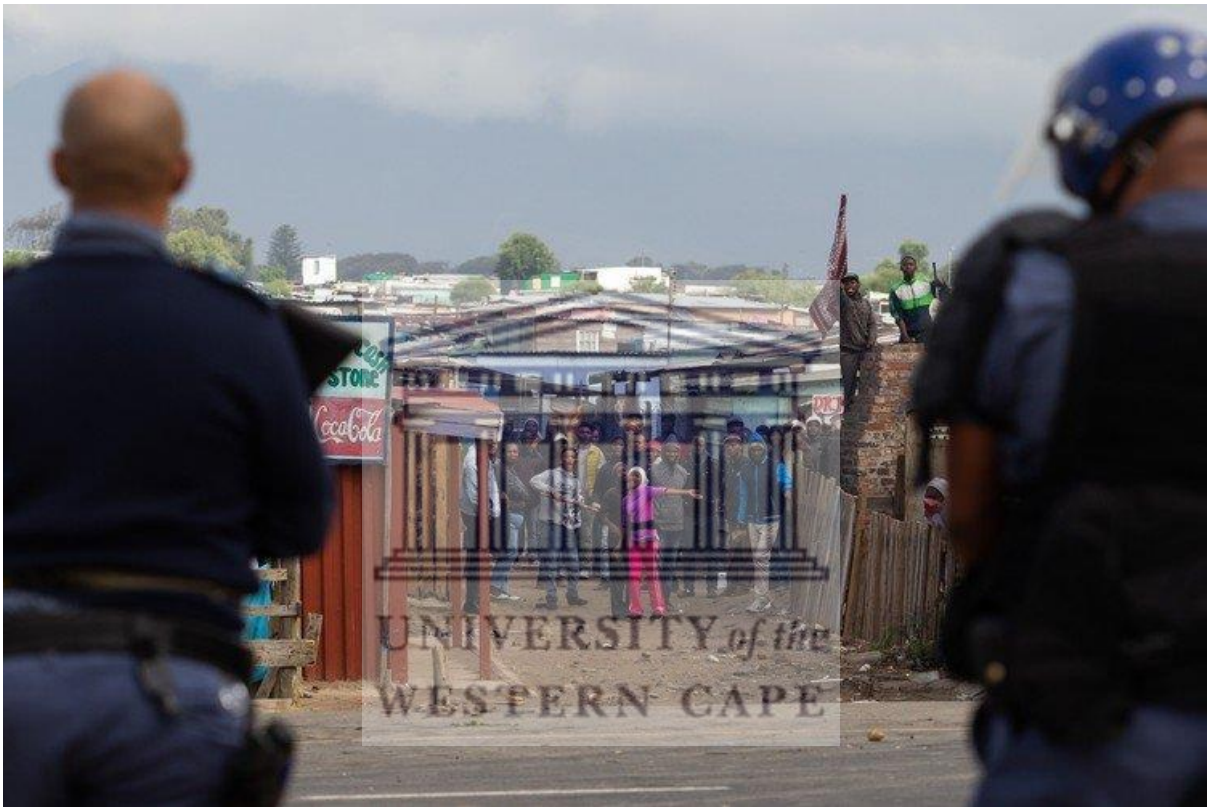


“It’s My House and I Live Here”: The Mobilisation of Selective Histories for Claims of
Belonging in Cape Town

Keenan Africa

Supervisor: Dr. Koni Benson



Source: Annie Cebulski, ‘Violent Clashes Between Mitchells Plain and Siqalo Residents,’ *GroundUp*, 2 May 2018.

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ABSTRACT

This mini thesis seeks to explore two legacies of apartheid: the insecurity of decent and available housing that has led to a housing crisis, and the insecurity of Coloured identity as caused by apartheid's racial and identity politics and its aftermath in a democratic South Africa. Furthermore, it is an examination of identity and its relation to place, specifically Coloured identity in the place of Cape Town. It focuses the ripple effect of belonging, as this research starts with Cape Town then expands to further find cause for this growing cause of belonging by focusing on racism, the housing crisis, nation-building, globalisation, capitalism.

Through interviews and archival research, I explore questions of belonging, identity, and its relation to the housing crisis in Cape Town. This is done through a case study of tensions that erupted in Siqualo, in Mitchell's Plain on 1 May 2018. Siqualo is a land occupation of isiXhosa speakers in the apartheid-era 'Coloured' area of Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town. When Siqualo residents organised a protest around issues of electricity and housing they faced violent retaliation by neighbouring community and residents of Colorado, populated mainly by people classified as Coloured, with claims being made by an organisation called Gatvol Capetonians for Siqualo residents to return to Eastern Cape.

I examine the role of identity in the creation of narratives of Cape Town and establish two narratives, one in which Cape Town is represented as a home for all and one in which it is not, this is done to show how belonging is made through identity and narrative and the effect that this creates. This comes to frame this mini-thesis as the question of a home is represented in the symbolic and physical sense and highlights the tension between Gatvol's protest of Coloured belonging and Siqualo residents' protest for decent housing. Chapter Two reflects on this through the use of interviews from both sides of the protest. This chapter is written as an

imagined debate that not only reflects on critiques of oral history but ways of writing history experimentally or speculatively.

Through investigating the source of the tension from the Siqualo protest, I argue that desegregation was, in theory, one of the first nation-building projects in South Africa, and its failure has deepened apartheid and colonial forms of classification that divide people. The views of Mahmood Mamdani, while rarely applied to African people classified as Coloured, are very important, as his book, *Citizen and Subject* was a premise for this research as it highlighted the pitfalls and requirements of African countries after independence from colonialism. At the same time, the literature on Coloured identity rarely brings up the question whether Coloureds can and do practice racism on those classified as black or African and how these categorisations have persisted in the post-apartheid era. This research asks: to what extent do present conditions enable a predatory dynamic to claims of Coloured identity? Based off the predatory argument which focuses on intensified competition for scarce resources under globalisation put forward by Arjun Appadurai, I highlight the influence that contemporary globalisation has had on both the dynamics of Coloured identity and on the housing crisis in Cape Town. This mini thesis concludes by providing two alternatives as to how the question of race can be assessed in South Africa.

DECLARATION

I declare that "*It's my house and I live here*": *The mobilisation of selective histories for claims of belonging in Cape Town* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Keenan Africa

Date: 14 January 2021

Signed: 



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis might have been different had it not been for Prof Ciraj Rassool who suggested that I speak to Dr Koni Benson who became my supervisor and helped formulate this mini-thesis, therefore I am grateful and much appreciative for his input. To my supervisor though, Koni Benson I am especially grateful for her patience and willingness to accept the ideas that I put forth that made the writing of this thesis all the more enjoyable and worthwhile.

I have to thank the History Department of the University of the Western Cape from the administrative staff to the teaching for being one of the best spaces for a student. The administrative staff of Jane Smidt and Janine Brandt, thank you for always being helpful and receptive. The teaching staff, a very big thank you. Special thanks to the current HOD, Paolo Israel that happened to be my very first lecture of my university career in 2015, History 151 the first period on a Monday morning. To my Honour's supervisor Professor Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie, thank you for being part of my first venture into postgraduate life. That gratitude has to be extended to all the other professors.

I have to thank Sam Longford and the Remaking Societies, Remaking Persons (RSRP) forum for accepting me, making it possible for me to pursue my Master's Degree. To RSRP reading group for being a space of rigorous debate and discussion that requires one to think outside the box that makes history a subject worth learning, therefore thank you to the professors and fellow learners who were part of that experience.

I would like to express my gratitude to all the participants who made themselves available for interviews: Faeza Meyer, Luvuyo Booi, Dr. Ruben Richards, Patric Mellet and Sakeena Frenchman; thank you. I would also like to thank The Institute for African Alternatives (IFAA) for hosting a forum on the question of Coloured identity and belonging that further

provided impetus for my research. A special thanks to Cape Town and its people for being the backdrop to this study.

Thank you to my family for understanding that I needed my space, time and need for silence which is more than I could ask for particularly in a time of enforced lockdown. Thank you to Phoebe for keeping me company during the day.

