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Department of Linguistics

Discourse analysis of narratives of Malay heritage in gentrified Bo-Kaap, Cape
Town

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DECLARATION

I, Samera Albghil declare that this research report is my own work and that I have not employed any means of plagiarism. I have duly acknowledged all my references. This is being submitted for the completion of the MA of Linguistic by research report at the University of Western Cape (U.W.C) and has not been submitted for any degree or examination at another institution.

Samera Albghil



ABSTRACT

Bo-Kaap (BK) is a neighbourhood in Cape Town which has long been home to a predominantly Muslim community with deep ties to the area's colonial and slave history. In recent years, BK has become a hotbed for developers investing in property in Cape Town. Due to its sought-after location (close to Cape Town's CBD), a flurry of interest in property development has ushered in an important turn in BK's history and has begun changing the landscape of the neighbourhood. Important for this study is how BK residents grapple with the influx of rapid gentrification whilst trying to maintain their 'Malay' heritage.

Historically, BK was known as a 'Malay Quarter' and had a distinctive 'Malay' identity¹ constructed under apartheid legislation. It is this identity and concomitant Malay heritage which is of particular interest in this study. Under the continued threat of wholesale gentrification and arguably a loss of the rich history of early Muslims of the Cape this study hopes to investigate how community members who self-identify as 'Malay' signal their legitimacy to the area when discussing the fast pace of gentrification in the area. Notably, variations of BK's Malay heritage have been documented over time. These works nonetheless point to the complex relationship between the documented/historicized construction of Malay heritage and the *lived experience* of having a Malay identity. Casting aside the notion of any homogenous Malay identity, this study opts to explore the manner in which a Malay identity is claimed and constructed discursively as legitimate discourse strategies against gentrification. This study adopts an ethnographic approach to studying narratives of Malay heritage in BK obtained through purposive sampling. A Discourse Analysis of narratives of heritage in BK is undertaken to draw attention to the discursive strategies employed by self-identified 'Malay' community members in the area.

Keywords: Bo-Kaap, Heritage, Discourse Analysis, Malay, Identity, Islam, gentrification, narrative.

¹Note that heritage and identity are not used interchangeably in this study. Heritage refers to the Malay practices that are handed down from the past by tradition, while identity refers to individual characteristics by which an individual ascribes.

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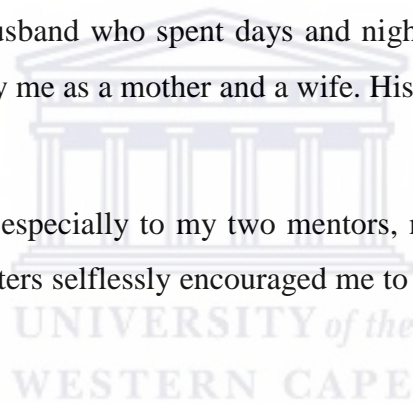


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ABBREVIATIONS

BCA	Bo-Kaap Civic Association
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BK	Bo-Kaap
CBD	Central Business District
CCI	Central City Improvement
CTP	Cape Town Partnership
DA	Discourse Analysis
DEIC	Dutch East India Company
DHA	Discourse Historical Approach
GAA	Group Areas Act
GCI	Getty Conservation Institution's
HWC	Heritage Western Cape
ICP	International Centre for the Preservation
OCP	off Cultural Property
ICMS	International Commission on Monuments and Sites
SAHRA	South Africa Heritage Resources Agency
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
URA	Urban Redevelopment Authority

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Adhan (is the Islamic call to worship).

Adhkār (spiritual remembrances)

Afwan (you are welcome).

Asl (foundation).

Awliyā (friends of Allah).

Bakkie (a small vehicle with an open part at the back in which goods can be carried).

Bayaan-diyān (an explication of the religion).

Blatjang (sauce).

Boeta (Brother).

DeVryzwaren' (Free Black) community.

Iftar (The meal eaten by Muslims after sunset during Ramadan).

Jadda (grandmother).

Janazah (Islamic funeral prayer).

JazaakAllah (An Islamic expression of gratitude meaning "May Allah reward you")

Jumung (toilet).

Kabristan (cemetery).

Kanallah (means please).

Kanaladorp (a mixture of Malay and Dutch that referred to people assisting each other, means "If you please").

Khutbah Jumoa (Religious narration (including sermons)).

Kombuis (Kitchen).

Labarang (Wooden ablution shoes).

Langaars (prayer rooms).

Maaf (pardon).

Madressah (Muslim school).

Mahabbah (love).

Masjid (mosque).

'Moulood'celebration of the Prophet's birthday, which is held on the twelfth day of the Muslim month of Rabi-ul-auwal).

(Rabi-al-Awwal) (the third lunar month in the Islamic calendar).

"Rampies" (orange leaves are cut into small strips, gathered together and scented with rose oil, bits of the cuttings are then folded into a paper to form little sachets called **"rampies"**).

Rampie-sny (part of the celebration of the Prophet's birthday).

Ruwayats of Brazanzi (a very musical exposition of the of the prophet).

Sheikh (A leader in a Muslim community).

Shukran (Thank you).

Slamatdjalen (means a good journey to you).

"SlamseBuurt" (the Muslim neighbourhood).

Tawaf (The ritual of performing seven circumambulations of the Kaaba as part of the haj to Mecca).

TerimaKasin (means Thank you).

Thikr (spiritual remembrances).

Tocolosh (Malay tricks).

Etymology

Adhan has Arabic origin and it means the Islamic call to worship.

Adhkār has Arabic origin and it means spiritual remembrances.

Afwan has Arabic origin and it means you are welcome.

Asl has Arabic origin and it means foundation.

Awliya has Arabic origin and it means friends of Allah.

Bakkies has Afrikaans origin and it means a small vehicle with an open part at the back in which goods can be carried.

Bayaan-diyn has Arabic origin and it means an explication of the religion.

Blatjang has Malay origin and it means a sauce.

Boeta has Afrikaans origin and it means Brother.

De Vryezwarten has a Chinese name (*T'Sineko F'jamboy*) and it means Free Black community.

Ifter has Arabic origin and it means the meal eaten by Muslims after sunset during *Ramadan*.

Jadda has Arabic origin and it means grandmother.

Jamaah has Arabic origin and it means congregation.

Janazah has Arabic origin and it means Islamic funeral prayer.

JazaakAllah has Arabic origin and it means an Islamic expression of gratitude meaning “May Allah reward you”

Jumung has Malay origin and it means toilet.

Kabristan has Hindi origin and it means cemetery.

Kanallah has Malay origin and it means please.

Kanaladorp has Malay origin, a mixture of Malay and Dutch, it means in English that people assisting each other, means “If you please”.

Kombuis has Afrikaans origin and it means Kitchen.

Khutbah Jumoa has Arabic origin and it means a religious narration including sermons.

Labarang has Malay origin and means Wooden ablution shoes.

Langaars has Persian origin and means prayer rooms.

Maaf has Indonesian origin and means pardon.

Madressah has Arabic origin and means Muslim school.

Mahabbah has Arabic origin and means love.

Masjid has Arabic origin and means mosque.

Moulood has Arabic origin and means a celebration of the Prophet's birthday, which is held on the twelfth day of the Muslim month of *Rabi-al-auwal*.

Piesang has standard Afrikaans originates from the Malay word "*pesang*" and means in banana.

Rabi-al-Awwal has Arabic origin and means the third lunar month in the Islamic calendar.

Sny has Afrikaans origin and means cut.

Rampies has Indonesian origin and means orange leaves are cut into small strips, gathered together and scented with rose oil, bits of the cuttings are then folded into a paper to form little sachets called "*rampies*".

Ruwayatsof Brazanzi has Arabic origin and means a very musical exposition of the of the prophet.

Slamat djalen has Malay origin and means a good journey to you.

"Slamse Buurt" has Indonesian origin and means the Muslim neighbourhood.

Sheikh has Arabic origin and means a leader in a Muslim community.

Shukran has Arabic origin and means thank you.

Tawaf has Arabic origin and means the ritual of performing seven circumambulations of the Kaaba as part of the haj to Mecca.

Terima kasin has Malay origin and means Thank you.

Tocolosh has Malay origin and means Malay tricks.

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Tourism, museums, architectural studies, books and food, together, promote a particular picture of Malay heritage in Bo-Kaap (BK). The tangible Malay heritage is visible in the mosques, architecture of buildings, and Tana Baru cemetery². Through some difficult periods, especially the late 1920s, BK has been architecturally threatened and the community has had to struggle to keep old buildings intact (Pistorius, 1998). Its a well-documented historical legacy, and has thus been declared a national heritage site by the Apartheid regime and also under the new dispensation (Hafstein, 2009). However, recent developments in the property market of the neighbourhood have tended to affect the identity of the neighbourhood, where a large number of housing units have undergone renovation and upgrade. As a result, property prices have increased dramatically, a situation that has resulted in pushbacks from community leaders and religious groups of BK, who are in constant battle to preserve the neighbourhood's cultural identity (Donaldson, Kotze, Visser, Park, Wally, Zen and Vieyra, 2012).

Research findings by Davids (1980), show that 'Malay' is a term associated with slavery and within the context of the Cape, dates as far back as the 18th and early 19th centuries. Malays, slaves, came from different places such as Madagascar, East Africa, North Africa, Yeman, India, Indonesia and Malaysia. This phenomenon led to the creation of a seemingly homogenous 'Malay' identity in the Cape. During the late 1700s, the term 'Malay' became widely used by the Dutch authorities. The term 'Malay' refers to coloureds of Muslims faith who were descendants of slaves from South and Southeast Asia. In the early 1800s, Islam was introduced to the Western Cape with labourers from the Moluccas and political prisoners from Indonesia (Davids, 1980). Davids argues that the Malay Quarter, now known as BK, has always been a racially and culturally diverse community and was initially home to slaves of Malay or Javanese descent. After slavery was abolished in 1834, many freed slaves made the area their home. Consequently, the BK community soon became a hotbed for Islamic teachings. The reason for this is that the religion was attractive to former slaves, who rejected the Christian faith of the British and the Dutch. For them, Islam offered them a community and a sense of belonging. Unsurprisingly, mosques are the most important institutions in the development of the Muslim community. Not only were these mosques places of prayer, they

² (Tana Baru cemetery is the oldest Muslim cemetery in Cape Town and the only historical cemetery in South Africa. The name Tana Baru is derived from Malay or Malayu. It has its origins in the involuntary migration of slaves from India, East Indias, Africa, Ceylon and Malaya to the Cape).

became centers for community organization because when the Dutch placed severe restriction on the religious practices of the Muslims at the Cape, Muslims converted rooms in their residential homes into prayer rooms. This gave Muslims a place to meet together and worship (Davids, 1980). Notably, in BK, there are eleven mosques which show the continued vibrancy of the Malay heritage. Another aspect of the Malay culture is found in the delectable food and savouries³(Davids, 1980). The term ‘Malay’ may be controversial (see Du Plessis (2014) for contentious and arguably over homogenizing of the Malay identity. This study does not focus on the veracity of this identity, but rather the manner in which it is drawn upon as part of discursive strategies to legitimize belonging to BK.

BK as a research site

According to Tichmann, the area of BK was mainly populated by Muslims in the middle of the nineteenth century and was considered the home of the Cape Malays who were allowed to freely practice their religion after emancipation in the 1830s. This eventually led to the construction of a local religious school called a ‘*madrasah*’ (Islamic school) and was later established as a Mosque, known now as the Dorp (Afrikaans word for Town) Street Mosque (*Al-awal*⁴mosque). These were the first religious institutions of the Cape Muslims, established to maintain their religious and social practices (Jeppie, 2001). It is also considered an important landmark on the landscape.

But BK is changing, due in large part to a demand for prime real estate in the Central Business District (CBD) of Cape Town. This has made BK an attractive real estate opportunity to investors, both local and foreign. Known for its famous cobbled streets, brightly coloured houses and homely atmosphere, in addition to relatively low house prices compared with other parts of the CBD, BK is especially attractive to investors wishing to be close to the city centre as well as young creative types. For example, musicians, artists are amongst those who are attracted to the bohemian atmosphere and colourful buildings. At the same time, it has been observed that many long-standing Muslim residents have begun selling their homes to investors because of rising rates which in turn, is making it difficult for them to live in BK because they cannot afford the rising property rates. The trend is then to sell their homes for often a paltry sum and move to cheaper suburbs away from the city centre (Jeppie, 2001).

³ (of food) belonging to the category that is salty or spicy rather than sweet.

⁴*Al-awal* is Arabic word means the first.

1.2 Gentrification Impetus in BK

Cape Town has many tourist attractions, such as Table Mountain and Robben Island. Furthermore, Dutch colonial urban architecture in BK, its mosques and slavery, played a central role in the construction of the BK heritage (Gopper, 2014).

As indicated earlier, BK is changing mainly due to demand for prime real estate in the Central Business District (CBD). As a consequence, BK has become enormously gentrified, as its distinct environment, colourful architecture and close proximity to the CBD has attracted many wealthy investors. Furthermore, gentrification is typically the result of increased interest in a certain environment (Donaldson et al., 2012).

The last remaining inner-city neighbourhood of Cape Town, the BK, has not yet been completely gentrified but appears to be succumbing to this process. The outcome is a neighbourhood which is in an economic and social flux that is challenging the coherence of the once “indigenous” community (Reitzema, 2015).

Of interest to this study are discourses and narratives to new homeowners either converting houses to lodges, coffee shops or restaurants. The other issue relates to discourses/narratives the original ‘traditional’ versus the ‘modern’ landscape of BK, as well as the pricing of properties (Reitzema, 2015).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

While gentrification has clear advantages for developers and investors, the challenges for many residents are both financial and social. Gentrification is defined as the process where higher income households displace lower income inhabitants of a neighbourhood made changes in the character of the space (Lawrence, 2010).

An investigation into narratives of heritage and gentrification will give voice to the many homeowners who may not be able to afford the high rates which the area now has – directly due to gentrification. Bearing in mind that Muslim residents were essentially forced to live in a Malay Quarter during apartheid, the fact that they are now unable to live in the area which holds much religious and social relevance brings to bear the issue of ‘social welfare capitalism’ in relation to social cohesion. It also brings into play the importance (or the lack thereof) of the Muslim heritage in Cape Town.

In addition, modernization of structures is one of the most frequently stated problems that have posed a threat to the architectural integrity of the area; as a result, this study explores how the Malay heritage is drawn upon to signal legitimacy in the face of gentrification. Tour guides, museums, and property value have benefitted from the Malay heritage; however, the residents themselves are facing erasure in BK due to increased economic pressure.

1.4 Research aim

This study sought to investigate the discursive strategies employed by community members to contest the current gentrification practices. The specific objectives of the study are outlined in 1.4.1 below.

1.4.1 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of the study include the following:

- To investigate the intangible Malay heritage in BK as it is articulated in narratives of residents' memories of the neighbourhood.
- To investigate what challenges are discursively constructed in the narratives by BK residents for and against re-development of the area.
- To explore tangible history, physical objects and places of cultural significance as semiotic material in narrations of Cape Malay identity and heritage.
- To establish the role that language plays in the construction of a particular view of Malay heritage.

1.5 Research questions

This study is motivated by the following research questions:

- How do the participants articulate their Malay heritage as a form of legitimation against gentrification? What challenges are articulated by BK participants when discussing the development of the area? What are the tangible and intangible semiotics of cultural significance which emerged as especially tied to the Cape Malay identity? What is the role that language plays in the construction of a particular view of Malay heritage?

1.6 Heritage

Heritage differs from history in the sense that 'history' "is a concept of the past" (Scher, 2009). On the other hand, heritage refers more specifically to how contemporary societies

interpret and make sense of the past (Scher, 2009; emphasis added in italics). Artefacts which constitute the tangible heritage of an area or culture are usually things like monuments and important sites. Perhaps more exciting is the concept of ‘intangible heritage’, which refers to society’s use of cultural practice and deep roots, or what Scher (2009) refers to as ‘longevity of performance’. This includes traditional knowledge, folklore, arts, crafts, music, dress, cuisine, dance, sports, games, and so forth. Both tangible and intangible heritage are usually protected or preserved in some way (Scher, 2009). In the case of BK, the manner in which intangible histories are articulated may be in terms of kinship and memories, but may also manifest tangibly as food and dress.

The common sense assumption is that ‘heritage’ can be identified as ‘old grand, monumental and aesthetically pleasing sites, buildings, places and artefacts’. Smith (2009) argues that there is a hegemonic discourse about heritage, which acts to constitute the way people think, talk and write about heritage, and that this assumption could prove problematic. The rational notion of heritage has led to the naturalizing practice of taking the usual ‘artefacts’ to conserve and pass on to future generations (Smith, 2009; Scher, 2009).

Högberg (2012) has researched this idea of ‘authorized heritage discourse’ within the Swedish context. In the study signs, monuments and sites were analysed through the discourse practices they generated. Specifically, Hogberg (2012) focused on just how narratives are related to the signs in the physical environment. The result of the research was that less than half of the signs analysed showed discourse which had detailed information about the site, whilst more than half of them had inadequate information and risked excluding the majority of the people who read and saw them. This result showed that in Sweden, authorized heritage discourse in many ways still favoured the perspective of a white, middle-class male. This is especially important in BK, where Islamic heritage is obvious (Högberg, 2012: 1).

Bearing in mind that heritage refers to how societies interpret and make sense of the past, it is important to note that BK is one of the areas that was declared a heritage site, as it contains artefacts that make up the heritage of the area, such as the BK museum. Specifically, this museum indexes the genesis of Islam at the Cape, and Malay culture. The intangible heritage of BK includes longevity of traditional Malay arts, music and dance, like the Minstrel Carnival. Malay cuisine is evidence of the unique and particular Cape Malay identity. This authorized heritage is arguably protected and preserved from generation to generation, however in the face of gentrification, it will be important to ascertain what ‘authorised heritage’ discourse is preserved.

1.6.1 Malay Heritage

The population registration Act of 1950, divided South Africans into four race groups: whites, Indians, Africans and coloureds. As can be seen, Coloureds were further sub-divided into the Cape Malay. Other Coloureds, Khoi san, Bastards et al. 'Cape Malay' and were placed into the 'Cape Malay' category. They were defined as 'not a white person or a native. (Vahed, 2004). Notwithstanding this apartheid racial legislation, these racial identities have a much longer history which came about during colonial times.

The term 'Malay' refers to coloureds of Muslim faith who were descendants of slaves imported to the Cape from South and Southeast Asia. According to British and Dutch records, Malays were referred to 'Mohamedan, 'Malay', 'Mussulman' or coloured Muslims. They also were called by the derogatory term *slams*, which was unofficially named by British and Dutch, it was a corrupted form of 'Islam' (Vahed, 2004).

According to Jeppie (2001 cited in Vahed, 2004: 257) the Malay identity was constituted from 1920 as a result of the work Du Plessis (1944), who isolated coloured Muslims from the broader coloured community as a separate race i.e. Malay (Vahed, 2004). This practice was consistent with the 'divide and conquer' framework of apartheid and Du Plessis himself was known as the 'inventor of the Malay identity' (Vahed, 2004).

Haron, 2001 (cited in Vahed, 2004: 258) suggested that during the nineteenth century, coloured Muslims were preferred by Colonial authorities because these Muslims did not drink and were hard working. They were 'different' from other coloured groups, because of their religious and cultural traditions (Vahed, 2004). This elevated the status of this group which also played into the hierarchization of races to ensure that difference is emphasized and there would then be less chance of a unified revolt against the government. Since the early 19th century, the term 'Malay' became widely used by the Dutch authorities in order to describe Muslims and anyone who was not from Bantu and European descent. However, during the 19th century, there were differences between Malays and Coloureds as two distinct groups, which led to a distinction between Malay identity and coloured identity. Later, the Malay identity became subsumed under a broader coloured identity (Davids, 1980), but still retained its unique differentiating features – tied notably to religion (Islam) and place (BK).

What is distinctive is that this community was referred to as the Boughies as they spoke and wrote Buginese in the 18th century in Cape Town. The Boughies are found in the south-western limb of the Celebes (Davids, 2011).

In relation to 'Cape Malay', it is very important to note that Cape Malay includes all aspects of their religious (Islamic) identity in terms of their adherence to certain doctrinal traditions, legal traditions, cultural-linguistic traditions and finally their spiritual traditions. They impact on the Islamic education on Cape Muslim identity that was established by Tuan Guru in the late eighteenth century. All of these were linked to their origins, which have mainly been rooted, among others, in Malay-Indonesian Islam. In 1793, after Tuan Guru was released from prison on Robben Island, he started the Dorp Street Islamic Missionary School (*Madrasah*). This was the first institutionalized Islamic Missionary School established in Cape Town. Tuan Guru's teachings impacted greatly on Islam at the Cape, forming the basis for a Cape Muslim identity. As indicated that Islamic school was not just popular among Muslim slaves, but also attracted non-Muslim slaves (Baker, 2009). An argument can thus be made that the 'Cape Malay' group was instead made up of many slaves hailing from places such as India and Madagascar which would make the description of 'Cape Malay' somewhat of a misnomer. However, it is clear that this connection is very important to the contemporary generation of Muslims hailing from BK.

The cultural-religious practices have played a significant role to preserve the identity of the Cape Muslims. There are many cultural practices prevalent among the Muslims at the Cape. The practices include *Mawlūd al-Nabi* (Biography of the Prophet Muhammad), and the *Adhkār of Ramadān* (invocation) which is an act of supplication which will be mentioned later. In support, Muslims of the Cape persistently identify and distinguish themselves by their adherence to them. In addition, it is the cultural traditions of this group that makes them unique and distinguished from 'others', forming the basis for local expression of Islam (Baker, 2009).

1.6.2 Malay Identity

'Identity' refers to a sense of sameness and continuity as a person. It is a subjective phenomenon or as an objective deliverance, others define it as an essentially psycho-social phenomenon where the sense of 'me' or 'myself' is formed in relation to others and their responses. This process is an on-going one where the individual cannot be viewed in isolation from his/her social interaction with others. Jenkins, cited in Baker (2009: 20) argues that 'individual identity' is embodied in selfhood and is not isolated from the social world of other people. Interesting research has been conducted by Baker, (2009) that identity is a matter of

'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It also belongs to the future as much as to the past (Baker, 2009).

Haron (2001) claimed that instead of the term 'Indonesian', researchers used the term of 'Cape Malay' as many of the Malay people came from the east. Shell (1997) is one of the researchers who explained that the Cape Muslims were known as 'Cape Malay' because the term "Malay" does not originate from the area of geography; however rather in linguistics. Malayu was the language from the geographical area extending from Madagascar in the west to the isolated islands of Micronesia and Melanesia in the Pacific Ocean, in 'the east. People who spoke this language became known as "Malays". Particularly after 1804 when religious freedom was given, the term "Cape Malay" became correlated with Cape Muslims (Cassiem, 2004).

The Cape Malay term remained utilized by those who moved to other parts of the country and neighbouring countries. During the socio-political and economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s, the coloureds and their sub-categories added the term 'so-called' to their ethnic identities, because of their perceived 'identity crisis' by apartheid laws. It follows that the younger generation of the 'Cape Malay' group preferred to be called South African Muslims instead of South African 'Cape Malays', thus using the religious label instead of the ethnic one (Cassiem,2004).

Dauids (1998) and some scholars accepted the term 'Cape Malay' and used it interchangeably with the term 'Cape Muslim' and they preferred to use 'Cape Malays' to 'Cape Muslim' for various reasons; the Malay group of Muslims was dominant, because during the nineteenth century the Cape Muslims spoke diverse forms of Malay where the lingua franca of the Malay/Indonesian Archipelago was used. Furthermore, the 'Cape Malays' term was used by the apartheid regime as a tool for its main philosophy. It also was used by the Department of Home Affairs as a racial classification. Consequently, in the 1990s Achmat David's (1998) used the term 'Cape Malay' to build a relationship between Southeast Asia and the Cape Muslim community. Another reason for some scholars for preferring to use 'Cape Malay' is that because the most of the leaders, such as Sheikh Yusuf and Tuan Guru, were of Malay origin, many of the cultural-religious practices and even the foods of the Cape Muslims are believed to have Malay origins (Baker, 2009).These leaders played the main role in establishing Islam at the Cape, through education and establishing the cultural-religious traditions, which mainly originated from the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago (Baker, 2009).

Nowadays, the ‘Cape Malays’ form the larger section of the local Muslims who can roughly be divided into two groups; the Cape Malays, whose home language is Afrikaans, and the Indians, who speak English and their own vernacular languages. Arabic is the language of religious affairs for both groups, but for the Cape Malays, it is supplemented by Afrikaans (Cassiem, 2004).

1.7 Narratives

As narratives will be procured for this study, this section provides a brief outline of the nature of narratives and reasons for using them for this study.

Narratives are representations and interpretations of the world. However, they cannot be judged as true or false. Their purpose is to provide explanations of actions and events. This functional role is not restricted to explanations in retrospect but is also a way of forming expectations about future events (Teichert, 2004). Like what will be investigated later from intangible Malay heritage in BK as it is articulated in narratives of residents’ memories of the neighbourhood.

It is usually combined with human actions or events that affect them as what happened with Cape Malay when apartheid laws define them as Coloured people who are both non-white and non-Black. Not only, but is also, the government deemed that the most Cape Malay will live in the areas allocated to Coloured. This is why BK area and its residents were classified as Cape Malay. Danto (1965) highlights the contrast of a narrative text with a chronicle, which is a list of sentences; each of them describes an action or event and indicates the time of its occurrence (Teichert, 2004).

1.7.1 Historical narrative

The narrative is not the story itself, but rather the telling of the story. Riessman (1993) claims that in spite of their different disciplines, scholars turn to narratives as the organizing principle for human action (Bell, 2003). There are three levels of narrative. The first is the level of functions which is supported by Propp and Bremond. According to Propp, the function is “an act of character” (Barthes and Duisit, 1975:244). The second level is action, which used by Greimas, and the last level is narration, which is the level of discourse supported by Todorov (1966).

The narrative in linguistic communication is a framework to understand the human being, by transforming knowledge into telling to narrate their stories (Barthes and Duisit, 1975). This is supported by Barthes and Duisit (1982b:162) who stressed that “a prodigious variety of

genres constituting narratives are presented in language, image, gesture, and any myth". In contrast, Chatman (1978) indicates that narratives are content and expression, like film or novel or any other different media (Barthes and Duisit, 1975).

According to Riessman (1993), scholars see the narrative from the same point that is the organizing principle of human action, in spite of their various disciplines (Bell, 2003).

Storytelling is the oldest form of education, where people have always told tales as a way of passing on their cultural beliefs, traditions, and history to future generations. When it comes to the teaching field, stories go straight to the heart to organize and remember information in order to help students develop a positive attitude towards the learning process (Mello, 2001).

Storytelling is a creative art form (i.e. oral literature) to explain life in order to make sense of things. Consequently, the tradition of storytelling facilitates the transfer of knowledge from generation to generation, and it is still considered the most important tradition that humans participate in. Each culture has its own tradition of storytelling, as a means of teaching values. When we talk about stories, we do not mean stories for its own sake, but rather narrations of real-life events and situations that were experienced and talked about (Mello, 2001).

