters and vagrants on vacant/undeveloped land in District Six. The image depicts how this issue mars the outlook of the area and is thus leading to feelings of rejection, hostility, and repugnance amongst the returnees.

Furthermore, the vacant land has not only invited the occupancy of vagrants and squatters but are also used as toilets by outsiders of the community, which is further harming the outlook of the area and are this maddening the returnees even further and intensifying feelings of topophobia. As frustratingly voiced by John:

> *Now I complain if they don't come and cut the grass. Now if I sit here, if you sit here, you can see distinct how many cars are going down there and how many people. If that grass is high, you can't flippenwell see. Mr. Jacobs's friends, girlfriend [outsiders] that stands over there, they use the grass, when it is so high, they use it for a bathroom.*

Figure 11: The vacant land in District Six that outsiders use as a urinal (Source: Author)

Figure 11 above depicts the open field John sees from his house daily. He can thus see in plain sight when outsiders of the community use the vacant land as a toilet, which frustrates him immensely.

The new social environment in the re-settled District Six evidently presents itself as an unfavourable environment in which to re-create a sense of place. Crime, social ills, and surrounding vagrants and squatters on vacant land are harming the social environment of the community and thus serve to

weaken the returnees' sense of place. The next theme looks at the present-day sense of community in District Six which will also be demonstrated as fraught with problems.

7.4 A ruptured sense of community

When the residents of District Six were displaced and scattered to the Cape Flats, immense trauma of the displacement affected their lives. This trauma was amplified when they were forced to commence their uprooted lives on the Cape Flats, dislodged from family and friends, in a new social and built environment with displaced residents from other affected communities of Cape Town. What may have produced from the trauma of displacement and emplacement is an erosion of the residents' sense of community identity of the pre-apartheid District Six. Whether this may be true or not, the ability of the returnee community to reconstitute that sense of community today is unequivocally challenging as many returnees do not identify with that sense of community any longer today. However, the participants of this study still identify with that sense of community identity as they have bemoaned the difficulty of rebuilding community with fellow returnees who do not. As a result, the returnee community today is plagued with rivalry amongst (grand)parents, religious conflict, and overall, segregation and a lack of unity.

One of the key attributes of the pre-apartheid District Six's sense of community was the kindship of shared parenting. As portrayed in Chapter Five, District Six was a 'family', and the kinship of shared parenting was thus a custom that entailed that children in the community were parented by all the adults in the community. This shared parenting involved disciplining, teaching, and moulding and shaping the children for their betterment. And this custom involved an inherent understanding and goodwill amongst the parents in the community. Today, however, (grand)parents go to war with each other if their (grand)children have been scolded or disciplined by other (grand)parents in the community; highlighting the stark difference between then and now. As Rumaysa notes:

> *Today, today, you reprimand somebody here, you get the biggest fight, it's a war; "Don't reprimand my child!" That is the difference, culture have changed. The love for each other and our children and our future generation and wanting the best for children to move forward in life.*

Rumaysa describes how the (grand)parents respond with hostility when (grand)children have been reprimanded by other (grand)parents in the community. She laments the lost kindship of shaping and moulding children for their personal development. The rivalry that thrives amongst parents in the community can thus be attributed to an eroded sense of community identity that was lost when the community was displaced. Some participants have noted that some (grand)parents even resort to

calling the police to respond to the exercise of intervention by other (grand)parents in the community, accentuating the present-day level of hostility amongst parents when it comes to their children.

Religion is also a source of conflict in the community today and is no longer a means of uniting residents, as it has in the past. Previously residents conveyed respect and recognition for one another's faiths to the point that they even immersed themselves in it (as seen in Chapter Five). As written by McEachern (1998), District Six was praised as a diverse community of workers and small business owners where people of various ethnicities, religions, and cultures interacted, coexisted, and experienced the tribulations of poverty and neglect collectively. Today however, this respect and recognition have faded and religion has caused a division amongst residents, particularly between Muslims and non-Muslims. Hadiyah laments the state of the social relations in the community today by making reference to the contemporary issue of religion:

> *Very sad. It has all gone into groupings. Firstly, it's on the religious groupings. You must constantly fight against this, Muslims against non-Muslims.*

The battles between Muslims and non-Muslims as elicited by Hadiya is supported by Daisy:

> *So now, and the majority of our neighbours are Muslims. So, it's a battle for us…the values…the Christian values. I use a doekie because the wind blows then my hair stand so. But others [Muslims] think I am wanting to be Muslim. I laugh and I say, "No, not at all. It's for my hair man, this plastic hair." When the wind blows then my hair stand so ((giggles)).*

Daisy explains how her family, who are Christians, find it difficult to nestle with their Muslim neighbours as they constantly try to problematize certain practices, such as wearing a scarf (which is practiced by non-Muslims). Muslim residents have thus become immensely territorial about their religion. Sharon further accentuates this division amongst religion:

> *I mean like even us now as Christians, the windows gets closed when the Adhan [an Islamic call delivered by a muezzin (the person who recites the Azan) from the mosque five times a day] goes off. You know, we still very respectful and you know those kinds of things, but I don't see it being like...reciprocal.*

Sharon's notes above that her family and her, whom are Christians, still convey respect toward the Muslims in the community by closing their windows when the Adhan (the call to prayer) goes off, but she claims that this respect is not reciprocated by the Muslims, underscoring the divide between Muslims and non-Muslims. It is therefore evident that religion is a source of division in the community today and thus further accentuate the erosion of the returnees' sense of community identity.

There is also a high degree of segregation prevailing in the community today. Claimants have certainly returned to District Six with completely different identities. The kinship of unity that prevailed in

District Six back then has been lost and is evident in the present-day sense of community. As lamented by Sharon and Rumaysa:

And where even here you see, it's the 'them and the us'. And like what is that? You know? Them and us? We're all from District Six. If you look at this bridge here by the circle, people on that side of District Six where the boundary of District Six is Sole Street. People here speak about 'them'. If you go on that side, the 'them' speak about 'that lot'. (Sharon)

It's a complete diversion here. Segregation. People stick to themselves; you are you and we are us. (Rumaysa)

The social relations in District Six are thus polarized today due to a lack of sense of unity. The absent sense of unity thus conveys that most things that kept the community knitted together are no longer present, such as expressing love and care for one another, cultural and social practices including the faith-based traditions such as handing out food during Ramadan, and the kinship of generosity. Today people are completely isolated from one another. As Aleah and Sharon wails:

Ja, let me tell you: this is not like the old District Six. Old District Six was more togetherness. Neighbours was more loving, and today's world like you know, nothing stays the same. Buts it very nice … But there is something missing now; people is just for themselves, you know. The old District Six wasn't like that mos. No, no togetherness, like the old District Six. Like when we were younger.

I cannot just go and knock if I want to when I want to. You will notice here when people pull up with their vehicles, they go into their home, close their door and you'll only see them the next day, the following day. And it's the same routine. But that cup of sugar, this that, that that everybody talk about, that's crap man! Because it's not happening now. The appreciation for humanity is missing. […] We not neighbourly. I speak to Hadiya. We [the community] don't have that kind of the connection of familyhood like we had. That is gone. Where whether you're a Christian, Muslim, Indian. You are a family. (Sharon)

Without a strong sense of community, returnees are unable to experience a sense of belonging, which thus negatively affects their sense of place. There is nothing that fosters and sustains the community today. It is therefore evident that their sense of community has been ruptured due to their forced emplacement on the Cape Flats.

However, community life in District Six is not all that bleak today. There are some social activities that take place in community that thus serves to foster some sense of belonging as the residents are allowed to interact and engage at these activities. For example, there is an annual Christmas lunch hosted for all returnees irrespective of their religion. This event takes place in a community facility in the area. As Aleah notes:

It's only now once a year with Christmas then we must come together for a lunch or something, you know. Ja, it's all Halaal. We together with the Christians, the Hindus and everybody, in the hall there.