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INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

Cape Town is a city like no other, representing characteristics of the beauty and beast, scenic beaches, beautiful mountains and then just behind the mountains, abject poverty and a daily life of fear. However, what makes a place is the relationship that is built between all that construction and the people who inhabit it: its place identity. The term place identity “denotes how individuals’ sense of self arises in part through their transactions with material environments.”¹ One such place behind the mountains is an area called Mitchells Plain, a product of the infamous Group Areas Act. For over half a century South Africa was governed by the system of apartheid that institutionalised racial segregation. This required the division and categorisation of people into different ‘race’ groups. The separate development of people was instilled in our communities through the Group Areas Act that put into law the racialisation of communities: “the Group Areas Act of 1950 which accorded differential residence rights on the basis of ‘race’.”² Under apartheid four race groups were designated: White, Coloured, Indian and Black, which was initially titled Native and Bantu. Race in itself is conflicting but out of these four race groups, “Coloured” is most conflicting not only because of issues of race but also because of questions of identity and identification. Apartheid has left a lasting impact on Cape Town, which has been instilled in the making of communities where change has become the enemy. In Cape Town, the relationship between people and place has become built on race. In other words, where you *belong* is based on your race.

¹ John Dixon and Kevin Durrheim, ‘Dislocating Identity: Desegregation and the Transformation of Place,’ *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 24 (2004), 457.

² Desiree Lewis, ‘Writing Hybrid Selves: Richard Rive and Zoë Wicomb,’ in *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town*, ed. Zimitri Erasmus (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001), 133.

Mitchells Plain, an area that was designated as a Coloured area under apartheid, and is still heavily populated by people who consider themselves as and were classified as Coloureds, is a microcosm for the effects of apartheid's racial and housing politics. Siqalo, an informal settlement in Mitchells Plain, occupied by mostly isiXhosa speaking people, who, according to the apartheid four categories would be classified as Black, was the result of the lack of housing and forced evictions. According to a history of Siqalo informal settlement published by the press "people flocked to the land in increasing numbers after being evicted from backyard shacks in informal settlements and townships in Philippi, Khayelitsha and Gugulethu from the end of 2011."³ The land on which Siqalo is situated is privately owned, which, according to the City of Cape Town, adds to the difficulty for the provision of basic services such as sanitation and electricity.

On May 1 2018, there was a protest for electricity and housing in Siqalo. In response to the protest of Siqalo, residents of Colorado Park, a neighbourhood in Mitchells Plain retaliated against the protest of Siqalo. This protest played a part in the notoriety of Gatvol Capetonian, a group that gave voice to this anger as expressed by Fadiel Adams the administrator of their Facebook group: "Coloured people are being told to shut up and sit down. We refuse to shut up and sit down. This government is waging a housing, employment and economic war on us."⁴

Gatvol is an Afrikaans word that means 'fed up.' One of the demands of Gatvol Capetonian is the secession of the Western Cape from South Africa. They also demand that people from the Eastern Cape who moved to Cape Town after 1994 return: "They have no claim to this land. They should be happy that we welcome them and have always welcomed them."⁵

³ 'The history of Siqalo informal settlement and hopes for a new beginning,' *News24*, 4 May 2018.

⁴ Ra'eesa Pather and Govan Whittles, 'Gatvol' Capetonians stir up tensions,' *Mail and Guardian*, 1 June 2018.

⁵ Ibid.

Gatvol Capetonian, however is not the only group that has come to embody this claim. There has been a growth in the creation of new formations that identify themselves as Khoi and San and pro-Coloured, with some making the claims of being the ‘first people’ not only of the Cape Town region, but of South Africa as a whole, in their bid to establish their place in light of the other.

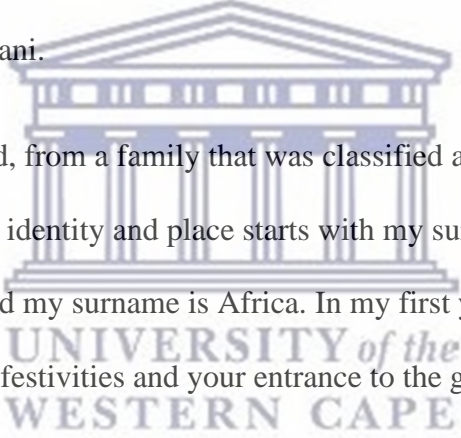
2018 was a year full of different court cases involving evictions across Cape Town. The newspapers were full of stories featuring “scores of residents living in subsidised housing units across Cape Town are facing eviction due to high rental prices.”⁶ It was in this period also that in the area of Salt River, housing was to be built but only a particular percentage would be allocated as social housing. The issue of housing therefore became prominent to me. 2018 also saw the rise of Gatvol Capetonian: “While the organisation has quite a few goals that it wants to achieve, it describes itself as a ‘group of gatvol [fed up] Capetonians’ who are sick of ‘racist’ B.E.E policies, poor service delivery and crime.”⁷ What you had in Cape Town was rising issues of gentrification, housing shortages and at times blatant expressions of racism. Even though I had not lived through apartheid, it was clear to me that this was reminiscent of many factors that came together in the apartheid period. These questions of the legacies of apartheid became my research focus and zoomed in on Coloured identity and housing.

Coloured identity has always been an interest but only very indirectly, which I sense is the case for many South Africans too. This point was highlighted by a forum hosted by The Institute for African Alternatives (IFAA) in late 2019 entitled ‘Coloured Identity: Discussions on belonging and identity in South Africa.’ One of the questions raised at the forum was the

⁶ Monique Mortlock, ‘Residents Living in Subsidised Houses Across CT Face Eviction,’ *EWN*, 5 July 2018.

⁷ Nic Anderson, ‘Gatvol Capetonian: Everything You Need to Know About the Organisation,’ <https://www.thesouthafrican.com/news/what-is-gatvol-capetonian/amp/> accessed 13 July 2020.

issue of Coloured identity and belonging: is it a Coloured question specifically for Coloured people or a national question, relevant to and in need of assessment by the nation, meaning all South Africans. The consensus amongst the panel was that it is a national question. One of the panellists, Alex Hotz, a well-known student activist from the #RhodesMustFall movement, brought up an interesting point and set of questions that revolved around how belonging and identity becomes important when constructing the nation state. The point was not further elaborated on during the discussion but brings to light the importance of not only an individual or group identity in a place but the effect of nation and nationality on both individual and group identities. My view on the question of whether it's a Coloured or National question will be explored in Chapter One, through reflection on the work of Thiven Reddy and Mahmood Mamdani.

The logo of the University of the Western Cape is centered in the background. It features a classical building facade with a pediment and columns. Below the illustration, the text "UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE" is written in a serif font, with "of the" in a smaller, italicized font.

I myself am seen as Coloured, from a family that was classified as Coloured and my reckoning between Coloured identity and place starts with my surname. A surname is an extension of who you are, and my surname is Africa. In my first year of university, orientation week ended with festivities and your entrance to the grand finale, was proof of your new student card, which had your surname on it. I showed my student card, the person standing at the gate was a young black man, and his comment stuck with me: “We even have Coloureds that are African.” This was because of my surname. I didn’t think much of that comment then but in retrospect, in the process of doing this thesis, it now means a whole lot more. It infers that someone born in Africa, right in the south of Africa could be anything but African. Why? How? Am I not meant to be here? This experience brings to light the relationship between people and place: in what places are people meant to belong?

How is it that with the acknowledgment of apartheid and its policies of racism as a crime against humanity, that the relationship people build with each other to provide a sense of

belonging and a place within which they centre that belonging, is still built on essentialised versions of race? These Siqualo protest dynamics highlighted that apartheid legacies such as racism and the housing crisis, which can be traced much further back than apartheid's forced removals, are currently being used as a means to establish belonging.

AIMS & RESEARCH QUESTION

This thesis is interested in understanding what seems to be a re-emergence or strengthening of apartheid-era classifications of race and space. How and why does such classification and essentialisation of identity persist? How does competition for space, seen in a growing housing shortage, become framed as a contest for Coloureds belonging and Coloureds feeling that their place is being taken away, that there is an invasion on their land and that they are being marginalized? To what extent are current assertions of a Khoi identity being mobilised to give credence to the apartheid idea that Cape Town is the rightful place of Coloureds? And finally, what are the dynamics that result in a call for the 'exit' of African identified groups in the suggestion that they 'do not belong' in Cape Town?