1.8 Summary

The idea of 'Cape Malay' heritage is a well-documented historical legacy. However, it was threatened through some difficulties periods which affected the identity of BK neighbourhood that has always been a racially and culturally diverse. BK location, colourful architecture and close proximity to the CBD, these factors are frequently as problems and they are one of the reasons behind what happening in the BK nowadays and threat to the architectural integrity of the area. Foreign tourists find BK is an attractive place, this threatened by rising property values and make it unaffordable to maintain the properties. As a result, residents are unable to live in the area. According to this, this study was able to investigate what the discursive strategies employed by narratives of the BK community to face the gentrification process.

1.9 Structure of the thesis

The remaining chapters will proceed as follows.

Chapter Two highlights the literature review on the research topic by providing a critical review of heritage and its different forms both globally and locally. Different aspects of the Malay culture will be reviewed.

Chapter Three presents the Theoretical & Analytical Framework underpinning the study. It further touches on Discourse analysis (DA) as well as the discourse structure of the narratives as well as urban apartheid architecture and aesthetics.

Chapter Four describes the methodology used in undertaking the study, including the research design. It also presents the instruments employed and outlines the data collection and analysis procedures followed.

Chapter Five, Six, Seven and Eight present results from both quantitative and qualitative interviews including focus group discussions.

Chapter Nine discusses the key findings arising from the analysis chapters. The chapter concludes with a highlight of major findings and proffers recommendations for further research.



CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of relevant literature on discourse analysis of narratives of gentrification and heritage conservation, broadly, as well as an examination of the extant narratives on the Bo-Kaap, in particular. Again, the chapter explores the linkages between gentrification and heritage conservation.

2.1 The rise of gentrification and its implications for heritage conservation: A global perspective

Globally, historic districts, with their rich cultural heritage are generally experiencing rapid economic growth, which resulted in the demolition of these historic districts and were replaced by modern buildings (Lee, 1996). Singapore faced this problem in the 1970s, where blighted areas with dilapidated shop houses were demolished due to the urban renewal to make way for modern buildings (Lee, 1996).

Due to the rapid growth in most cities over the entire world and the rapid transformation of the city economics, “anything old or in a traditional style was considered of little value and was torn down or at least, ignored.” (Steinberg, 1996:464). Economic pressures led to further displacement of the older housing stock, which are homes for lower-income families (Steinberg, 1996:464).

However, because of the disruption of the older housing areas’ physical, social and economic functions, which had little attention from the cities in the developing world, it resulted in their decline. Even though these old houses are significant, they are not realized as important. For example, Shanghai and Bombay are cities which have existed for many centuries and thus have older housing stock which is very important because it constitutes many housing units (Steinberg, 1996).

Following this, no one can overlook the importance of stock of old buildings. Thus, everywhere the core of older housing exists in cities and the historic centre provides a unique historical link with the past with its social and cultural traditions, it is developed gradually to give the modern city and its society its meaning and character (Steinberg, 1996). In retrospect, the cities have realised that by removing large areas of existing housing stock, it

now presented with a larger housing demand as the financial institutions could not provide new houses on the demanding scale (Steinberg, 1996).

In 1964, ICOMOS with the *Venice Charter*, historic monuments were promoted by the establishment of the conservation approach. Following this, in 1972, many developing countries joined UNESCO's Conservation Concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage (Steinberg, 1996).

Additionally, by 1977, while the Venice Charter was only concerned with single monuments, the world heritage sites started to list them. The cultural heritage concept was now introduced by the UNESCO Convention. These were on the basis for area conservation and also rehabilitation concepts. At the same time a fund for the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage was encouraged by the UNESCO Convention (Steinberg, 1996).

Despite their cultural heritage, older housing areas are still considered a problem rather than as important elements of urban life (Steinberg, 1996).

2.2 Importance of Heritage Conservation

The problems of new settlements being built were the centre of attention by most governments in developing countries during the last 40 years. Therefore, the desire for modernization by governments in most cases led them to believe in new and modern style. Thus, keeping the old or any traditional style were considered of little value or even were torn down or ignored (Afify, 2002).

Additionally, due to the rapid population growth in developing countries, the spatial pattern of land uses and activities changed due to the transformation of that city's economics. As a result, the displacement of the older urban stock was led further due to economic pressures (Afify, 2002).

In most cases, under these circumstances, the decline of these older areas in their physical, social and economic functions, was the result of the little attention they were paid in developing countries. Most cities, however, have some Urban Heritage and monuments. They represent the past by their religious, political and economic functions (Afify, 2002).

Monuments which are still in use have a better chance to maintain more than those which have no future utilization. The appreciation of the value of the older cities has not been considered by a few countries until the 1940s. For instance, in Europe, conservation focused on important historical buildings such as castles, palaces, churches, museums. However, mass destruction happened to the historical cities in Europe during the Second World War (Afify,

2002). However, in the 1950s and 1960s, re-building occurred in Western Europe, which led to greater awareness of the unique character of older areas and the need to treat them constructively (Afify, 2002).

Old urban areas (urban heritage) need constant flow of finances to keep them functional. Old cities are also areas where it is possible to generate substantial financial resources. The natural focal point of reflections about development is to envisage a long-term horizon. The perspective is the goal should be the selection and substitution of more urban development. Thus, urban finances are needed to operate, maintain and rehabilitate existing infrastructure services. They are also needed to provide new infrastructure for future growth. Funds are needed not just to build the infrastructure (Afify, 2002).

Early heritage conservation movements searched out in order to protect historic places with emphasizing the important role of the historic built environment, whereas recently, heritage conservation is used by different populations to get many goals. Rather than only using an approach by a group with one aim. In the neighbourhood, heritage conservation is an instrument for the benefit of the community. In one case, heritage conservation is needed as a tax incentive to create low-income housing. On the other hand, it means the protection of a vulnerable population from large-scale development. The alternative is that heritage conservation is used as an economic revitalization tool by city agencies. Simply put, heritage conservation is an effective approach to create and maintain socio-cultural sustainability at the neighbourhood level (Lawrence, 2010).

Heritage conservation is about people and their communities and most importantly about the built environment of those people. If the focus of development efforts is solely on the structures and not on the communities that inhabit those structures, what gets preserved is the shell but not the heart and soul of the built environment. People build communities. Globally, older central cities have a low-density architecture. These are often old enough to reflect the style and tastes of past eras and gamers interest of those who preserve structures of historic interest (Roberts, 2015).

Post World War II, large public work projects threatened heritage sites in the United States. These sites were started by federal governments and resulted in the destruction of many historic buildings. However, whilst public policy accepted heritage conservation, there are about 14,000 National Historic Districts, 85,000 National Historic Places, and about 2,300 local historic district commissions representing over 3 million historic structures” (Lawrence, 2010:17).

By the 20th century, by means of achieving social benefits, conservation received increasing attention. Later, heritage conservation became National policy in the US. However, it was limited in scope to only Presidential proclamations to protect the most important landmarks and monuments. The following: The Historic Sites Act of 1935 extended the Federal government's role to protect historic sites which are of "national importance". This they did with the placement of national preservation activities into the National Park Service. (Lawrence, 2010).

Importantly, heritage conservation is seen as a way to protect the identity of a community. Gilderbloom (2009) and dozens of other studies stated that rehabilitation provides more jobs than new construction. An additional recent report showed that the Historic Rehabilitation Tax Credit gives about 108 jobs for every \$1 million expanded (Lawrence, 2010).

Heritage conservation refers to the preservation of maintaining and retaining its cultural significance. Critics of heritage conservation see it as an instrument used by gentrifiers as one result of new the investment. For scholarly literature, there is a relationship between gentrification and heritage conservation where buildings that are historically and architecturally significant will receive more visitors as they are the focal point of heritage conservation programs. Hence, there is a coincidental relationship between gentrification and heritage conservation (Lawrence, 2010).

"According to the General Conference of UNESCO, the seventeenth session, the following is considered as a cultural heritage" (Afify, 2002:2). And it has different forms: Monuments which refer to architectural works, structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions which have a universal value from a historical view. Groups of buildings: Separate or connected buildings because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape is considered as universal heritage also from a historical view. These sites are also important as a heritage place, including archaeological sites (Afify, 2002:2).

The urban conservation challenge has grown over the last decade because of rapid urbanization which has resulted in the growth and transformation of cities over the world. Conserving historic urban environments, for instance, is considered to be one of the most universally urgent and challenging cultural heritage conservation issues. The importance of the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI)'s work was the management of sites and their context. During the mid-1990s, the GCI focused on conserving the historic cities and also the urban environment through a different group of projects (Wilson, Carwardine, & Possingham, 2009)

Over the last few decades, however, the rise of the new urban rehabilitation agenda is threatening the whole idea of heritage conservation. Since the 1960s the conservation community has raised a concern regarding this threat to historic urban areas which have been generated by modern urban planning (Wilson, Carwardine, & Possingham, 2009).

Recently, the GCI started bibliographic research and administered a survey to present the information available to practitioners and to identify the unachieved needs of conservation which concerned historic cities and urban settlements. In 2009, the (GCI) in order to understand and define the most urgent conservation issues that belong to the historic urban environment and to identify the conservation threats, they assembled different groups of practitioners to share their knowledge and experience in this field. The past century showed unprecedented change on the impact of the urban environment. The main driving factors that contributed to change in the urban environment are as follows: Globalization, rapid uncontrolled development, demographic changes, and economic pressures. This had a direct impact on the urban environment. Both positive and negative changes to historic urban areas were noted as the conservation of these places is determined by how successfully they are managed. Although each city or urban area has their own particular set of conditions that resulted in specific responses, common patterns and trends are evident (Wilson, Carwardine, & Possingham, 2009).

In Yangon, in Myanmar, Burma, many international businesses and brands establish a presence in the commercial centre by choice, as it is the historic core. Unfortunately, many of the original properties are demolished for modern buildings to be erected in their place. Enormous pressure has been put on public infrastructure as this means that three and four storey historic properties were being replaced by eight to twelve storey buildings, thus changing the cityscape at a rapid pace (Roberts, 2015).

The result of the lack of knowledge and the technical skill that is essential to modernize with respect to the historic streetscape is usually because of the unappreciation of the economic value of historic buildings. The local business and construction company communities are guilty of these facts because of little awareness about heritage conservation. Like what happened in BK area recently. Most residents have limited finances and cannot afford to invest in these new developments. When it comes to the BK area, the influx of new urban migrants and the use of more cars have also increased pressure on existing services (Roberts, 2015).

The future of heritage conservation depends on the people's participation and that monuments and spatial areas should be considered in their historical and cultural tradition and context. Such consideration would determine the future of conservation over the long term as informed decisions and judgement will help to provide the insight and vision which were required by the people's participation (Roberts, 2015).

One of the most controversial forms of urban renewal and neighbourhood change is the process of gentrification. It has remained a topic of hot debate. Arguably, it is often a rapid process of regenerating the physical, economic and social features of central-city areas. Thus, many authors have seen the gentrification as a "reflection of the past serving the present" (Jones & Varley, 1999:1549).

Over the years there has been anxiety on the gentrification phenomenon as a major source of disadvantages for low-income urban residents. It is a common issue in urbanized nations around the world. For example, it became common in the United States around the mid-1970s (Aka, 2010).

Whereas Cybriwsky (2001 cited in Aka, 2010:6) argues that "yes, of course, it is gentrification, without a doubt!", Lambert and Boddy (2002) on the other hand argue forcefully that the new developments in British city centres cannot be considered as gentrification, but rather, should be seen as a re-urbanisation phenomenon (Aka, cited in 2010:6). Arguably, there is concern among governments in the developed world about the future of cities (McIntyre, 2008).

2.3 Factors contributing to gentrification

One of the several factors contributing to gentrification is internal migration driven by both push and pull factors. Push factors are conditions in the places of origins which migrants see it as detrimental to their economic security; for example, high unemployment and political persecution. However, the pull factor refers to the circumstances in new places that attract individuals to move there. Job opportunities, for instance, or better living facilities are important to move in. Also for a farmer in a rural area, it is an opportunity to move to a nearby city because of drought in his land (push factor). Because in the cities, there are better basic services as well as other specialist services that are not found in rural areas (Bhatta, 2010).

Health is another big factor where people, especially elderly people are forced to move to cities because they can find doctors and hospitals for their needs. What is also distinctive is

entertainment (restaurants, movie theatres, theme parks, etc.) as well as a better quality of education (Bhatta, 2010).

Recently, the movement of people from rural to urban areas as internal migration is the most important factor in urban growth. International migration is also increasing which includes labour migration, refugees and undocumented migrants (Bhatta, 2010).

The United Nations report (UNFPA 2007) that the number and proportion of urban inhabitants will rise to 4.9 billion by 2030 in the urban areas. In retrospect to this, the rural population globally is expected to decrease by some 28 million between 2005 and 2030. All future population growth globally will be in towns and cities; most of them will be in developing countries. An example of this is the African and Asian urban population, which is expected to be doubled between 2000 and 2030 (Bhatta, 2010).

Economic growth is another factor where the increase of working persons, creates demand for new housing or more housing space for individuals. This also encourages many developers for rapid construction of new houses. Discontinuous uncorrelated developments are the results of the rapid development of housing and also other infrastructure (Bhatta, 2010).

Industrialisation is also another factor that leads to urban renewal. The rapid increase in surfaces of the establishment of new industries in the countryside is because those housing facilities are providing housing to its workers in a large area. The result is that the transition from agricultural to industrial employment the demands are more for urban housing (Bhatta, 2010).

Even though heritage conservation refers to the process of looking after a place in order to retain its cultural significance, there is still a lack of the cause and effect that heritage conservation has on socio-cultural sustainability. A range of studies measuring the cause and effect need to be implemented to substantiate this process (Lawrence, 2010).

Some studies show that the use of heritage conservation tools led to several different findings. For example, in the Society Hill neighbourhood of Philadelphia (USA) city planners used a conservation approach to alter a blighted district. As a result, there was a racial mixture of residents which is one of the most visible characteristics of the changing human environment and hundreds of buildings that are historically significant were preserved. However, several inhabitants were displaced by middle-class residents, a situation that resulted in increase in housing costs. Thus, heritage conservation is used by populations in

different ways to get diverse goals. In another way, heritage conservation is used as an economic revitalization tool by city agencies. Therefore, heritage conservation is an effective approach to create as well as to maintain socio-cultural sustainability in neighbourhoods (Lawrence, 2010).

Early advocates of conservation emphasized on restoring historic buildings for immigrants and also new generations in America through the interpretation of jingoistic history. Thus, the American conservation movement found relevance in architectural and aesthetic value. Later, the buildings were restored because of its authenticity and its historical significance. This is what happened in Charleston and South Carolina in 1931 (Lawrence, 2010).

The new work of Third-Wave gentrification highlights the relationship between globalisation, neo-liberalism and the changing role of the state in gentrification processes (Visser & Kotze, 2008). In New Zealand, Auckland's CBD is facing at present two examples of Third-Wave gentrification. Collins (2010) argues that New Zealand's adoption of the migration and education policy is the cause of the influx of international students into Auckland, thus resulting in the urban landscape being altered. This resulted into "studentification" of the CBD (Gordon, 2015).

The Auckland Council, referred to as the State, is the prime role players in third wave gentrification. The State played a minor role in gentrification prior to the 1990s. In most cases, gentrification was not affected as the State protected the CBD areas from gentrification. The private market could not reach social houses as the local governments protected social housing as they were owned by the State. Due to changes in social welfare, these properties were now available to the private sector. This led to private property investors and local governments started to collaborate and shared the profits of the sales of social housing. This resulted in the Third-Wave, unlike the previous waves, were more planned. The relation between Third-Wave gentrification and neo-liberal ideology are close as Neil Smith (1996) states that before gentrification, privatization existed and thus gentrification thrives in the climate of privatization. Neoliberalism is hard to resist according to Lees (2012) (Gordon, 2015).

Lees et al (2008), argues that during the early 2000s many developments identified a new Fourth-Wave of gentrification (Visser & Kotze, 2008).

As suggested by Lees et al. (2008) that there is a Fourth-Wave of gentrification which North Americans are experiencing. This is an intensified by the financialization of housing also with the consolidation of pro-gentrification politics and polarized urban policies (Shah,

2011). After the 2007 sub-prime crisis, Lees (2008) claims that the United States has developed fourth wave gentrification, but this was not agreed upon widely (Shaw, 2008).

In Britain, scholars of gentrification argued that the post- 1997 Labour Government adopted a pro-gentrification stance under the banner of “urban renaissance” with their ways of living being closely tied to gentrification practices. Lees (2003), Boddy (2007) suggested that the British policy agenda was at the forefront in making city living attractive to the professional middle classes, which resulted in what Smith (2002:438) suggested was the “generalization of gentrification in the urban landscape” (Shaw, 2008:438).

The British Government released many reports on the reasons for this “urban renaissance” which included The Urban Task Force Report: Towards an Urban Renaissance (DETR, 1999); the 2000 Urban White Paper: Towns and Cities-the Future: Delivering Urban Renaissance (DETR, 2000) and also The Greater London Plan GLA (2004). It is important to note that the word “gentrification” was not in any of the policies as mentioned above. Many policy documents used words like ‘urban renaissance’, ‘urban regeneration’, ‘urban sustainability’ as these terms avoided the class constitutions of the processes involved (Shaw, 2008).

According to Schaffer & Smith (1986), gentrification takes various forms in various locations. However; the common form is the renovation of old building stock physically to use it in new ways. Another form is to prevent the continued deterioration as well as to prevent loss of these building investments. As a result of that, heritage conservation is of new investment (Lawrence, 2010).

The other results are included demolition and replacement or rehabilitation and renovation. Critics of heritage conservation figure it as an instrument used by gentrifiers to get an idealized aesthetic cycle of deterioration and possibly, upgrading. In the same way, Zukin (1987) asserts that the ideology of historic preservation contributes to the facilitating to remove the pre-gentrification people. She proposes that historic preservation is used, to continue a new middle class, where occasionally there is a relationship between gentrification and heritage preservation (Lawrence, 2010).

Gentrification is one of the most controversial forms of urban renewal which is a complex and different form of urban regeneration. According to Glass (1964), the term ‘gentrification’ in London can be defined as the transformation where the working class quarters were transformed into upper-class residential areas. Middle-class homebuyers, landlords and developers rehabilitated these areas. This resulted in the urban centre being reinvested of

capital as well as the replacement of the original working class by the upper class (Reitzema, 2015). Previous studies by (Doucet 2009:300), reported that the nature and economy of cities thus changed dramatically (Reitzema, 2015).

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, Gentrification is controversial, because it is a production process where it contributes to regenerating the physical, economic and social characteristics of the inner city area as well as it brings new investment to a neighbourhood. At the same time, it's creating the possibility of new work opportunities which impact positively on the economy of cities on the one hand. On the other hand, it is destructive where the new investment impacts on residents of the neighbourhood- the displacement of the original inhabitants who are not able to afford increased rentals and property taxes; this is happening in BK currently (Reitzema, 2015).

Another definition of gentrification is the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of the central city into a middle-class residential area (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008). Ruth Glass (1964) is the first British sociologist who coined the term gentrification. She used the term 'gentrification' to describe some new and distinct processes of urban change that were beginning to affect inner London; she described the changes as classical gentrification. In contrast, many American analysts were uncomfortable with the term "gentrification" (with its obvious class connotations). Alternatively, they preferred the labels such as "back-to-the-city movement", "neighbourhood revitalization", and "browns toning", all of that were indicative of underlying divergences in what was believed to be central to gentrification process (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008).

As far as gentrification regarding the renovation of the old inner and central city is concerned, it plays a small role in the ebb and flow of neighbourhood social and cultural life. In contrast, the forces behind gentrification, such as demographics, housing markets and socio-cultural tendencies, it could result in the costs and benefits that harm the community. These forces play a significant role in the conservation of the historic built environment with loss of some buildings and rehabilitation of others. In other words, the role of conservation can play in alleviating these negative effects for a community as well as for their buildings (Lawrence, 2010).

Gale (1979) noticed that the architectural value of old buildings was a reason that inspired most neighbourhood resettlements, while Laska, et al. (1982) found that in New Orleans the nearness to a historic district was an augur of renovation. Other studies concentrated on the process of historic design and its relationship to rapid neighbourhood change. Similarly,

many other studies have shown that there is a positive correlation between locations in a historic district and an increase in property value (Lawrence, 2010).

Freeman (2005) and Nber (2008), confirm that there is often a correlation between an increase in incomes and an increase in property values for long-standing and new residents (Lawrence, 2010).

According to scholarly literature, there is a relationship between gentrification and heritage conservation in the coincidence of historic architecture. A much-debated question is how neighbourhood designation costs affect people like rents, increased value and taxes (Lawrence, 2010).

During the past 40-50 years, it became an urgent need for most governments in the world for modernisation. Additionally, most governments in the developing world, as well as most international agencies, focused on the problems of new settlements. Most of the housing stock by the 1970s was less than 25 years old. These houses were insignificant in terms of the scale of the housing problem. This has led these governments to believe that only new and modern housing was worthwhile. Many of this traditional style or old houses were either ignored or considered to be of little value (Steinberg, 1996).

It follows that the supply of commercial space often necessitates urban renewal and redevelopment. Under these circumstances, the demolition and replacement of historic districts, would be replaced by high-rise office blocks, shopping centres, hotels and other modern buildings (Lee, 1996)

Singapore faced this big problem in the 1970s as the restructuring of the economy, which resulted in the demanding of commercial space. An added problem was that of the land scarcity that prevented to adopt the twin city pattern of other cities. The problem of the land shortage was evident in the central Area- the heart of commercial activities. In the Central Area of Singapore, the old shophouses were the main form of historic buildings of architectural and aesthetic value to be conserved. These shophouses were eroded and neglected, resulting in dilapidation (Lee, 1996).

In 1970, these dilapidated shop houses were demolished in the process of urban renewal to change it into modern high-rise buildings (Lee, 1996).

The feasibility studies on the conservation of the historic buildings were undertaken in the late 1970s where a shift developed in policy from redevelopment to conservation. The Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA), it is the national planning authority, only revealed its

conservation Master Plan in 1986. Many historic districts were gazetted as conservation areas in the Central Areas under this Plan. Chinatown, Kampong Glam and Little India were declared as conservation areas as well as historic buildings of architectural and aesthetic value and to be conserved. As set out by the URA, the main objectives were to retain and restore those buildings of historical and architectural significance by consecrating these areas. Also to retain the enhancement of these ethnic-based activities while at the same time consolidating the area with new industries (Lee, 1996).

Several international bodies, for example, UNESCO, ICCROM and ICOMOS, also local bodies, have implemented important schemes and proposals to conserve neglected monuments and heritage complexes. These were regarded as positive inputs (Steinberg, 1996).

It was only by the 1940s that a few countries appreciated their older cities to be valuable. At the same time, the Second World War contributed to the destruction of the historic cities in Europe which led to stimulus for more serious consideration of older urban areas. When the rebuilding occurred in Western Europe in the 1950s and into the 1960s, this provided a unique character of these older areas to treat them as well as conserve them. Accordingly, in Europe, conservation was concerned for historical buildings of special importance such as; castles, palaces, churches, museums. For example, the Paris Church of Notre Dame was preserved, whereas the other historic buildings surrounding it were demolished, because the attention was focused on the monuments individually in isolation from their urban surroundings (Steinberg, 1996).

Many countries have shown, quite interestingly, that to restore and modernise old buildings is easier and less costly. In addition, the cost of demolition and replacement of old buildings are more expensive than expected. There were some issues during the early years of rehabilitation efforts which were; some of the projects failed, others were expensive and others succeeded at the expense of the original residents (Steinberg, 1996).

At the end of 1994 about half of the old shop houses in Singapore had been restored to their original fabric. This shows that the conservation policy was quite effective in retaining and enhancing ethnic-based activities. As a result, many of the traditional trades in the restored shop houses enjoy high tourist patronage (Lee, 1996).

2.4 Gentrification and heritage conservation: Experiences from South Africa

Over the past decades, government bodies, private developers and urban planners pursued a range of urban renewal programs. Drive for urban regeneration resounded in South Africa since the beginning of the 1990s (Visser & Kotze, 2008).

Visser and Kotze (2008) indicated that gentrification is an urban process in South Africa which can be viewed in two phases. The first phase started from the 1980s till the early post-apartheid years. While the second one started from 2000 onwards. The first phase explains the classical interpretation of the process of gentrification where “production” or “consumption” terms are used. Production refers to the economics of the gentrification process. Production process deals with the relationship between the flows of capital and the production of urban space whereas the consumption process is interested in the characteristics of gentrification (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008).

The second phase from 2000 onwards views the changing specialities of the South African inner cities through the urban regeneration policies and programs (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008).

McDonald (2008) shows that the instruments of the policy of both apartheid and post-apartheid governments underline the urgent need to develop vibrant, aesthetically appealing, and safe specialities into national and international capital investment (Visser & Kotze, 2008).

Gentrification is related to two processes, the class-based re-colonization of neighbourhoods and the re-investment in the physical building stock. The latter usually results in the increase in housing value and rents, which leads to the displacement of residents who rent and also of those with low income. Social and cultural systems of neighbourhoods are also changed and replaced by new ones (Lawrence, 2010).

Heritage conservation seeks to empower communities to protect valued resources. This includes the protection of community identity rather than the enhancement of national identity (Lawrence, 2010).

Even though the gentrification process is implicitly negative, however, it brings many positive benefits: reinvestment, an increase of home ownership, improvement of public services, improvement of commercial activities, and renovation of properties (Lawrence, 2010).

At the end of apartheid and in the early post-apartheid in South Africa, there were class difference and displacement in neighbourhoods close to the central business district.

According to Jones and Varley (1999), gentrification can be referred to as an intentional process of rehabilitation of working-class neighbourhoods and the replacement of middle-class homebuyers, landlords and professional developers (Visser & Kotze, 2008). Gentrification is a process in developed countries which are consequent of the transformation of an area into a middle-class neighbourhood. This means that gentrification involves the rehabilitation of deteriorated properties and the change in the social group. This generated dissatisfaction as whole areas were destroyed indiscriminately and their social communities were ruined (Visser & Kotze, 2008). Garside and Kotze note that dilapidated houses of working-class tenants were replaced by middle-class tenants. These terraced houses in Upper Woodstock started to be renovated to secure higher rentals or selling prices. This happened to Upper Cape Town, where White working-class people were replaced by middle-class professionals (Visser & Kotze, 2008).

The South African economy in the post-apartheid era was buoyant and the investment was internal. There were also domestic, competitive pressures and profit-seeking investment chances within cities which contributed to the renaissance of central Cape Town. As a result, there was a tendency for CBD investments since the 1970s to 1980s in local efforts and interests to revitalise the CBD (Visser & Kotze, 2008).