All returnees are invited to attend this annual Christmas lunch which thus acts to bring people together in the community. Rumaysa also noted the annual Christmas event but notes the occurrence of other social activities in the community too:

> *And we had about 200 people and we gave them a Christmas party. It was the 14th of December, last year and it was in covid time, and we gave them a Christmas party. I cooked crayfish curry for them. And then we had a field and tables and we had strict covid regulations, we were strict with covid. […] Then after that had...now in January, they had a sleepover weekend for the youth in some holiday place, in Caledon or somewhere. And they had about 20 youth. I made a big pot of breyani to take with as one day's meal. That was my donation. That was also successful. And now Easter, Easter Hunt...also successfully, the wind was a bit strong but also successful.*

Rumaysa's account above denotes the community's effort in organizing social events for both the elderly and youngsters. The youth weekend away infers that the youth have opportunities to forge bonds and build relations with one another thus building a brighter future for themselves in the community that involves established ties, shared identities, and a sense of belonging. The Easter Hunt, as noted by Rumaysa also provides opportunities for the little ones in the community to strengthen ties and foster a sense of belonging amongst them. In sum, these social activities therefore act to strengthen community ties and somewhat alleviate the alienation often experienced in the community as previously demonstrated under this theme. The following theme focusses on the more specific elements hindering the re-membering process of the District Six community.

7.5 A slow re-membering

The return to- and restitution of District Six is evidenced by processes of putting people and memories back together again—in what Fortier (1999) calls 're-membering'. However, re-membering District Six is significantly deterred by various elements which are affecting the present-day lived experiences of the returnees, and thus affecting their sense of place. These factors involve the handful of returnees who are back, the integration of the younger beneficiaries into the restitution plan, the integration of non-claimant residents into the restitution plan, politics in the community, and the prioritization of gentrification by the national and local government. These elements are explored below.

7.5.1 Handful of returnees

When the redevelopment task of District Six was assigned to the D6BRT in 2000, it was declared that 20 000 people comprising 2600 claimants and their families would be restituted in 4000 two/three story units on the 40-ha land (Rassool, 2019). However, to date there are less than 1000 residents back in District Six. The dilatory return of claimants is rendering it significantly difficult for the

returnees to restore their sense of community, which thus impacts their sense of belonging. Some returnees are bounded to their homes because many of their familiar friends are not back yet. Institutions in District Six like places of worship feels strange because there are too few familiar faces seen. The returnees are yearning for the rest of the claimants to return so that they can experience a sense of community and a sense of belonging again with the District Six 'family'. Currently, they feel alienated and out of place as District Six does not feel like it felt. As Mowla (2004) asserts, we remember places by having been in them, by having walked through them. A sense of place is created by this sense of familiarity with a place. However, if our experience of space does not match our previous notions or expectations, then it may feel as though we have not been in place. As Sharon describes:

> *Grandparents, a few that are here, they basically shoved in a room because they are so old. I mean, they not really, their friends aren't here, their friends have passed, or their friends aren't back. They still out there somewhere, you know, wherever they've been displaced to. So, they come back to a very silent world. Like I look at the two sisters here, they just keeping each other company whole day in their apartment. I mean, there must be...really you caged in.*

7.5.2 Youth

The dilatory return of claimants to District Six has also resulted in the return of younger beneficiaries to District Six because many claimants have passed on or don't wish to return which grant their children or younger relatives as beneficiaries of their land claims. The integration of so many young beneficiaries into the area is also another deterrence in the process of restoring the community's sense of community. The youth have no prior connection or attachment to District Six, so they are not able to contribute to the process of re-membering the community. Moral and cultural values cannot be reciprocated because the youth have no experience of it. It is also difficult for the elderly returnees to identify with them because they are estranged to these young residents. The remaking home process involves a related emotion of community which is the feeling of belonging to a place where people are acknowledged as 'one's own' and where that recognition is reciprocated; in other words, a place where moral and cultural values are shared (Hage, 1997 as cited in Murcia, 2020). It is thus difficult for the returnee community as a whole to restore their sense of place or community as they are surrounded by so many young people who cannot co-foster that process as they have no attachment to District Six. As Sharon explains:

> *And it's like your generation, say if you were my daughter, right? I decided I am not coming back. I give the property to you. So, what relationship do you really have with District Six? I cannot continue living the way my parents lived here or my grandparents, because guess what,*

their neighbours don't know ((giggles)). They just don't know. You know the young people, they in a different....

The integration of the young beneficiaries has also affected the sense of safety amongst the elderly returnees. This is because many of the young neighbours are not home daily as they are out leading more productive lives compared to the more sedentary lives of the elderly returnees. This then renders the area more quiet and thus more vulnerable to crime, impacting the sense of safety amongst the returnees. Therefore, the integration of the young residents with elderly residents impacts the elderly returnees' sense of place. As Aleah laments:

This neighbours is whole day gone, they young. This neighbours is whole day gone, they working, they young. Me and my husband is old, we are whole day at home. So, we feel…and opposite there is an old man, he's not old, middle age, but he also keeps to himself. So as if me and my husband don't feel safe, like the former District Six.

However, not all elderly returnees are finding it difficult to identify with the younger beneficiaries. From the perspective of some elderly returnees, the younger residents are not completely strangers as they can forge bonds through the linkages of their older relatives who also lived in District Six before the forced removals. This is thus possible through memory association. As founded by Othman *et al.* (2013), memory and place can be compared to a tapestry; our individual and collective history and identities are interwoven with space and places. We identify places by tagging them with a unique memory that marks them in our mind. Thus, we may say that in order to have an identity and a sense of place, we need to remember (Othman *et al.*, 2013). As Daisy shares:

And as I say, what I found when we moved back, was a different street and of course completely different people. But sitting down and then you would say, "My goodness, I knew your aunt/Your cousin played soccer with my brother." ((says excitingly)). So, you know, there is that bond, and you get to know people. As I say, it's complete strangers to you, some of the people. Because you must remember, this is how many generations. So many of the older people had died when they moved out. So, there's that gap. But talking, you say, "My goodness man, I knew your granny man/Your aunty used to live behind us." You know that kind of thing. So, there is, in many instances, there is something that cements your friendship with people, especially where we live.

As much as Daisy's reflection demonstrates a willingness to unite new and old memories and people, the re-membering of District Six is comprised not only people with a connection to the area from previous generations, it is also populated with new residents who do not have a restitutional claim. This poses challenges for shaping a new sense of place.

7.5.3 New (non-claimant) residents

As outlines in Chapter Three, amidst the early stages of the restitution process of District Six, the D6BRT developed a 'social compact' for the redevelopment of District Six. This social compact included the precept that approved claimants occupy their homes for at least five years before choosing to sell or rent out (Layne, 2008 as cited in Rassool, 2019). However, this social compact was rejected by the Reference Group in January 2013 as it was critiqued as unlawfully restricting the full ownership rights of claimants, particularly to sell their property and capitalise on their properties in their lifetime (District Six Reference Group, 2013 as cited in Rassool, 2019). As a result, some claimants who have opted to not return are renting-out their properties to non-claimants, commonly students and foreign nationals. Today, there more non-claimant residents than claimant residents in District Six. This is a painful challenge for the returnee community as they are immensely unable to identify with the non-claimant residents who have no notion nor experience of the District Six 'family' and ethos. Therefore, they (non-claimants) too cannot reciprocate the moral and cultural values of the old District Six, thus rendering the returnees feeling further alienated and out of place. A social and cultural boundary between non-claimant and claimant residents now exists, rendering the community even further fragmented. As Rumaysa notes:

> So, there are a few of us here that cling together because we are the originals, but like I said that the others are all people that we don't know. I will say 40% of the originals is here. The other 60% is people that's rented their houses out.

Not only are the non-claimant residents unable to reciprocate the moral and cultural values of the old District Six, they are also contributing to the already existing social ills in the community by the dealing of drugs to the younger residents. As previously noted, the issue of drugs gives the area a negative outlook and results in the returnees experiencing feelings of topophobia and out of place. It also creates an unconducive environment for the returnee community to restore their community and reconstitute their sense of place in District Six. As Rumaysa notes:

> You must remember there's foreigners in here now, Arabs, Nigerians, all types. And even they have got drugs. They giving drugs to the children here. That's what we want to stop. [...] We've got drugs inside, but it's outside people, but not outside, living here outside people, you know what I'm saying. It's people that lives here that doesn't belong here. Black Nigerians. Those type of people, foreign nationals.