By looking at the protest that occurred May 1 2018 in Siqualo in Mitchells Plain and the retaliation by the neighbouring residents identifying as Coloured and thereby as the only legitimate residents of Mitchells Plain, I want to explore whether this growing case of belonging and the focus on resources such as housing and employment in Cape Town is making Coloured identity a predatory identity. Arjun Appadurai defines predatory identities as, "those identities whose social construction and mobilisation require the extinction of other, proximate social categories, defined as threats to the very existence of some groups, defined as a we."⁸ Predatory identities are identities that are constructed toward violent

⁸ Arjun Appadurai, *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger* (Duke University Press: Durham, 2006), 51.

means. The intent is to eliminate another group that threatens your resources. While there are clear differences to the context in which Appadurai's study and my study take place, the call for displacement of isiXhosa speaking residents identified as African/Black in Mitchell's Plain, warrants a relooking at the process of othering and the mobilisation of racial and cultural difference making on the rise in Cape Town today.

This thesis therefore aims to delve into the history of housing struggle in Mitchell's Plain and the Siqalo protest in particular, in an attempt to grapple with larger questions, including: what is next for the category of Coloured in the midst of various claims and perspectives? Has South Africa succeeded in its Rainbow Nation project post-apartheid? If not, how much of this failure can be attributed to the legacies of apartheid such as racial categorisation and racial categorisation of space?

LITERATURE REVIEW

The framing and structure of a literature review is usually done in a chronological order of publication and historiography, whereas as this literature is done thematically, in an attempt to challenge some of the ways that Coloured history has been put in its own box, as if separate from the wider or national scope of debates on race. The history and literature of Cape Town and Mitchells Plain will rather be discussed in the following chapters. Instead, this literature overview is organized into the themes of Coloured identity, protest, nation-building and race, in order to lay out a starting point for my study and in order to highlight the relevant literature and key debates in this research.

Coloured Identity

My study is an examination of identity and its relation to place, specifically Coloured identity in the place of Cape Town. The relationship between the three concepts of Coloured, place,

and identity has over the years become entwined. The titles of post-1994 edited collections such as, *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town* and *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa* are a reflection of the discussion taking place between these concepts and subjects. The latter title mentioned is a collection of writings that is edited by historian Mohamed Adhikari, which explores issues and manifestations of Colouredness within Southern Africa. Of particular concern to this research is the chapter by Adhikari himself in which he highlights that there are four concepts to understanding Coloured identity: essentialist, instrumentalist, social constructionist and creolisation. Adhikari's concepts help in establishing a framework from which to begin with to assess Coloured identity and the complexity of it in that just like identity itself, there is no one way to look and understand it. Therefore, this reading helped in setting the tone by acknowledging the different ways that identity can be looked at and specifically highlighting the historiography of Coloured identity.

The essentialist approach is defined by Adhikari: "This interpretation coincides with the popular view of coloured identity as a product of miscegenation that stretches back to the earliest days of European settlement at the Cape."⁹ Miscegenation is the blending of supposedly pure races. The ideal of miscegenation plays a key role in the marginalisation of Coloured identification according to Zoë Wicomb.¹⁰ According to Wicomb, this marginalisation is on the basis of shame:

This failure or inability to represent in popular forms, and consequently the total erasure of slavery from the folk memory, has its roots in shame: shame for our origins of slavery, shame for the miscegenation, and shame, as colonial racism became

⁹ Mohamed Adhikari, 'From Narratives of Miscegenation to Post-Modernist Re-Imagining: Towards A Historiography of Coloured Identity in South Africa,' in *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*, ed. by Mohamed Adhikari (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2009), 7.

¹⁰ Zoë Wicomb, 'Shame and Identity: The Case of the Coloured in South Africa,' in *Race, Nation, Translation: South African Essays, 1990-2013*, ed. Andrew van der Vlies (Wits University Press: Johannesburg, 2018).

institutionalized, for being black, so that with the help of European names coloureds have lost all knowledge of Xhosa, Indonesian, East African, or Khoikhoi origins.¹¹

The second approach outlined by Adhikari is the instrumentalist approach that sees Coloured identity as a response to an oppressive ideal of being Coloured. Adhikari explains, “coloured identity as an artificial concept imposed by the white supremacist state and the ruling establishment upon an oppressed and vulnerable group of people as an instrument of social control.”¹² This approach grew in prominence in the 1980s and was spurred on by the ideology of Black Consciousness (BC), which defined Black as all those who are oppressed which importantly here, included Coloureds and Indians. As such all oppressed rallied under the identity of Black and rejected apartheid classifications. This approach has been questioned by some in that its arguments have come to be seen as one that has been adopted by elite Coloureds. Some argue that the majority Coloureds within the 1980s did not see themselves within this mould of BC and as Black but under the continued classification of Coloured. This viewpoint was brought to my attention through my interview with Dr Ruben Richards: “The BC movement was the late ‘70s, well the ‘70s because Steve Biko started the BC movement in 1968. And it was an African thing, it swirled over into Coloured intelligentsia and highly educated but the masses of Coloured people were not BC.”¹³ The issue of Coloured rejectionism is also highlighted Adhikari: “Though confined to a politicised minority within the Coloured community itself, and observed mainly in public discourse or for pragmatic reasons, the disavowal of Coloured identity had by the early 1980s nevertheless become a politically correct orthodoxy within the anti-apartheid movement, especially in the Western Cape.”¹⁴ Adhikari however does highlight the role of the Black Consciousness movement within Coloured communities, which extended beyond a small politicised

¹¹ Wicomb, ‘Shame and Identity,’ 122.

¹² Adhikari, ‘From Narratives,’ p. 11.

¹³ Interview with Dr. Ruben Richards by Keenan Africa, Cape Town, 10th March 2020.

¹⁴ Mohamed Adhikari, ‘From Manenberg to Soweto: race and coloured identity in the black consciousness poetry of James Matthews,’ *African Studies*, Vol. 62, No. 2 (2003), 171.

minority: “It was particularly in the wake of the 1976 revolt that Black Consciousness took popular root within the Coloured community and was taken up by the increasingly politicised student population.”¹⁵ From the late 1970s and going into the 1980s, student movements came to play a central part in the fight against apartheid, especially in the Cape Flats.¹⁶

The instrumentalist approach is thus a rejectionist approach, and this approach did not last into the democratic post 1994 era in South Africa. According to Adhikari: “The instrumentalist interpretation lost much of its potency when the ANC in the early 1990s sidelined the anti-racist pressure groups within its fold and openly appealed to coloured identity in an attempt to win coloured political support.”¹⁷ By doing this, the ANC reified Coloured identity. The instrumentalist approach has taken a new form in Khoisan revivalism, as Adhikari explains: “It is rejectionist in that Khoisan identity is proudly affirmed as an authentic culture of ancient pedigree in place of Colouredness which is repudiated as the coloniser’s perverted caricature of the colonised.”¹⁸ Michael Besten further expands on the motivations behind the Khoi revivalism that reflect on the changing political nature of post-apartheid, “with the ending of apartheid, the coloured category, under which many Khoe-San descendants had been classified prior to 1994, lost much of the psychological, socio-economic, ideological and political value it previously conferred on its bearers.”¹⁹ As noted there are different terms used; Khoi, Khoisan, Khoe-San, which highlight the complexity and politics that come along with it. My study will not delve into these urgent histories but rather

¹⁵ Adhikari, ‘From Manenberg,’ 171-172.

¹⁶ For more on student protests in Cape Town see: Sabine Marschall, ‘Commemorating the “Trojan Horse” massacre in Cape Town: the tension between vernacular and official expressions of memory,’ *Visual Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (2010), 135-148. Fhulufhuwani Hastings Nekhwevha, ‘The 1985 School Crisis in the Western Cape’ (M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1991). “The Wynberg 7 – An Intolerable Amnesia,” available on youtube: <https://youtu.be/Fx8tPt1fvZg>.Uprize! (dir. Sifiso Khanyile, 2017).

¹⁷ Adhikari, ‘From Narratives,’ 13.

¹⁸ Mohamed Adhikari, “‘Not Black Enough’: Changing Expressions of Coloured Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa,’ *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (2004), 177.

¹⁹ Michael Besten, ‘We Are the Original Inhabitants of This Land’: Khoe-San Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa,’ in *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*, ed. Mohamed Adhikari (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2009), 134.

remain focused on the relationship between Coloured identity and Khoi identification.

However, where necessary the problem of naming will be explained to provide context.