The focus was on South Africa at the end of apartheid or in the early post-apartheid, where a reinvestment of capital in urban centres occurred and the original working-class residents of the area were replaced by a more affluent class of people (Visser & Kotze, 2008).

Recent developments in South Africa caused significant forceful urban changes in Cape Town which resulted in significant increases in property values and taxes. There was a migration of lower-income families from inner city neighbourhoods as well as the attraction of wealthier residents (Reitzema, 2015).

There are only a handful of studies available in the context of Cape Town. Cape Town was established in 1652. It is the oldest European settlement in South Africa. It is the home of 3 million inhabitants. In the 20th century, drastic changes occurred in Cape Town city, which included population resettlements and the construction of dormitories in Black and Coloured Townships in the Cape Flats.

There was no profit management agency established in Cape Town until 1999. The Cape Town Partnership (CTP) was established by the City Council, the South African Property Owners Association, private businesses and their representative organisations in order to regenerate of Cape Town's central business district and promote it as a destination for global businesses, investment, retail, entertainment convert the Cape Town into a global city (Visser & Kotze, 2008).

In 2000, the City of Cape Town established the Central City Improvement District (CCID). By this project (CCID), additional revenue was raised through property-owners in the area being imposed to enhance rates. These funds that were generated assisted with the clean the city of crime and also to make the city more attractive by using the investment of the local businesses (Visser & Kotze, 2008).

After seven years of the CCID's operation, Cape Town's central district has undergone a transformation, including massive private investment upgrades and developments resulting in about more than R 15 billion (US\$2 billion) invested in the area (Visser & Kotze, 2008).

After the success of the CTP, it sprang out around the city in Gardens, Green Point, Sea Point, Oranje-Kloof and Woodstock (Visser & Kotze, 2008). Additionally, the increasing rate of metropolitan space in Cape Town is sterling characteristic of Cape Town's CBD regeneration as well as one of the reasons for the expansion of the central city's economy. As a result of the reconfiguration of Cape Town, it was encouraging to declare the central city as a national government specified urban development zone (Visser & Kotze, 2008).

The central city is being re-socialised, where many gentrifying new middle-class (24-45-year old professionals) are purchasing property. The average selling price of a house is R 1.2 million (about US\$ 169000). A monthly rental of about R10000 is mainly charged (approximately US\$ 1405) (Visser & Kotze, 2008).

2.5 Gentrification amidst BK's cultural heritage

Gentrification in BK has been viewed as an unfortunate desecration of interesting and "authentic" urban neighbourhoods into something that is bland and uninteresting. All the critics of gentrification view the phenomenon as a major source of disadvantage for low-income urban residents who have established a community with all of its complex social networks (Sheppard, 2012).

The problem of BK area is that gentrification has taken place as a form of a tourism-driven process of urban renewal which resulted in a general upgrade in this area. The problem is

further exacerbated by the erection of numerous tourism-related businesses along the boundary areas of BK (Steyn & Spencer, 2016).

Gentrification is a process resulted in the renovation and restoration of several houses in BK for attract tourism. Undoubtedly, tourism is the main force in this urban renewal process in BK area which is supported by the local authority and resulted in an increase in property rates and taxes made long-standing Muslim residents have begun selling their homes to investors because they were not to be able to afford to live in the area anymore and move to other suburbs and replaced by wealthy outsiders (Steyn & Spencer, 2016).

BK's unique historic individuality was recognised by the National Government as a Provincial Heritage Area in 1999. However, the Cape Malay Culture of BK may be slowly declining because of external global and gentrification process (Steyn & Spencer, 2016).

Economic, social, and political forces of gentrification are responsible for physical change in the urban landscape and some scholars refer to the Cape Malays as is a 'dying race'; because some of the original Cape Malay traditions are dying out which resulted in different people from different cultures moving in among the Muslim community, threatening the traditional cultural heritage of the area. Not only this but also the renewal and renovation of housing resulted in the increase in property values and rates thus forcing the working-class residents to relocate to other areas and leave the community on their own (Steyn & Spencer, 2016).

Visser (2002) asserts that gentrification is an acquisition of housing that displaces low-income inhabitants by high-income inhabitants which in turn, is individually a matter of concern in structural, conditional, architecture and the original cost of housing. Besides, it comes in the form of international businesses competing against poorer local businesses in the area (Steyn & Spencer, 2016).

With reference to the colourfully restored and renovated houses that resulted from gentrification, they play a big role in providing Cape Town with an architectural heritage, which adds great attraction to the tourism industry. At the same time, it complements the construction of many high-rise buildings on the boundaries of the area. However, the process of change has other implications like adapting, re-shaping and manipulating in order to be desirable to tourism. This has a negative effect on local cultures and traditional residents (Steyn & Spencer, 2016).

Due to the fact that gentrification is an agent of socio-economic change, some residents of BK feel uncomfortable because the traditional cultural heritage of the area is being threatened

by foreign businesses. Visser and Kotze (2008), support this, declaring that the character of BK is lost to gentrification as well as it is sinking under a torrent of money (Steyn & Spencer, 2016).

In the same way, gentrification is not only concerned with the influx of wealthy people as Bures and Cain (2008) confirm, the upgrading is a form of gentrification when it takes place in the middle and upper-class areas. When minor processes like renovations and improvements to the built environment are involved, this results in wealthier and more educated residents moving in. Accordingly, higher income and educational levels allow for differences in lifestyles and customs which in turn resulted in conflict with the original residents (Steyn & Spencer, 2016).

Obviously, the new settlers are mostly from west foreigners whose customs and traditions are completely different from the Muslim lifestyle of original residents. The change from a monoculture to a multi-cultural area is seen as a threat by local inhabitants to their attempts to preserve the Muslim character of the area (Steyn & Spencer, 2016).

Due to tourism in the BK area, gentrification occurs when visitors at first come as tourists, and later they become residents in the area. For this reason, the area undergoes the threatening to the traditional culture of the area (Steyn & Spencer, 2016:486).

Turning to the cultural heritage of BK, clearly, traditional residents of BK are the Cape Malay whose ancestors settled in this area during the 17th century. Over many hundreds of years BK Muslim community developed an obvious identity and at the same time, it is a cohesive community where a strong cohesion amongst community members exists. Barnard (2016), describes the social and cultural fabric as “rare and threatened” by the gentrification process (Steyn & Spencer, 2016:486).

All those whom gentrification affected became displaced – either by choice or compulsion – to move to other housing areas which are less desirable and ultimately they no longer feel a sense of belonging. This is what is happening in BK where in recent years the economic, physical and social characteristics of BK are influenced by the urban change within the Cape Town inner city (Sheppard, 2012).

According to the literature, few studies revealed that gentrification may or may not be unfortunate for the original residents, however; that it is a “natural” or even “organic” part of urban development. Gentrification could be a contributing factor to bring new investment to a neighbourhood as mentioned earlier (Sheppard, 2012).

Brueckner and Rosenthal (2009) are two of the scholars who see gentrification as a natural consequence of the process of ageing of housing stock and present a model that shows gentrification can be expected to take place in all cities. A related perspective accepts that gentrification has adverse consequences. Thus, anti-gentrification policies designed to prevent any gentrification would be worse and encourage an urban environment in which economic classes or ethnic subgroups have particular neighbourhoods to which they are entitled (Sheppard, 2012).

More recently, literature has emerged that offers contradictory findings of who constitutes the “gentrifiers” and the “displaced” (Sheppard, 2012). In 1983, for example, a proposal by New York City mayor Ed Koch to build 117 apartments for artists in the lower east side of Manhattan was defeated after an acrimonious hearing by the city Board of Estimate. An opponent called the proposal “a scam that would gentrify a neighbourhood with the young, the white and the rich.” And a supporter, a gallery owner in SoHo, defended the plan to use federal housing funds to build the units. He said “... artists, by their nature, are an integrated race of people.” Three decades later, artists living in the area have been mostly pushed out of the neighbourhood, and complain about being displaced by gentrification (Sheppard, 2012:1).

A much-debated question is whether gentrification imposes particular harm on poor households or whether these households are displaced into worse housing situations. Schill and Nathan’s survey (1983), is one of the surveys that focused on displaced residents from gentrifying neighbourhoods in five different cities. They found that displaced residents did not live in worse conditions following their moves. Alternatively, the majority of the displaced reported increased levels of satisfaction with their home and neighbourhood (Sheppard, 2012).

There has been no detailed investigation on whether gentrification imposed any particular harm on poor households or whether these households are displaced into worse housing situations (Sheppard, 2012). However, subsequent researchers continued to find only limited evidence that the displaced poor are disadvantaged relative to their previous housing arrangements, but this may depend on the particular urban context.

Gentrification and heritage conservation are inevitable, especially in those areas with unique characteristics. Also, the people who live in BK who have rented for many years and when the property values increased, they couldn’t afford to purchase those homes when they are put up for sale. Also, the homeowners who have lived in BK for many years and with gentrification and the escalation of property rates and taxes are sometimes forced out of the

area as they are no longer able to afford the rising costs. Retrospectively for those who do wish to sell their family homes will sell at market value and profit greatly. Particularly the BK area is attractive to possible buyers because it is a unique and culturally central area. Thus, it is important to preserve this area and its community.

2.6 Malay Heritage

BK is given various names by various people. It refers to “Cape Malay”. This term is linguistic in origin; however, “Cape Muslim” is employed to describe the origin of Muslim community, culture, and the origin of their religion, the Malay Quarter, Signal Hill. Meanwhile, in Cape history, BK was indicated as Waalendorp. Albeit, BK was divided into Malay Quarter, Schotsche Kloof, Stadzight and Schoone Kloof, with no evident boundaries. Cape Muslims contributed to the development of Cape Town, as people of this community were builders, artisans, tailors, dressmakers, cooks, masons and labourers who built Cape Town into a modern city (Davids, 1980).

According to Vahed (2004), the term 'Malay' refers to coloureds of Muslim faith who were descendants of slaves from South and Southeast Asia and also they were referred to 'Mussulman' or coloured Muslims by British and Dutch records (Vahed, 2004).

'Cape Malay' was used by Du Plessis to construct a racial identity for the Cape Muslims during the Segregation Era (1910-1948) and the days of apartheid (1949-1991) (Vahed, 2004).

During the nineteenth century, coloured Muslims were respected by colonial authorities, because these Muslims did not drink alcohol and they were working hard. Their religious and cultural traditions made them different from other coloured groups (Vahed, 2004).

The Malay Quarter is situated between Strand Street and Dorp Streets. It stretches south-north from Buitengracht Street up the slopes including Chiappini Street. It is the oldest division of BK. Ancestors of BK lived in the commercial area of Cape Town, among Long, Keerom and Green Streets (Davids, 1980).

Muslim slaves were scattered across the town before emancipation, where a number of free Black Muslims were beginning to congregate on the slopes of Lion's Head which later became known as the BK, while other slaves resided in the Devil's Peak area which already had an established community (Cassiem, 2004).

The population registration Act of 1950 divided South Africans into four race groups: whites, Indians, Africans and Coloureds. As can be seen, Coloureds were further sub-divided into the Cape Malay category (Vahed, 2004).

Interesting research has been conducted by Davids (1980) that asserts that the religion of Islam provides a unique lifestyle which ensures cohesiveness and maintenance of the culture of the Cape Muslim community (Davids, 1980). As a result, the Cape Malay identity has been constructed from the 1920s as a result of the work of Du Plessis which was problematic because it was used to construct a racial identity for the Cape Muslims during the Segregation Era (1910-1948) and the days of apartheid (1948-1991) (Davids, 1980).

During the late 1700s, the term 'Malay' became widely used by the Dutch authorities in order to describe Muslims and anyone who was not from Bantu and European descent. However, during the nineteenth century, Malays and Coloureds were seen as two distinct groups, which led to a distinction between Malay identity and Coloured identity. As a consequence, in the twentieth century, Malay identity became subsumed under a broader coloured identity (Davids, 1980).

Previous studies of Davids (2011) have reported that the term 'Malay' and 'Cape Malays' were used as a substitute for 'Muslims' since the early nineteenth century. However, they do not reflect their religious or ancestral origins. What is distinctive is that this community was referred to as the Boughies as they spoke and wrote Baganese in the eighteenth century in Cape Town. The Boughies community regarded the use of the 'Cape Malay' or 'Malay' labels as repugnant, because of the racial overtones they had acquired in an unequal society. Therefore, they preferred to be called 'Cape Muslim' (Davids, 2011).

As indicated, that Islamic school was not just popular among Muslim slaves, but also attracted non-Muslim slaves (Baker, 2009).

According to Baker (2009), the term 'Malay' refers to the local Muslim community who were descendants of Eastern Malaysia (Baker, 2009).

The cultural-religious practices have played a significant role in the preservation of the identity of the Cape Muslims. There are many cultural practices prevalent among the Muslims of the Cape. These practices include *Mawlūd-al-Nabi* (Birthday celebration of the Prophet Muhammad), and the *Adhkār* of *Ramadān* (invocation, which is an act of supplication). In support, Muslims of the Cape is still today very much identified and distinguished by their adherence to them. In addition, it is the cultural traditions of a special

group that makes them unique and distinguished from ‘others’, forming the basis for local expression of Islam (Baker, 2009).

According to Lyon (1983), the Cape Malay community has physical features different from other groups where Aspeling (1883:19) highlights the difference in appearance between the Cape Malays and ‘true Malay’ by describing them as follows:

“In some cases the males are handsome, and the females often beautiful, having regular and well-formed features. The cheekbones are not prominent, but the prominence of the parietal bone is strongly marked. They are not of a powerful build generally, but in height, they are for the most part of the middle stature”.

One of the most important events of 1840 was that Cape Town established its first municipality and the cluster of houses from Hanover Street to Sir Lowry Street then became known as District 12. After nine years in 1849, the area expanded rapidly due to the emancipation of slaves. Then, many ‘Malays’ resided in this area that was originally known as *Kanaladorp* (a mixture of Malayu and Dutch that referred to people assisting each other and gave a community spirit which literally means ‘if you please’). At that time, *Kanaladorp* was ethnically and socially mixed. In 1867, Cape Town was divided into six districts. *Kanaladorp* became the sixth district, and henceforth people referred to the area as District Six (Cassiem, 2004).

A large concentration of ‘Malay’ people settled in District Six. It was mainly a working-class area where one family could be found in a detached house with up to sixteen people sharing a single room. However, due to overcrowding, the area quickly turned into a slum area. In spite of this, it had a joyous spirit and common bond amongst the inhabitants. Unfortunately, in 1966, under the Group Areas Act, District Six was declared a ‘White’ area. As a result, many ‘Malay’ people were moved along with others to the Cape Flats area (Cassiem, 2004).

According to Davids (1980), Vryezwarten (Free Blacks, freed slaves, and convicts) were the first roots of Cape Malays who occupied Dorp, Wale, Rose and Buitengracht Streets. In 1934, Malay Quarter was announced as Slums Act, which was available only to Muslims (Davids, 1980).

In 1952, BK was announced a residential area for Muslim Malays. Moreover, a portion of Malay Quarter was declared a National Monument in 1962 (Davids, 1980).

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the population of the Cape Malay community rose rapidly and the numbers converting to Islam in Cape Town was high. This conversion was either directly or through marriage between Cape Malays and Arabs, Black Africans, Malayo-Polynesians from Madagascar, and Europeans. It was also from individuals of mixed race. The pictorial evidence of one of the earliest white who converted to Islam in Cape Town was Burns, a Scottish soldier who married a Cape Malay girl in the 1830s (Lyon, 1983).

2.6.1 Malay Identity

It is important to know what the term identity means to understand how this identity constituted within a group. Identity is used in two linked senses. Social and personal. In the social sense, an "identity" refers to a social category as group of persons distinguished by a label rules and characteristic features, describes the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others. For example, "Cape Malay" community has special characteristic features, different from other people on the race, ethnicity, religion, language and culture. In the personal identity, there are also some distinguishing characteristics that form the basis of his or her self-respect (Fearon, 1999).

According to Mahida (1993), a few Malays of Batavia were brought by the Dutch into the residency, and then settlement of the Cape of Good Hope what now known as BK. These "Malays" of Batavia were the first Muslims to come to this area (Mahida, 1993).

In the early of 1658s, the first free Muslims known as Madyckers came to BK area. In the 1667s, more Muslim political exiles banished by the Dutch to the Cape. (Mahida, 1993).

Slaves, political exiles and convicts from Indonesia and India, including Bengal and Malabar coast were brought to the Cape in 1770s by the Dutch East India Company. All of these (Free Muslims, slaves, political exiles and convicts) were responsible for establishment and spread of Islam at the Cape (Mahida, 1993).

The language of "Cape Malays" of the local Muslims is Afrikaans and the Indians, speak English and their own vernacular languages. 'Cape Malay' community speaks mostly Afrikaans but also English. Various Malay words and phrases are also still used in Cape Town today, although the Malay languages does not speak any more (Cassiem, 2004).

Plurality of researchers studied some of the approaches about ethnic identity. For example: internal, external, expressive, and strategic. The first approach is in an anaemic framework and it sees identity as emanating from the group itself. Comparatively, the second approach focuses on ethnic identity as the product of external forces. Thus, it emphasises its definitions of identity as it is defined by outsiders. These two approaches attempt to treat the differing groups. However, they fail to take care of the complex interaction between groups and how the influence of perception of one group on another (Lyon, 1983).

The third approach focuses on the expressive nature of the symbols of ethnic identity. This refers completely to a synchronic approach where it views identity as static, unchanging phenomenon and emphasise on the continuity of cultural traits over time. Isaacs (1975) asserted that this approach focuses on a tradition of a group and particular emphasis on the roles of religion, customary practices, language and common ancestry (Lyon, 1983).

On the contrary, Barth (1974) stressed the last approach of ethnic identity, that focuses on the ethnic group as a unit instead. It analyses the interrelationship between groups. Consequently, it emphasizes the group interaction and the radical importance of ethnic identity as an adaption to political competition. Instead of seeing ethnic identity as a form of expression, however, it pays attention to ethnic identity as a reaction and focuses on the strategic use of ethnic identity and its symbols (Lyon, 1983).

In brief, all of the previous approaches must be connected, because Cape Malay identity cannot be understood when any one of them is isolated. The new term, Cape Muslim, is a result that marks a definite change in the Muslim community's perception of their identity. T (Lyon, 1983).

2.6.2 Malay Culture and traditions

The 'Cape Malays' preserved their cultural identity such as their language that plays a big role in their identity, beliefs, customs, and their habits which are distinguished from other groups. The religious practices at the Cape were very much and still are very much practised. These practices have played a significant role to keep the identity of the Cape Muslims. There are many cultural practices prevalent among the Muslims at the Cape include *Mawlūd al-Nabi* and the *Adhkār of Ramadān* which were already mentioned. All these practises are related to Islamic religion as Muslim community. Muslims of the Cape are these days still very much identified and distinguished by their adherence to them. In addition, it is the cultural – religious traditions of a special group that makes them unique and distinguished from 'others', forming the basis for local expression of Islam (Baker, 2009).

2.6.3 Malay Language

Language plays a major role in one's identity. According to Davids (1985), the slaves spoke many different languages, however; the language of communication used by the Muslims by the end of the eighteenth century was Malayu because Malayu became the vehicle for the transmission of religious ideas among the slaves. In addition, Malayu was the one language that was understood by the majority of the slaves. This could be one of the reasons why Malayu was chosen by Tuan Guru as the medium of instruction in his Dorp Street Missionary School (Haron, 2005).

Later, it became used in the everyday connection. At first, the Malay /Arabic alphabet was used, however; by the nineteenth century, it was replaced by the modified Arabic alphabet of Abu-Baker Effendi (Versteegh, 2015).

The 'Cape Malay' community generally speaks mostly Afrikaans. The Afrikaans language has its roots in the Cape, is a corrupt form of Dutch with Malaya words speckled in it. Afrikaans was first spoken at the Cape by the slaves during the Dutch colonial period. As a result, the Afrikaans language became a dominant language where the slaves spoke Afrikaans to communicate with the Dutch and amongst each other during the Dutch colonial period. Educated Muslims were the first Muslims who wrote texts in Afrikaans (Cassiem, 2004).

In addition to Afrikaans, English is also used. Even though the people of BK do not speak the Malayu languages today, only different Malay words and phrases are still used, for example: '*terima kasie*' which is the Malay equivalent for 'thank you', and '*slamat djalen*' which is 'good journey to you' (Matthee, 2008).

There were difficulties of communication and coordination due to the diversity of culture and language of slaves and Free Blacks, which impacted on the development of cultural identity, while some slaves used a form of Malay or Creolised Malayo-Portuguese that was used till the eighteenth century. Dutch was a dominant language too so that most slaves and their masters communicated in a form of Dutch which developed into Afrikaans. In the nineteenth century, Muslim schools inherited Malay and some Arabic. While in the 1870s, English was considered a language of employers and the Empire. In addition, Afrikaans became the dominant language of poorer people in Cape Town where most Muslims were included (Matthee, 2008).

What is also distinctive is that in the mid-nineteenth century, basic Arabic expressions played a major role in religious education among religious leaders. While in 1965, Arabic became a

recognized subject in school in Cape Town, but the focus was on Arabic in religious affairs not in daily language (Matthee, 2008).

Since the slaves and deportees from Southeast Asia constituted a multilingual community, speaking several Indonesian languages, such as Buginese, Javanese, Makassarese, they adopted Afrikaans as their language of everyday in-group communication. Malay was retained by the Muslims as their language of religious instruction; however, from 1804 onwards, when Islamic schools were allowed by the colonial authorities, Afrikaans became the language of spoken religious instruction (Versteegh, 2015).

By the middle of the 18th century, spoken Afrikaans was established as a new language with its own identity, it was referred to as Cape Dutch, however; it had other names, and Afrikaans was spoken by the people around the Genadendal Missionary Station. It was called Genadendal Dutch by British authorities (Versteegh, 2015).

Slaves were responsible to look after the children of their masters, thus, the early Afrikaans that slaves spoke, had its influence on the next generation of Dutch people at the Cape. It is illustrated that Muslim-Afrikaans is one of the oldest varieties of Afrikaans at the Cape. Many slaves were converted to the Islamic faith to understand the Qu'ran and make text copies out as part of written exercises (Versteegh, 2015).

2. 6. 4 Historical interconnectedness between Afrikaans and Arabic

With BK's diverse history, it is not surprising that the account of local languages is also deeply interwoven. This is the case with Afrikaans and Arabic. Most Muslim Malay people speak a colloquial variety of Afrikaans, which is arguably slightly different to what is today recognized as Kaaps. It is a fusion of local dialects that includes many Malay words and phrases. The phrase "*terima kasie*" means 'Thank you' and "*slamat djalen*" means "good journey to you". Even though these words are of Malay and Javanese origins, they have filtered through the centuries, and are still in use today. Interestingly, words such as '*piesang*' are considered to the standard Afrikaans word for 'banana' but originate from the Malay word '*pesang*.' It will be interesting to see how many of these terms remain in the vernacular (Versteegh, 2015).

Recent evidence suggests that in the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, the Muslim community of Cape Town produced a large number of texts,

written in Afrikaans. In support, the Cape Muslim community had its origin in South Asia and South East Asia; thus, most of its founding members had been forcibly transported by the Dutch colonial authorities. Furthermore, Malay was the language in which they had been educated, and it remained as the written language. However, for oral instruction, the Cape Muslim community shifted to Afrikaans. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman scholar, Abu Baker Effendi, introduced the use of Afrikaans in Arabic script by replacing Malay as a written language (Versteegh, 2015).

Surveys such as those conducted by Schuster (2016) showed that Afrikaans did not become an official language in the Cape Colony until 1925 when it was made equal with English in terms of status. Bantustans Education Act of 1953 is one of the moments that made Afrikaans compulsory for all students to study. According to McCormick (2006:108 cited in Schuster, 2016) said, “As a key feature of the Apartheid scheme, areas were set aside as the only places where blacks would be offered a measure of self-government [and be able to own land]. These were known as ‘Bantustans’ or ‘homelands’” (Schuster, 2016:12).

Eventually, Afrikaans was adopted by the Cape Malay community, not only as the language of speaking and instruction but also as a written language. The literature they produced in this variety and this script is called Arabic-Afrikaans (Versteegh, 2015).

Intergenerational dissemination of the Arabic-Afrikaans variety could also be seen as well, as slaves were responsible for the supervision of the children of their masters; furthermore, the early Afrikaans that slaves spoke had its influence on the next generation of Dutch people at the Cape. Consequently, Muslim-Afrikaans is one of the oldest varieties of Afrikaans at the Cape. Accordingly, many slaves were converted to the Islamic faith to understand the Qur’ān and make copies of its texts (Versteegh, 2015).

In 1842, Islam was practised by Capetonians where the written exercises were done in Cape Afrikaans which was used every day. However, they were using the Arabic alphabet.

As a result, about 1800 persons started writing Afrikaans by using the Arabic alphabet. Initially, only certain words and names were written down by using the Arabic alphabet (Versteegh, 2015).

At the first, Malay Arabic alphabet was used, however; by the nineteenth century, it was replaced by the modified Arabic alphabet of Abu-Baker Effendi (Versteegh, 2015).

In 1871, Abu-Baker Effendi's *Bayaan-diyn* (an explication of the religion) was printed in Arabic-Afrikaans (Afrikaans in the Arabic alphabet). Subsequently, from 1870 to 1950, about 78 books were published in Arabic-Afrikaans (Versteegh, 2015).

As noted from previous literature, there is a large amount of code-mixing between Afrikaans and other languages. According to Mesthrie (1993, cited in Schuster, 2016:43), code-mixing is "the use of words and phrases from two different language systems by the same speaker in the same speech event" (Schuster, 2016: 43).

The first teachers relied on Arabic texts with Malay translation, as a custom. As the number of new converts increased, the use of Malay in education was not an option, however; for the descendants of the original immigrants, Malay had become a traditional religious language, which they did not understand. Eventually, Afrikaans was adopted by the community, not only as the language of speaking and instruction but also as a written language. When they started to write in Afrikaans, they chose the Arabic script, as Malay had always been written in Arabic script which is called Jawi script. The literature they produced in this variety and this script is called Arabic-Afrikaans. Thus about eighty titles have become known (Versteegh, 2015).

Slaves had a variety of different mother languages, so that, they had to learn Dutch to be able to understand their new masters. In 17th and 18th centuries, most slaves spoke the Malay dialects, Buginese-Portuguese. Slaves were given the order to be obligated to learn the Dutch language, because it was not allowed to communicate in Portuguese. It was important for slaves to speak Dutch to buy back their freedom. As a result, a school was started in 1658 which was the first school in the Cape where the slave's children learned Dutch (Versteegh, 2015)

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL & ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the key theoretical framework that underpinned this study. Specifically, the chapter elaborates on the theoretical and analytical framework for the analysis of a discourse analysis of narratives of Malay heritage in gentrified BK, Cape Town.