While some returnees' perceptions of ethnicity and race may shape how they see new non-claimant residents of District Six, one aspect that colours most claimants' views of the return to District Six is politics.

7.5.4 Politics

The land restitution process of District Six has become significantly politized over the years due to the various developments in the process, as unveiled in Chapter Three. And these politics have been another source of deterrence to the re-membering process of the returnee community. The D6BRT was established in 1997 to represent the claimants of District Six through the process of consolidating and administering the restitution process (Rassool, 2019). Amidst the early stages of the restitution process, the D6BRT sought to prioritise the return of elderly and those who had been tenants rather than homeowners. This resulted in the establishment of two additional organisations in 2011; the District Six Claimants Committee, established six years prior and representing roughly 200 claimants; and the District Six Advocacy Committee, representing roughly 300 former homeowners in District Six (Cape Times, 2011 as cited in Rassool, 2019). These two committees sought to represent the rights of former homeowners, who wanted to be prioritised for return, and who claimed to have never been properly consulted (Johns, 2011 as cited in Rassool, 2019). By 2012, another organisation – the Reference Group – which was democratically elected, was established by the government to expedite the land restitution process after the claimants and returnees began to lose faith in the D6BRT for not operating honestly and supposedly having become 'referee and player' in the restitution process of Phase One and Two for the District Six pilot housing (District Six Reference Group, 2013 as cited in Rassool, 2019).

The rise of these various initiatives, all of which have been devoted to the restitution of District Six, has created a power dynamic in the community, which is further weakening the social ties of the community and thus deterring the re-membering process. From the perspective of the participants, the politics in the community can be likened to the political bickering in national politics of the country. Additionally, this has affected the lived experiences of the residents as their needs are not being prioritised due to the struggle for power amongst each other. The political bickering in the community is also affecting the pace of completion of the restitution plan. But most importantly, it is leading to a more fragmented community. As Faris and Daisy explains:

> *Now we haven't got people that's fighting it in the area, they fighting each other, like the government, this one against the other one, always telling this party that what you doing is wrong and other one tell them, but there's never a mutual understanding to see to the needs of the people of this country. Now it's happening in District Six as well. You [political groups] people want to claim that you are the authority here, you are this organization, see to the needs of the people man. You know there is one house, in a flat, the top roof blew off. For God's sake, help the people to get the roof back man. It rains in winter; the water runs into the house. (Faris)*

> *Sadly, different…I would say, factions. it makes me think of the ANC that has got two factions. And I always maintain: we are too many chiefs and too few Indians because everyone wants to be the farm boss which is sad. We could have got things right if we had one force. And it's for me, it's frustrating that we have this. And I mean, we are a small community, I mean the what's it…the third phase, 1, 2, 3, ja. Those people are coming in and we here. And today it should be one unit but sadly it's not. Because everybody wants to be the top dog, and supposedly doing it for the community. You feel people…many of them have their own agendas, which is very sad. (Daisy)*

Faris and Daisy's accounts above underscores the power struggles amongst the local political groups in the community and how this have affected the restitution of District Six and community ties. Politics is thus a huge hindrance to the community's quest to rebuild their community and sense of place in District Six as it is fragmenting the community even further.

Furthermore, as previously indicated, the Reference Group was democratically elected to expedite the restitution process of District Six, after the claimants had lost faith in the D6BRT. However, since the establishment of the Reference Group in December 2012, there have only been a further handful of residents who have returned, to specify; in August 2013 and May 2022. Therefore, the D6BRT now claims that they are back to ensure the restitution for the thousands of claimants who are still waiting to return as they will not stand back and watch the government fail in their duty in completing the restitution plan of District Six. The D6BRT feels that although they have been hard done by after being replaced by the Reference Group, they are going to fight for the restitution of the thousands of other claimants who are still direly waiting to return, as their fight goes back to the alliance of the Hands Off District Six (HODS). However, what renders this more political is that in trying to fight for the restitution of claimants, the D6BRT claims that they aim to challenge the government by making things difficult for them. This accentuates the political turmoil in the community, as one participant noted:

> *The trust [D6BRT] says that we are not going to take over, let the government takeover, but we going to watch you and we going to make life so difficult. We going to complicate things. That's why we've got these meetings going with people, and then there's snitches amongst us that will go tell them. And then things get out of hand.*

Secret meetings are being held in the community to challenge the government and people are also defying the secrecy of the meetings by disclosing information to other political groups in the community. The political turmoil is thus rife in the community as supported by the participant's statement above. Furthermore, members of the Advocacy Committee also claim that they constantly get side-tracked (such as not being notified or being notified the day after the meeting) to date by other political groups when important meetings (about the state of the houses, etc.) with stakeholders take place in the community. The Advocacy Committee support that there is strong political rivalry in the community and that it will continue. As one participant said:

So, I don't how far this fight is still going to go. And it's going to be still a fight.

In essence, the excerpts above reveal the enormous power dynamics present in the community and how this functions to distract the restitution process from the most consequential objectives which is to provide restitution and restore social cohesion for the claimants of District Six. Gentrification processes can also be interpreted as politics but on the part of the national and local government which are further hindering the re-membering of District Six.

7.5.5 Gentrification

Gentrification processes in the areas surrounding District Six are a hindrance to the community's quest to rebuild. As unpacked in Chapter Three, gentrification is simply the process of employing improvements to the physical environment and services in low-income neighbourhoods that are facing urban decay, turning the areas into places that attract people from the middle class for both housing and employment. The result of gentrification is often the social and physical displacement of the area's working-class population (Andersen, 2021). Cape Town has seen massive redevelopment since the 2000s as a response to inner city decline. The turnaround plan was facilitated by the development framework of the national and local governments, which significantly contributed to the redevelopment of Cape Town's CBD (Kotze, 2013). As a result, the management of District Six land claims consolidated into a single development plan has been met with political resistance. This resistance is evident among the national, the provincial and the local government, and has been typified as a lack of action by the city and the province, as they are reluctant to enable the return of low-income residents to prime real estate, the purview of economic development and modernist planning (Rassool, 2019). The prioritization of urban development in and around District Six over the restitution of District Six claimants are infuriating the returnees. It is also maddening them as they are hindered from restoring their community due to the slow pace of completion of the restitution plan. As Liyana bemoans:

> *And the sad part of District Six is the delay in getting the restitution for the people. The gentrification of District Six, jirraa, it's a physical pain. Every time you walk pass you see there is another building going up but it's not for the people that used to live there. It is…jiraaa its heart-breaking man. To think, strangers could live there but the people who actually have the right to come, they get denied. It's insane man, it's totally insane.*

The returnee community are aggrieved at the rise of private residential buildings on restitution land. They are wailing the return of the claimants as they are trying to put back their community. But how can this community do that if more and more restitution land is being developed into private residential development instead of restitution for the thousands of other claimants? The local government is not prioritizing the restitution of District Six claimants; instead, they are prioritizing

privatization. As McDonald (2008 as cited in Visser and Kotze, 2008) asserts, these effects should be viewed as the product of neo-liberal localization. According to some analysts, the local government's private partnerships results from a weak city government that ignores its civic duties in the face of private pressure. Although Cape Town has experienced a rise in a stronger local government since the redevelopment of the city centre, the fact that the new officials of local political power are recognisably more neo-liberal in their political economic outlook, may serve to further delay the role of local government, not as a result of poor urban planning, but intentionally (Visser and Kotze, 2008).