The third approach is the social constructionist, which is positioned as a response to the inadequacies of the essentialist and instrumentalist approach. Social constructionists argue that, “coloured identity cannot be taken as a given but is a product of human agency dependent on a complex interplay of historical, social, cultural, political and other contingencies.”²⁰ The key word is agency, inasmuch as there was agency in rejecting the instrumentalist approach, it still does not give any credence to a Coloured identity but just rejects it. Social constructivists therefore argue that there is a Coloured identity in which Coloured people play an active role in the making of their own identity and that it need not be forced upon them: “Social constructionist histories have therefore been at pains to demonstrate the complexity of coloured identity and, most importantly, to stress the agency of coloured people in the making of their identity.”²¹

The last approach outlined by Adhikari is creolisation, “This viewpoint, which draws on postmodern and postcolonial theory, shares much of the critical outlook of social constructionists, and may be seen as social constructionism informed by a particular theoretical perspective.”²² Erasmus argues that Coloured identity is not embedded in the mixing of races, which would locate it as essential, rather it is shaped by cultural and social processes. As Adhikari explains: “coloured identities are not based on ‘race mixture’ but on cultural creativity, creolized formations shaped by South Africa’s history of colonialism, slavery, segregation and apartheid.”²³

²⁰ Adhikari, ‘From Narratives,’ 13.

²¹ Adhikari, ‘From Narratives,’ 15.

²² Adhikari, ‘From Narratives,’ 16.

²³ Zimitri Erasmus, ‘Introduction: Re-imagining coloured identities in post-Apartheid South Africa,’ in *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town*, ed. Zimitri Erasmus (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001), 14.

The work of Patric Tariq Mellet offers a perspective on the above approaches more for the lay person or for public debate, which are steeped in academic language. Mellet, who describes himself as a heritage activist and teacher, separates himself from the academics, and provides a different perspective to Coloured identity. In his book, *The Camissa Embrace: Odyssey of an Unrecognised African People*, Mellet argues against the use and concept of Coloured as a classification as it denies those classified as Coloured the ideal of being African. In his words: “the general theme of creating the category of ‘Coloured’ was de-Africanisation.”²⁴ What my research aims to highlight is a point that Mellet raises, which speaks on the issues of Khoi revivalism and its claims for belonging. As articulated by Mellet: “while the micro-groups have every right to express their own beliefs and sense of rootedness they need to be very careful when aggressive, inflammatory and even violent action is used to forcefully try to impose their views as the only views or to make material demands on behalf of others past or present.”²⁵ My research explores the claims made by various pro-Coloured and Khoi revivalist movements that they are the original inhabitants of Cape Town, Western Cape and by extension declare who belongs and who does not.

Protest

Tshepo Madlingozi states: “The ruling African National Congress (ANC) election campaign tagline, ‘better life for all’, is therefore recognition that the struggle for liberation was also a struggle to eradicate the effects of racial capitalism.”²⁶ This captures the essence of a large proportion of post-apartheid literature on protest which highlight the dissatisfaction of what post-apartheid was meant to change. This is reflected by the shift of ANC policy when it

²⁴ Patric Tariq Mellet, *The Camissa Embrace: Odyssey of an Unrecognised African People* (Cape Town: Dibanisa Publishing), 167.

²⁵ Mellet, *The Camissa Embrace*, 169.

²⁶ Tshepo Madlingozi, ‘Post-Apartheid Social Movements and the Quest for the Elusive “New” South Africa,’ *Journal of Law and Society*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (2007), 78.

chose to embrace neoliberal Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme (GEAR) in 1996. Madlingozi states: “under GEAR, unemployment, wage disparities, landlessness, and poverty have worsened.”²⁷ This has spurred the growth of protest or social movements in South Africa, with particular focus against the neoliberal policies of the ANC government. An important text to understanding the growing roots of protest in South Africa can be explored in the edited collection, *Contesting Transformation* that looks at “why the ANC still forms part of the identity of millions of South Africans.”²⁸ Whereas the focus of protest has usually been on the state, in his analysis on the Housing Assembly as a social movement, Zachary Levenson points out how their focus has shifted away from the state and towards the market.²⁹ This literature highlights the divergent direction of protest in South Africa against neoliberal policies as a target for protest.

In “The Social Psychology of Protest,” an article of sociology written by applied social psychologists Jacquelin van Stekelenburg and Bert Klandermans, provide an overview of studies that look at why people protest. They highlight numerous concepts but the two I would like to state here are grievances and identification. They write: “several empirical studies report consistently that the more people identify with a group the more they are inclined to protest on behalf of that group.”³⁰ The influence of identities in protest is due to its nature of differentiation expressed by the definition in the article: “identity is our understanding of who we are and who other people are, and, reciprocally, other people’s understanding of themselves and others.”³¹ Grievances provides a motivation for the need to

²⁷ Madlingozi, ‘Post-Apartheid,’ 80.

²⁸ Marcelle C. Dawson and Luke Sinwell, *Contesting Transformation: Popular Resistance in Twenty-First-Century South Africa* (London: Pluto Press, 2012), 12.

²⁹ Zachary Levenson, ‘Social Movements Beyond Incorporation: The Case of The Housing Assembly in Post-Apartheid Cape Town,’ in *Southern Resistance in Critical Perspective: The Politics of Protest in South Africa’s Contentious Democracy*, (eds.) Marcel Paret, Carin Runciman and Luke Sinwell (London: Routledge, 2017).

³⁰ Jacquelin van Stekelenburg and Bert Klandermans, ‘The Social Psychology of Protest,’ *Current Sociology Review*, Vol. 6, No. 5 (2013), 890.

³¹ Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, ‘The Social,’ 890.

protest: “at the heart of every protest are grievances, be they the experience of illegitimate inequality, feelings of relative deprivation, feelings of injustice, moral indignation about some state of affairs, or a suddenly imposed grievance.”³² The reason for highlighting these two concepts is that the process of identity is one of difference and commonality and the recognition of grievance, according to these authors, can fuel this: “typically, politicization of identities begins with the awareness of shared grievances. Next, an external enemy is blamed for the group’s predicament, and claims for compensation are levelled against this enemy.”³³ This shows the mobilisation of identities and groups of people that are formed around a grievance and in this thesis that grievance is the issue of housing. Place is a space of meaning and a space that raises questions of belonging.

Race

Race and South Africa have come to be partners in history in that South Africa’s history cannot be written without it and a study on race in the world without evaluating the system of apartheid in South Africa would feel incomplete. My focus on race is limited to the period of apartheid up until today, post-apartheid. Apartheid was the order of racial separation in South Africa from 1948 until 1990. Deborah Posel emphasizes the role of race in the apartheid system, arguing that “race was to be the critical and overriding faultline: the fundamental organising principle for the allocation of all resources and opportunities, the basis of all spatial demarcation, planning and development, the boundary for all social interaction.”³⁴ Related terms that are key to grappling with apartheid racial logics are classification and allocation. Posel provides six reasons as the basis for apartheid’s racial reasoning. The first being that race was recognised as a fact and even with the uncertainty that comes with the

³² Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, ‘The Social,’ 888.

³³ Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, ‘The Social,’ 892.

³⁴ Deborah Posel, ‘What’s in a name? Racial Categorisations under Apartheid and Their Afterlife,’ *Transformation*, Vol. 47 (2001), 52.

classification, South Africa is divided into different races. The second reason is based on the ontology of race: “Bodies became signifiers of status, power and worth in a hierarchy that privileged whiteness (as both a biological and social condition) at its apex.”³⁵ The essence of being in South Africa was built around your race and this feeds into the third reason, which is race as ubiquitous in which race encapsulated everything the individual and the society represented, “if anything and everything could be read as a sign of race, then race was *in* everything – a ubiquitous dimension of everyday life, the inevitable adverb and adjective of all experience.”³⁶ The fourth reason is that race is seen as essential in order to ensure the categorisation of individuals that were deemed of the same race. The fifth reason is similar to that of the third as race equals experiences. The last reason is race as the site of White fear: “The impulse towards a racially ordered society, with rigid barriers demarcating the racialised boundaries of experiences and interaction and interaction, was rooted in widespread anxieties about racial mixing.”³⁷

There are however different conceptions other than race when speaking about apartheid and this is shown by another name for apartheid, which is separate development that is premised on the idea of nations. Neville Alexander’s, *One Azania, One Nation: The National Question in South Africa* written under the pseudonym of No Sizwe examines the, “the theory of nationality which has been propagated by the ideologues and theoreticians of the National Party in South Africa since the mid Fifties.”³⁸ Alexander in a lecture stated that: “‘Race’ assumed the same significance in South Africa as ‘ethnicity’ (or ‘tribe’) had in other African countries.”³⁹ I believe that along with race and ethnicity, the concept of nations should be

³⁵ Posel, ‘What’s in a name?’ 64.