3.1 Semiotics

It refers to the study of all signs system and how these signs are combined and used to communicate different meanings. The semiotic word derives from the Greek word, semeion that translated as 'sign' or 'mark'. According to Kress (2010), communication in all modes is a social process because meaning always arises through social interaction in context. Kress (2010), refers to his approach as semiotic because it covers the study of all signs by using all modes in everyday communication (Bock and Mheta, 2014).

Semiotics is a technique used to study anything that produces signs, forms of expression and contents. Semiotics is a linguistic and gestural sign. For example, the speaker-signer shows to the listener-observer by performing it. It can be seen that the human world is massively semiotic, where there are signs almost everywhere anytime (Cobley, 2009).

Semiotics involves the study of anything which 'stands for' something else not only of what refers to as 'signs' in everyday speech. Signs usually take the form of words, images, sounds, gestures and objects (Cobley, 2009).

3.2 Analytical Framework

3.2.1 Discourse Analysis (DA)

Discourse Analysis has come to be used with a wide range of meanings which cover a wide range of activities (Brown & Yule, 1983). 'Discourse' is defined as a communal exchange, a social and cultural resource people may draw upon to explain their activities, a linguistic system with rules. In other words, discourse is 'language' per se, as we know it. Discourse research is qualitative because it is an interpretive to make sense of phenomena and to

interpret these phenomena regarding the meanings of people bring to them (Trappes-Lomax, 2004).

Linguists and other social scientists analyze spoken discourse to make explicit as well as to show what talking accomplishes particular actions such as requesting, apologizing and warning within particular discourse communities (Cameron, 2001).

According to Cameron (2001), discourse analysis is seen as a method to discover and examine the facts of the 'social voice' obtained by people (Cameron, 2001).

Discourse analysis helps the researcher to understand how the societies emerge and socialise and how they maintain through speaking and writing activities. It helps also to understand why people interact with one another and how they influence over one another as well as helps to understand how people see reality differently and why they see it in that way (Cameron, 2001).

In this regard, discourse analysis is a study of a language, in other ward, DA is the study of the ways sentences and talking are put together to create texts and interactions as well as how these texts and interactions are suitable into the social world (Jones, 2012).

However, discourse analysis is not concerned with the study of the language only, but also it is the way of how people use the language in reality (Jones, 2012). According to Hymes, although the description of grammar and structure of language were useful and take place in linguistic study, the main focus should focus on how people used this language in real social communication (Bock, 2013).

'Discourse' is defined as a communal exchange, a social and cultural resource people may draw upon to explain their activities, a linguistic system with rules. In other words, discourse is 'language' per se, as we know it. 'Discourse analysis' is, therefore, an analysis of the performative and functional aspects of speech (what it is doing and why); a focus on the construction of events through language (Brown & Yule, 1983). Thus it can also be defined as a group of statements, objects or events that represent knowledge about or construct, or a particular topic. It is a broad understanding of a discipline. Therefore, 'discourse analysis' is an analysis of the ways in which a topic has been constructed within a society; historical analysis of the development of a specific form of knowledge (Brown & Yule, 1983).

Discourse analysis may be used for a variety of reasons. The techniques can reveal often unspoken and unacknowledged aspects of human behaviour, making salient either hidden or dominant discourses that maintain marginalised positions in society. They can reveal or help

to construct a variety of new and alternative social subject positions that are available, which in itself can be very empowering to the most vulnerable individuals. (Brown & Yule, 1983). Moreover, discourse analysis can provide a positive social psychological critique of any phenomenon under the gaze of the researcher (Morgan, 2009).

Linguists and other social scientists analyze spoken discourse to make explicit what normally need to be generated as well as to show what talking accomplishes particular actions such as requesting, apologizing and warning within particular discourse communities (Cameron, 2001).

According to Cameron (2001), discourse analysis is seen as a method to discover and examine the facts of the 'social voice' that obtained by people whose talk analysts collect (Cameron, 2001).

3.2.2 Discourse structure of the narratives

Most scholars agree that the definition of narrative includes at least one character, which experiences at least one event. Although events may be presented in a non-chronological order, the structure is one of cause and effect or action and reaction that connect the narrative events and characters in a story structure (Graaf, Sanders & Hoeken, 2016). The events take place at a certain time and place, also called the setting. These elements (i.e. characters, events, space and time) make narratives specific and coherent (Graaf, Sanders & Hoeken, 2016).

Several previous reviews on narrative effects have shown that narratives can be effective in entertainment education and persuasive contexts (Zebregs et al, 2015), providing valuable insight into the overall strength of narrative effects. However, these reviews failed in distinguishing between different types of narratives based on their characteristics. Few studies have investigated a small but significant entertainment-education narratives effect on persuasion (Van Dijk, 1995).

Only two of the studies found a negative effect of narratives in the sense that the control messages appeared more persuasive than the narrative messages. Thrasher et al. (2012) found that cigarette label warnings in narrative form resulted in lower perceived effectiveness than cigarette label warnings in didactic form (Graaf, Sanders, & Hoeken, 2016). The study of narratives pays attention to the local level of interaction, where stories should be analysed for the ways in which they develop and emerge within specific participation frameworks and for how they are enmeshed in local doings, rather than as finished products (Van Dijk, 1995).

A search of the literature revealed few studies which clarify the variety and diversity of narrative activities documented in everyday life contexts, thus, calling for a rethinking of the retrospective dimension and reflection as connected with narrative meaning-making and even as crucial constituents of it. Previous studies have reported that narratives are joined together in chains or direction, through discursive processes that link speech events to each other, such signs and individuals move along chains of narrating events that occur in different locations. However, they argue that narrative events cannot be entirely understood without looking at the communicative chains to explain how identities, ideological stances, and other forms of social representation are constituted, circulated, and stabilized across time and space in different communities (Van Dijk, 1995).

Over the last twenty years, the ‘narrative turn’ has been performed through the social sciences that adopted this kind which become a major methodological influence in the fields of identity research. There have been a number of studies exemplified that narratives considered as featured structures to make sense of self by organizing time, space and personhood into a unitary frame, therefore, a teller or narrator can be made empirically visible for further analytical observation in the form of identity analysis (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008).

3.3 Narratives

As narratives will be used for this study, this section details out the nature of narratives and reasons for using them for this study.

Narratives are representations and interpretations of the world. However, they cannot be judged as true or false. Their purpose is to provide explanations of actions and events. This functional role is not restricted to explanations in retrospect, but is also a way of forming expectations about future events (Teichert, 2004).

A narrative is the main tool for researching the identities of people within the social sciences in a variety of disciplines. However, it is significant to emphasize the particular type of narrative where it served as the object of this inquiry. Simply put, narrative emphasises the life story, but less the so-called short- range stories of landmark events. However, both types of stories are elicited in research interviews. They are both also involved in personal past experience from which the teller be able to reflect on them the sufficient distance that he has (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012).

It is usually combined with human actions or events that affect them. What is more, it is constitutive for a narrative discourse. Danto (1965) highlights the contrast of a narrative text

with a chronicle, which is a list of sentences; each of them describes an action or event and indicates the time of its occurrence (Teichert, 2004).

The narrative is not the story itself, but rather the telling of the story. Riessman (1993) claims that in spite of their different disciplines, scholars turn to narratives as the organizing principle of human action (Bell, 2003). As a matter of fact, there are three levels of narrative. The first is the level of functions which is supported by Propp and Bremond. According to Propp, the function is “an act of character” (Barthes & Duisit, 1975:244). The second level is action, which used by Greimas, and the last level is narration, which is the level of discourse supported by Todorov (1966) (Barthes & Duisit, 1975).

The narrative in linguistic communication is a framework to understand the human being, by transforming knowledge into telling to narrate their stories (Barthes & Duisit, 1975). This is supported by Barthes and Duisit (1982b:162) who stressed that “a prodigious variety of genres constituting narratives are presented in language, image, gesture, and any myth”. In contrast, Chatman (1978) indicates that narratives are content and expression, like film or novel or any other different media (Barthes & Duisit, 1975).

According to Riessman (1993), scholars see narrative from the same point that being the organizing principle of human action, in spite of their various disciplines (Bell, 2003).

Storytelling is the oldest form of education, where people have always told tales as a way of passing on their cultural beliefs, traditions, and history to future generations. When it comes to the teaching field, stories go straight to the heart to organize and remember information in order to help students develop a positive attitude towards the learning process (Mello, 2001).

Storytelling is a creative art form (i.e. oral literature) to explain life in order to make sense of things. Consequently, the tradition of storytelling facilitates the transfer of knowledge from generation to generation, and it is still considered the most important tradition that humans participate in. Each culture has its own tradition of storytelling, as a means of teaching values. When we talk about stories, we do not mean stories for its own sake, but rather narrations of real-life events and situations that were experienced and talked about (Mello, 2001).

The study of narrative is the main focus to enter into the teller’s personal, social, and cultural identities. Furthermore, most of these studies are grouped together as proposing biographical approaches to identities as ‘narrative identities’. It is clear that the narrative is linked with life and experience because the narrative is the essential way to make sense of them in making

the stories about self. According to McAdams, the term “identity is a life story, as well as, a life story is a personal myth that an individual begins working on in late adolescence and young adulthood in order to provide his or her life with a purpose” (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012:160). Comparatively, Bruner asserts that “in the end, we become the autobiographical narratives by which we ‘tell about’ our lives” (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012:160).

However, there are some problems which face every analyst when attempting to study the interactions between narrative and identity which is the difficulty of defining identity itself. Even though, the identity became one of the most significant concepts not only in linguistics but also in a variety of disciplines in the social sciences (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012).

From previous views, it can be seen that in both views there is kind of developmental and temporal perspectives where it can become the telling and retelling of the life story at the same time, comes unity, coherence and continuous sense of self across time and space (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012).

3.4 Urban apartheid architecture and aesthetics

Housing is a basic fact of human geography and is a reflection of cultural heritage (Behrens, 1991). Buildings have been categorized into styles artificially and as such, the architectural landscape of the eighteenth century Cape colonial settlement was one of the remarkable consistencies. Due to an influx of European settlers, a demand for modest housing was created close to the city centre and the restricted economic base of the nineteenth century. Townsend (1977:14. Cited in Behrens, 1991) posited that colonial architecture generally represents a fusion of influences. This is especially evident in the colourful houses of BK, which is a representation of the locally articulated 'Cape-Dutch' homes with the influence of Georgian classicism which later the 'style' of the Victorian era (Behrens, 1991).

The brilliant and vibrant splash of colours of the BK houses gives it a fantastical feel. Visitors and tourists to Cape Town, on entering the BK, often describe it as “stepping into another world” (Gopper, 2014). The stark contrast between the modern city and the quaint cobbled stoned streets, mosques and brightly coloured houses of orange, yellow, pink, blue, and green reaching towards Signal Hill is one of the many main attractions of the BK area (Gopper, 2014).

3.4.1 Urban Planning

According to Greed (1996), towns and cities are not from God. However, they are the result of centuries of decision-making by individuals and developers, as well as of government intervention (Rhiney, 2012).

Urban planning is the study of the built environment of a city, town, or other urban areas which is related to environmental studies and conservation. Urban Planning is a process of guiding to use and develop land in order to make the city which a better place to live and work (Rhiney, 2012).

Urban planning determines the best uses of land and resources for homes, businesses, and recreation. It also plans ways to renovate slums, to expand cities, and to modernize transportation systems (Rhiney, 2012).

Over the last four decades, urban regeneration has been enthusiastically pursued by urban planners, private developers and government bodies across the world. This occurrence is also evident in South Africa where numerous urban regeneration programmes have been initiated since the early 1990s (Rhiney, 2012).

A location close to the CBD coupled with accessibility is a major factor in the value of urban land. The area developed as a mixed residential area but always maintained a characteristically large Muslim presence. The BK remained one of the only sections of the Cape Town inner city that housed non-whites throughout apartheid. Amosque is central in establishing a sense of communalism and intangible heritage in the BK and has a significant spiritual function and provide spaces for community and social interaction.

The characteristics of the built environment of the BK– a location close to the CBD and building stock with a significant historical and architectural heritage, complete with cobbles and narrow lanes are perfect conditions for gentrification to take place.

3.5 Summary

The last remaining inner-city neighbourhood of Cape Town, the BK, has not yet been completely gentrified but appears to be succumbing to developments. The outcome is a neighbourhood which is in an economic and social flux and challenging the coherence of this once “indigenous” community. This chapter defined the theoretical and analytical framework for the analysis of a discourse analysis of narratives of Malay heritage in gentrified BK, Cape Town.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research design

This chapter provides the outline for the methodology used in this study. It provides information regarding the research design, sample size and information about the participants. Additionally, the instruments for collecting data analysis are also provided. The researcher has adopted a qualitative research approach which is a flexible research strategy, conducting a naturalistic inquiry into the real world, rather than into experimental or manipulated settings.

For this research, a qualitative research (discourse analysis) approach was used to gain an understanding of the underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations expressed by a cross section of Bo-Kaap residents as to their objections to gentrification in the area. Qualitative research is also used to uncover trends in thoughts and opinions, and to dive deeper into the problem (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) also define qualitative research as a set of interpretive, material practices in order to make the world visible which, in turn, converts the world into a series of representations, including: notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self (these materials make up the data for the study). Thus, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach, meaning that qualitative researchers study cases in their natural settings to make sense of and to translate phenomena in terms of the meanings that people bring to them. This corresponds with Kelly (2006: 39), who stated that qualitative researchers “want to make sense of feelings, experiences, social situations or phenomena as they occur in the real world, and therefore they want to study them in their natural setting” (Kelly, 2006: 287). In this way, qualitative research includes any type of research that produces findings narrative analysis. (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013).

The method for this research involves the key informant and focus group interviews, as well as participant observation. Participant observation is a method of social research that attempts to observe social action in its everyday or naturalistic setting first-hand, thereby providing insight into the participants’ meanings and perspectives by bringing the researcher closer to the social world than through other methods. Participant observation involves a researcher joining a group of people and participating in the everyday activities of the participants. As a member, the researcher observes social interaction and talks informally with the group members (Kluckhorn, 1940, cited in Wylie, 2002).

This study is also ethnographic in nature. The term ‘ethnography’ refers to the study of the socio-cultural content, such as families, organizations, groups, institutions, households and relationships of the community and society. An ethnographer is a person who conducts an observation, interviews, participation and finally, applies an interpretation to this data (Tony, Whitehead & Hyg, 2005). Ethnographic observation is not limited to the collection of information only but employs all the senses (Tony, Whitehead & Hyg, 2005).

4.2 Participants

In this study a total of ten participants were involved. The researcher used two focus groups consisting of three participants each, and individual interviews from four key informants (civic association, tour guides, a principal from a local school and a prominent business owner) in order to gain a deeper understanding of the social beliefs, values, and motivations behind the behaviour of the people. All of these key informants were easily sourced through purposive sampling at community events. A purposive sampling method is an approach used in qualitative research, dependent on the use of the prescribed selection criteria. It is also defined as non-probability sampling, purposeful sampling, criterion-based sampling or qualitative sampling, and it involves selecting certain units relating to known characteristics which may be socio-demographic characteristics, circumstances, experiences, attitudes or any other kind of phenomena. Units are chosen to represent specific prescribed groups or characteristics to reflect the diversity of the population of study. Sample group members are specifically chosen to represent a specific location in relation to a key criterion. This sample group must be of relevance to the subject matter in terms of the key criteria so that all aspects of the research questions can be explored (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003).

Purposive sampling is designed to provide a sample that answers the research questions under investigation and is concerned with issues of generalizability in an external context or population. In addition, purposive sampling is used to pick a small number of cases that yield the most in-depth information about a particular phenomenon. Frames of purposive sampling are typically informal, based on the expert judgment of the researcher or some available resources identified by the researcher, and the data generated focused on narrative data (Teddlie, 2007).

A descriptive research methodology was used to conduct this study. All the participants used in the study are long-standing residents of the BK area in Cape Town. The researcher made use of social networking to gain participants for this research. The participants with whom contact had already been made used their social networks to refer the researcher to other individuals who could potentially participate or contribute to the study. An interview was

administered to a selected sample from specific populations (which are the original residents of Bo-Kaap). The interviews were conducted using the researcher's voice recorder and stored as a file on the researcher's personal laptop for transcription, analysis and interpretation.

4.3 Data collection techniques

The researcher has chosen in-depth individual interviews, in addition, to focus group interviews, because it is optimal for the collection of the individual's personal histories and perspectives. Focus groups are essential for the elicitation and discovery of the cultural norms of a group and to generate broad interviews of issues that concern certain cultural groups, such as the Malays of the BK area as well as participant observation.

4.4 Interviews

The method of data collection used semi-structured interviews which are flexible and sensitive to the social context in which the data was produced in. The study also involved close contact between the researcher and the people being studied, where the researcher is the primary instrument or used unstructured methods, which were developed in the disciplines of anthropology and sociology as a means to evoke the social realities of people, for example, focus groups (group discussions), in-depth individual interviews, and participation/observations (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013).

Interviews were used as an instrument to obtain data from individuals, as well as the focus group sessions which were conducted with residents to explain their beliefs and opinions about the heritage, culture, language, religions and the unique Muslim Malay community in the BK area. Thus, these methods served as a significant tool to collect and analyze information from selected interviewees.

Unstructured interviews were used to expose the researcher to unforeseen themes and to help him/her to develop a wider understanding of the social reality of interviewees from their individual perspectives (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2016). Minichiello *et al.* (1990, cited in Zhang & Wildemuth, 2016) defined unstructured interviews as interviews in which neither the question nor the answer categories are established. Punch (1998, cited in Zhang & Wildemuth, 2016) identified unstructured interviews as a way to understand the complex behaviour of people without enforcing any priority of categorization which might diminish the field of interrogation. Patton (2002, cited in Zhang & Wildemuth, 2016) presented unstructured interviews as a natural elongation of participant observation as part of resumption participant observation fieldwork (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2016).

The researcher analysed narratives of Malay heritage in BK by conducting a discourse analysis of the interviews (focus groups and one-on-one interviews) which are often used to obtain information on social and behavioural variables, and the relationship between these variables. Qualitative data collection methods vary using unstructured or semi-structured techniques. Some common methods include focus groups (group discussions), individual interviews, and participation/observations. The sample size is usually small where respondents are selected to fulfil a certain quota (www.snapsurveys.com).

The interviews (both one-on-one and focus group) were conducted and analysed by using discourse analysis (DA). The researcher conducted interviews that comprised of open-ended questions, thus allowing participants a wider scope for expression and clarification.

The interview questions covered the participants' perspectives on the specific culture and perceived heritage of BK. Secondary issues that were addressed in the interviews included Malay culture, history of BK, gentrification and possible solutions for the preservation of that perceived culture. Individual interviews provided an in-depth view of the viewpoints, opinions and personal experiences of the participants. This allowed the researcher to gain an understanding of the argumentation strategies employed by the residents.

All interviews were transcribed into English by the English-Afrikaans speakers residing in Cape Town, BK, and used as the primary data for DA of narratives.

4.5 Data analysis and interpretation

This researcher conducted a discourse analysis of interviews (focus groups and one-on-one interviews). DA is a useful tool for analysis of narratives solicited from interviews as a primary foundation to investigate (complex) social phenomena. 'Discourse analysis' is, therefore, an analysis of the performative and functional aspects of speech (what it is doing and why it is doing); a focus on the construction of events through language (Brown & Yule, 1983). Thus discourse analysis can also be defined as a group of statements, objects or events that represent knowledge about a construct, or a particular topic. It is a broad understanding of a discipline. Therefore, 'discourse analysis' is an analysis of the ways in which a topic has been constructed within a society (Brown & Yule, 1983).

Discourse analysis may be used for a variety of reasons. The techniques can reveal often unspoken and unacknowledged aspects of human behaviour, making salient either hidden or dominant discourses that maintain marginalised positions in society. They can reveal or help

to construct a variety of new and alternative social subject positions that are available, which in itself can be very empowering to the most vulnerable individuals (Mogashoa, 2014:111). Moreover, discourse analysis can provide a positive social psychological critique of any phenomenon under the gaze of the researcher (Morgan, 2009).

Thematic categorization was employed by summarising all the views of the participants. Transcripts were summarised to identify themes. The researcher numbered the lines in which the themes occurred to make it easier to refer to each segment of data. Themes were then listed and grouped together according to the theme. A coding scheme was developed, with each code and sub-code having a number. The coding scheme was then modified to go through the data in detail.

According to Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006:194), frequency (distribution) refers to a “graphical or tabular representation in which the values of a variable are plotted against the number of times (frequency) they occurred”. This means that codes with similar ideas/themes are clustered together to generate one basic theme. Frequency allows for data to be grouped into smaller and more meaningful units. Data can be analysed and compared according to each theme or sub-theme, making analysis more manageable (Bricki and Green, 2007).

For this research, each theme was counted as it occurred, grouped, and presented in tabular form. The frequency of certain/specific themes indicated how important those themes are from the participants’ points of view. More discussion regarding the themes is addressed in the data analysis chapters that follow.

4.6 Ethical considerations

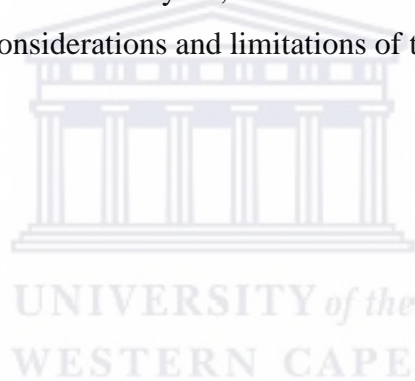
First, ethical clearance was granted by the relevant ethics committee at the University of the Western Cape the study began. Interviewees were given pseudonyms to protect their identity and all the data collected from the interviews were treated in accordance with the ethical standards of conducting interviews. Their anonymity was ensured where appropriate (e.g. coded/disguised names of participants/respondents/institution). The participants were provided with an information sheet (see Appendix B) which explained what the study was about. Participants were informed that they were free to withdraw from the research at any time without any negative or undesirable consequences to themselves. An example of the consent form which they signed can be found in Appendix B.

4.7 Limitations of the Study

I am a Libyan Muslim woman, from Libya and Arabic is my first language. English is my second language; however, I am not familiar with Afrikaans, the native language of many residents of Bo-kaap. I, therefore, had to conduct all my interviews in English. To mitigate this limitation, I was assisted by the Afrikaans speakers residing in BK with the transcription of the Afrikaans data. Additionally, living in the Middle East has influenced my understanding of Islamic heritage. I also have a different vantage point as my viewpoint of Islamic heritage is derived from my experience which is very different from the experience that I had in Cape Town. I am currently a resident of the BK area and I am directly exposed to and involved in its local culture. This allows me to easily travel around the neighbourhood as a fieldworker reflecting and making observations.

4.8 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter reviewed the research methodology of this study. It looked at the research design of the study, which takes a qualitative research approach. This chapter also described how data was collected and analysed, as well as the participant observations and interviews. Lastly, the ethical considerations and limitations of the study were discussed.



CHAPTER FIVE: TANGIBLE HERITAGE DISCOURSES

5.0 Introduction

An anthropological approach to heritages necessitates us to consider it as a social collection of many different, complex and interdependent manifestations (Lenzerini, 2011). Researchers are now searching in their quest for the “message” that lies behind cultural properties. When discussing the tangible heritage of architecture in BK, the ‘message’ is also very important. Below are excerpts of interview data relating to discourses on the tangible heritage of BK.

5.1 BK’s Architectural Landscape

BK is situated at the foot of Lions Head/Signal Hill. Historically, BK and Loader Street/de Waterkant formed one community; however, the construction of the extension of Strand Street in the 1930s divided the community (Todeschini, 2016).

BK is identified as a potential conservation area in the early 1990s. However, it was not declared so at the time of data collection for this study. The boundary of the proposed Heritage Protection Overlay (HPO) is extended to about Table Mountain National Park, and to include the strip of open land to the northwest of Strand Street which currently is part of the Loader Street HPO (Todeschini, 2016). Architectural buildings are linked to cultural heritage because of their historical value, physical links to people of BK and their past. It is not just about conserving building materials but also is about saving the layers and layers of information about their lives and their ancestors (DiMatteo, 2012).

In order to fully appreciate the architectural features of BK, it is important to note that artisans, builders and craftsmen built their own houses in the Malay Quarter, from 1750 onwards. The design of the houses was influenced by the steep slope of Signal Hill. The back of the houses was higher or lower than the front depending on the incline of the hill and the position of the house. After 1810, houses were characterised by fanlights over vertically divided doors (Gopper, 2014).

The participant: -“We have historical colourful houses and cobbled streets which are a part of BK landmark and a big attraction to the tourists ”.

BK is one of the oldest and most fascinating residential areas in South Africa. It is characterized by brightly coloured houses and cobbled stoned streets that date back to the eighteen century.

The earliest houses in BK were built in the Wale and dorp area in the later decades of the eighteenth century which represents the earlier pre-British styles. In this style, the windows, for example, have a fixed, multi-paned top sash, flush with the outside wall and a sliding lower sash and the front doors were of the two-panel '*bo-en-onder*' (above and below) type in addition to the waving parapets which were distinctively baroque, style of European architecture (Behrens, 1991). In BK, the changing elements of style were rapidly assimilated where the proportioning of the windows became slightly fashion and Georgian panelled double doors, where the delicate fanlights were adopted in the construction of new dwellings (Behrens, 1991).

Figure 1 below was chosen to show the character of each house. The façade of these houses still well maintained, to indicate the foundation of the architectural style of buildings, with bright colours.



(Figure 1 Cape Dutch style) (Townsend, 1975).

In this picture, can be seen a row of Cape Dutch brightly coloured buildings with its *stoep* in front of the houses. The structure of the street is very narrow along rows of single-storeyed and *stoep* seat at each end of the houses. Neighbours can set here, and talk together. Windows and doors are flush with the outside wall. The style of windows is sash windows where the frame and glazing bars are heavy. Doors are divided into two parts with moulding. Fanlights look like a square with glass panes.

This 'stoep' expresses a social space, where children can play and people can gather. The Cape Dutch style still remains in BK today, because people still have the desire to protect and preserve their heritage. It is noticeable that most houses are single-storey, this does not mean that they have no money to make changes or build new houses, however, it is in terms of heritage.



(Figure 2 Cape Dutch style) (Townsend, 1975).

Figure 2 represents the row of buildings that look as if they adopted Cape Dutch style as the previous picture, with sash windows, which its frames and glazing bars are heavy, and the doors are divided into parts with square fanlights and glass panes. The frontages have *stoeps* without high walls, sometimes with built-in seats. Almost all the houses are a single storey, however, some of them are double-storey. This style survives in the BK.

In the picture above, the green door is dating back to Georgian design, which is still seen in BK area. It faces the street and opens onto the pavement.



(Figure 3 Georgian style)

In the above picture are narrow flat-roofed houses, with Georgian style evident, some houses are a double storey with long windows and sash sliding, large panes of glass. The frame of windows look thin, and doors divided into six panels. The façades are almost the same with *stoeps*, low walls and stairs in front of the houses. The street has been paved and the houses open up to the street which is elevated by a few steps.