The gateway to District Six is transforming as it is being tucked away by private development such as the high-rise residential apartments, Chapel Towers and Castle Rock. As Kiewit (2020) indicated, District Six is part of the corridor of rapid gentrification, as well as commercial and high-rise residential buildings growing out of the City Bowl. Sharon bemoans the changing face of District Six:

> *The only beauty here is the mountain. Because the little bit of the mountain that I can still see, that is unrestricted is still what I see as beauty. You cannot see the ocean. We are looking into a monstrosity of this high-rise apartment(s) that was here; that's not District Six. What is currently on this, is now Chapel Towers and that is Castle Rock. That's the new District Six. So hello, get real; It's all done.*

Figure 12: Chapel Towers, one of the high-rise residential developments in District Six (Source: Author)

Figure 13: A picture taken more afar of Chapel Towers in District Six (Source: Author)

Figure 14: A picture of Castle Rock (to the right of the Zeenatul Islam Mosque), one of the other

high-rise residential developments in District Six (Source: Author)

Figures 12, 13, and 14 above depict the high-rise residential developments tucking away the community of District Six. These developments have been angrily voiced by participants as they continue to feel dispossessed by the government who are prioritizing private development on restitution land and side-lining the claimants that still need to return, thus deterring the community's re-membering.

Furthermore, as working-class residents of the city centre, the returnees are aware of the impacts of gentrification to their future in the inner city, i.e., the rising land values and the consequent displacement of working-class residents from the inner city. They are thus angry and at the same time worried. As Visser and Kotze (2008) note, as is the case everywhere else in Cape Town, rising residential property prices in recent years have destroyed the hopes of a mixed-use, mixed-income, socially inclusive central city. Most of the returnees are pensioners, therefore they fear how the rise in land values will result in the increase of their rates and taxes, which will thus cripple them as pensioners. As Daisy explains:

> *Where I live there is this block of flats [Chapel Towers]. And further down, in Tenant Street [Castle Rock] …you see, ja. We going to pay more rates now because these buildings…enhance our area. [...] It makes you… it upsets you. And as I say, these politicians, they have no emotions.*

The restitution plan of District Six involves a rates relief where returnees are exempted from paying rates and taxes for a period of ten years from the date they return. After those ten years, it is their responsibility to pay their property rates and taxes. Therefore, the returnees are worried about what their future looks like in District Six because once they take transfer, and are unable to afford their rates and taxes, they will have to move. Unless the government has some form of relief in place to cushion the elderly community against the harsh effects of gentrification, their future in the area looks grim and uncertain which thus stand to impact their sense of place. As Sharon laments:

> *You know, and like, that's why I always say to them like this [restitution houses] is temporary. Once you take transfer, they [government] give you some form of relief. You know, that's like when you give the dog a bone or the carrot that they dangle, and then when you do take transfer, you're going to be paying rates that's within the CBD. You are not going to be excused because of your age or that its restitution. […] You know what. I think it is to demoralize us to the point that they know that most of us is the 10-year period, so you're probably going to sell, or we're going to see that you won't be able to afford it. So, we're going to evict you.*

7.6 A new sense of place

The findings in this chapter have demonstrated up until now that the community's endeavour to reconstitute their sense of place in District Six has not been an easy one. So, despite all of this or perhaps because of all of this, what efforts are they bringing to the fore to re-member their community and remake their home in District Six? What are their aspirations for their community? What are the current symbolical meanings they ascribe to District Six today? The current theme explores these questions to further explore returnees' new sense of place in District Six.

Accordingly, this theme starts by exploring how some participants are playing their part to re-member their community. Some have voiced these efforts through describing their tangible efforts, while others have described more symbolical aspirations for a brighter future in District Six. Nevertheless, both represent a commitment to creating and striving for a more cohesive community. Vanclay (2008) claims that 'place commitment' refers to the extent to which individuals are willing to contribute to their local place. It is generally argued that people with strong place attachment are more likely to have place commitment. Some analysts suggest that this is more likely when place satisfaction is low (which has been proven to be the case considerably in this chapter so far) (Stedman, 2002; Stedman and Brown, 1993; as cited in Vanclay, 2008).

District Six was a tightly knitted community that had a strong kinship of moral and cultural values. Some returnees are very proactive today to preserve those moral and cultural values. Faris is doing this by encouraging and investing in the youth in the community. He has started a youth group to help the youth harness their musical talents as he is striving towards reviving those cultural traditions that used to thrive in District Six, like the choirs singing on the street corners or simply performing for the community. As Faris mentions:

> *I told the guys here, the youngsters, the big ones, "You guys stand here at night. Come one man, sing a song. Don't stand around here, try to sing a song.". You know we never had music. You know what was our music? Matchbox. We were taught those things in District Six. That's your rhythm. We had talented people here.*

The returnees yearn for that sense of belonging again that they experienced through the rich cultural traditions of the old District Six, and thus some returnees are committed to try and revive that again. Furthermore, the new social environment in District Six is marred with social ills, such as crime and drug-dealing, and some returnees are committed to curtailing these issues. In terms of crime, some returnees are playing their part to improve the sense of safety in the community by asserting their presence in the community and scaring-away potential thieves in the area. In terms of drugs, the community has a forum that works to tackle the drug issue amongst the youth in the community. More specifically, it is a Women's Forum that brings together affected parents and discusses how to

solve the drug issue of their children. These endeavours are thus in effort to eradicate the socials ills in the community.

Some returnees are also committed to improving the sense of community by trying to revive the kinship of shared parenting in the community. This involves intervening when the children are misbehaving or even in danger. However, it is not an easy task as these efforts are commonly met with dissent from the (grand)parents. This is thus due to the lost sense of community experienced amongst the returnees today. Some returnees have tried reviving the kinship of family too, like welcoming children into their homes like it was in the old District Six, but this too has been met with dissent from parents in the community. As Sharon explains:

> […] *I know we could go from one house to another house to another house, you know, and you would feel like your family. You didn't feel like you invading anybody's space as children. We did it here. We started letting kids come, they could just play and do what they wanted to; play on the instruments and all that and then their parents stopped it. Because I mean that's what we used to do. They stopped it, their parents didn't like it.*

Some returnees are also trying to revive the kinship of relying on one another in times of need, like supervising children in emergencies. In essence, by trying to revive these moral cultural values, the returnees are aiming to cascade it to the younger residents to preserve the ethos of District Six, thus resembling a strong place commitment.

While some returnees are producing more tangible efforts to rebuild their community, others have more symbolical visions for a more cohesive community - which still represents their place commitment. What makes this more positive is that despite the many challenges that plague the community today, some returnees still manage to have a healthy and positive outlook about their future in District Six, denoting their strong place attachment. Some understand the importance of their moral and cultural values that was typical of the old District Six and strongly yearn for it to be reinstituted in the community. Others feel that, even though there are only a handful of returnees back in District Six, the community should mobilize their willingness and support to foster a sense of unity with one another that will create a more harmonious community for one and all, albeit somewhat different to what it was back then. As Thana shares:

> *And so, like I said, the community is still very small, and it is for us to build up, not to build up the area, but to uhm, how can I say… ((long pause)). It's for us as a community to stand together and… ((long pause)). Ja, it's for us a community to stand together and make the best of it. Although it's not going to be like it used to be in District Six, but we need to work on it and make the best out of it and make everybody happy.*

Some returnees yearn for more specific efforts to restore a sense of unity in the community, like reviving social and cultural traditions. They are yearning to have that sense of belonging in District Six

again and thus believe that certain traditions need to come back to achieve that. As Sharon speaks of bringing back the tradition of cooking:

> *We don't even have women teaching you. Like for me, if you carry on the tradition of cooking, why don't we just come together at someone's house and cook? You know, teach us how you make your pastry, or your cakes or your rotis. That will keep us at least holding onto one another, you know. And at least breaking barriers. They don't do that.*

Some returnees are thus committed to rebuild which thus typify a positive affect to District Six. To gain a deeper understanding of the returnees' present-day attitudes toward District Six, participants have voiced the current symbolical meanings that they ascribe to District Six. Despite the various changes and shortcomings in the community today, most participants' attachment to District Six has remained somewhat unchanged, for some it is ambivalent, and for others, it has eroded and been defeated by the myriad challenges faced in the area today, leading to the experiences of a negative sense of place. In essence, the meanings and values the participants attribute to District Six today varied from participant to participant and will thus be explored individually below.