³⁶ Posel, ‘What’s in a name?’ 65.

³⁷ Posel, ‘What’s in a name?’ 66.

³⁸ No Sizwe, *One Azania, One Nation: The National Question in South Africa* (Zed Press, London: Zed Press, 2013), 7.

³⁹ Neville Alexander, ‘The State of Nation-building in the New South Africa,’ *Pretexts: literary and cultural studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2001), 86.

included as Alexander has already highlighted the importance of nations to apartheid thinking. This is something which he does within the introduction of the lecture, stating that: “It is my belief that most of us are trapped in Eurocentric concepts of ‘nation’, ‘race’, ‘ethnic groups’ and other such putative social entities.”⁴⁰ Alexander therefore provide a critique to the concept of nations and its application as a form of identification in South Africa. The idea of nations becomes important when put in conversation with nation-building in post-apartheid South Africa in that the ideal of nation, race and ethnicity served as concepts under the apartheid regime.

Nation-Building

Part of the approach to why non-racialism is perceived as failing can be linked to the project of nation-building, which was meant to build a non-racial society. Elireia Bornman’s work becomes important when examining the case and progress of nation-building in South Africa. To Bornman, the nation-building project is, “an ideology of new nationalism and/or nation building was consequently perceived as the logical step to filling the gap left by apartheid.”⁴¹

Part of nation-building is the question of race in post-apartheid, which has become more of a critique. Bornman raises this point when examining non-racialism and the nation-building tool and metaphor, ‘Rainbow Nation,’ “the Rainbow Nation metaphor represents a compromise between the ANC’s commitment to non-racialism and the need to deal with the continuing politicization of ethnicity in post-apartheid South Africa.”⁴² The constant struggle is therefore trying to raise a point of moving beyond race, creating a new South Africa that is

⁴⁰ Alexander, ‘The State,’ 83.

⁴¹ Elireia Bornman, ‘Emerging Patterns of Social Identification in Postapartheid South Africa,’ *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 66, No. 2 (2010), 239.

⁴² Elireia Bornman, ‘The Rainbow Nation versus the colours of the rainbow: Nation-building and group identification in the post-apartheid South Africa,’ in *South Africa in Focus: Economic, Political and Social Issues*, ed. by Charl C. Wolhouter (United Kingdom: Nova Science Publishers, 2013).

non-racial, however nation-building itself does not progress on that. Recent literature has highlighted how non-racialism has come to be perceived not necessarily as a failure but perhaps not the correct tool for the changing context that South Africa finds itself in with regards to race. *The Colour of Our Future: Does Race Matter in Post-Apartheid South Africa?* edited by Xolela Mangcu is an important framework to further explore the issue and question of race.⁴³ Mangcu's chapter shows that there are ways of thinking beyond non-racialism. He proposes multi-racialism, "it bears repeating that this would not be a multi-racialism based on biological racial or cultural essences but one that recognises not only people's racial experiences but also their contestation and reformulation of imposed racial essences to create new identities."⁴⁴ Another chapter in *The Colour of Our Future*, is by Suren Pillay in which he reflects on non-racialism using concepts framed by Stuart Hall. Hall writes: "the two concepts are 'conjuncture' and 'strategy', and the proposition is the possibilities of conducting a politics without guarantees."⁴⁵ The aim of Pillay's chapter is to assess non-racialism the conjuncture and context under which non-racialism became prevalent and whether that strategy is still what is needed to frame post-apartheid and the post-apartheid future. The reflection on non-racialism bears the cracks on race relations as the one strategy meant to carry South Africa forward, non-racialism failed at the inception of nation-building with the 'Rainbow Nation' idea. Pillay's proposition therefore as mentioned is a politics without guarantees which "would have to forge itself through contestation without the self-assured disposition of knowing in advance the ends to which it directs its desires."⁴⁶

⁴³ Xolela Mangcu, *The Colour of Our Future: Does Race Matter in Post-Apartheid South Africa?* (South Africa: Wits University Press, 2015).

⁴⁴ Xolela Mangcu, 'What Moving Beyond Race Can Actually Mean: Towards A Joint Culture,' in *The Colour of Our Future: Does Race Matter in Post-Apartheid South Africa?* ed. Xolela Mangcu (South Africa: Wits University Press, 2015), 10.

⁴⁵ Suren Pillay, 'Why I am No Longer a Non-Racialist: Identity and Difference,' in *The Colour of Our Future: Does Race Matter in Post-Apartheid South Africa?* ed. Xolela Mangcu? (South Africa: Wits University Press, 2015), 133.

⁴⁶ Pillay, 'Why I,' 149.

This literature has highlighted a continuous conversation of race and identity and that is what my study aims to expand on, the issue of race and identity in South Africa with particular focus on people classified as Coloured.

CONCEPTUALISATIONS

This thesis makes use of the concepts of belonging, and of desegregation to examine the connection and relationship between people and place. Belonging is the establishment and feeling of connection to something, whether it is a person, place or an object. For this research belonging will be focused on place and the claims of belonging to that place, the place being Cape Town. In the case for belonging there is a need to assert that there is an other that does not belong, “belonging promises safety, but in practice it raises fierce disagreement over who ‘really’ belongs-over whose claims are authentic and whose are not.”⁴⁷ To not belong would be an uneasy state, which one constantly seeks to correct as there is a sense of defeat to the other.

Belonging is not only a process of othering but is also a sense of entitlement and when that entitlement is taken away it presents what Dixon and Durrheim refer to as dislocation,

“desegregation may be fruitfully conceived as a form of ‘dislocation’, an event that violates shared constructions of place and the forms of located subjectivity they help to maintain.”⁴⁸

Dixon and Durrheim through their study of a former desegregated beach in Durban found that when the beach was now open to all races as opposed to its former in which only Whites were allowed, there was opposition from White people. This opposition raised questions for the researchers as desegregation is seen as means to better society. Dixon and Durrheim are social psychologists, therefore their approach to understanding it is based in that thought.

⁴⁷ Bambi Ceuppens and Peter Geschiere, ‘Autochthony: Local or Global? New Modes in the Struggle over Citizenship and Belonging in Africa and Europe,’ *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 34 (2005), 387.

⁴⁸ Dixon and Durrheim, ‘Dislocating Identity,’ 456.

They recognize two prominent approaches to addressing desegregation within psychology: “The first has been concerned with measuring attitudes towards the desegregation in contexts as diverse as neighbourhoods, housing projects, schools, universities, churches, industry and the armed forces.”⁴⁹ The second being the contact hypothesis, “the idea that regular interaction between groups tends to reduce prejudice and is therefore a precondition for a more tolerant society.”⁵⁰ However, within doing their study of the beach Dixon and Durrheim realized, “the psychology of desegregation is interconnected with the psychology of place.”⁵¹ This entails not looking at the particular relationships that desegregation has on people but the relationship between people and place, that dislocation. The focus therefore shifts to that entitlement and belonging that a person has with a place, which are place attachment and place identity and its effects. Dlamini and Tesfamichael highlights that place identity and place attachment concept studies have become prevalent in South Africa due to South Africa’s history of segregation.⁵²

In Chapter Three, I argue that desegregation is, in theory, the first nation-building project and part of that argument is located in the breadth of what desegregation entails. If the undoing of apartheid lies in the evaporation of race as a marker and the use of this marker as a means of separation, then I would argue that desegregation, as intergroup contact, represents the process of undoing the marker of separation. I limit this nation-building project to the context of South Africa, although many countries have had nation-building projects particularly after World War II, they each present their own case of investigation. Dixon and Durrheim have highlighted its importance but Buhle Zuma goes further in highlighting how the conception

⁴⁹ John Dixon and Kevin Durrheim, *Racial Encounter: The Social Psychology of Contact and Desegregation* (East Sussex: Psychology Press, 2005), 4.

⁵⁰ Dixon and Durrheim, *Racial Encounter*, 4.

⁵¹ Dixon and Durrheim, ‘Dislocating Identity,’ 471.