The picture expresses the unique architectural styles of bright houses, which are semi-attached. This picture shows the sharing culture that is dominant in BK. In a sense, the architectural choices are emblematic of the closeness of the Muslim community in BK.



(Figure 4 Double storey of Cape Dutch style, Wale Street)

The picture (Figure 4) above shows a double storey with Cape Dutch architectural styles. Windows and doors are flush with outside low walls where neighbours could stand and talk

together. Despite the subtle variation in the buildings, the houses are very similar with beautiful bright different colours and charming streetscapes. These groups of buildings contribute architecturally and historically an important aspect of the area.

This is the main street (Wale Street) in BK, which plays a central role because it is the entrance into BK. Thus, these rows of buildings contribute to evoke tourist's attention to the city. This is why residents always attempt to maintain these styles as part of the area's heritage.⁵



Figure 5a (left), picture of *Al-Shafee* mosque in 1859 - Figure 5b (right), picture of *Al-Shafee* mosque in 2017

The minaret of *Al-Shafee* mosque in Figure 5a represents simple, subtle geometry of the building as part of BK's heritage and at the same time represents its architectural importance, which in turn gives it a strong character. Once again we see the stoep or veranda at the front entrance of the mosque. Along cobbled streets, there are brightly coloured houses, consistent with the look of the entire area.

There is no big difference in the '*Shafee*' building, save for an amplifier added to increase the volume of the call for prayer, and the street has been paved, even the building next to the mosque did not change, only in colours.

⁵ Notably, residents maintained their homes despite the fact that their area had, at that time, still not been declared a national heritage area.

5.2 Buildings and stories

Alongside the tangible existence of historical architectural buildings which itself speaks volumes, there are also stories which these building tell. In BK it becomes clear that the stories of people's past and the homes they built are indelibly interlinked. Historically, significant buildings contribute to any city's cultural and economic well-being, not to mention the vibrancy of street life (DiMatteo, 2012).

"I think the mosques are a heritage, and the historical house in Pentz Street is part of our heritage".

Khadiga, one of the participants, demonstrates that BK has a lot of heritage which is seen in mosques, historical houses, and its architecture. The façades of the homes appear to be very different from modern homes, Cape Dutch and Cape Georgian styles predominate the BK area. These styles appear to be very similar. No one could change or demolish this part of the heritage. The oldest house in BK was built in Pentz Street, an attraction to the tourists from all over the world. The research objective to investigate the historical Malay heritage in BK as it was articulated in narratives of residents' memories of the neighbourhood has

"The cemetery of Tuan Guru is here and (.) I think an old house are also here in BK".

Hassan indicates that Tana Baru cemetery is part of BK history that dates back to the 1700s.

"BK is build up into the street, there is not a side-walk, uhm so we have what call it *stoep* which becomes part of the street a *stoep*, is the front part of the house like a veranda".

Adeela explains that stoep is a typical feature and flanked by two cement benches, it is important for BK residents, because of its purpose of being a place where family and friends meet and socialize. It appears that the architecture of most houses in BK has assimilated both the Cape Dutch Styles as well as the Georgian Style. One can argue that the stoep has different functions to other stoeps in other areas in Cape Town as the BK stoeps are part of a community and not simply part of the building.

Altman (1998) notes that the physical environment is not only an influencing factor in people's behaviour but, it is also a medium, milieu or context in which personal relationships are embedded, and without which they cannot be viable. Buildings are more than just props in people's lives; they are imbued with meaning and symbolize people's personal histories,

interpersonal relationships, and shared in people's relationships, families, communities and their culture (Boyer, 1994).

- "I would say obviously, I grew up in a very- the environment has changed when I grew up, BK had mixed group of people. When I say mixed, I mean people of all kinds of faiths whether they were Hindu, whether they were Christians, whether they were IsiXhosa, whether they were called colour".

Khadiga confirms that BK is a mixed community from different countries and different nationalities came in, to stay in the area. Resulted in economic diversity within the community. Arguably, negative and positive changes within the community were the result of the gentrification.

5.2.1 Structure of BK building

As stated previously, housing is a basic fact of human geography which reflects cultural heritage with its structure or form. The structure of buildings has been seen as reflection of the values of particular groups. The building types in the BK area reflect the historical and inherited values of these buildings (Behrens, 1991).

Frescura (1988), cited in Behrens, 1991) argued that the ephemeral architecture of South Africa's people is a "sophisticated mirror of their social structures, inheritance patterns, economic activities, religious rituals and ultimately cosmological beliefs" (Behrens, 1991: 3).

The heritage of BK is reflected in the architectural styles of the homes, streets, design of streets and *stoeps*. Building of BK holds cultural significance so that they could not be demolished irrespective of its age or state.

-“Because the houses are close to each other and the neighbours are close-knit, so there is a lot of interaction amongst neighbours, there are a lot of activities for the youth, for the seniors, and for all the BK, as part of the culture”.

Fatima declares that BK community is a very close community. A lot of people moved into BK so that the culture of BK became shared by other Muslim communities. The houses of BK seem to have common characteristics. Its design also allows and facilitates for direct interaction with neighbours.

- "The architecture of the buildings are also a heritage value".

Mastora expresses that BK has a heritage value depicted in the architecture of the buildings. Homes of BK automatically provide a safer environment because people listen closely to each other- a lot of people who come to BK area feel the sense of safety because people know each other quiet well, families that are grown up.

BK is a safe area, this is why people prefer to come in and stay in BK because people know each other. Most homes in BK are built up into the street, there is no side-walk. This means that BK has a culture of closeness, sharing and community.

-"You interact with your neighbours whether you want to or not. It is cultural thing and it's became a tradition, but it is also a part of the heritage of sharing like share my place".

Adeela explains that BK has a traditional heritage of caring and sharing. The closeness and proximity of neighbours to each other may have impacted on the closeness of the buildings themselves. . Walls are literally shared amongst neighbours, and this could index the closeness of the culture in the early beginnings of BK.

5.2.2 Features of BK

Initially, BK had the oldest surviving buildings which were made by thatched roofs. Others were flat-roofed with curvilinear parapets and were single-storeyed with small-paned sash windows. These are typical features of the Cape Dutch style that was predominant in the eighteenth century. Subsequently, this style was later merged with the English architectural styles of the Victorian and Edwardian periods (Todescini, 2003).

BK has sites like mosques which everyone can go in and consider it as attractive especially to the tourists. BK also has Muslim primary school (*madrassahs*) all over the area.

-"They can see our lifestyle, they accept the fact that every facet of socialization in our *deen* (religion) which based on the respect for each other, the respect for other's property, the respect for other people as persons".

Faique describes how BK community is based on robust socialization. For the residents of BK, its streets are viewed as safe places where children can play freely. This is one of many reasons that most people prefer to reside in BK. A high percentage of people who lived in the

BK area for long periods have extended family networks throughout the neighbourhood. Unsurprisingly then, BK holds strong links with Muslim traditions and Malay cultural practices where the practising of Islam is considered a natural way of life (Davids, 1985).

Al-awal mosque is the first and oldest mosque in South Africa. During the first British occupation in 1798, in BK, it was the main religious institution during the years 1804 until 1850.

The architecture of the BK is essentially characterised by the width of the land with limited amount of building space. Therefore, the façade of the building was narrow and as a result, the courtyard or garden was situated behind the house and was paved with stone or cobbles to accommodate for the limited space (Gopper, 2014).

-“BK has not big homes, has small homes so when we afford money in order to buy a big home to live more comfortably, people are prepared to go out BK. However, BK is the best place to live in the whole Cape Town, people are prepare to go to Cape Flat, because they could have a big house”.

Khadiga indicates that according to the BK’s geography, homes are made up of long rows and most of them single-storeyed and flat-roofed houses. The facades of these houses are on the street and the parapets are decorated by mouldings. Although BK is the best and safest place in Cape Town, some residents moved out into Cape Flat to live in bigger houses.

5.3 BK Culture through Architecture

The understanding of BK architecture requires an understanding of the presence and absence of human beings and also requires an understanding of the movement of people through the area. This gives meaning to the built environment (Behrens, 1991). Human beings do not exist within a physical environment but they interact with it and derive significant meaning from it (Behrens, 1991).

5.3.1 Streets

The cobbled roads in BK are part of the heritage of the area where children can move and play in the streets, especially during *Ramadan*, they go from one house to another and take cookies, so that this heritage must be preserved from generation to generation.

As stated previously, “The Malay Quarter” was where the Malay community was housed during apartheid and was elevated over other mixed race groups as it was considered the ‘most stable’ community (Kotze, 2013).

-“The first roads that were made in South Africa like the stone roads, and cobbled roads, were in BK”.

-“ *Al-awal* mosque is very important, it is declared as a national monument by the Nelson Mandela, the cobble stone around the corner.....also our museum here in Wale street are important landmarks. BK is well known for its (11) mosques and also the uniqueness of the people living in BK are a major landmark of this particular area”.

Faique declares that homes, *Al-awal* mosque which is declared as national monument, architecture, museum and street of Cape are symbols of BK heritage. The uniqueness of BK people also is a part of the heritage.

- “Certain roads are still made up of cobblestones and not tar- a lot of people- like roads, it is still original state, so I would say it is a heritage site”.

Cobble stone streets are part of BK ’s heritage. It is regarded as one of BK’s landmarks where tourists come and see this heritage. Although there has been some gentrification, these unique streets still exist nowadays.

The sense of a place expresses the feeling of attachment or belonging to a physical environment. Thus, a place or neighbourhood also refers to the sense of personal and collective identity which is created through this sense of belonging. Jacobs argued that a deeply human trait is attached to the place, therefore; people do not watch over a landscape and say ‘this belongs to me’ however; they say, ‘I belong to this’ (Butterworth, 2000). If a person has lost his place, he will not lose it as a commodity, but he will lose his identity (Butterworth, 2000:6).

5.3.2 Person, place and living heritage: Tuan Guru

In the below snippet Azra points out the importance of mosques in the area and relates it to the culture of BK.

-“We have strong religious history of the first mosque in South Africa. The first Muslim cemetery in South Africa is here. We have old buildings, so we have the history of the architecture, and then very importantly we have the history of cultural identity of the coming back all the ways of slaves, so that very mixed cultures still exist here now”.

Azra indicates that BK has a strong history such as, mosques. *l-Auwal* mosque in Dorp Street is the oldest mosque in South Africa and regarded as a cultural ecological base for the grouping of the Muslim community and the cemetery of Muslims. It is a Muslim cemetery known as Tana Baru that dates back to the 1700s. It is considered the first official burial ground for Muslims in what was then known as the “*Slamse Buurt*”, which translates as the Muslim neighbourhood (Davids, 1985). The data suggests that, Malay history constitutes mixed cultures which existed from the first emancipated slaves who moved into the area and still exist these days. The culture of Malay forefathers and traditions greatly impacted the local life of Muslim people of BK.

-“We have after-school *madrases* in the area where the children to learn the Quran”.

Hassan explains that the BK community has a religious practice where Islamic school (*madrases*) aside secular school to learn the Quran has become a habit. According to Tichman, the BK area was mainly Muslim by the middle of the 19th Century and was considered as the home of the Cape Malays where Malays were allowed to freely practice their religion in BK, which eventually lead to the construction of a local religious school called (*Madrasha*). In 1793, the first *Madrasha* was erected in Dorp Street, which was later established as a Mosque, known as the Dorp Street Mosque becoming the first religious institutions of the Cape Muslims with very few students (Free Blacks and Eastern slave children), to read and write Arabic. Hence he was nicknamed "Tuan Guru" meaning 'Mister Teacher' (Davids, 1985).

-“Tuan Guru is sold as a tourist attraction”.

Khadiga indicates that the social and cultural uniqueness of Cape Town is largely due to the important role played by the Muslim people through the centuries. Tuan Guru’s tomb is one of the tomb sites of a saint of Islam was part of BK heritage as well as an attraction for tourists. Thus, the research objective of exploring tangible history, physical objects and places of cultural significance as semiotic material in narrations of Cape Malay identity is

achieved through the outcome of the theme 3 emerging in the participant's interpretation of the tangible history of Cape Malay.

5.4 Rich cultural heritage

- "Most of properties in BK are heritage sites".

Khadiga states that most properties in BK are regarded as heritage sites with unique architectural styles. According to participants, two basic styles predominate the Malay Quarter or BK area. These are Cape Dutch and Cape Georgian appearing to be very similar. The common elements in these two styles are the windows, fanlights, doors and parapets. The original design of the proportion of the homes was Cape Dutch inspired. As a result of the British occupation, it was subsequently influenced by the Georgian style and Adam proportions (Townsend, 1975). A common feature of these houses is the typical white moulding across the front of the house. Such as the white house in Bo-Kaap, it is the farmhouse which is the oldest house in the whole area. The research objective of investigating the historical Malay heritage in BK as it is articulated in narratives of residents' memories of the neighbourhood is achieved through theme.

- "The life in the BK area is very relaxed, it is very co-operative, people help each other".

Faique explains how the BK community is culturally built on sharing and caring as a part of their heritage - a concept that still exists in BK. According to the data, the majority of residents in the BK area would not sell their properties because of emotional attachment of their community, heritage and religion. This is supported by what Shappodine (2013) said that BK community is still steeped in a tradition of assisting each other through what is called '*kanallah Jobbies*' which would safeguard the community's culture and religion against gentrification.

BK developed from the 1780 and housed many slaves and a number of "Free Blacks. It has population of about six thousand (6000), more than 90% are Muslims. It was originally a Malay Muslim area but has recently become an exciting melting pot for different races and cultures (Bo-kaap.co.za).

- "BK will not change in terms of its religiosity, but will change definitely in terms of developments. In the next 20 years BK will be different, because in 20 years back BK was different".

Faique confirms that BK area will be different in the next 20 years due to the recent trend of developments. BK area is the last remaining inner-city neighbourhood of Cape Town which has not yet been completely gentrified but appears to be succumbing to this process. The outcome is a neighbourhood which is in an economic and social flux challenging the coherence of community and its traditional lifestyle and the conservation and preservation of the built environment. As a result, it seems that gentrification may be slowly growing in the BK community. The research objective to investigate (what challenges are faced) the narratives by BK residents for and against re-development of the area is achieved.

- "I believe in a transformation, I believe that we always change and things must change all the time".

Faique believes in transformation because he thinks that change is a natural thing. According to this participant, these changes may not be a result of gentrification only, but also because of a community adapting to an externally changing world. The data suggest that BK is undergoing social transformation such that cultural change might have taken place as implied by the demographic data.

Durkheim (1915), notices that space and time are social constructions, where they depict the continuity of human existence as a line that concerns with space and time. At the same time, they relate to a person's activities in space through the temporal cycles of the day or a lifetime. Thus a study of the historical geography of space and time proposes that the roots of the social construction of space and time rely on the production and features of social relations (Harvey, 1990).

- "The BK is an open area like the country is open, no more apartheid, so the people can live where ever they want. If they have money, they can live here, close the city, close to the waterfront, to the beaches. So BK is a good place to come and live in".

Faique took a pro-gentrification view to get more understanding of different dynamics in the area and perceives a positive cultural impact of gentrification as the general upgrading of houses and business developments and this type of change is not a component of cultural and intangible change.

Even though the Muslim population is considerably small in relation to the total population, they have made a profound contribution to the religious, social, economic, cultural and political development of South Africa. During the darkest days of apartheid, they played an effective role in protest politics with an impact far greater than their numbers would suggest.

In spite of the fact that, people differed in their faiths and backgrounds, they fought together in the struggle against apartheid. They also faced major challenges to sustain their Islamic legacy and Muslim faith (Bham, 2006).

-“Community comes together, when *Janaza* community comes together, when there is a *Mawlud* they get together. That is keep the Muslims together”.

Mohammad expresses how the sense of community preserves the identity of the community. The residents build a linkage between themselves which creates a stronger link between them. This preserves their cultural identity and Islamic religious doctrine which were very strong and still strong. This managed to place and maintain the identity of the Cape Muslims.

Additionally, the concepts of time and space are significant to understand the function of phenomena in the natural world, because they are part of processes of social change. Time is important to Physical Geographers to explain the spatial patterns that they study in historic terms (Harvey, 1990).

By the 1760s there was very little residential building development in the space which later became what is known as BK. Thus, the development of this area was continued to be in the form of a modest section (Göpper, 2014).

BK has always been a racially and culturally diverse community. It was initially occupied by slaves of Malay or Javanese descent. After slavery was abolished in 1834, many freed slaves made the area their home. BK soon became a hotbed for its teachings, after the Malays arrived in the Western Cape in the 17th century. The religion then was attractive to former slaves, who rejected the Christianity of the British and the Dutch (Prown, 1982).

An interesting fact of note is that there was increased pressure for modest housing among the freed slaves after the emancipation of slaves in 1834. This is the result of social and historical changes of the space. While free slaves moved into the new parts of BK. Subsequently, the old Malay Quarter developed as a mixed neighbourhood with a predominance of Muslims (Göpper, 2014).

- "I have Italian neighbour and American neighbour, but the sense of community is completely lost now. During *Ramadan* we used the exchange amongst ourselves, but now we just live on our own”.

Khadiga indicates that lifetime changes from time to time. The changes in demography in society in the area has impacted on physical aspects of the area. In other words, by modernization, everything becomes impacted. BK became a mixed area and diverse cultures

came in, so, gentrification in the BK is more about a shift to diverse identities, because of different nationalities staying in BK. According to the participants, the sense of community is getting lost.

5.4.1 *Karaamats* and its relation with BK

An interesting fact of note is that Islamic tradition in Cape Town was from 250 years ago. In terms of local beliefs, the region of Muslims of BK comprises the shrines of various Muslim leaders who were brought to the Cape as slaves in the later part of the 17th and 18th century (Green & Murray, 2012).

About 23 shrines known as *kramaats*, *aulyahs* “friends of Allah”, from Cape Town and around the world, in both Klein Constantia and in Tuan Guru in Cape Town. These *kramaats* contributed to the Islamic identity of South Africa (Green & Murray, 2012).

-“Foundation started here in BK. Islam was started here more than three hundred years ago. Tuan Guru was the first Muslim in BK”.

According to Fekry, Islam started from BK. “*karaamats*” “Friends of Allah” such as, Tuan Guru which was known as “Tuang” to refer to familiarity, Imam Abdullah Kadi Abdus Salaam and other leaders who came to the Cape and brought Islam with them then established and spread it throughout Cape Town. The data suggests that these shrines were regarded as an intangible cultural heritage for the people of BK. Before emancipation, Tuangs were not allowed to practice their religion, this is the reason why they taught Islam on the mountains at nights and they died and buried there.

-“Our fathers and grandfathers and their fathers originally came from the eastern country such as Java and Indonesia”.

According to the previous participant, their ancestors were from multiple communities of Indian immigrants in the 19th century, black South African converts, as well as more recent Muslim immigrants from other African regions. Recently, the descendants of the early Muslims form part of the larger so-called ‘coloured’ population which historically has been referred to by a variety of different terms, including ‘Mussulman’, ‘Mohammadan’, ‘Coloured Muslims’ and ‘Malay’. However, today they are referred to as ‘Cape Muslims’ or ‘Cape Malays’ which they forcibly brought to the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch East India Company, between 1652 and 1807 (Jappie, 2011).

Mastora suggests that the origins of *kramaats* are from Java and Indonesia that are regarded as a heritage of BK which makes BK a unique place and is considered as a holy site that contributes to creating Islamic identity in South Africa. These *karamats* remain as symbol of struggles of the Islamic community in the Cape.

5.5 The enduring link between Afrikaans and Arabic

In the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, the Muslim community of Cape Town produced a large number of texts, written in Afrikaans. The Cape Muslim community had its origin in South Asia and Southeast Asia; thus, most of its founding members had been transported by force by the Dutch colonial authorities. Malay was the language in which they had been educated, and it remained as the written language. However; for oral instruction, the Cape Muslim community shifted to Afrikaans. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman scholar Abu Bakr Effendi introduced the use of Afrikaans in Arabic script by replacing Malay as a written language (Versteegh, 2015).

- "They spoke different languages and they started to mix these languages together. The lingua franca developed in other words, then a new language was born".

Faique stresses that different mixed languages were spoken by BK ancestors, which is incorporated together to get the Afrikaans language. Afrikaans, in its crudest forms, was first spoken at the Cape by the slaves during the Dutch colonial period. In Islamic cultures, the importance of the Arabic script, and finding beautiful ways in which to render it, comes from the use of the script to record the Divine word, presented in the Qur'an. Thus, manuscripts prove how the Arabic alphabet was used to write the Afrikaans language by the Javanese present at the Cape during Dutch colonial rule.

The language of induction for newcomers in the Cape Colony was Afrikaans. The first contacts between the Dutch colonists and the indigenous Khoesans, a Dutch pidgin developed, which subsequently became the vernacular language of large parts of the colony. Meanwhile, Afrikaans was not the standard language in the Cape Colony, where only Dutch was recognized as an official written language, albeit in fierce competition with English. Afrikaans did not become an official language in the Cape Colony until 1925 (Versteegh, 2015).

“Our language was actually Afrikaans. We were predominantly Afrikaans speakers”.

Mohammad expressed the fact that Afrikaans was a dominant language, especially among the older generation. It was also taught in high school and in the university was taught Afrikaans Dutch. Another participant, Mohammad, related his experience of using Afrikaans and Arabic as below:

- "The South African government in that time was speaking a Dutch language and from the Dutch, they spoke a language that is known now Afrikaans, but now it became an official language. People used to write in the Arabic calligraphy they used to write Afrikaans".

Mohammad states that the Dutch language was the first language spoken in South Africa. Then they spoke Afrikaans which it became an official language written in Arabic calligraphy. Later, it became useful in everyday connection. In the first instance, Malay Arabic alphabet was used, however; by the 19th century, it was replaced by the modified Arabic alphabet of Abu-Baker Effendi, who visited the Cape in 1860. And then, he modified the Arabic alphabet to fit the Afrikaans sounds to present Afrikaans phonetically (Versteegh, 2015).

In 1842, Islamic religion was practised between Capetonians where the written exercises were done in Cape Afrikaans which was used every day. However, it was in the Arabic alphabet.

As a result, about 1800 people started writing Afrikaans by using the Arabic alphabet. Initially, only certain words and names were written down by using the Arabic alphabet (Versteegh, 2015).

- "Our accents are slightly different and also we have a lot of terminology that are used in our language on a daily basis comes from roots of Arabic, and from Indonesia".

According to Azra, BK language has slightly different accents and also has many terminologies rooted in Arabic and Indonesia. This data suggests that there is a difference in the way they speak and the way they communicate with others.

In 1871, Abu-Baker Effandi Bayaan-diyn (an explication of the religion) was printed in Arabic Afrikaans (Afrikaans in the Arabic alphabet). Subsequently, from 1870 to 1950, about 78 books were published in Arabic-Afrikaans. Nowadays, some Muslims still use the Arabic-Afrikaans in their everyday connection (Versteegh, 2015).

As a researcher, I noticed that most Muslims in BK speak Afrikaans. Initially, it was quite difficult to understand which language was spoken, but when they spoke to foreigners, they

used English, then automatically, they use Afrikaans. Later, it was investigated that the dominant language in the area is Afrikaans, especially among the old generation. They use English only with foreigners then they shift language into Afrikaans.

5.6 Summary

In this chapter I have shown the architecture of BK landscape. I argue that architectural design features such as the use of a stoep and the semi-detached closeness of buildings are emblematic of the Muslim community that first built it and those that still reside there. I later reveal how significant people, such as Tuan Guru have been honoured in BK for his role in ushering in Islam during the 1700s. Finally, I briefly explore the enduring link between BK Afrikaans, place and community as a reflection of living tangible history.



CHAPTER SIX: IDENTITY, CULTURE AND GENTRIFICATION

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, many themes resonate with what has been discussed as 'Living heritage' in the literature review chapter. The significant social and economic value attached to discourses of heritage are discussed here with specific reference to local BK residents' views of what their heritage entails. Saliently, it also sheds light on the complex and nuanced umbrella term 'Cape Malay' used by participants to describe Muslim slaves in the Cape during colonialism.

As stated previously, a 'living heritage' is defined as "The practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills - as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith - that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (Tsai, 2014:2). What follows is a thematic analysis of the notion of a 'living heritage' as seen through the eyes of local residents.

6.1 Aesthetics and BK Identity

This theme focuses on the aesthetic appeal of the area. Azra elaborates on why she believes that BK has visual appeal to prospective homeowners or business:

"The location of BK is a landmark, because if you go up high in BK, you have stunning views of the mountain, views of the harbour, and the views of the city. The location in terms of how close we are to the city is itself a landmark. It is very convenient to some people who work in the city".

Azra confirmed that BK is located in a naturally beautiful surrounding including the buildings, it was an archaeological area from the 1800s making BK rich in culture, tradition and heritage. BK is also well-situated because of its proximity to the Town.

-“Our museum is here in Wale street. It is an important landmark”.

Faique announced that the BK Museum is situated in one of the oldest urban residential areas in Wale Street in BK, Cape Town. In 1978, it was a historical house at 71 Wale Street then converted into the BK Museum (Gencoglu, 2015). In the past, it hosted a range of traditional artefacts such as utensils, clothing items and addition to images, painting of the 1800's are that highlighted the cultural contribution made by the first Muslim settlers. The Museum is also considered a constant attraction to tourists visiting the area (Gopper, 2014). The moulding that outlines the façade of the houses is reminiscent of Dutch influence. This is, in fact, the BK museum which was, in the past, a major stop for tourists visiting BK. The structure appears to be different from other homes in many ways. Firstly, it is free-standing,

and not attached to another structure. The stoep appears to much larger and flanked by stone benches on both sides (media1.mweb.co.za/iziko/bokaap/history).

This theme focuses on the aesthetic view of BK the area. Hassan explains his thought about BK's appeal to prospective homeowners and business:

-“I would say firstly it is view, it is the view from BK. We have Table Mountain and safety, security and proximity to all the places like a town, waterfront, and the beach”.

As indicated in the above snippet, BK has remarkable scenery. A clear indication is reflected in the BK tourism experience which gives tourists the opportunity to go around BK area to see the aesthetics and traditional Cape (MacCannell (1999), cited in Gopper, 2014). Pointed out that the tourists fascinated with pure and simple lifestyle of other cultures (Gopper, 2014).

6.2.1 Predominant Islamic culture in BK

This theme focuses on the Muslim culture in BK. Faique clarifies why he thinks that predominant culture in Bk based on Islam:

-“We have the first mosque that was ever built in South Africa in this area and that also is part of the culmination of the history of this particular area, many people are Muslim, living here, they can see how we live, they can see our life style, they accept the fact that every facet of socialization in our *deen* is based on respect for each other”.

In the above snippet, Faique clarified that the first and oldest mosque built in South Africa in 1798. It was the main religious institution from 1804 until 1850, named *Al-awal* mosque in Dorp Street is the first to have practised most of the Cape Muslim traditions. It was originally a two storey house that underwent into many alternative and magnifications to accommodate more people and appears to be a constant attraction to tourists who are fascinated by the lifespan of this Mosque (Gopper, 2014).