For most participants, their attachment and identity to District Six has remained somewhat unchanged over the years; throughout their displacement from the area and now in the return years which is arguably fraught with challenges. Therefore, they still have a sense of place in District Six today. Given that the community's sense of community is in ruins, their sense of place still exists for largely two reasons; first, through positive memory association; and second, their return to their physical and natural environment. Their sense of belonging in the present is thus largely mediated by memory association and the physical and natural environment. When asking Faris if he still has a bond and connection to District Six today, despite everything, he responded:

> *Ja. In spite of all this, it is still there. Now I give you a simple thing little thing about that: you can take the people out of District Six, but you can never take District Six out of the people. Simple. And it's a fact of life.*

Here Faris suggests that District Six is part of who he is – it is part of his identity. Faris's statement above reveals a positive association with District Six as he feels defined by District Six. This further suggest that Faris's displacement from District Six never eroded his identity to District Six. When asking Liyana if her affinity towards District Six still exists today, she responded:

> *Yes, because why nuh, we are from Mitchells Plain but just the moment you see the mountain there, you open your eyes, and you see the mountain. It's bitter bittersweet. It's dangerous, it's heartsore and it's joy. Because when you walk in the street and you see the mountain, you won't understand, then you know there's something magical in that mountain. Because we were always at the mountain, and you see the mountain. But jisaaas its very…but you know you are at home, and you belong there. […] Because why, when we came back the first time, you immediately knew you were at home. Like I said, when you see the mountain. The love for District Six is there.*

For Liyana, her attachment to District Six was immediately restored when she was reunited with the natural environment (Table Mountain). As indicated by Semenza and March (2009), the physical qualities of a place (i.e., landmarks) increases sense of place (Semenza and March, 2009). Through symbolic place meaning, the physical environment's qualities have an impact on sense of place. Therefore, only landmarks that people associate with contribute to sense of place because they hold significance for them and influence how they view their community. The mountain holds significance for Liyana due to the positive memories she associates with it. Thus, her memory of growing up by the mountain plays a salient role in her attachment to District Six today. However, she also notes that her feelings are "bittersweet" which suggests that she is still painfully reminded of the memories of being dislodged from the mountain and District Six at large. Her feelings are thus not entirely positive as her memory triggers a negative association too. Atkinson (2015) indicate that place detachment can emerge, particularly when people want to distance themselves from a place and the meaning it holds for them as a result of unwanted personal memories, encounters, and/or difficult-to-reconcile historical events (Atkinson, 2015). Contrarily, place detachment does not necessarily follow when a place elicits negative memories or unpleasant past events. Places can both repel and attract people at the same time (Shamai, 2018). Therefore, Liyana's feelings are ambivalent towards District Six but they are more positive than negative. When asking Daisy to describe her beliefs and feelings towards District Six today, she said:

This is my home. This is where I was born and bred. And the person that I am, the influence that I had as a child in District Six. And to say again, when compared to the kids today, the values that we learned, the morals that we had ((raises pitch of voice)), compared to what is happening today, It's mind-boggling. So, I thank God for the opportunity I've had to live and grow up in District Six.

For Daisy, District Six has shaped her as a person, thus it has influenced her personal identity and she articulates pride in that. Therefore, Daisy articulates a positive association to District Six. She describes further:

Now look at Table Mountain. I mean now for me; I can almost touch the mountain. When we lived in Hanover Park, this is what you missed; you missed the noon gun, 12 o' clock, 12 o' clock, the gun shots. You look at Table Mountain, you see there the clouds come over. And then you can predict what the weather will be like. Ah, you missed all that. You grateful, oh, when this opportunity came. You still appreciate this.

Through positive memory association and being reunited with the mountain, Daisy's sense of place has been restored. She notes that she is grateful to this day for having the opportunity to return, which unequivocally infers he positive affect to District Six. When asking Idris if he was grateful to be back in District Six, he responded:

> *Ja, for sure. You must be grateful to be back. To be able to be, you know, near to your mountain and the sea. You know, your environment is important so it is something that you can only thank God. You know to give us this gift that we are back in our place where we grew up, with memories and people that we met, people who are our friends, you don't see them anymore.*

For Idris, his memory and natural environment are important to his sense of place. Therefore, by being back in a place that is filled with precious memories and reunited with natural and physical environment, he is able to experience his sense of place again. Idris notes further that being back is a God-given-gift, which suggests that he still associates positive feelings to District Six, despite the challenges experienced in the community today. John owes his gratitude (positive affect) for being back to his struggle for returning:

> *I am so grateful to be back because I fought very long to get back, because my heart and everything is here. Even when I go abroad, I still can't forget District Six.*

John's statement reveals a deep emotional connection with District Six; thus he still has a positive association to District Six today. When asking Thana to describe her feelings and beliefs towards District Six, she responded:

> *Well, for me, I am just happy to be back in District Six. Although District Six will never be the same like it used to be, but the mere fact and the thought that you were forcibly removed, that trauma and pain and suffering that you went through, you completely rid of it, but just the mere fact that you are back where you were born.*

For Thana, her resettlement in District Six allows her to have a positive affect to District Six, in other words, being reunited with her physical environment. For her, she is where she belongs even though the place she loved and felt anchored in has changed (Hummon, 1992). Rumaysa shares similar sentiments:

> *We cannot expect, ever, that District Six would be the same. Things change. Uhm...small example. When I lived in District Six, I didn't have a bathroom. Here I've got a bathroom. I've upgraded my living conditions. But not the life that I had.*

Rumaysa has also accepted that life will never be the same again in District Six, but she is grateful for being restituted with a modern home. Thus, her positive associations are more directed to her physical home than her symbolical home.

For some participants, their feelings towards District Six are ambivalent. Even though they have been reunited with their natural and physical environment, they long to have that sense of community back. Additionally, returning to a restitution programme that is significantly fraught with issues have also resulted in experiences of negative affect. Therefore, on the one hand, they have a positive affect to District Six through emotional ties, as well as memory and experiences of living in District Six; and on the other hand, they have a negative affect due to the myriad challenges faced in District Six today,

thus, rendering their feelings ambivalent. When asking Aleah to describe her beliefs and feelings towards District Six, she responded:

> *I feel happy to be back. But you mos don't know when you move in eight years ago, you mos don't know what's going to happen in the future, you know. You don't know what's going to happen. Like I tell you no shops…((mumbles)). No shops and people is just for themselves. […] Buts it very nice, but there is something missing now.*

For Aleah, she is happy to be back, but her initial euphoria experienced when she returned has eroded over the years due to the disappointment faced with shortcomings of the restitution programme. In addition, Aleah laments the weakened sense of community amongst the returnee community today, which suggest that she longs to have that sense of belonging in the community again. Essentially, Aleah's attachment to District Six also involves a dynamic tension between phenomena like belonging and exclusion, as well as positive and negative affect (Chawla, 1992). Thus, Aleah's sentiments towards District Six are ambivalent. To exemplify how Aleah felt when she returned, she described it as:

> *Ja, oooh! It was ecstatic when we got the phone call or a letter - we must come see them. I was in the taxi back to Mannenberg, "Oooh we gona pack now!" It was a really nice feeling, nuh. A good feeling…((smiles)).*

Aleah was overjoyed when she heard the news nine years ago that she could return to District Six. She was overjoyed because she was finally able to return to the place where she knew she belong, after being displaced for many years. Below is a picture showing the symbolical key she received when she returned to District Six:

Figure 15: An image depicting the symbolical key Aleah and her family received at the Homecoming ceremony in 2013 (Source: Aleah)

Figure 15 above depicts the symbolical key claimants receive at homecoming ceremonies celebrating their return to District Six. When they receive it, it symbolizes reconciliation, restitution, and an opportunity to re-establish their feelings of being at home.