⁵² Simangele Dlamini and Solomon G. Tesfamichael, ‘Approaches on the Concepts of Place Attachment in South Africa,’ *GeoJournal* (2020).

of desegregation is lacking, which can be traced back to the way in which segregation has been conceptualized within social psychology.⁵³ Zuma states that segregation has been conceptualized through the social science statement, which in turn limits desegregation to intergroup contact. A brief summary of the social science, “Kenneth Clark tabled the ‘Social Science Statement in the *Brown v. Board of Education* of Topeka Supreme Court Case’ titled ‘The Effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation’ before the Court along with thirty-one other social scientists.”⁵⁴ The *Brown v. Board of Education* was court case in 1954 that challenged the racial segregation of public schools in United States of America (USA). Social scientists contribution firstly through the prominence of contact theory and later the social science statement, “The social scientific input made by social psychologists became known as the ‘Social Science Statement in *Brown v. Board of Education*’.”⁵⁵ This Statement came to conceptualize segregation and desegregation, which Zuma deems to be reductionist, “through a kind of reductionist thinking Clark et al. turned a complex phenomenon that oppressed and dehumanised people into a prohibition of freedom of association and a matter of perception about that prohibition.”⁵⁶

Zuma does put forth good points but the one that stands out and is crucial to this thesis is that the concept as espoused by the Statement lacks location in relation to purpose within a society. Zuma views White racism as this source which the Statement does not reflect: “At this point Clark et al. failed, inadvertently or not, to name white racism (as such) that provided the socio-political context for segregation, preferring instead to speak of a ‘social milieu in which race prejudice and discrimination exist’.”⁵⁷ This point is crucial in that it

⁵³ Buhle Zuma, ‘The Social Psychology of (De) segregation: Rigorously studied and poorly conceptualised,’ *Psychology & Society*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2010).

⁵⁴ Zuma, ‘The Social,’ 94.

⁵⁵ Zuma, ‘The Social,’ 92.

⁵⁶ Zuma, ‘The Social,’ 98.

⁵⁷ Zuma, ‘The Social,’ 95.

highlights the system and function of segregation and locates it within a racist and colonial framework.

The ruling made within the *Brown v. Board of Education* was that segregation of schools were unconstitutional and that children of different races should therefore come into contact. This ruling was seen as the desegregation of the schooling system: “In other words, legally sanctioned intergroup contact was declared as desegregation achieved.”⁵⁸ Desegregation is therefore limited in its conception to contact without recognition given to the system and ideals that held segregation in place and for Zuma this is an issue: “Restricting the study of desegregation to intergroup contact whether this contact is at the macro or micro level is not enough for social psychology.”⁵⁹ What Zuma and Dixon and Durrheim show is that desegregation is an important concept that has weight behind it and therefore cannot be limited as a process of intergroup contact. By showing what is lacking in, Zuma has opened desegregation as an approach and concept.

This thesis is focused on this belonging in which change is presented as the enemy in the protests against protests in Siqualo. Although South Africa has been a democratic country for twenty-six years, apartheid’s spatial planning is still prevalent making South Africa very much still segregated although legally desegregated. Using Dixon and Durrheim’s view on desegregation and its relationship with place identity will help in explaining the reaction of the Colorado community towards Siqualo as well as the growing claims of belonging. My intention in arguing that desegregation is a form of nation-building (missing from Cape Town’s post 1994 history) is to not only highlight how important desegregation is to the project of moving beyond apartheid, but to also explore the role of desegregation or a lack thereof on Coloured identity. The premise of intergroup contact can be further explored when

⁵⁸ Zuma, ‘The Social,’ 100.

⁵⁹ Zuma, ‘The Social,’ 103.

Mahmood Mamdani speaks about the motivation of nationalist movements in general. He argues that “whether they sought to Africanize or to nationalize, the historical legitimacy of postindependence nationalist governments lay mainly in the program of deracialisation they followed.”⁶⁰ This process is embedded in overcoming colonial rule or more specifically what Mamdani states as the bifurcated state of direct and indirect rule fashioned between urban and rural. The bifurcated state created and shaped difference through creating an urban-rural divide, a race-ethnicity divide, and a citizen-subject divide. The central division is race and ethnicity. As Mamdani writes: “The colonial state divided the population into two: races and ethnicities.”⁶¹ Races were to be found in the urban areas, viewed as citizens under civic law. Ethnicities were located in rural areas, viewed as subjects under customary law resembled by the Native Authority: “This Native Authority was supposedly the “traditional tribal authority.”⁶² Colonial rule embedded a bifurcated state of direct and indirect rule as a means to answer the ‘native question,’ which is “how can a tiny and foreign minority rule over an indigenous majority?”⁶³ Mamdani argues that indirect rule, which was the creation of an ethnicity or tribesman is a colonial form of power that has not been destroyed that has highlighted the failure of democratisation.

Mamdani however views this process as futile in that as much as deracialisation has taken place; democratisation has not, and that it is “the deracialization of civil power and the detribalization of customary power, as starting points of an overall democratization that would transcend the legacy of a bifurcated power.”⁶⁴ Democratisation is therefore a process that should extend to deracialisation and detribalisation. Tribe is used as a synonym for

⁶⁰ Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (United Kingdom: Princeton University Press, 1996), 288.

⁶¹ Mahmood Mamdani, ‘Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism,’ *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 43, No. 4 (2001), 654.

⁶² Mahmood Mamdani, ‘Indirect Rule, Civil Society, and Ethnicity: The African Dilemma,’ *Social Justice*, Vol. 23, No. 1/2 (1996), 146-147.

⁶³ Mamdani, ‘Indirect Rule,’ 145.

⁶⁴ Mamdani, *Citizen*, 25.

ethnicity: “A tribe or an ethnic group was defined by colonial authorities as a group with its own distinctive law.”⁶⁵ I would agree with Mamdani that these processes are as relevant to Coloured racialisation as they are to ‘African’ race dynamics that Mamdani draws on from across the continent. Mamdani’s work further shows the different processes and complexity that goes into building a nation after an experience with colonialism. Race and ethnicity become embedded in a society and to undo requires more than just policy or focusing on race and limiting its influence on relations in society but rather the scope should be bigger.

METHODOLOGY

To explore the issues of race, housing and identity at the heart of the conflict in Siqualo, this research engaged literatures relating to the core concepts, drew on newspaper archives, undertook oral histories in the form of interviews and audio-recorded responses, and I drew on Facebook as an archive of the debates taking place around the issues of race tensions and the land and housing crisis in Cape Town. Newspaper articles were key in providing the context and the discussions that were taking place. More specifically newspaper articles that focused on the protest that took place at Siqualo and its aftermath were used to provide an outsider’s perspective to what happened.

The interviewing method was a semi-structured interview to allow for an interview that is not rigid but subject to change to allow participation and expression of the interviewees. I interviewed Faeza Meyer firstly on 21 February 2020 at Community House in Salt River. Besides being a housing activist with the Housing Assembly and aware of the housing crisis taking that is happening, Faeza was a resident of Siqualo and was present at the protest. Therefore, her perspective on both factors is invaluable. So too was Luvuyo Booi, who was my second interview, who is a resident of Siqualo and a leader within the community and

⁶⁵ Mamdani, ‘Indirect Rule,’ 146.

member and activist within the Housing Assembly. I interviewed him on two occasions, both occasions it took place at Community House and it the 10th and 12th March 2020. Due to the lockdown and the instability of being assured that interviews could and would take place, I requested a written response to questions I emailed to Gatvol Capetonian. Sakeena Frenchman, the secretary of Gatvol responded and thankfully replied with written responses that were helpful in providing the two opposing scopes of the protest that took place and the challenges that both communities wished to raise.

My third interview was the other side of the conversation, questions of Coloured identity. I interviewed Dr Ruben Richards on the 10th of March 2020, in Grassy Park. The reason for interviewing Dr Richards was that alongside Patric Mellet, who I had interviewed just before, he was also writing about Coloured identity as a means of exposure and education about a past and history that is not known too many. Therefore, these interviews were enlightening in discussing Coloured identity in different contexts as well as the issue of Khoi revivalism.