Dauids (1980), cited in Gopper (2014) states that the Auwal mosque regarded as the birth of many Cape Muslim traditions like Rampie-sny. The word '*rampies*' originates from the Indonesian word '*rampai*' meaning 'potporri'. '*Sny*' is the Afrikaans word for cut. *Rampies-sny* describes the practice of cutting rose petals to mark the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. This festival is practised annually by the women of BK community on the Prophet Mohammad's birthday. According to Habib (2008), BK is a close community with a simple life where children played in the streets and all the residents of BK knew each other (Gopper, 2014).

-“ *Al-awal* mosque is very important, it is declared as a National Heritage Monument by the late Nelson Mandela”.

Al-awal mosque is important to the Bk community because it is the first and oldest mosque in South Africa and the various religious festivals performed within its walls:

In this snippet, Faique reiterated that *Al-awal* mosque is a very important landmark in BK area and declared as a national heritage monument by Nelson Mandela. Although the mosque was declared a heritage monument – the suburb was not declared a heritage suburb- as opposed to Observatory, Mowbray.

It was built in 1798 during the first British occupation of the Cape of Good Hope and was the main religious instituting during the years 1804 until 1850. Imam Abdullah Kadi Abdus Salaam, known as Tuan Guru, was the first Imam at this Mosque (Davids, 1985). Tuan Guru came from Indonesia and it is at this mosque that many of the Cape Muslim traditions abound.

-“It’s an Islamic environment, it’s just Islamic, although there is Christian people, but ninety-nine percent are Muslims, because you see the beauty in *Ramadan*, all people come together, they go to the Mosque, they share and care about each other”.

-Aisha confirmed that BK is a strong Islamic environment and the people are regarded as religious/traditional people. Some traditional practices are unique to BK only, such as the religious occasions of *Ramadaan*, festivals of *Eid* and communal prayer gatherings, they were as a crucial factor to reinforce socialization of children, which makes the cultural and religious way of their life, a part of their personality (Davids, 1980). There are also *Adhkār* (spiritual remembrances) used that are unique to the Cape Muslims (Baker, 2009).

-“A Dutch Company called Verenigde Oos-Indies Kompanje or The East- Indian Company who came here (.) in the late of the 17th Century and the early of the 18th Century and they colonised this part of South Africa that called the Western Cape”.

According to Faique, *AL-awal* mosque was previously a house where Tuan Guru (Abdullah Kadi Abdus Salaam) was put in that house by the Dutch after he had released from a prison in Robben Island in 1792, and started to teach the people to read and write Arabic. When the BK area was colonised by the Dutch, it was impacted on the architectural styles of BK houses. Many renovations boast all the latest modern amenities such as fans, lush carpets, marble tops and many more features were undergone (Nigel Worden; Heyningen, Bickford-Smith, 2004). The windows appear to be Cape Dutch and Georgian inspired. The Mosque

boasts a minaret and is fairly middle eastern in its design and structure. The *Awwal* Mosque appears to be a constant attraction to tourists who are fascinated by the lifespan of this Mosque.) (Nigel Worden; Heyningen, Bickford-Smith, 2004).

-“It is very Islamic(.) traditional way of life here”.

Aisha announced that culture of BK retained has strong ties with a traditional Islamic culture, which resulted from Malay forefathers and their traditions.

6.2.2 The Malay culture as a dominant way of life in BK

This theme focuses on Malay cultural lifestyle of BK. Mastora explains why she thinks that BK inhabitants were heavily influenced by Malay culture:

"Historically, the area is known as the Cape Malay. A Tana Baru, Tuan Guru, they are from Malaysia, and introduced Islam. They came with all skills, values, spirituality and with *Dean* of Islam".

Mastora mentioned that Tana Baru could be useful tour site. She indicates that Tana Baru and Tuan Guru are originally from Malaysia. They brought values and skills. They also introduced Islam in BK area and then it resulted in a mixture of Malay and Islamic culture which became as an aspect of their living and culture heritage.

“BK is a culture of Indonesia and Malaysia, (.) they brought the culture from Indonesia and Malaysia and they practicing that culture here in BK”.

-Mansur announced that BK is a mixture of Indonesian and Malaysian cultures.

the Malay identity is a problematic one which was constructed during apartheid and promoted as a homogeneous group who are descendants originated from different origins. These groups are united by certain common cultural, behavioural, linguistic or religious practices and traits. which made up from descendants of slaves from India, Madagascar, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mozambique, and other places. However, based on this reality, the ‘Cape Malays’ term was used by the apartheid regime as a tool for its main philosophy, it was used also by the Department of Home Affairs as a racial classification (Baker, 2009).

-“The culture of BK is very unique, it is different to anywhere in South Africa, and I would say anywhere in the world”.

-Hassan announced that BK has its own specific culture, defined by the willingness of the community to assist each other. BK is one of the areas that was declared a heritage site

because it contains artefacts that make up the heritage of the area such as the BK museum, which is a monument and significant site emphasising on the beginning of Islam at the Cape and Malay culture. According to Donaldson *et al.*, (2012:4). Cited in Bassadien (2017). "BK has been identified as a prime tourism destination due to it's various distinctive cultural and historical sites of significance in the neighbourhood precinct and thus proclaimed a provincial heritage area in 1999". (Bassadien, 2017:128).

-“We got culture from Indonesia and people from India”.

-Mohammad added that BK culture is traceable to Indonesian and Indian origins. They were two main groups who originally came as slaves, political prisoners, and exiles to the Cape. They all spoke the Malay language, a trading language at that time.

Shell (1997) is one of the researchers who explained that the Cape Muslims were known as ‘Cape Malay’ because Malay was the lingua franca of the Indonesian Archipelago and the language was widely spoken in the Cape during and prior to the nineteenth century (Cassiem, 2004).

Most Muslims of the Western Cape were placed in the ‘Cape Malay’ category and the term remained utilized by those who moved to other parts of the country such as Mafeking, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth, Durban, and Johannesburg as well as to the neighbouring states like Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia. During the socio-political and economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s, the coloureds and their sub-categories added the term ‘so-called’ to their ethnic identities, because of their perceived ‘identity crisis’. It follows that the younger generation of the ‘Cape Malay’ group preferred to be called South African Muslims instead of South African ‘Cape Malays’, thus using the religious label instead of the ethnic one (Cassiem, 2004).

Intangible heritage of BK includes longevity of traditional Malay arts, music and dance, like the Minstrel Carnival. Malay cuisine is evidence of the unique and particular Cape Malay identity. This authorized heritage is often protected and preserved from generation to generation (Högberg, 2012). Below is an example of authorized heritage as identified by Azra:

-“We have an old building, so we have the history of the architecture and the buildings”.

Azra confirms that BK has a historic architecture which endorses the values and customs of the close-knit community of BK. According to Azra, most buildings in BK are traditional Cape Dutch style homes with their elevated ‘*voorstoeps*’. This could confirm one of our

themes, that homes in BK are brightly coloured, not as a result of traditional purpose, but rather for aesthetic reasons. Such houses appear much more attractive to the foreign tourists and might solicit photo taking because these homes regarded as "architecture dates back into the' origins' of 'Cape-Dutch architecture and it was seen as reflections of economic capability, the social status and the values of particular groups, such as ethnic groups (Behrens, 1991).

-“Food in BK is different compared to anywhere else in the world. I think in Cape Town you can talk about Malay cuisine”.

Hassan states that BK is rich in culture, heritage, and tradition. At the heart of debate regarding the Malay cuisine, such as Bobotie, Koeksister and Curry and Roti. What called Cape Malay it is generally used to refer to the descendants of slaves who were brought to the Cape Town area came from South and Southeast Asia. Many of Cape Malay people also have ancestry from Europe, South Asia, Madagascar, and other places in Africa. Cooking is an amalgamation of Eastern and Western cuisine. It has considerably influenced the way South Africans cook and draws its unique flavours from Dutch, Indian, French, Afrikaans and Malay cuisines (Oppelt, 2012). In the BK culture, food is not just limited to a culinary taste experience but is directly linked to specific cultural practices and occasions (Baderoon, 2009).

It's difficult to define the boundaries of Cape Malay cooking. Because the foods were brought by slaves into South Africa. However, it is important part of South Africa cuisine. More interestingly, the Cape Malays were in great demand as cooks in early Dutch homes, and their use of special spices resulted in what is now called Cape-Malay cuisine (Ang, 2015).

An example of Cape Malay dishes such as *bobotie*, *pickled fish*, *sumptuous curries and bredies*, and *syrupy-sweet koeksisters* for example, “*boeber*” in the Afrikaans tradition as “*melkkos*” ... ‘*Bobotie*’ is claimed as a national dish by Afrikaans-speaking people, is also a well-known ‘Cape Malay’ dish. All of these dishes become known as South African cuisine” (Ang, 2015).

Many dishes are associated with Cape Malay cooking and undoubtedly come from slave origins, Malaysian or Indonesian for example. However, these dishes are named with Afrikaans words (Ang, 2015).

6.2.3 Rich cultural heritage

This theme focuses on cultural heritage of BK. Fatima explains what the cultural heritage that BK has.

It is necessary to note that the homes in BK are semi- attached and not free- standing, although there are examples of free - standing homes. The closeness and proximity of neighbours to each other may have impacted and on the closeness shared by this quaint community. Walls are literally shared amongst neighbours, it is a social space, where people gather and talk and children play, reminiscent of old cities in Europe. This could be the reason why investors are eagerly buying up homes in BK. However, this could impact the culture of closeness that characterises BK.

In addition, the proximity of the Mosque to the homes may also explain the religious values and practices that are evident and prevalent in the BK area (Townsend, 1975).

People as part of living heritage, it reflects a social and cultural lifestyle of people and to shed light on the traditional environment of an ethnic identity “Cape Malay”. While the identity of ‘Cape Malay’ may be a misnomer, it is clear that the BK community undoubtedly have a very clearly defined community culture. Its importance includes popular memory which is identified through the struggle of anti-apartheid where an artefact and was seen as the main heritage resource during that time (Deacon, 2007).

-“Because of our heritage, we shouldn’t sell our heritage, but unfortunately people are forced to do it at some stage”.

Fatima urges the people of BK not to sell their heritage, however, some people in BK are somehow forced to sell their properties and leave the area. People of BK cannot purchase property in BK, because the rates have gone up tremendously.

-“Very importantly we have the history of cultural identity”.

Azra moves away from authorized and tangible heritage discourses to discuss the role that people play in BK. She clarifies that BK is rich with a mixture of cultural identity which still exists today. History of cultural identity’ is particularly important in relation to the “Malay Identity” because it recognizes the multi-dimensionality of their own identity and their issues. This could confirm that cultural identity reflects the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide persons as "one community". Not only, but also culture identity played a critical role in all post-colonial struggles from apartheid government who effectively invisibilized people, their cultures and their link to land in South Africa. A clear indication is reflected in many Afrikaans-speaking Muslims took on the name in the hope that they would be accepted by the white elite because any form of association with black identity

could lead to disadvantage in the context of oppression and racism within the country (Jeppie, 1987).

-“To me...Heritage is to keep the culture, keep the buildings as it is, keep the narrow streets, keep the cobblestones”.

Fekry argues that the preservation of the history of BK is vital, especially the houses that pre-date one hundred years, thus it is important to keep the culture of BK, keep the buildings as it is as well as the cobblestones and narrow streets and regard those things as part of the BK heritage.

-“The culture basically is ‘*Mahabbah*’ where they have this love and respect and everybody comes together... That is a beautiful culture”.

Fekry indicates that there is a culture of *Mahabbah* (love), respect, and unity amongst the residents of BK. A sense of *Ukhuwwah* (brotherhood) prevails and appears to be consistent with the African philosophy of *Ubuntu*. This is stemmed from the maxim of *Ukhuwwah* that advocates brotherhood amongst Muslims to lighten the financial burden on families.

-“We also had a by-law, where we put a stop to that because you cannot do what do you want, you have to consult and get permission first. So, I think we have drawn a line in that ...you still have to abide to the rules of the BK”.

Aisha repeated no one can do what he wants. For example, no one can change facade of his/her house without permission from BK community. So that, they have to abide by the rules of BK.

The BK community has tangible heritage, which is the unique historical architecture dating back hundreds of thousands of years, what called ‘Heritage resources’, comprises both cultural and natural heritage. includes traditional and cultural resources inherited by society such as archaeological sites or artefacts, historic places, and buildings and places of memory. For this reason, no one can change or alter any site in this area without consultation.

-“One of the reasons.... if we could like work towards a fund that helped people to maintain that... because the laws have become a bit more relaxed”.

Azra combines the architectural (material) artefacts with the residents themselves by asserting that people must not sell their houses, because that belongs to their heritage, rather they should keep it and protect it. According to Azra, BK people must work together somehow to maintain their heritage rather than leave. Several discussions point out reasons

why gentrification does not lead to natural and social movement but force residents out of their homes. This could partly due to the fact that gentrification is process as a result of the demographic, physical, economic, cultural and tourism spheres of new businesses in the BK. The changes can be seen with tourism establishments: hotels, restaurants, and lodges. Special mention was made of the development of the Hilton hotel based on a promise that the premises would not sell liquor in the area. However, this hotel was used as a screen for obtaining the permission of this development in the community. After a while, it transformed the hotel into liquor premises and breaking ties with the community by the international conglomerate, the Hilton Group (Bassadien, 2017).

6.2.3.1 BK culture and identity

The concept of identity has complex and different meanings. Perhaps, a good starting point for discussion would be to share idea about identity in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1999) which refers to identity as: “the fact of being who or what a person or thing is” or “the distinct personality of an individual regarded as a persisting entity” (Cuza, 2013:161). Beller and Leerssen (2001) assert that: “Identity becomes to mean being identifiable, and is closely linked to the idea of ‘permanence through time’: something remaining identical with itself from moment to moment” (Cuza, 2013:161). Identity according to Jenkins (1996) refers to the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities" (Fearon, 1999:4) Whereas the concept of culture refers to some ideas and values that are established by one group of people from one generation to other (Panahi,2015).

In the circumstance of the BK, the debate about regarding Cape Malay identity only took shape only in the late of the 20th century when socio-economic and political conditions had changed. Baker (2009) refers to ethnic identity as united by certain common cultural, behavioural, linguistic, religious practices and traits, unique language and traditional origins. Such as what happened in South Africa and ethnic groups which include Malays originated from (Southeast Asia), Indians origin (India) and Whites origin (Europe 'British and Dutch') (Baker, 2009).

In the commentary on the above incident, the nature of Cape Muslim identity is a cultural-religious/ Islamic identity of a particular minority religious group in South Africa (Baker, 2009). According to a study by Vahed and Jeppie (2004:1), the Cape Muslims form about 2% of the general South African population of close to 45 million people. South African Muslims as a religious group, they are classified as a Muslim Minority whereas Christianity and other faiths dominated in the country (Baker, 2009). As discussed above, Muslims in South Africa

made up 2% of the population with the highest concentration in the Western Cape (7.3%). However, based on the 2016 Community Survey findings, the percentage of Muslim Indians within the Indian/Asian category is around 30%, and the percentage of Malays is around 10% within the Coloured category (SESRIC, 2019). Findings of another study by Mukadam (1990) showed that the cultural- religious aspect of Islam at the Cape played an important role to create the identity of the Cape Muslims. In addition to this, Muslims of the Cape are still very much identified and distinguished by their cultural traditions that make them unique from others (Baker, 2009).

The following extracts illustrate the concept of BK culture:

- "The culture is based on Islamic principles in the BK".

Faique asserts that the BK community relies on Islamic values. This is supported by Davids (1980) who said that the culture of the BK is based on a strong Islamic history at the Cape. A unique Islamic customs have included, based on the principles and pillars of Islam. This is led to the unique Islamic heritage of the BK of a future sustainable cultural tourism product to offer future sustainable cultural tourism by local youth of BK community (Bassadien, 2017).

- " We follow five pillars of Islam, but the culture is how they have adaptedthe five pillars to suit the specific area ok! So like when it comes to for example, “*Ramadan*” when it comes to *Eid*, those things are traditional cultural things and they are not specifically Muslim things, ok".

Mastora supports Faique' s overview that BK culture adopted Islamic principles and identified by cultural-religious practices that make BK community unique and distinguished from other groups.

6.2.4 Cape Muslim culture

The next theme addresses the identity of ‘Cape Malays’ specifically and their ties to Islamic religious doctrine. These practices have played a significant role in maintaining the identity of the Cape Muslims. There are many cultural practices prevalent among the Muslims in the Cape. The practices include *Mawlūd al-Nabi and the Adhkār of Ramadān*. In addition, it is the cultural traditions of this special group that makes them unique and distinguished from others, forming the basis for a local expression of Islam (Baker, 2009).

According to Ang (2015). Cape Malay identity has always had distinct slave origins, after the end of slavery in South Africa, however, the Cape Malay community was racially classified as “coloured”. It is argued that Cape Malay people were forcibly relocated to places such as

BK under the Group Areas Act. What raises the issue for discussion is that the term “Cape Malay” is used interchangeably with “Muslim” or “Cape Muslim”. This is due to the strong presence of Islam within the Cape Malay community (Ang, 2015).

Although Cape Muslims have different levels of religiosity, their belief in Islam makes their identity distinctive and distinguishable. The Islamic belief of the Muslim community in Cape Town still remained the same since Islam was brought to the Cape. While community dynamics changed from the early twentieth century, the Muslim community remains a visible part of the Cape Town landscape. Despite their heterogeneity, there are unique aspects and experiences of the Cape Town Muslim community. Islam regarded as a foundation of many Muslims' identities and daily routines where Muslims in Cape Town has created a distinctive culture with their Islamic teachings and Cape backgrounds. Such as *Ramadan*, *Eid*, and the Prophet Muhammad's birthday celebrations had a distinctive Cape flavour. These traditions play a major role in Cape Muslim society and the maintenance of religion is safeguarded (Motala, 2013).

This theme appears important in the BK community as they articulate themselves as being true Muslims who have strong Islamic culture distinguished them from other groups.

-“We are traditional, but the first we are Muslims”.

Mastora declares that BK people live in a traditional Islamic way of life, based on religion and they regard themselves as real Muslims because of the strong presence of Islam. According to Bassdien (2017), the culture of the BK is based on a strong Islamic history at the Cape, where a unique Islamic customs have evolved in the area, based on the core principles and pillars of Islam (Bassdien, 2017).

It becomes clear that social cohesion is salient among neighbours in BK, a point reinforced by Fatima, who believes that there is good social interaction among residents in the neighbourhood:

-“Here may be because the houses are closed to each other and the neighbours are close-knit so there is a lot of interaction amongst neighbours”.

Unlike the stoep, it was observable that the concrete bench-like structure at the end of the ‘*voorstoep*’ also held special meaning for social cohesion. It is a typical practice of BK residents to often sit on these benches at the end of a long day, in the sun and catch up with neighbours about the latest news in the area. Due to the structure of homes of BK, it is quite

understandable why this sense of community and cultural integrity is so deeply entrenched in Malay people of BK.

According to Bradlow and Da Costa (1994), the majority of Cape Muslims was of Indian origin, this is what made many scholars believe that the Cape Muslim identity was influenced by individuals of Indian origin, particularly Bengal. Similarly, Davids (1980) associated large numbers of the Cape Muslim practices, for instance, *Rampie-sny*⁶ and *Ratiep*⁷, with Indian-Hindu traditions. Davids (1980), and some scholars accepted the term ‘Cape Malay’ and used it interchangeably with the term ‘Cape Muslim’, for various reasons: the Malay group of Muslims was dominant, because during the nineteenth century the Cape Muslims spoke diverse forms of Malay where the lingua franca of the Malayo/Indonesian Archipelago was used. As it has been seen in the preceding section, the ‘Cape Malays’ term was used by the apartheid regime as a tool for its main philosophy, i.e. “divide and rule”. As a result, the use of the term was regarded as a natural consequence of the political developments within the country. It was also used by the Department of Home Affairs as a racial classification (Baker, 2009).

Consequently, in the 1990s, Davids (1998) used the term ‘Cape Malay’ to build a relationship between Southeast Asia and the Cape Muslim community. Another reason for preferring to use ‘Cape Malay’ is that most of the leaders, such as Sheikh Yusuf and Tuan Guru, were of Indonesian origin, and dominant in Malay-Indonesian culture (Baker, 2009). These leaders played the main role in establishing Islam in the Cape, through education and

⁶The word ‘*rampies*’ originates from the Indonesian word ‘*rampai*’ meaning to ‘potporri’. ‘*Sny*’ is the Afrikaans word for cut. *Rampies-sny* describes the practice of cutting rose petals to mark the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad.

⁷*Ratiep* is a trance-linked art form characterised by stabbings with sharp objects to the arms and other bodily parts. It is rooted in Sufi Muslim traditions.

establishing the cultural-religious traditions, which mainly originated from the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago (Baker, 2009).

6.2.4.1 Ramadan

BK was as Islamic religion area and had a socio-cultural pattern. The various religious occasions such as *Ramadan*, festivals of *Eid* and communal prayer gatherings were a crucial factor to reinforce socialization of children, which makes the cultural and religious way of their life, a part of their personality (Davids, 1980).

The most important religious occasion in the Muslim calendar is a month of *Ramadān*. In other words, it is the month of fasting and the month in which the Qur'ān was revealed. The Muslim year is determined by the sighting of the new moon. Surprisingly, there are practices associated with the Islamic month of *Ramadān* which are unique to the Cape. These practices play a fundamental role in the commemoration of *Ramadān*; the sharing of cakes, food or 'boeka treats', there are also *Adhkār* (spiritual remembrances) used that are unique to the Cape Muslims (Baker, 2009).

These are two of the many religious traditions practiced in the BK community and more widely in Muslim societies. Food and celebration are not restricted to religious rituals; but are central to other social traditions in Cape Town, including the Minstrel Carnival and Christmas celebrations (Todescini, 2003).

-“Prevalent in the month of *Ramadan* in our area where the children are still send plates of food, container of soup and whatever and cokes even if the neighbour is non-Muslim they get too”.

Adeela added that in the month of *Ramadan*, children exchange a plate of food for their Muslim and non-Muslim neighbours. BK has a particular tradition which is a robust tradition in BK and is being seen less and less throughout the Cape. Humans inherit a set of personal values from their environments include culture and family. The Cape Town Muslims, for example, have a dynamic and storied history which has made them an integral and a distinctive part of Cape Town. They partake in common practices to all Muslim adherents at the same time, they practice certain customs unique to the Cape such as, moon watchers at the edge of Sea Point beach to determine the start and end of *Ramadan*, the visiting of Cape Town's *kramats* before leaving for the Islamic pilgrimage, special ceremonies for new-borns, and the holding of *dhikr*, which is gathering to remember God, by reciting Quranic verses and other prayers, often in a sing-song voice (Motala, 2013).

6.3 Challenges caused by gentrification

This theme focuses on the process of gentrification and the cultural harm it poses on the BK neighbourhood.

-“I think what will happen, the houses will go away there, it will be more business places, because that is what is happening with houses, they changing their houses into business”.

Mohammed predicted that BK area will change, and will transition from residential status to commercial status. These changes are going to take place in the BK through gentrification

BK's unique historic individuality was recognised by the National Government as a Provincial Heritage Area in 1999. Due to external global and urban force, BK's culture is slowly declining (Steyn & Spencer, 2016).

The economic, social and political forces of gentrification are responsible for physical change in the urban landscape and some scholars refer to it as a 'dying race', because some of the original Cape Malay traditions are dying out which resulted in different people from different cultures moving in among Muslim community that threatened the traditional cultural heritage of the area not only, but also the renewal and renovation of housing resulted in the increase in property values and rates by forcing the working-class residents to relate to another area and leave own their community (Steyn & Spencer, 2016).

Conversely, the attractiveness of colourfully restored houses played a major role in the construction of tourist facilitates in the De Waterkant boundaries.

-“Poorer – uhm - families in the BK area are unable to maintain – uhm – their properties that they own – as rates have increased and those who are willing – who are wanting to buy”.

Nur announced that developments in the BK area negatively affecting poor families due to the increase of rates. This causes more local residents to suffer a lower standard of living, where in some cases residents are forced to relocate. This threatens the local charm of the BK by replacing modern commercial businesses instead of local business landmarks (Bassadien, 2017).

-“Within the community as such- there is definitely – uhm– a struggle with maintaining this type of – as no job opportunities are offered – uhm – nor – no employment opportunities”.

Nur added that the BK community struggles to maintain its properties. The modernisation of heritage fabric under the guise of heritage preservation is used as a screen to destroy the

cultural tangible elements of the community, where heritage preservation does not follow the guidelines of heritage development policy (Bassadien, 2017). Nur as an anti-gentrification sees that the economic change is as negative because new business development has not created many opportunities for most of the local businesses.

-“These people come in, but they coming with their own – uhm – own ideas – come in with their own portfolios. So, they come into BK and they expect that they can change things which is not acceptable”.

Aisha pointed out that the gentrification process contributed in replacement of low- income people with higher income people which intern effect on the socio-economic character of the area and Muslim culture is being threatened by foreign businesses, resulted in conflict with original residents.

The newcomers are mostly from western side area whose customs and traditions completely different from the Muslim lifestyle of original residents. For this reason, the area has undergone the threatening traditional cultural heritage of the area.

-“Before they used to have ‘*thikr*’ – ... – they used to have ‘*thikr*’ but then other people – they go down – you know – enjoy themselves, especially the young people. So that ... – that has an impact”.

Fekry stated that development and modernization have impacted on the traditional practices of BK such as “*Thikr*” (remembrance) which means in the Arabic language the mention of Allah by reading the Quran (recitation).

Many of the younger Muslims in South Africa dissociate themselves from the customs of their ancestors, mostly on religious and political grounds (Desai, 1994).

Recently, modernization, unfortunately, took place in BK neighbourhood which negatively impacted its culture. Resulted in changing in young generation's mind. Such as power of television, radio, CDs, and music video played a major role to impact on this generation where they spent more time sitting in front of television than with their parents. Resulted in an increase in the generation gap between younger specially adolescents and their parents (Panahi, 2015). Gentrification affects the community especially on young people. The main argument for this is that the elderly population has declined, while the youth demographic has increased, as a result of yuppies moving into the BK community which negatively impacted on local young generation in the BK as they were influenced by other cultures moving into the area, particularly Western value systems (Bassadien, 2017).

-“Everything becomes its mine, this is my space, this is my children, who are you to tell me, what to do with my children and who are you to say this and that, I can afford this and I’m used to do this, traditions are lost and culture is lost, kids do not go to Muslim school, nowadays it used to be customary”.

Adeela argued that the close-knit community culture is being eroded by the impact of modernization on the traditional culture and lifestyle of the residents of BK, especially on the younger residents of BK.

-“With a modernization, things like following your religion becomes almost something old people say, “we are young, why must spend five times a day at mosque?”.