Hadiya described her beliefs and feelings towards District Six as:

> *Today, Ashleigh…. My affinity towards District Six will always be there in terms of that wonderful, human, beautiful experience of how we grew up, what we did, what we could do, how, you know, families and things… […] So my feelings is so dual. One is of extreme sadness and the one of hope. But hope is not such a big word for me at the moment, because it is more negative than positive. And I don't also want to buy into it, because Ashleigh, I want to live now ((says emphatically)). But every time you get pulled back.*

Hadiya notes that her feelings toward District Six are ambivalent: one the one hand, she still mourns the loss of that rich sense of community of the old District Six; one the other hand, she is hopeful for a brighter future in the community. However, her hopes too are defeated by the many hurdles experienced in the community today. Therefore, Hadiya's expresses a more negative affect to District Six. Hadiya's sentiments thus suggest experiences of a negative sense of place. Negative sense of place can develop when many qualities of a place contradict, fail to meet people's needs, and/or make them wish to leave the place (Kudryavtsev et al., 2012 as cited in Shamai, 2018). In line with Hadiya's sentiments, Sharon described her experiences of a negative sense of place more overtly:

> *[…] I'm not coping here. You wake up in the morning and you feel very tired, exhausted. We walked into a spiritual dimension that none of us were prepared for. None of us. […] Like when I go to the West Coast and quite a few of the people that I know there, I always say to them, "It's such a pleasing feeling if you can just walk and look at the ocean or not feel angry." I feel very angry here. I feel very unhappy here.*

Sharon's sentiments suggests that her attachment to District Six has been defeated by the many present-day challenges experienced in the community. She thus has no positive affect to District Six. The only positive association she has to District Six is the mountain, as she explains:

> *[…] The only beauty here is the mountain. […] I only enjoy the mountain, that's what I enjoy. It honestly is the mountain because I know that. You know, even when we. I was at Holy Cross Primary. So, when walking from Holy Cross Primary, we had to walk all the way up, Corbin Road all the way and… Wow, upper Constitution Street, then into Smart Street, but the, it was always looking at the mountain. And the wind. And that to me is the two natural aspects. One is symbolic; it's the mountain, very sacred and then the wind. The howling, the wind, the wind because it just has a different sound here and the force of the wind is very different and that. But everything else...*

Sharon is able to associate a positive meaning to District Six solely because of her positive memory association to the natural environment. She has thus only been able to reconnect with District Six

through her reconnection with the natural environment but underscores that nothing else makes her happy in the area, she thus has a largely negative affect to District Six.

Figure 16: District Six today (Source:
https://lh5.googleusercontent.com/p/AF1QipOzhRn_mZLAMo8VwkPFOBu5pkcFX3giMThq-maT=w243-h174-n-k-no-nu)

Figure 16 above depicts the resettled District Six today. It depicts the community's resettlement at the foot of the mountain. The image also depicts some of three and two-story restitution units, the tarred roads, as well social infrastructure such as the playground park. In the backdrop of the image is Table Mountain.

7.7 Chapter Summary

The returnees of District Six were very euphoric to return to the home where they felt they belong. This euphoria has however faded amongst many of them when they experienced the myriad flaws and shortcomings in the restitution plan. As a result, re-claiming a sense of place in District Six has been an incredibly difficult task for them. This chapter has explored the various elements that have and are contributing to this outcome. However, for most participants, their attachment to District Six still exists, due to roots, memories, emotional ties, and a return to the natural and physical environment, albeit somewhat weakened due to present-day challenges in the community and a lost sense of community. For others, their sentiments towards District Six are dual as roots, memories,

emotional ties, and the return to the natural and physical environment of District Six is simply not enough to reclaim their sense of place. And then for some, their sentiments towards District Six are overtly negative due to their lived experiences being fraught with challenges in District Six. They yearn to be in a place that fulfils both their emotional and physical needs in order to feel at home, as these needs are not currently met in District Six. Experiences of home, community and place in District Six are thus complex and sundry which thus problematises the answer to the question of whether the returnee community has been able to reclaim a sense of place in the re-settled District Six today.These findings are further discussed in the final chapter of the study.

Chapter 8

Re-claiming a sense of place

This study set out to assess sense of place amongst returnees of District Six, Cape Town. Three objectives were used to guide this assessment: to assess the role of environmental, social and cultural factors in reconstituting a sense of place amongst the returnees; to assess the role of memory in reconstituting a sense of place amongst the returnees; and finally, to evaluate the integration of returnees' sense of place into land restitution and urban re-development processes. The study adopted a qualitative research methodology approach using the phenomenological/interpretivist approach. The qualitive methods used were semi-structured interviews, photo-elicitation interviews, and fieldnotes. These methods allowed for an in-depth exploration of the returnees' experiences of a sense of place in the re-settled District Six. Overall, the study sought to fill the research gap which lie in the understanding of whether the returnee community of District Six has been able to re-claim a sense of place in the re-settled District Six.

Chapter Five explored the findings related to the participants' memories of living in District Six, more specifically, memories of a sense of community, before the forced removals. These findings revealed that the community had a strong sense of community comprising various kinships that acted to keep the community knitted together. More importantly, it revealed how the community lived together as a family, which acted to shape their sense of community. The community also enjoyed a significantly stable life in District Six that was mediated through both the built environment and social networks. These findings were thus significant in contextualizing the degree of rupture experienced in the residents' sense of place when they were forcibly relocated and their present-day effort in re-claiming a sense of place in the re-settled District Six.

Chapter Six explored memories of experiences of the trauma of displacement for the District Six community during apartheid. These findings revealed how the community's sense of place was ruptured when they were displaced and scattered to the Cape Flats. This rupture in a sense of place comprised a loss of property, social relationships, landmarks, places, comfort, customs, activities, etc. This rupture also comprised experiences of place alienation amongst the residents on the Cape Flats that arose from being forced to commence an uprooted life, dislocated from family and friends, in unfavourable and unknown social and physical environments amongst displaced residents from other affected communities. Most poignantly, they had lost a sense of belonging when they were forcibly relocated which rendered these experiences immensely traumatic. Their emplacement on the Cape

Flats amongst displaced residents from other affected communities appeared to be the cause of the residents of District Six losing their sense of community identity. In sum, this rupture has rendered the present-day process of re-membering the District Six community considerably difficult.

Chapter Seven explored the findings related to the present-day lived experiences of the returnees in District Six, more specifically, the restitution and return of claimants and their subsequent effort of re-creating a sense of place in the re-settled District Six. These findings revealed that the return to District Six has been fraught with issues with only a few positive experiences. The returnees are facing a substandard physical environment, a socially-ill plagued social environment, a lost sense of community, a painfully slow re-membering of their community due to various prohibiting elements, and a nuanced, dynamic, and complicated new sense of place. In light of their present-day lived experiences being fraught with challenges and difficulties, these findings also revealed that some of the returnees are striving to improve their lived experiences in the community in an effort to re-claim a sense of place. This thus indicates the presence of place attachment amongst some returnees. However, the returnees new sense of place remains complex.

Re-claiming a sense of place in the re-settled District Six is thus complicated because the return to District Six is complicated. It is complicated by the memories, the displacement, and the return that is mediated by a flawed social and physical environment, a lost sense of community, and restitutional flaws. Memories of living in District Six, although positive, are difficult to live with because they exist in the returnees' minds in stark contrast to the present that is complicated and problematic in so many ways. Reconciling with the past is thus difficult for the returnees because in many ways today, they still feel deeply dispossessed of a place called home. Memories are thus complicating the process of re-claiming a sense of place in District Six. Furthermore, the forced relocations were colossally traumatic for the District Six community because they were involuntarily dispossessed of a home that was more than just a physical entity but was infused with symbolic significance and which represented a stable place. The forced relocations thus resulted in considerable psychological impacts on the community. The trajectory of the lives of District Six residents has been rendered even further problematic by the return to District Six, which is complicated in so many ways. Thus for many, the reality of the re-settled District Six is painful. Some returnees are therefore re-claiming their sense of place through holding on to the memories and are grateful for the opportunity to have returned to their physical place called home. For others, memories and a return to the physical and natural environment are simply not enough to re-claim a sense of place. They cannot reconcile with the past because the present does not enable them to do so as it is fraught with experiences and elements that are robbing them from feeling at home again.