Facebook was used as an archive, in particular, Facebook Groups were studied. In a recent article by Jenny Ungbha Korn entitled, 'Black Nerds, Asian Activists, and Caucasian Dogs: Online Race-based Cultural Group Identities within Facebook Groups' she argues that:

“Facebook Groups serve as voluntary communities open to Internet users that desire homophilic relationships based on various areas of identification.”⁶⁶ Facebook Groups work well for research on identity, due to the fact that people are self-identifying and aligning themselves with groups, so it is as if you are conducting a kind of focus group interview, in that the group speaks for itself. According to Ungbha Korn: “Facebook Groups exist as a way to align with an online identity publicly and to signal it to others who share the identity

⁶⁶ Jenny Ungbha Korn, 'Black Nerds, Asian Activists, and Caucasian Dogs: Online Race-based Cultural Group Identities within Facebook Groups,' *International Journal of Interactive Communication Systems and Technologies*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2015), 15.

through online interactions.”⁶⁷ It is therefore another means to looking at identity - Facebook is how many people express their identity online and through social media. With this research that is focused on Coloured identity and issues of race, Facebook Groups were extremely insightful- indeed, “the creation of a race-based Facebook Group is an enactment and expression of that racial identity.”⁶⁸

The writing of thesis took a creative turn, as you will read in the second chapter, ‘The Big Debate.’ This chapter is framed as a debate that takes place on a television show in which there is a topic with a panel that share their views on the topic at hand. The topic is the case study of the protest that took place at Siqualo and the panel or the participants are the quotes from the interviews with Faeza, Luvuyo, the written response of Gatvol as well as using quotes from newspaper articles to provide further context. Firstly, a word on the host of the television show and the reason behind the name, Richard Kriel. The first name Richard is derived from Richard Rive, one of Cape Town’s great storytellers: “He is best known for his short stories written in the late 1950s and for his second novel , ‘*Buckingham Palace*’, *District Six*, in which he depicted the well-known cosmopolitan area of District Six, where he grew up.”⁶⁹ The use of Rive is a connection of experience to the forced removals and its lasting effects, something Rive would know all too well as it happened to his beloved District Six

The last name Kriel, is taken from Ashley Kriel who, “is recognised as the quintessential representative of student and youth leadership of the 1980s from the Cape Flats in the Western Cape.”⁷⁰ In the documentary about Kriel’s life *Action Kommandant: The Untold*

⁶⁷ Korn, ‘Black Nerds,’ 15.

⁶⁸ Korn, ‘Black Nerds,’ 16.

⁶⁹ ‘Richard Rive: A Partial Biography,’ <https://witspress.co.za/catalogue/richard-rive-2/> accessed 5 December 2020.

⁷⁰ ‘Action Kommandant,’ <https://actionkommandant.co.za/ashley-kriel/> accessed 4 December 2020.

Story of the Revolutionary Freedom Fighter Ashley Kriel, it is mentioned that a young Ashley Kriel is exposed to politics and engaging with it, through his mother taking him to political rallies, when there were protests for housing.⁷¹ Besides my admiration for him, this provides another element as to why I chose Kriel as a voice in that the very things that Kriel fought and died for such as the need for decent housing and the separatist agenda of apartheid that pitted people against each other are still happening. The character of Richard Kriel represents more than just a host asking the questions in an imagined conversation but also a symbolic figure that in turn asks deeper questions and retrospect about the state of housing and race relations in South Africa but more so particularly in Cape Town.

The Big Debate is an imagined conversation that I create using the quotes and written response. The debate is the first part of the chapter, while the second is my analysis, the case study of the protest. Oral history is an interview and discussion and more importantly a dialogue and the intention behind using oral history is the mining of people's perspectives, which Ogot argues is the aim of oral history, "one of the aims of collecting oral traditions must be to get the people's view of history."⁷² The critique of oral history has been that as much as it seeks to make voices louder, it silences. This critique stems from the work of social history: "Despite methodological advancements, historians' assessments of oral history remain trapped in a social history discourse; scholars continue to understand and use it as a counter-historical way of understanding the past – a means to recover and construct subaltern histories."⁷³ It is the submergence of the individual's narrative for a historical realist narrative: "Personal memory or memories stand for collective ones, sifted, checked, ordered,

⁷¹ Action Kommandant: The Untold Story of the Revolutionary Freedom Fighter Ashley Kriel (dir. Nadine Cloete, 2016).

⁷² Bethwel A. Ogot, 'The Construction of Luo Identity and History,' in Luise White, Stephen Miescher and David William Cohen (eds.), *African Words, African Voices* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 31.

⁷³ Martha Rose Beard, 'Re-thinking Oral History – A Study of Narrative Performance,' *Rethinking History*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (2017), 543.

referenced and cross-referenced, evaluated, and processed by the historian into a construction of consciousness, the remembrance of real collective experience.”⁷⁴ In reporting on the state of oral history research in South Africa, historians Gary Minkley, Ciraj Rassool, and Leslie Witz have argued that social history has limited oral history to that of sources to for fulfilling a grand narrative: “oral history becomes a source, not a complex of historical narratives whose form is not fixed.”⁷⁵ Part of this critique lies in the disconnect of narratives of the interviewees and the researcher whose aim is supplant the oral testimony as experience: “The ‘ordinary voices’ do not fit the dominant narratives, and it has become increasingly difficult to read history.”⁷⁶

Therefore, in my modest attempt to attend to these critiques, I aimed to enable the interviewee’s perspective to shine through and to connect their narratives concerning the housing and their protests with texts and reports on the events they spoke about, was to choose a form of writing that could imagine a platform in which to re-present their perspectives as a debate. In this experiment of writing Chapter Two, I am weary that it will always be my narrative that guides the conversation. However, that is the reality of the power dynamics of writing a history of a set of events I was not a direct participant in. Within the debate setting, however, I feel that my voice and analysis as the researcher, can become somewhat secondary in that the perspectives raised from the interviews guide the framing of the first half of that chapter. One could argue that in scripting a debate, based on actual debates, but nevertheless one that did not in fact happen in real time, I am taking the words of my interviewees out of context. However, I would argue that ‘The Big Debate,’ is in a way a

⁷⁴ Gary Minkley and Ciraj Rassool, ‘Orality, Memory and Social History in South Africa,’ in Sarah Nuttall and Carli Coetzee, *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa* (South Africa: Oxford University Press Southern Africa, 1998), 98.

⁷⁵ Gary Minkley, Ciraj Rassool and Leslie Witz ‘Oral History in South Africa: A Country Report,’ in *Unsettled History: Making South African Pasts*, ed. by Gary Minkley, Ciraj Rassool and Leslie Witz (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 41.

⁷⁶ Minkley, Rassool and Witz, ‘History,’ 38.

continuation of the arguments of Chapter One that looks at how life and reality is narrated through identity by showing how life is performance and that is reflected through the text of Chapter Two by imagining a debate. This highlights the different ways to write history, such as speculative, alternative or ‘what if’ histories. As Paul Bolin writes: “the writing of history, more often than not, consists of the historian's ability to choreograph a dance of compatibility between the fragments of a known past, and a world constructed through reasoned imagination and grounded speculation of the historian.”⁷⁷ My aim therefore is to acknowledge and engage with this process, rather than attempt to bypass it.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter One, ‘Conversations with Place,’ examines the concept of identity in relation to social and place to outline how identity influences narration. The narration is examined as a meaning making process, which becomes important to how people view identity in the social and place framework as a way to assert meaning to their reality. I then examine how meaning and identity is narrated by looking at two narratives of Cape Town that of the City of Cape Town (CoCT) and that which has become known as the Camissa narrative, which is also discussed below. Coloured identity is then explored that will provide an embedded context for the discussion of Coloured identity throughout the following chapters. The chapter concludes by considering how apartheid influences place identity and how this has trapped people within race through the racialisation of place with the Group Areas Act. This analysis of identity, narration, and place provides the background to how the housing crisis is looked at from a symbolic and physical sense.

⁷⁷ Paul E. Bolin, ‘Imagination and Speculation as Historical Impulse: Engaging Uncertainties within Art Education History and Historiography,’ *Studies in Art Education*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (2009), 110.

Chapter Two, 'The Big Debate,' is divided into two parts: the first being the staged debate as mentioned in the methodology and the second part of the chapter is my analysis. This chapter is a case study of the Siqualo protest. It firstly provides context by providing a brief history of Mitchells Plain and the housing crisis. It then shifts towards the debate section in which interview and newspaper quotes are used to provide context and speak on the protest. The protest is examined by looking at firstly the need for a physical decent house by Siqualo residents and the counter protest of the symbolic house by Gatvol. The chapter concludes with my analysis of the protest and more specifically the retaliation by looking at the role that Facebook (as a place of public debate) has come to play. The chapter therefore provides the initial analysis of the tension between the need for housing by examining the role that Facebook groups have come to play.