Adeela added that the modernization impacts on the adherence of young Malays to religious practices such as visiting the mosque, especially during *Ramadan*. BK is changing, due to a demand for prime real estate in the Central Business District (CBD). Gentrification has an impact on Malay traditional lifestyle and how the conservation and preservation of the built environment heritage of the historic BK district is a significant cause to preserve that culture.

-“The parts of BK that change are becoming more modern so that we lost parts of our tradition and culture”.

Adeela reiterated that modernization has impacted the traditional culture of BK.

She goes further to say that the BK has unique cultural and physical characteristics which are potential cultural tourism attractions of BK, have slowly been eroded through gentrification.

6.4 Mixed ancestral history

The above theme concentrates on the origin lineage history of BK community. Faique describes his ancestral history.

-“I would describe myself as having Malay lineage because my grandmother, my late grandmother in other words my father’s late mother, father came from a place called Batavia in the Indonesian Archipelago so yes, though we also have some ancestry from Ireland from my father’s late father’s side, hence the surname Larney”.

Faique asserts that his Malay lineage from Batavia of Indonesia and Ireland. According to Fee (2001). Malayness was derived from two exogenous sources. The first source was the colonial ideas of how non-Western societies should develop by what Maier (1988) refers to as the merchant-scientists and scholar-administrators of the Malay Peninsula. The other source was the interpretation of the concept in the universalistic notion of the Islamic *umat*

(a common group of people) by Arab and Indian Muslim migrants who had settled in the Straits Settlements (Fee, 2001).

- "I would describe myself as someone with Malay ancestry. If you go back on to the family tree of your fore fathers, you would see that uhm they actually come from Malay whether you from India or whether it's from Malaysia or Indonesia, whichever uhm country uhm yes there is a uhm Malay ancestry".

Fatima describes her identity as a Cape Malay person and her forefathers were a mixture from India, Malaysia or Indonesia. They were the original ancestry predominant living in the BK.

According to Jeppie, 'Cape Malay' was already challenged in the 1950s by movements such as the Muslim Teachers Association and later the Cape Muslim Youth Movement and the Claremont Muslim Youth Association. However, the religious-identity as 'Muslim', or 'Cape Muslim' were consciously used. After a while, the rejection of 'Cape Malay' and other identities in the late 1960s and 1970s was a major force by the raising of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) that see these identities as part of the apartheid government's strategy of a divide-and- rule (Jappie, 2011).

More importantly, Haron (2005), explained the origins of the term 'Cape Malay'. He concluded that 'Cape Malay' term is originated from slave population that came from parts of Africa and Southeast Asia. They spoke Malaya in addition to their dialects. Then, Malayu language became the dominant spoken tongue. The main argument for this is that the colonialists and apartheid regime used the term 'Cape Malay' for pure racial and discriminatory purposes as a sub-set within the coloured racial group. In order to separate them from the Asians, Whites, and Africans. What raises the issue for discussion is that the apartheid regimes discriminatory policies affected the oppressed society deeply where they forced what called 'Cape Malay' not to readily socialise with Africans and member of other racial group. It might be useful to represent that despite these sever laws, some of those belonging to another racial group to marry into the Cape Malay community (Haron, 2005).

During the late 1700s, the term 'Malay' became widely used by the Dutch authorities in order to describe Muslims and anyone who was not from Bantu and European descent. However, during the nineteenth century, there were differences between Malays and Coloureds as two distinct groups, which led to a distinction between Malay identity and coloured identity. In the 20th century, Malay identity became subsumed under a broader coloured identity (Davids, 1980).

There were several issues of circumstance that problematize BK community, where the term 'Malay' and 'Cape Malays' were used as a substitute for 'Muslims' or a follower of the religion of Islam since the early nineteenth century. However, they do not reflect their religious or ancestral origins (Davids, 2011). On the contrary, Rochlin, (1959), cited in Davids (2011). Indicates that "Boughies" was never used as a substitute for "Muslim". A clear indication reflected in Mahida (1993).

Mayson (1652) states that in the 19th century, Malays of Batavia who were the first Muslim exiles brought into Cape by Dutch saw them a threat to their political and economic hegemony (Mahida, 1993). What is distinctive is that this community was referred to as the Boughies, they spoke and wrote Baganese in eighteenth- century Cape Town. The Boughies community regarding the use of the 'Cape Malay' or 'Malay' labels as repugnant, because of the racial overtones they had acquired in an unequal society. They preferred to be called 'Cape Muslim' (Davids, 2011). To correct the historical inaccuracy of the term 'Malay', Davids, (2011), suggests to avoid the racial and cultural controversies, instead, he proposes to use the term "Arabic- Afrikaans" for the tradition of Afrikaans written in Arabic script, and term "Cape Muslim Afrikaans" for the spoken Afrikaans variety of the Cape Muslim community (Davids, 2011).

Malay identity has been problematized by Witz as imposed identities, by place people in boxes based on how they look, the ways they dress, speak and behave and he labels them as a separate "race". Even though, this community comprised descendants of slaves from South and Southeast Asia, Arabs, Khoi-San and Mozambique, divides into a racial/ethnic minority group. These groups are usually united by certain common cultural, behavioural, linguistic or religious practices and traits (Vahed, 2004).

However, according to Davids (1997), Indonesia was the ancestral homeland of the greater majority of the Muslims of the Western Cape. In addition, a clear indication is reflected in the following Bradlow's paradigm, cited in Jeppie, (1987) clarifies that by 1700 14.58% of the slaves came from "Indonesia" and less than one percent from Malaya (Jeppie, 1987).

Country	Number	Percentage
Madagascar	397	30,63
Ceylon	20	1,54
India	653	50,38
Indonesia	189	14,58
Malaysia	4	0,32
Indo-China	1	0,08
Japan	1	0,08
Cape of Good Hope	10	0,77
Unidentified	21	1,62
Total	1 296	100,00

Bradlow's paradigm of slaves

It is necessary to bring attention that from the early decades of the 20th and long before Du Plessis published *the Cape Malays 1944*), the category of Malay was distinguishable identity in Durban among Malays and non-Malays (Vahed, 2004).

According to Jeppie (1987), the use of the term "Malay" category was the use of the Malayu language by slaves. However, Du Plessis' paradigm considers "taal" as a fundamental element in ethnic identity, so that he argued that when Malayu language dying down to be used by the "Malays" a "national identity" was lost. However, Malayu and creolized Portuguese persisted after slave emancipation in 1834 and Dutch was incorporated into the language of the underclasses. This incorporation was a way of surviving in an oppressed society (Jeppie, 1987).

6.5 The Malay language as a creole descendent of the Dutch and Indonesian languages.

The above theme concentrates on creolised Dutch and Indonesian spoken by BK community. Faique argues how the BK community adopted these languages and used them in their communication amongst them.

-“I think each community probably have a linguistic slang that identifies them with a community like certain words they will say it differently to other communities. Now, there are many Afrikaans words we use it today, but it is Malay words. Like *piesang* which means a banana, *piering* means a saucer, *kaparang* means a sandal, and *baie* which means in English many”.

The words *piesang*, *piering*, *kaparang*, and *baie* are recalled by Faique as having Malay origins. In fact, according to Faique, the word ‘piesang’ could have been derived from either

Malay or Indonesian lexicon which means banana in English. *Piering* originated from Malay but is used as Afrikaans word, it means in English 'sauce'.

Faique asserts that language is a unique identifier for each community. Perhaps, a good starting point for discussion would be to share an idea about the majority of Malay community which according to Hutchinson (2006), that this community was originated from Africa, India and the East Indies with less than 1 percent from Malaya [Malaysia today]. Thus, traditional languages from the Indian Ocean basin included Malayu and Malayo-Portuguese which resulted in identification with the commonality of language rather than the origin of these slaves that gave birth to the collective term Malayu (Hutchinson, 2006). origin words are daily used and regarded as specific words to the Malay community, but they use as Afrikaans words, they distinguish them from other groups. They have a lot of terminologies that they using in their language on a daily lives comes from roots of Arabic, from Indonesia, where the other, surrounding neighbourhoods do not use (Hutchinson, 2006).

Thus the question arises as to whether this term was not another racially motivated manipulation by the Apartheid government of the past. What is obvious is that at present, the area is almost totally populated by the Coloured ethnic group (95%). During the 1996 census, almost 12% of the inhabitants did not specify their race, but this has changed since then.

What is very surprising, according to the (2011) census, is the decline in the number of people from other racial groups in the BK (Kotze, 2013).

6.6 Summary

This chapter addressed tensions between tradition and modernity in BK. It is clear that what we can understand to be 'living heritage' is deeply interlinked with identity, culture and social and economic value. Understanding common features of cultural traditions across South Africa can also foster national unity and pride while maintaining respect for human rights. Living heritage based on the African philosophy of *Ubuntu*⁸ can promote a sense of common responsibility. Additionally, this chapter explored the living heritage concept as seen through the local residents' eyes and articulated in narratives' memories of the BK neighbourhood. Challenges prompted by gentrification were evident as well as the tension between traditions and modernity. Intangible history and places of significance of Cape Malay identity also were contained in this section. More importantly, the Malay language and its role in the construction of Malay identity as well as the origin lineage history of the BK community were addressed here.

CHAPTER SEVEN: INTANGIBLE HERITAGE DISCOURSES

7.0 Introduction

Todescini (2003) describes intangible heritage as the values of a relationship between people and the construction of their identity. In other words; it expresses anything about human and cultural creativity (Todescini, 2003).

South African Muslims have struggled to find a common position on many issues. This is because divisions that were created during the apartheid era resulted in cultural, religious and sectarian dynamics among Muslims. Despite the fact that many Muslim activists were united in the struggle against apartheid, the post-apartheid period has revealed that there is no single Muslim community that holds a common position on “Muslim issues” (Nadvi, 2008: 1).

It is argued that the apartheid regime wanted to show off their ‘picturesque Malays’ to international guests. This means that Muslims located in the BK area were a ‘smokescreen’ for what was really going on in South Africa at that time. The following snippet supports this argument:

-“We had people of different cultures and religious backgrounds until apartheid came along so for a good number of years, 150 years or almost 200 years even it was a very mixed community and when apartheid came along, it was created of course of the Group Areas Act which determined this area as a Cape Malay area and a lot of people had to leave the area.....so we lost a large part of our community”.

According to Azra, BK area was a mixed community with various cultures and religious backgrounds. During the apartheid era, BK community was divided by Group Area Act and proclaimed as Cape Malay area. Resulted in loss of BK community.

Baderoon (2014), argues that many of the first representations of Cape Malay people by white South Africans had to do with food and food preparation. Additionally, the images that were produced during the slavery time were deceptively idyllic to mask the horrific realities of slavery. Cooking was one of the examples that has had the effect of domesticating images of slavery in South Africa and has allowed dominant society to gesture to the presence of enslaved people while denying the brutality of slavery (Ang, 2015).

-“It is closest community with the culture goes back to a mixture of Indian, Indonesian, and Malaysian culture. It is very Islamic traditional way of life here so everything is very much centred a rounded Islam and people as Muslims”.

BK has a culture of closeness, sharing, and community with a mixed culture from India, Indonesia, and Malaysia. BK is traditionally a multicultural area. In the study by Beyrtr (2010), which involved more than 100 BK residents, participants said that they "Enjoy living in the BK because of the community spirit, cultural and religious history and its close proximity to the city" (Cozien, 2017:5). According to data, BK has strong ties with traditional Islamic cultural way of life and family networks extend among people in the area (Cozien, 2017:20). In terms of the ethnic make-up of BK community, most would self-identify as 'Malay'. However, they were from mixed racial backgrounds (indigenous, European settler, South East Asian and slaves from other parts of Africa) (Scheepers, 2013).

-“When I grew up, BK had mixed group of people. When I say mixed, I mean people of all kind of face whether they be Hindu, whether they be Christians whether culturally whether they were IsiXosa, whether they were so called whatever colour they were. We were very mixed group with people in the area”.

Khadiga expresses that BK is a mixed area from different races of people.

One of the most noticeable manifestations of the Malay identity is the closeness of the community of BK. Due to the structure of homes of BK, it is quite understandable why this sense of community and cultural integrity is so deeply entrenched in Malay people of Bo-kaap. A sense of *Ukhuwwah* (brotherhood) prevails and appears to be consistent with the African philosophy of *Ubuntu*.

-“The life in the BK is relax, it is very corporative, people helping each other even if you have not family, you will find somebody helping, assisting and therefore, it is harmonious therefore”.

Faique expresses that BK has a culture of brotherhood where the love and respect between the people. They help each other. BK is regarded as the safest area in Cape Town and no crime takes place openly. This is why people who are not from BK desire to live here.

-“Good life style, safe environment, (.) good policing, (.) a lower feed on substances abuse, I think that attracts people and also the fact that many of people are Muslim living here, they can see how we live, they can see our life style, they accept the fact that every facet of socialization in our *deen* is based on respect for each other, respect for other’s property, respect for other people as persons”.

Faique indicates that BK has a safe atmosphere, in terms of its building, this gives safety to the area, because everybody knows his neighbour. Islamic religion also plays a major role in

bringing safety to the BK area, because there is a respect between residents and respect for others.

-“In fact our children grow up together, they marry each other and raise families together. These families are based on total respect of Islam, we hear the *Adhan* five times a day from many of the mosques, nobody complains, it is part of our life, if you say BK, it synonymous to the term BK, people share each other greif, they share the joy and lough”.

Faique adds BK has especial culture young generation intermarried together. They respect each other, no complaining about *Adhan*. BK has a sense of community, children growing up together, people sharing each other in sadness and in happiness.

-“BK community has very close-knit community. There are many cultures that are account by the people in BK compare where I come from Grassy Park. In Grassy Park, all the neighbours are for themselves there was no interaction, much of interaction amongst the neighbours, we only meet our neighbours when we go to the *masjid*..... because the houses are closed to each other and the neighbours are closeness so there is a lot of interaction amongst neighbours, there is a lot activates in”.

Fatima explained how BK area is rich with diverse culture because of its safety, relax and is being an open area. Thus, the design of BK houses allows and facilitates direct interaction with neighbours. Whereas Grassy Park there is no interaction only they meet in mosques.

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7.1 Ubuntu and Ukhuwwah

The purpose of this section is to show the brotherhood of human being in Islam. Ubuntu is an African proverb which is clear among family members and among others.

7.1.1 Ukhuwwah – Brotherhood in Islam

Islam in its very inception is the religion of peace and has two basic doctrines, i.e., the Unity of God (Monotheism) and the brotherhood of the human race (Ali, 1989).

Brotherhood in Islam is a comprehensive concept is based on a friendship with others, and uniting together on common values (Ali, 1989).

What follows is a thematic discussion drawn from interview data which specifically speaks to the notion of Brotherhood in Islam:-“We had a sense of belonging to the community”.

Khadiga indicates that people of BK belong to the unique community, the nature of the people of BK is different from other neighbourhoods. BK people open their willingness to assist a neighbour, they care about each other and children play together outside. BK is a friendly place where BK welcomes people of different religions and cultures. Thus, the sense of community reflects the symbolic interaction in which people engage to encourage visual coherence.

The Quranic verse states, "*The believers are but brothers*" al-Hujurat [49:10]. This is perhaps one of the greatest maxims of *Ukhuwwah* (brotherhood) of Muslims. It is a very deep and wide concept that guarantees the safety and well-being of society at large. Thus, a Muslim is not really a believer if he eats his full while ignoring the plight of hungry neighbour. Thus, A Muslim's faith is dependent upon his attitude towards other Muslims (Gräf, Bettina and Skovgaard-Petersen, 2009). If one who professes to be a Muslim does not wish for his brother-in-faith what he wishes for himself, he does not have true faith. It is clearly stated in a *hadith* (statement of the Prophet), "*None of you is believer till he wishes for his brother what he likes for himself*" [Nasai; 125].

- "I always tell them that if you want to see the experience of the real Islam you come to the BK because of our history 90% of the people living in BK are Muslims".

Islam promotes the brotherhood and relation of one another, for general human happiness. God created people of different colours, nationalities, languages and ethnic origins so that we may recognize one another (Seda, 2002).

"People live here in total harmony with each other. Muslim and non-Muslim.....People share each other's grieve, they share the joy and laughter with each other in the happiness.

According to Faique, Muslims and non-Muslims in BK are in good relationship with each other. Seda (2002), clarifies that the major characteristic of Islam is the belief in the prophet Mohammad and God's rules which show us how to live in harmony among the people of the world (Seda, 2002). BK community share common beliefs surrounding their community relationships and consider their community is neighbourly. Donaldson *et al.* (2012:187), confirms that when he says: "There is a sense of unity and community in the neighbourhood, evident by a walk around the area and noticing that most inhabitants know each other by name, know each other's families, and have close relationships" (Bassadien, 2017:110).

There are numerous *ahadith* (pl. *hadith*) relating to the fact that an Islamic society is like a building, wherein the bricks supports each other (Nasai, 125). For example; “A *believer is like a building for another, the one part supporting the other* (Bukhari, 440). This clearly defines the role of the individual within society as a part and extension of that community.

-“The basics are still there especially when people go for *Haj*, you know community comes together, when *Janaza* community comes together, when there is community comes together, when there is anything like *Mawlud*, they get together, so that is keep the Muslims together”.

Mohammad declares that BK still has extended families together, and has sharing culture, where all residents share each other in everything they do, this is not found in any other area, because of Islam religion and existence of real Islamic community. All the community knows each other and they come together in happiness and in sadness.

Most of the neighbours in BK depend on one another and shared common culture and heritage so that they enjoyed to support their tradition. This is what called culture which according to Warde (1991:225). Culture is used extensively in city and spatial planning, where the relationship between these variables is based on several dimensions. These dimensions include culture, which creates a distinctive image of a city; boosts flavour to the identity of a city; improves the value of location; provides entertainment; enhances creativity and aids in local economic growth and bolsters employment opportunities" (Bassadien, 2017:56).

Islam promotes the brotherhood and relation of one another, for general human happiness. God created people of different colours, nationalities, languages and ethnic origins so that we may recognize one another (Seda,2002). According to Bssadien (2017), the neighbourliness value ties the community and united this community against negative economic and socio-political changes in the area, such as Apartheid (Bssadien, 2017).

Because Malay culture is so closely knit and family is at the center of its makeup, it is quite a natural occurrence for extended family members and neighbours to offer the preparation or donation of foods (Williams, 1988).

This is stemmed from the maxim of *Ukhuwwah* that advocates brotherhood amongst Muslims. This is done to lighten the financial burden on families. For example, the bi-yearly celebration of *Eid* sees it's own array of specially prepared dishes (Williams, 1988). These

dishes range from the mandatory roasted leg of lamb and crayfish curry to an array of specially prepared savoury dishes that preceded main courses (Patterson, 2012).

7.1.2 Ubuntu

The philosophy of *ubuntu* derives from a Nguni word, ⁹*Ubuntu* meaning “*the quality of being human*” (Mugumbate and Nyanguru, 2013). “*Ubuntu* manifests itself through various human acts, clearly visible in social, political, and economic situations, as well as among family (Mugumbate and Nyanguru, 2013). According to sociolinguist Buntu Mfenyana, it “runs through the veins of all Africans, is embodied in the oft-repeated: “*Ubuntu nguntu ngabanye abantu*” (“A person is a person through other people”) (Mugumbate and Nyanguru, 2013:83).

This African proverb reveals a worldview that we owe our selfhood to others, that we are first and foremost social beings, that, if you will, no man/woman is an island, or as the African would have it, “*One finger cannot pick up a grain*” (Mugumbate and Nyanguru, 2013). Such sayings as I am because we are and I am human because I belong, express this tenet. This means that in African philosophy, an individual is human if he or she says, “I participate, and therefore I am (Mugumbate and Nyanguru, 2013:84)”. In Western aphorism, Hailey (2008 cited in Mugumbate, and Nyanguru, 2013) argued that the individual is expected to say I think, therefore I am (Mugumbate, and Nyanguru, 2013).

The significance of the BK is primarily found in the link to Muslim practice that is evident in the way the structures and spaces of the area have been formed over time. BK has a rich cultural history, which includes religious architectural heritage and family spirit. Its surviving material and intangible culture represent interactions between place, people and memory. It also has a unique Food which is a marker of identity and is connected to religious festivals.

The following quotations are derived from interviews data are as follows:

-“The life in the BK is relax, it is very corporative, people helping each other even if you have not family, you will find somebody helping”.

Faique speaks about culture among people in BK. For example, when someone wants to do something his neighbours help him whatever he does. Even when he wants to build a house. This promotes a social interaction and participation for the development of social networks and social ties that help to encourage the sense of community thus, community cohesion.

⁹*Ubuntu* is a national living heritage elemental in establishing and enciuraging social cohesion in South Africa (Mugumbate and Nyanguru, 2013).

-“Our children grow up together..... families are together..... people share each other, they share the grief, the joy and lough”.

BK has sharing culture, all residents together in everything they do, and children always playing together in streets, because of the safety of the area. According to Ang (2015), a Cape Malay identity is not only a marker of a shared history of trauma and violence but also it is an affirmation and a way to display pride in one’s ancestry and one’s heritage (Ang, 2015).

According to Beyers, (2010) a great number of residents "have lived in BK for a long time and that family networks extended throughout the neighbourhood". Participants of all ages who shared this study said that BK retained strong ties of a traditional Muslim culture and the Islamic way of life that they adopted (Cozien, 2017).

-"BK is unique area in terms of its culture and its tradition".

Adeela asserts that culture of BK is unique according to its tradition and customs.

Tradition according to Motala (2013) plays a big role in Cape Muslim society and the maintenance of religion is safeguarded. A distinctive culture was adopted in Cape Town among Muslims to join both their Islamic teachings with their Cape backgrounds. Such as celebrations of *Ramadan*, *Eid*, and the Prophet Muhammad’s birthday, all take on a distinctive Cape flavour, while still subscribing to Islamic maxims (Motala, 2013).

7.4 Summary

This chapter investigated discourses of intangible heritage by residents interviewed in the study. Practices such as *Mawludal-Nabi* and *Adhkar of Ramadan* were put forward as ways of discussing closeness amongst the residents of different faiths. The cultural- religious practices have played a major role in preserve the identity of the Cape Muslims and keep interact among them, resulted in the social cohesion to maintain the society united. BK has strong ties of *Ukhuwwah* (brotherhood) where the love and respect between residents which is a deep concept that guarantees the safety in the area.

CHAPTER EIGHT: AUTHORIZED HERITAGE DISCOURSE

8.0 Introduction

The community of BK is a unique neighbourhood that aims to maintain its distinct cultural habits and sense of close community. There have been campaigns to preserve the unique character and historic value of the neighbourhood over the years. This was undertaken largely through the opposition of establishments which would negatively affect the community. For example, newspaper articles with headlines such as “*The bar that caused all the trouble in historic Bo-Kaap*” (Kardas-Nelson, 2012.Cited in Reitzema, 2015), “*Businessman abandons Bo-Kaap liquor plan*” (IOL, 2012.Cited in Reitzema, 2015) and “*Bo-Kaap residents win liquor battle*” (Samodien, 2012.Cited in Reitzema, 2015) are indicative of the resistance by community members. These articles express impassioned community protests against the selling of liquor in the neighbourhood in order to keep the neighbourhood ‘alcohol-free’.

These Initiatives and resistance to change are considered as factors which create obstacles towards gentrification (Reitzema, 2015). In the following analysis, these challenges are rearticulated as attempts at authorized heritage discourses.

8.1 Gentrification and the loss of values

This theme focuses on the effects of gentrification and its impacts on the physical, cultural, economic and social spheres of BK neighbourhood. Mastora, a BK resident,elaborates as to why she believes that gentrification phenomenon is a negative process.

"I think we are losing values. The people are a historical importance of the area, they were born here, some people leave this area and the others come in. Now it is affected in that".

According to Mastora, BK is losing its values due to long-standing residents having to leave the neighbourhood as a result of economic pressures brought about through gentrification. When she talks about ‘values’ she is referring (most likely) to Islamic culture and practices. For her, the departure of people could threaten the local culture of the area and devalue its importance.

Findings of another study by Lawrence (2010) showed that gentrification is the negative outcome that lose the sense of power and ownership by long-standing residents and conflicts between new residents and long-standing residents (Lawrence, 2010).

Another participant, Adeela, confirms that the previous civic association always asked city management to restore the properties not to demolish them as a part of BK heritage and they are the main factor to attract tourists to the area.

- "We always ask that must be restored".

8.2 Rich cultural heritage

This theme concentrates on the importance of cultural heritage in BK. Mohammad claims property developers not to touch what has historical importance for the inhabitants and for the area.

- "I think property developers must preserve structures older than sixty years in BK. It's very important, they need to preserve it for our future generation to show how our forfathers started their life here".

Mohammad reiterated that any structure older than sixty years old should be as an authorized heritage and must be protected and preserved from generation to generation in order to know how their ancestors started. This is supported by Tournier (1980), who suggests that the homes of poor people architecturally and historically are both important. However, these homes unfortunately were sold and families left and relocate elsewhere (Lawrence, 2010). It should be noted however that Mohammad is a long-term resident of BK and previously was one of the members of the civic association who always urged residents to preserve BK area and preserve its identity to keep the cultural fabric as being it is a unique cultural center.

According to Donalson et al., (2011:7). cited in Bassadien (2017) Heritage Western Cape (HWC) see that the majority of residents in BK are Muslims. Davids (1980:10), suggests that BK culture is based on a strong Islamic history primarily at the Cape where a unique Islamic custom based on the core principle of Islam (Bassadien, 2017).

What raise the issues for discussion, South Africa Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), shows that a political model is a big challenge with BK community leaders need to contend. This is because the (HWC) claims that the BK should not be retained for Muslims as they were preserved during the Group Areas Act (Bassadien, 2017). A similar study by Donalson et al., (2011), confirms that to avoid political agendas, BK community must unite in a common ideology of cultural pride more than a religious one (Bassadien, 2017).

8.3 Re-telling the story of Islam in BK Neighbourhood

While the story of Islam has been spoken of in many different ways worldwide, the manner in which it has discoursed in BK is somewhat unique.

A thematic discussion drawn from interview data speaks specifically about the re-telling the story of Islam in BK is as follows:

8.3.1 Strong social cohesion

The theme focuses on the social cohesion as a result of the social integration among a community. Adeela nostalgically recounts how the BK community became integrated through a unique Islamic heritage.

-“ There were kids. It was a winter, but it was not a strong winter day, it was little bit cold and wind. The kids were by the trees, they had made a fire. The wind was blowing, I came past and I shouted at them, I said “stop making a fire! what are you doing” and another old lady came from a mosque, she heard me and say to them “put out the fire”. The fire was in houses or whatever. She heard me and had heard the boy. She knows one of the boys, because she lives here in BK. She said to him whatever his name was “I am gonna to tell your mother now when I get home, because that is my house you put fire in. "I live right here by the park". The woman gave them a lecture, the other two boys ran away. She exactly knows who the boy is and who his mother is and which street she lives in, this means that the culture in the BK looks how the neighbours take care about each other”.