Putting back a community, in their place of origin, after inflicting trauma of forced displacement upon them is not a straightforward reconciliation task. The findings of this study thus align with Habib (1996) and Al-Ali and Koser (2002 as cited in Murcia, 2020), who argue that the loss of home may be so profound for some displaced persons that they may never feel at home again, whether in their places of origin or elsewhere. The rupture in the community's sense of place, caused by the trauma of displacement, was too significant for the residents because they had experienced, in the pre-apartheid District Six, what Relph (1976) refers to as an 'authentic sense of place' which involves a sense of belonging which was mediated by the District Six 'family'. As a result, their sense of community, sense of belonging, and place identities had eroded and were lost during the residents' emplacement years on the Cape Flats where they were forced to create new lives and new place identities with new communities. A lost sense of community identity has rendered the process to rebuild evidently difficult. Claimants have now returned being unable to identify with one another which has hindered their ability to rebuild. However, the displacement and emplacement of the community are not the only factors hindering the returnee community from rebuilding. Restitutional flaws in the new physical and social environment, including the dilatory return of claimants, the youth, the non-claimant residents, politics, and gentrification processes, are too problematizing the effort to re-claim a sense of place.

In light of the mostly negative present-day lived experiences of the returnees revealed in this study, the findings however evidence some silver linings. These refer to the commitment of some returnees to eradicate the present-day negative elements and rebuild, and the tenacity of many to re-claim their sense of place through memories and their re-settlement in District Six. Unfortunately, for others, recognising their roots, ties, memories in District Six and the return to a new life there is not enough. For these returnees, their reality will remain painful as they reluctantly accept it. However, the reclamation of a sense of place can be shattered if the physical and social environment continue to deteriorate. Like the crumbling of the former District Six, building a new sense of place is threatened by a host of factors, including: the return of other claimants becoming more and more dilatory; the return of more young beneficiaries instead of elderly claimants; the burgeoning occupancy of non-claimant residents and their deepening contribution to the social ills in the community; the persistent turmoil and tensions caused by politics; the persistent impacts from gentrification; and the indifference amongst returnees to play their part in rebuilding. This can thus lead to the thriving of a negative sense of place in the re-settled District Six. The results of this study support the contention that in order to be successful, the restitution plan of District Six must be improved and executed more justly and considerately to enable the returnee community to re-claim a stronger sense of place in District Six.

Using the example from District Six, the findings from this study contribute to the theorisation of 'place' as a relational concept. A relational view of place (Hubbard *et al.* 2002) contends that places are not merely enclosed territorial structures but are formed, and are found in social, economic, political and historical contexts, which in turn they help to shape. Places are therefore conceptualised as extremely intricate structures that are located within and shaped by forces surpassing their own ideological confines. This also means that places should not be rendered romantically as pre-political structures but that they are influenced by commonly institutional forces and social relationships (Hubbard *et al.*, 2002). The sense of place of District Six has been shaped and experienced through at least seven generations beginning with the emancipations of slaves. The forced removals and dispersion of communities thus transcend physical demolitions (Western, 1981 as cited in Dewar, 2001). The return to District Six has marked the start of a new era for the returnee community. As Massey (1995) assert, places are relational and contingent, lived and viewed disparately amongst people – they are plenty, contested, evolving and unpredictable rather than bounded territorial structures.

The struggle for home and a new sense of place amongst returnees of District Six is incomplete. The findings of this study have evidenced that their relational geographies are complex, multiple and ever-evolving. In the end, the complex renderings of place in District Six are composed of memories and meaning-making from the past and present. And District Six as a space, place and 'home' is infused with infinite meanings, and always in a state of becoming.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethics Clearance Letter

UNIVERSITY *of the* **WESTERN CAPE**

60 YEARS *of hope, action & knowledge*

24 November 2020

Ms AG Burgess
Geography, Environmental Studies and Tourism
Faculty of Arts and Humanities

Ethics Reference Number: HS20/9/4

Project Title: Assessing sense of place amongst returnees of District Six, Cape Town.

Approval Period: 29 October 2020 – 29 October 2023

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval.

Please remember to submit a progress report by 30 November each year for the duration of the project.

The permission to conduct the study must be submitted to HSSREC for record keeping purposes.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse event and/or termination of the study.

Ms Patricia Josias
Research Ethics Committee Officer
University of the Western Cape

NHREC Registration Number: HSSREC-130416-049

FROM HOPE TO ACTION THROUGH KNOWLEDGE.

Appendix B: Research Information Sheets

English Research Information Sheet

Research Information Sheet

Project Title: Assessing sense of place amongst returnees of District Six, Cape Town.

Description of study:

This study seeks to investigate how the reclaimants have to rebuild a sense of place (an emotional attachment) or rebuild community in District Six where only the non-physical memories still live on. The study also seeks to investigate how gentrification in the surrounding inner city of Cape Town is affecting the working-class reclaimaints of District Six, more specifically their sense of place.

Role of participants:

➤ Answer questions (at your own choice) in whichever manner is preferred.

➤ Share stories on lived experiences in District Six from your own experience.

➤ Feel comfortable knowing that your identity will be protected.

Confidentiality and protection of participants: In order to ensure and protect anonymity of the participants, the name and surname of participants will be changed upon request and pseudonyms will be used in all my research findings, oral presentations, the final submitted dissertation and any subsequent publication. All data will be secured digitally in a password-protected drive and/or manually in a locked drawer.

There are no physical, psychological, social, economic, legal or loss of confidentiality risks attached to the study.

Further questions?

If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact the researcher:

Ms Ashleigh Burgess
Department of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism
University of the Western Cape
Cell: 0740729366
Email: 4010582@myuwc.ac.za

Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant; if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study; or wish to withdraw from the study, please contact the researcher's supervisors:

Dr Bradley Rink
Dept of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism
University of the Western Cape
Tel: 021 959 2626 / 082 713 8223
Email: brink@uwc.ac.za

Prof Shirley Brooks
Dept of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism
University of the Western Cape
Tel: 021 959 2626 / 082 713 8223
Email: sbrooks@uwc.ac.za

For further information or queries, you may contact the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, Research Development, Tel: 021 959 4111, Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

NB: This information sheet is also available in other languages upon request

Department of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism (HOD: Dr Mark Boekstein)
140 Old Arts, University of the Western Cape, Robert Sobukwe Road, Belville 7535, Republic of South Africa
Tel: 021 959 2421 / Email: lplaatjies@uwc.ac.za

Afrikaans Research Information Sheet

Navorsing Inligting Vorm

Projek Titel: Assessing sense of place amongst returnees of District Six, Cape Town

Beskrywing van studie:

Die studie probeer ondersoek hoe herbou die herindreders 'n 'sense of place' ('n emosionele verband) en/of gemeenskap in Distrik Ses waar net die ontasbare herinneringe nog aan leef. Die studie probeer ook ondersoek hoe gentrifikasie in die omliggende innerlike stad van Kaap-stad die werkersklas herindreders van Distrik Ses invloed, meer spesifiek, hulle 'sense of place'.

Rol van deelnemers:

➤ Beantwoord vrae (met jou eie keuse) in wat ook eel manier is voorkeur.
➤ Aandeel stories van lewens ervare in Distrik Ses van jou eie ervarings.
➤ Voel gemak wetende u se identiteit word beskerm.

Vertroulikheid en beskerming van deelnermers: Om die anonimiteit van die deelnemers te verseker en beskerm, die naam en van van die deeknemers sal verander word op versoek en skuilname sal gebruik word in al my navorsing bevindings, mondelinge aanbiedings, die finale voorgelê verhandeling en enige daaropvolgende publikasie. Al die invormasie sal digitaal beskerm word met 'n wagwoord-beskerm 'drive' en/of toegeluit in 'n laai.

Daar is geen fisiese, sielkundige, sosiale, ekonomiese, wettig of verlies van vertroulikheid risiko's aangeheg na die studie.