Adeela tells a story explaining BK culture and how people still care about each other and still reprimand their neighbour's children as a part of their culture. According to Adeela, a sense of community still prevails in BK where neighbours feel responsible for each other. This could be regarded as a sense of extended family that is a unique feature of living in BK neighbourhood as well as the kind of the rows of their historical buildings. BK area not build at the same time, and not all buildings were the same architectural picturesque and value. However, BK flat-roofed houses were built in continuous rows with narrow frontages. These houses built up into the street, they have what call *stoep* (the front part of the house) with little wall and seat at each end. This is led to interact among neighbours resulted in the social cohesion as part of BK tradition and heritage(Brink,1990).

According to Pervaiz, Chaudhary & van Staveren (2013), social cohesion is as “a phenomenon of togetherness which may work to keep the society united and harmonised.” (Burns, Hull, Lefko-Everett, Njozela, 2018: 4).

To return to the BK circumstance, colourful houses and mosques in BK are part of the character of its people. What is clear is that there is a sense of unity and community in the neighbourhood where most residents know each other by name, know each other’s families, and have close relationships despite their various backgrounds, histories, ethnicities and socio-economic levels, they interact with each other at the mosque, at Muslim businesses, and during religious celebrations. This familiarity makes the area look and feel so alive. Homes in

BK provide a safe environment because people listen closely to each other, also a lot of people came into this area they feel the sense of safety because people know each other quite well, and families were grown up in BK from their ancestors so that automatically everybody knows each other. The architectural heritage and significance of the area are charming with its painted homes and cobblestone streets. However, it is necessary to note that without its intangible heritage (people), the area will lose its heritage significance (Donaldson, Kotze, Visser, Park, Wally, Zen & Vieyra, 2013, June).

Due to the poverty that BK residents were living in, they relied on each other and willing to help each other. From here, the helping others which was known as *kanallah* system that was mentioned earlier took hold gradually and the idea of scolding and reprimanding neighbour's children created and became a part of BK culture. No one complains about this culture, because this is not criticism for a person's character. Rather it is the work in a controlled way which involves obeying community rules.

8.4 Identity of BK Community

In general, a group of people who shared values together which they inherited from their environment, such as culture, emotional and intellectual needs, they discover that they have the same goals in order to get the same values (Motala, 2013). Sociologist Joseph Gusfield expresses two definitions of the community (Motala, 2013).

The first definition is based on a physical and geographical concept of community, such as a neighbourhood, or a city, whereas the second definition is described as “relational,” and associated with “quality of character of the human relationship, without reference to the location (Motala, 2013).” The second definition includes communities based on spiritual beliefs, race and their socioeconomic levels. Rabinowitz (2013) describes the community as “associated with an array of positive connotations such as solidarity, familiarity, a unity of purpose, interest, and identity.” Thus, communities are social units where people organize common beliefs or goals (Motala, 2013:14).

BK is not just a place that has cobbled streets and unique architecture but has a deeply rooted history that spans over hundreds of years. It is imbued with the spirit of community (Reitzema, 2015).

Some choose to sell their properties to wealthy foreigners and move to lower income areas on the Cape Flats or in the northern suburbs of Cape Town. Other residents feel a sense of betrayal towards the community when a house is sold. As a result, the Civic Association has

attempted to manage this issue, by encouraging homeowners in the community to leave the property to a person who is a family member or an heir (Reitzema, 2015).

The following are thematic analysis generated from interviews' narratives about BK identity:

8.5 Malay culture as a dominant way of life in BK

This theme focuses on the origins of BK culture that stem from different countries. However, it dominant as Malay culture. According to Faique, BK culture refers to people of Muslim faith as Malays.

-“Malay is a label that was given us a save. Malay was given to us to separate us from the other ethnic groups. Actually, it was not Malay, it was Malaya, it was a Dutch term and when South Africa became a member of the global community again after a partied, the Malay label became Malay not Malaya. It was Anglicized, it became English and the label Malayer became Malay. The Malay label is something that was given to people of the Muslim faith”.

Faique declares that the origin of Malay term was “Malaya” it was originated from Dutch then changed into 'Malay'. According to Scheepers (2013), this is a misleading designation as gives the impression that most Cape Muslims would be trace their ancestry into the modern country of Malaysia (Scheepers, 2013). This led to the fact that Cape Muslims are still referred to as Malays, even though most of them have very tenuous ancestral links with modern Malaysia.

Azra illustrates that the BK culture dates back to a mixture of Indian, Indonesian, and Malaysian cultures. Its origins stem from slaves who were brought to the Cape by the Dutch colonialists and became a dominant in the BK area.

-“The culture going back to a *mixture* of Indian, Indonesian, and Malaysian cultures”.

According to Azra, these groups are united by certain cultural and linguistic practices such as ‘*gadai*’, she explains it to be “... a Malay word that symbolizes when the community gets together in groups to pray or to worship”.

There are many cultural practices prevalent among the Muslims at the Cape, include the *Gadat* which according to Davids (1989), *Gadat* only became popular after 1910. This practice was conducted in Arabic and other cultural practices were geared towards reinforcing *tawhid* (oneness of Allah). This is led to the fact that Muslims of the Cape is up to now still very much identified and distinguished by their adherence to them that makes them unique from others. This practice still has a strong spirit of commitment among the residents (Baker, 2009). Nur states that the BK community gets together in prayer and in

worship like *gadat* (the celebration of the Birth of the Prophet Muhammad) as a single unit. This makes people feel a sense of belonging to the community.

8.6 Predominant Islamic culture in BK

Theme five concentrates on Islamic culture of BK. Fatima explains BK community are united together by strong relationships and common interests.

- "BK community is a very close-knit community".

Fatima announces that BK has a very strong community where people are very close to each other and they have of belonging and matter to one another. The rows of houses in BK play a big role in the gathering of neighbours. According to Fatima, BK distinguished with close-knit family networks in the community that was about caring and protecting one's neighbour provided a safe environment and a positive support network for the youth.

8.7 The language of BK

Language is considered a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage (Lenzerini, 2011). Mohammad explains the BK language and how this language becomes mixed with other languages where the people in BK (Muslim people) speak Afrikaans with little Malay words used up to now especially from the old generation, However, these words are dying down nowadays. So that, a language is regarded as a major role to keep one's identity.

"In the past, people in BK used to speak Afrikaans combined with a little Malay, and then you'll find people from India, they also used to mix. There were certain words that they still use. But it's dying down now". Adeela said.

"They do speak differently and a lot of cases we still use the old Indonesian words of *Tramakassie*, the *Jumung* which is referring to the toilet. *kaparang* is also specific to slipper which wooden type slipper in reference to wearing slippers", Adeela said.

Adeela confirms that BK community still use Indonesian words although the main language in BK is Afrikaans, which clearly influenced by these Indonesian words and phrases that are dominantly found in BK Davids (1989), cited in Baker, 2009). Language plays a significant role in one's identity. Slaves spoke many languages, however, the language of communication used by the Muslims by the end of the eighteenth century was *Malayu*. This is because of *Malayu*, and *Malayo-Portuguese*, the trading languages of the Indian Ocean basin. These languages became the vehicle for the transmission of religious ideas among the slaves not only but also *Malayu* was adopted by Tuan Guru as the medium of Dorp Street *Madrasahin* 1793. This led to the fact that *Malayu* was the language that was understood by

the majority of the slaves. Because of the power relation between the colonized and the colonizer, Cape Dutch eventually outstripped *Malayu* which was inevitable as the language of communication at the Cape. However, many words from the language of slaves such as *Malayu* and *bugbane* were incorporated into the Cape Dutch language which became known as Afrikaans (Baker, 2009).

The *Malayu* language was the language of the Malay –Indonesian slaves. Many words of the language of slaves were used, such as “*Tramakassi*” and “*Jummung*” which means toilet and *Kaparang* means slippers, specific slipper of wooden (Baker, 2009). Adeela as a civic member of Bo-Kaap Civic Association, she encourages people to use these words and phrases, otherwise, BK will lose part of its heritage and the foundation on which the heritage of the community was founded will be lost forever.

-“BK definitely has a strong linguistics like “*kanallah*” which means please”.

Nur declares that BK still has a strong linguistic identity which is unique to BK area. Such as *kanallah* from Cape Muslim Afrikaans, and in Malayu (*karnaAllah*) which means help me, please.

Hendricks (2014) illustrates that many of the early Cape Muslims “were skilled artisans and were living in poverty and over time a system of helping each other evolved. This system was known as the *kanallah* system ‘*kanallah*’(*karna Allah*) in Malayu meaning “help me please”. This created an atmosphere where everyone knew everyone and was willing to help out their neighbours in any way they could (Cozien, 2017).

This area became known as Kanaladorp, because of the spirit of *kanalla* in the community. More importantly, today *kanallah* has a more complex semantic value, meaning ‘please help me because I am one of us’ like in the idea of ‘*Ubuntu*’. Over time a system of helping each other evolved. This created an atmosphere where everyone knew everyone and was willing to help out their neighbours in any way they could. What raises the issue for discussion is that Die Afrikaanse Woordeboek (cited by McCormick 2002) states that Kanaladorp got its name because “dwellings were built according to the system of *kanallah* work”(Cozien, 2017:19).

8.8 Summary

While it may be evident that BK is the oldest and most architecturally distinctive area in Cape Town, residents appear to find it quite challenging to position themselves as spokesmen for their own neighbourhood. Although they clearly are distinguished by social cohesion within colonial, traditional and local heritage, they are nonetheless systematically being replaced by gentrifiers.

CHAPTER NINE: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.0 Introduction

In this chapter I revisit the objectives and research questions specified at the start of this study.

Specifically, the study addressed the four below objectives:

To investigate the intangible Malay heritage in BK as it is articulated in narratives of residents' memories of the neighbourhood.

I was able to investigate the intangible heritage through interviews with residents. I found that BK has rich history and heritage with a unique Malay cuisine which is a fusion of Eastern and Western cuisine. *Kanalladorp* was a name given to the BK community, because of the spirit of *kanalla*, in the community. This led to the create an atmosphere of helping one another. Unmistakable uniqueness about social cohesion that stem from the manner in which BK houses are built which in turn influences the way family and friends meet and socialize.

According to the data, intangible cultural heritage is a significant factor which contributes to maintaining cultural diversity. It depends on the knowledge of traditions, skills, and customs that are passed on the community from generation to generation. Therefore, it embeds the very knowledge which is inherited from one generation to the next generation (Todescini, 2003).

As stated previously, the notion of the Malay identity is a problematic one which was constructed during apartheid and promoted as a homogeneous group. The 'Malay' term refers to the local Muslim community who are descendants of Eastern Malays. Whilst Malay identity encompasses minority communities, sociological groups that do not constitute a politically dominant plurality of the total population of any society and thus they divide into a racial/ethnic minority group. These groups refer either to migrant, indigenous or nomadic communities. These groups are also usually united by certain common cultural, behavioral, linguistic or religious practices and traits (Baker, 2009).

To investigate what challenges are discursively constructed in the narratives by Bo-Kaap residents for and against re-development of the area.

The challenges faced by BK residents can be summarized as BK's intangible heritage is placed at risk, traditions are slowly being eroded. According to the qualitative analysis, the

majority of the participants believed that gentrification has effects on the community and threats to the fabric of the community, such as increase in the property's value which is mostly owned by the city or by wealthy foreigners who do not reside permanently in the area. Another issue that threatens BK community is that most residents do not have a much expendable income to maintain the houses they have inherited, because they cannot afford these houses anymore. Whilst others sell their properties to wealthy foreigners, some of them rent their houses to foreign students. Instead, they move to other areas.

To explore tangible history, physical objects and places of cultural significance as semiotic material in narrations of Cape Malay identity and heritage.

With regards to tangible history, it is clear that the historic places such as the rows of brightly-coloured houses of BK with outdoor living space in front, reinforce the social cohesion and preserve a rich legacy of tangible heritage in the area. Whilst, houses are placed at risk because they are an attractive real estate opportunity to foreign investors. For this reason, residents feel they lost of their sense of place and self –identity. This is regarded as the most important to the residents interviewed.

To establish the role that language plays in the construction of a particular view of Malay heritage.

When it comes to language, I found that language plays a major role in one's identity. South Africa is a multilingual nation. However, the diversity of culture and language of different communities and difficulties in communication, causes diversity in a linguistic and culture. For example, Cape Malay community speak Afrikaans which became a dominant language and it was spoken by slaves to communicate with the Dutch and amongst each other. They also spoke Malayu language which was the vehicle for the transmission of religious ideas among slaves, because it was the only language that was understood by the majority of slaves. Various Malay words and phrases are still used in Cape Town but not as spoken language. Malay is a purely cultural Muslim community, habitually speaks the Malay language and follows the Malay custom and all aspects of Malay culture, such as ceremonies of birth, marriage and death. Whilst, the Arabic language also was spoken for only religious

affairs. It plays a big role in the construction of Malay heritage where Arabic is an ancient and historical language and the practice of Islam is only in the Arabic language.

9.1 Recommendations for conserving BK's unique heritage

- a) BK is a desirable neighbourhood with its prime real estate location, clearly a study in the relationship between environmental changes such as rapid urbanization and culture would be important to understanding gentrification on the ground.
- b) The local BK association is considered a focal point of contact for sharing information or proposals. Local residents should freely take part in the conservation of their cultural heritage by available community-owned venues in the area to share community responsibility with civic association. Local community leaders, developers and project managers should maintain a balance between culture and heritage of the community and architectural conservation. At the same time, the local tourism authority should connect with the city of Cape Town to develop a physical social fabric of the BK community. More importantly, the heritage council should uphold BK houses as being tourist attractions where the local government benefits from local tourism subsidization. It might be useful to represent what should be a collaborative effort with the government to assist BK residents with funds to restore houses. Also, business linkages with the appropriate organization in the BK area should be identified by the civic association to maintain the economic and cultural structures of this area. To ensure that revenues generated by tours are re-invested in the BK area, the behavior of tourist guides and tourists to BK should be monitored.
- c) Normally, the state of coexistence between the citizens is in peace. However, in circumstances of BK, as being highly contested public space, it has developed by private investors resulting in gentrification and affects those who are unable to afford great prices. This recent expansion of the urban process has brought with it incredible transformations of lifestyle. Thus, the luring new investment capital should be concerned with community, not with material heritage.

It is recommended that the government should encourage and promote the local culture of BK and tour companies should employ tour guides from the area who have real experience of BK as well as the Government should seek to enhance livability in an attempt to improve the quality of life and increase the social diversity of South Africa towns and cities. At the same time, structures that are of significant value to the area should be preserved irrespective of the age or state of those structures.

Furthermore, the oldest Mosque in BK should be preserved as it is the first and oldest mosque built in South Africa and being is a frequently visited tourist attraction. Houses that hold the cultural significance should not be demolished, where the heritage is reflected in the architectural styles of those houses. Finally, more research has to be done to contribute to maintaining the historical and traditional area (BK).

What is clear from this study is that a very large number of changes have taken place in BK over a number of decades. This led to the change from rundown neighbourhood to a trendy, sought-after area which in turn had a negative impact upon the older generation and still residing in the area.

9.2 Suggestions for future research

Future research need to be further investigation into the motivation of current tourists visiting the BK area as a cultural attraction and how this affects gentrification. The negative social and cultural impacts of gentrification are the primary concern in the BK community. This should prove to be useful to similar communities facing displacement in their neighborhoods. It is suggested that additional research needs to supplement existing research on gentrification in the BK.

9.3 Specific Recommendations

a)-A tourist-focussed study on tourism infrastructure which would, if developed and expanded, benefit both tourists and residents. For this reason, residents need to be made aware of the benefits of tourism, through more involvement and participation.

b)-Future research needs to focus more on specific tailor-made plans toward gentrification and community inclusiveness in the BK area.

c)-A more in-depth investigation into the current local BK tourism economy and its economic impact on the community.

9.4 Conclusion

Bearing the above discussion in mind, BK residents face both financial and social challenges because of gentrification. Modernization of structures also caused problems that have posed a threat to the architectural integrity of the area. This led to the fact that Muslim residents became unable to live in an area which holds much religious and social relevance. They also are facing erasure in BK due to increased economic pressure.

This thesis set out to prove that close-knit community spirit still existed in the BK area. However, there are economic and social flux challenging the coherence of this community and its traditional lifestyles. BK culture and heritage preservation as discourse are also perilous for the existence of heritage communities. Gentrification is taking place in BK and changing the environment in the cultural and social fabric of BK residents. Also, the housing unit upgrades resulting in property price increases and in the displacement of the traditional neighbourhood residents.

The findings of this research indicate that there are multiple perspectives, experiences, and instances from BK's long-standing residents who refer to themselves as a part of the traditional Cape Malay heritage of the area and they suggested that they do not intend to sell their properties in the near future.



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Glossary of Terms

Adhan (is the Islamic call to worship).

Adhkār (spiritual remembrances).

Afwan (you are welcome).

Asl (foundation).

Awliyā (friends of Allah).

Bakkie (a small vehicle with an open part at the back in which goods can be carried).

Bayaan-diyin (an explication of the religion).

Blatjang (sauce).

Boeta (Brother).

DeVryzwaren' (Free Black) community.

Iftar (The meal eaten by Muslims after sunset during Ramadan).

Jadda (grandmother).

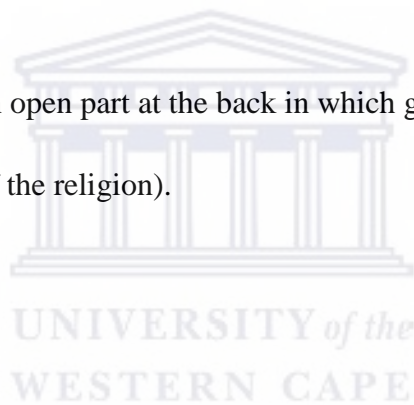
Janazah (Islamic funeral prayer).

JazaakAllah (An Islamic expression of gratitude meaning "May Allah reward you")

Jumung (toilet).

Kabristan (cemetery).

Kanallah (means please).



Kanaladorp (a mixture of Malay and Dutch that referred to people assisting each other, means “If you please”).

Khutbah Jumoa (Religious narration (including sermons)).

Kombuis (Kitchen).

Labarang (Wooden ablution shoes).

Langaars (prayer rooms).

Maaf (pardon).

Madressah (Muslim school).

Mahabbah (love).

Masjid (mosque).

‘Moulood’ (celebration of the Prophet’s birthday, which is held on the twelfth day of the Muslim month of Rabi-ul-auwal).

(Rabi-al-Awwal) (the third lunar month in the Islamic calendar).

“Rampies” (orange leaves are cut into small strips, gathered together and scented with rose oil, bits of the cuttings are then folded into paper to form little sachets called “rampies”).

Rampie-sny (part of the celebration of the Prophet’s birthday).

RuwayatsofBrazanzi (a very musical exposition of the of the prophet).

Sheikh (A leader in a Muslim community).

Shukran (Thank you).

Slamatdjalen (means good journey to you).

“SlamseBuurt” (the Muslim neighbourhood).

Tawaf (The ritual of performing seven circumambulations of the Kaaba as part of the haj to Mecca).

TerimaKasin (means Thank you).

Thikr (spiritual remembrances).

Tocolosh (Malay tricks).

Etymology

Adhan has Arabic origin and it means the Islamic call to worship.

Adhkār has Arabic origin and it means spiritual remembrances.

Afwan has Arabic origin and it means you are welcome.

Asl has Arabic origin and it means foundation.

Awliya has Arabic origin and it means friends of Allah.

Bakkies has Afrikaans origin and it means a small vehicle with an open part at the back in which goods can be carried.

Bayaan-diyin has Arabic origin and it means an explication of the religion.

Blatjang has Malay origin and it means a sauce.

Boeta has Afrikaans origin and it means Brother.

De Vryezwarten has a Chinese name (*T'Sineko F'jamboy*) and it means Free Black community.

Ifter has Arabic origin and it means the meal eaten by Muslims after sunset during *Ramadan*.

Jadda has Arabic origin and it means grandmother.

Jamaah has Arabic origin and it means congregation.

Janazah has Arabic origin and it means Islamic funeral prayer.

JazaakAllah has Arabic origin and it means an Islamic expression of gratitude meaning “May Allah reward you”.

Jumung has Malay origin and it means toilet.

Kabristan has Hindi origin and it means cemetery.

Kanallah has Malay origin and it means please.

Kanaladorp has Malay origin, a mixture of Malay and Dutch, it means in English that people assisting each other, means “If you please”.

Kombuis has Afrikaans origin and it means Kitchen.

Khutbah Jumoa has Arabic origin and it means a religious narration including sermons.

Labarang has Malay origin and means Wooden ablution shoes.

Langaars has Persian origin and means prayer rooms.

Maaf has Indonesian origin and means pardon.

Madressah has Arabic origin and means Muslim school.

Mahabbah has Arabic origin and means love.

Masjid has Arabic origin and means mosque.

Moulood has Arabic origin and means a celebration of the Prophet's birthday, which is held on the twelfth day of the Muslim month of *Rabi-al-auwal*.

Piesang has standard Afrikaans originates from the Malay word "*pesang*" and means in banana.

Rabi-al-Awwal has Arabic origin and means the third lunar month in the Islamic calendar.

Sny has Afrikaans origin and means cut.

Rampies has Indonesian origin and means orange leaves are cut into small strips, gathered together and scented with rose oil, bits of the cuttings are then folded into paper to form little sachets called "*rampies*".

Ruwayatsof Brazanzi has Arabic origin and means a very musical exposition of the of the prophet.

Slamat djalen has Malay origin and means a good journey to you.

"Slamse Buurt" has Indonesian origin and means the Muslim neighbourhood.

Sheikh has Arabic origin and means a leader in a Muslim community.

Shukran has Arabic origin and means thank you.

Tawaf has Arabic origin and means the ritual of performing seven circumambulations of the *Kaaba* as part of the *haj* to Mecca.

Terima kasin has Malay origin and means Thank you.

Tocolosh has Malay origin and means a Malay tric



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APPENDIX B
Consent Form

University of the Western Cape

Discourse analysis of narratives of Malay heritage in gentrified Bo-Kaap, Cape Town

Researcher:

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 research at anytime)
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 from 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 allow the researcher to audio-record my discussion and agree that the data collected from me should be used in this research project.
6. I agree to take part in the above research project.

Name of Participant (or legal representative) Date Signature

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:
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Office: 021 959 3090
Email: bantia@uwc.ac.za

Name	Age	Sex	Language	Education	Religion	Where he/she was born and how long	Single/Married	
Azra Naser	48	Female	English	Matric	Islam	Johansberg 24 years	Married	
Issan Khader	47	Male	English	HDE (sp)	Islam	Bo-kaap	Married	
Yary Rajab	68	Male	English	Grade 12	Islam	Boo-kaap	Married	
Fatima Ghanim	50	Female	English	Matric	Islam	District Six 21 years	Married	
TaquaAl-Sharif	51	Female	English	Grade 10	Islam	Kensington 26 years	Married	
Zahra Algharni	56	Female	Afrikaans	Grade 11	Islam	Cape Town, Bo-kaap 56 years	Married	
Mastora Afif	45	Female	English	Development	Islam	Bo-kaap	Single	
Radiga Amir	61	Female	English	BSc	BA-AB	Islam	Boo-kaap 61 years	Married
Faique	62	Male	English	BA.Honors	Islam	District Six 40 years	Married	
Zeela Fadil	48	Female	English	BA.Honors	Islam	District Six 22 years in Bo-kaap	Married	
Wala Algabaly	56	Female	English	Matric	Islam	Bo-kaap 56 years	Married	
Nur Khassim	38	Female	English	College	Islam	Bo-kaap 16 years	Married	
Aisha Al-Mofti	59	Female	English	STD9	Islam	Bo-kaap 59 years	Divorced	

APPENDIX C: Participants' Demographic Data

Mansur Abdullah	70	Male	English and Afrikaans	Grade 6	Islam	Born in Wynberg and 40 years in Bo-kaap	Married
Mohammad Farooqu	67	Male	English and Afrikaans	Grade 10	Islam	67 years in Boo-kaap	Married
Fagmi	69	Male	English and	Grade 7	Islam	69 years in Boo-	Divorced

Ratib			Afrikaans			kaap		
Akram Ahmad	53	Male	English and Afrikaans	Matric	Islam	Salt River years and 28 years in Boo-kaap	25	Married
Yasser Zaid	62	Male	English and Afrikaans	Grade 11	Islam	Boo-kaap		Married

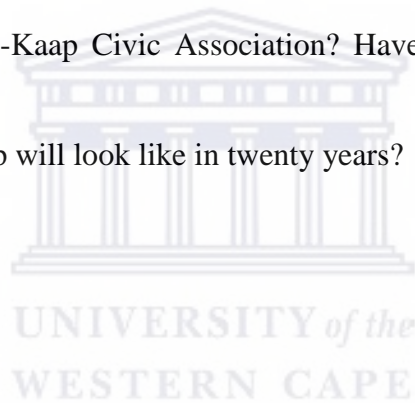




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APPENDIX D: Focus Group Questions

1. What language(s) do you speak?
2. Do you think people in Bo-Kaap speak differently to people in other neighbourhoods in Cape Town? If so, please explain.
3. How do you know one another?
4. How long have you been working or living here?
5. How would you describe the culture of Bo-Kaap?
6. What can you tell me about the prices of property value in Bo-Kaap? Have you ever been approached to sell?
7. In your opinion, what factors are attracting buyers to this neighbourhood?
8. What do you all know about the history of Bo-Kaap?
9. What are the important landmarks in Bo-Kaap?
10. In your opinion, is the current Malay community consulted about changes to the neighbourhood?
11. Can you tell me about Bo-Kaap Civic Association? Have you ever been a part of it? Why/why not?
12. What do you think Bo-Kaap will look like in twenty years?



APPENDIX E: Interview schedule

1. What language(s) do you speak?
2. Do you think people in Bo-Kaap speak differently to people in other neighbourhoods in Cape Town? If so, please explain.
3. What are your ties to Bo-Kaap? E.g. are you a resident, business owner?
4. How long have you been working or living here?
5. How would you describe the culture of Bo-Kaap?
6. What can you tell me about the prices of property value in Bo-Kaap?
7. In your opinion, what factors are attracting buyers to this neighbourhood?
8. What do you know about the history of Bo-Kaap?
9. What are the important landmarks in Bo-Kaap?
10. Why are houses in Bo-Kaap painted in bright colours?
11. Can you tell me about Islam in Bo-Kaap?
12. Is the current Malay community consulted about changes to the neighbourhood?
13. Can you tell me about Bo-Kaap Civic Association? Have you ever been a part of it?
Why/why not?
14. Neighbourhoods like Observatory in Cape Town, which is 100 years old, has received 'national heritage status', in your opinion why has Bo-Kaap (which is over 300 years old) not been given the same status?
15. What do you think Bo-Kaap will look like in twenty years?

APPENDIX F: Transcript Symbols

Italicized words	slang terms
=	Overlapping speech
Bold	Placing emphasis on words
Capital letters	shouting
(.)	Short pauses
.....	Longer pauses
-	Word cut off
((laugh))	laughing