Verder vrae?

As u enige vrae het oor die navorsing studie, kontak asseblief die navorser:

Ms Ashleigh Burgess
Department of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism
University of the Western Cape
Cell: 0740729366
Email: 4010582@myuwc.ac.za

Indien u enige vrae het betrokke die studie en u se regte as 'n navorsing deelnemer; as u wens om enige probleme wat u ervaar het betrokke die studie; of wens om te onttrek van die studie, kontak asseblief die navorser se toesighouers:

Dr Bradley Rink
Dept of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism
University of the Western Cape
Tel: 021 959 2626 / 082 713 8223
Email: brink@uwc.ac.za

Prof Shirley Brooks
Dept of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism
University of the Western Cape
Tel: 021 959 2626 / 082 713 8223
Email: sbrooks@uwc.ac.za

Vir verder inligtig of navrae, u kan die Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, Research Development, Tel: 021 959 4111, Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

NB: Die inligting vorm is ook beskikbaar in ander tale op versoek

Department of Geography, Environmental Studies & Tourism (HOD: Dr Mark Boekstein)
140 Old Arts, University of the Western Cape, Robert Sobukwe Road, Belville 7535, Republic of South Africa
Tel: 021 959 2421 / Email: lplaatjies@uwc.ac.za

Appendix C: Consent Forms

English Consent Form

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

60 YEARS
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Consent Form

Research Project Title: Assessing sense of place amongst returnees of District Six, Cape Town

Researcher: Ashleigh Burgess

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition,   should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. If I wish to withdraw I may contact the lead researcher, supervisor or HOD at any time.

3. I understand my responses and personal data will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the reports or publications that result for the research.

4. As a participant of the discussion, I will not discuss or divulge information shared by others in the group or the researcher outside of this group.

5. I give consent to audio and video recording.

6. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.

7. I agree for to take part in the above research project.

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
(*or legal representative*)		

Name of person taking consent	Date	Signature
(If different from lead researcher)		

Lead Researcher	Date	Signature
(*To be signed and dated in presence of the participant*)		

Copies: All participants will receive a copy of the signed and dated version of the consent form and information sheet for themselves. A copy of this will be filed and kept in a secure location for research purposes only.

Researcher: Ms Ashleigh Burgess	Supervisors:	Head of Department:
Student no.: 4010582	Dr Bradley Rink	Dr Mark Boekstein
E-mail address: 4010582@myuwc.ac.za	brink@uwc.ac.za	mboekstein@uwc.ac.za
Mobile no. 0740729366		
	Prof Shirley Brooks:	
	sbrooks@uwc.ac.za	

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Afrikaans Consent Form

Toestemming Vorm

Projek Titel: Assessing sense of place amongst returnees of District Six, Cape Town

Navorser: Ashleigh Burgess

Voltooi volgende blokke asseblief met voorletters

1. Ek bevestig dat ek die inligting vorm gelees en verstaan het wat die bogenoemde navorsing studie verduidelik en dat ek die geleentheid gehad het om vrae te vra oor die projek ☐

2. Ek verstaan dat my deelname vrywillig is en dat ek vry is om enige tyd te onttrek sonder om enige rede to gee en sonders dat daar enige negatiewe gevolge sal wees. Boonop, indien ek nie wens om enige spesifieke vraag of vrae te beantwoord nie, is ek vry om nie so te doen nie. As ek wens om te onttrek, kan ek die voorsprong, toesighouer of HOD kontak op enige oomblik. ☐

3. Ek verstaan dat my antwoorde en persoonlike inligting sal strengliks vertroulik gehou word. Ek gee toestemming vir die lede van die navorsing span om toegang te kry na my anoniem antwoorde. Ek verstaan dat my naam nie sal gekoppel word met navorsing materiaal nie, en dat ek nie geidentifiseer of identifiseerbaar sal wees nie in die verslae of publikasies wat resultaat vir die navorsing. ☐

4. As 'n deelnemer van die bespreking, sal ek nie inligting wat gedeel word deur anders in die groep of buite die navorsing group, bespreek of openbaar nie. ☐

5. Ek gee toestemming na klanke en video opname. ☐

6. Ek stem saam vir die ingesamelde gegewens van my om in toekomstige navorsing te gebruik. ☐

7. Ek stem saam om deel te neem in bogenoemde navorsing projek. ☐

_____ _____ _____
Naam van Deelnemer   Datum   Handtekening
(*of wettige* verteenwoordiger)

_____ _____ _____
Naam van persoon wat   Datum   Handtekening
toestemming neem (as anders van voorsprong navorser)

_____ _____ _____
Voorsprong Navorser   Datum   Handtekening
(Onderteken en gedateer in teenwoordigheid van die deelnemer)

Afskrifte: Alle deelnemers sal 'n afskrif van die ondertekende en gedateerde weergawe van die toestemmingsvorm en inligtingsblad vir hulself ontvang. 'n Afskrif daaravn sal slegs vir navorsingsdoeleindes op 'n veilige plek geliasseer en bewaar word.

Researcher: Ms Ashleigh Burgess
Student no.: 4010582
E-mail address: 4010582@myuwc.ac.za
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Appendix D: Interview Schedule

English Interview Schedule

Semi-structured open-ended interview schedule for the study *Assessing sense of place amongst returnees of District Six, Cape Town*

Semi-structured interviews conducted in either English and/or Afrikaans with research participants will form the principle basis of data collection. Interviews will be guided by a list of open-ended questions following content areas as described below. These questions are based on individual participants' experiences and/or reflection on photographs, cultural artifacts and/or documents. Therefore, not all questions can be clearly established beforehand, as they may change as the study progresses or new ideas emerge. Below are a sample prompts for open-ended questions which may be used in the collection of qualitative data:

Semi-structured open-ended interview questions?

1. How long are you living here as a returnee/reclaimant of District Six?
2. What are your beliefs about and feelings toward District Six?
3. How would you describe the social connections/relations in District Six?
4. What are the values you tie to this place?
5. How would you describe the security and stability in District Six?
6. What does this place enable you to do?
7. How do memories of yourself in District Six shape your experiences and feelings toward District Six in the present?
8. How do you feel about the gentrification in the surrounding area

Photo elicitation prompts

As participants narrate the 'text' of photographs and/or cultural artefacts, the following prompts are intended to assist in unpacking memories and meaning-making from the past. The researcher can then connect those narrations to the present in order to explore memory and meaning-making.

1. Describe what appears in the image(s)
2. Explain the meaning(s) of elements in the image(s)
3. What memories/beliefs/values or attitudes does the image convey?
4. What were your feelings toward District Six at the time the image was taken?
5. What are your feelings toward District Six now?

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING!

Afrikaans Interview Schedule

Afrikaans Semi-struktuur ope-ondervragingsvrae vir die studie *Assessing sense of place amongst returnees of District Six, Cape Town*

Semi-struktuur ope-ondervragingsvrae:

1. Hoe lank woon u hier as 'n herindreder van Distrik Ses?
2. Wat is u se sienwyse oor en gevoelens teenoor Distrik Ses?
3. Hoe sal u die sosiale verbindings beskryf in Distrik Ses?
4. Wat is die waardes wat u verbind na die plek?
5. Hoe sal u die sekuriteit en stabilitiet beskryf in Distrik Ses?
6. Wat laat die plek u toe om te doen?
7. Hoe vorm herinneringe van u in Distrik Ses u se ervarings in en gevoelens teenoor Distrik Ses vandag?
8. Hoe voel u oor die gentrifikasie in die omliggende gebied?

Foto-elisitering   aanwysings:

1. Beskryf wat in die foto('s) verskyn
2. Verduidelik die elemente van betekenis in die foto('s)
3. Watter herinneringe/sienwyse/waardes of houdings aanskou die foto?
4. Wat was u se gevoelens teenoor Distrik Ses toe die foto geneem was?
5. Wat is u se gevoelens teenoor Distrik Ses nou?

DANKIE VIR U DEELNAME!