Chapter Three, 'Race of The Nation,' is a culmination of the arguments that were raised in the previous chapters and a further exploration of the sources of tension for the need for housing and case of belonging. It begins by examining the post-apartheid nation-building process that sought to create a new national identity. The chapter explores the tension that arises out of this process but also argues that desegregation was the first nation-building project, which in turn stifled the already tenuous nation-building project that is stifled by questions of race and belonging. The chapter further analyses whether the Coloured identity or Khoi revivalist movement can be seen as a predatory identity and concludes with an examination of how South Africa can move beyond race.

My conclusion highlights the various arguments within the three chapters and reflects on the overall research question of apartheid's racial and identity politics and its legacies.

Chapter One

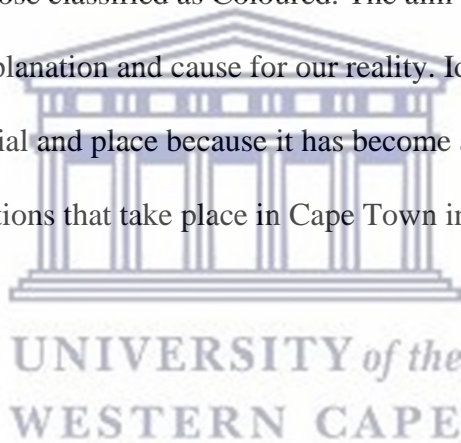
Conversations with Place

Introduction

When you come to Cape Town, the city by the seaside...

- Emo Adams, Cape Malay Choir tribute to Taliep Peterson⁷⁸

This chapter will focus on identity as a concept and how it relates to and influences the history and perspective of Cape Town and how this in turn affects one group of people that inhabit that place, namely those classified as Coloured. The aim of this chapter is to show how identity provides an explanation and cause for our reality. Identity will be explored within the framework of social and place because it has become an important element of understanding the confrontations that take place in Cape Town in regards to housing shortages.



Identity

Identity is difficult. That should be stated up front. Identity is hard to define but that does not mean that there is no definition. Identity is at times simple to laypeople to define but ask an academic and it is a discussion you wish you never entered. Identity is a complex web that weaves together what the individual thinks and what is thought about the individual. Identity within the social studies, along with most theories in social theory identity deals with the structure versus agency debate. Who is really in control of human actions? The society who made you do it or just you, the independent being? Identity subtly defined, is sameness and

⁷⁸ Emo Adams, Cape Malay Choir, 'Welcome to Cape Town,' track 3 on Tribute to Taliep Peterson (10th Anniversary), Next Records, 2017.

difference, the oxymoron that is the human. It is the characteristics that are implicitly and explicitly expressed, which we use to define ourselves. Identity serves as identification, which is the act of being identified. This leads to the most important point of identity; it is never complete. It is a continual process of recognition.

In the social sciences, there are two dominant schools of thought or theoretical approaches to addressing identity- the primordial, and the constructivist approach. The primordial or the essentialist approach, which it is often interchangeably used with, would delve into the structural elements of identity. The structural elements meaning that which you are given and have not chosen such as race, religion, gender and the differences that exist between two social groups such as ethnicity. The primordial approach I would say emphasises differences, because we cannot all have the same skin complexion and we will not all have the same religious beliefs and the primordial approach reminds you of that. It is a macro approach to identity in that it reminds the individual of the group, it gives off the group perspective. There is therefore a level of safety here in that you have something to hold onto. However, this safety is a danger to others and that is exactly what a primordial approach creates, it creates an other. Someone that is not a part of our group and does not fit in with our ideals and identity. The primordial approach is often viewed as pre-modern. Mamdani highlighted this in his reflection of the dependency theory that created conceptual binaries of social reality: “Alongside modernization theory and orthodox Marxism, it came to view social reality through a series of binary opposites.”⁷⁹ Upon reflection therefore: “‘Premodern’ thus became ‘not yet modern,’ and ‘precapitalism’ ‘not yet capitalism.’”⁸⁰ This would create a tension in a globalised world in which there is a collision course, soon different cultures, religions and

⁷⁹ Mamdani, *Citizen*, 9.

⁸⁰ Mamdani, *Citizen*, 9.

ethnicities will inhabit the same space. The effects of globalisation will be further examined in Chapter Three.

The constructivist approach presented a shift in which the agency came to speak: “The individual uses certain (e.g. physical traits, language, experience) to distinguish different social groupings, and to place him/herself in category on the basis of perceived similarities with others in the group.”⁸¹ Identity is open to change and does not glue itself to pre-determined models. It bases the construction of identities within interaction with the other.

Identity is however also spoken of more loosely and this is the issue that the concept of identity faces, an issue Brubaker and Cooper raised, “identity tends to mean too much (when understood in a strong sense), too little (when understood in a weak sense), or nothing at all (because of its sheer ambiguity).”⁸² I would argue that identity is be/coming. It is who we are at the present moment, which is our being and it is the person we wish to become. Identity changes with context and that is why there is many layers to just giving it an accurate description but the important aspect of identity lies in its function, identification. Identity therefore does have a duty, for all its complications there is a function and duty that it carries out.

Identity in a way is synonymous with narrative and biography: “Identity lies in the ability to maintain the continuity of a certain narrative.”⁸³ The identity that people maintain is the one that gives explanation to their reality or cause for their reality, the identity that makes it all add up. Ciraj Rassool has shown the ways in which narration, biography and history intersect

⁸¹ Scarlett Cornelissen and Steffen Horstmeier, ‘The Social and Political Construction of Identities in the New South Africa: An Analysis of the Western Cape Province,’ *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (2002), 61.

⁸² Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, “‘Beyond “Identity”,’ *Theory and Society*, Vol. 29 (2000), 1.

⁸³ Luba Jakubowska, ‘Identity as A Narrative of Autobiography,’ *Journal of Education Culture and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2010), 60.

to maintain or push a particular narrative, something akin to the function of one's identity. Firstly, it is the ordering process, placing particular events in a linear timeline, where there is progress and growth, which Rassool views as the conventional biography: "Selected moments deemed to be significant - usually centred on achievement - were arranged in some chronological order."⁸⁴ In his chapter that focuses on Nelson Mandela more specifically, we see how narrative becomes identity, in which South Africa is Nelson Mandela and Mandela is representative of South Africa, the spirit of overcoming. In this chapter, however there is a spirit of holding onto a place with the ideal that it has a colour.

This shows that there is intent behind producing a particular narrative and adopting an identity. That is to have meaning. Meaning is value, it is significance, it is attachment: "For a deeper and lasting emotional attachment to develop—in Schroeder's terms, for it to have meaning—an enduring relationship with a place is usually a critical factor."⁸⁵ There are numerous and concepts linked to place, particularly in a globalized era when we speak of urbanists, urban planning, design... Theories, which are all, interlinked to building, architecture and their social impact. For this chapter however, I will stick to the place identity theory and place attachment in that it speaks to the relation between narration and meaning.

Place has to start from nothing, a place just doesn't come to be, therefore it starts with space.

In his seminal work, Edward Relph describes filling space with meaning turns it into a place.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ C.S. Rassool, 'The Individual, Auto/biography and History in South Africa' (PhD, UWC, 2004), 27.

⁸⁵ David Smaldone, 'The Role of Time in Place Attachment,' in *Proceedings of the 2006 Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium*, ed. United States Department of Agriculture (United States: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2007), 47.

⁸⁶ Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976).

Place identity is, “a substructure of self-identity, much like gender and social class, and is comprised of perceptions and comprehensions regarding the environment.”⁸⁷ These are divided into the abstract and the more physical: “These perceptions and conceptions can be organized into two types of clusters; one type consists of memories, thoughts, values and settings, and the second type consists of the relationship among different settings (home, school, and neighborhood).”⁸⁸ Place-identity is thus like a growing attachment, the term place attachment is closely linked to place-identity. It is a reciprocal process between people and place in which people influence place and place influences people. This is a relationship not to be taken lightly when one looks at the way in which psychology defines place identity, “symbolic importance of place as a repository for emotions and relationships that give meaning and purpose to life, reflects a sense of belonging and important to a person's well-being.”⁸⁹ Place identity therefore is something vital, that people require and need these spaces and territories that they can call their own. In the same way that identity is used to differentiate the person from others, place identity fills in to give specificity to one's environment: “Five central functions of place-identity have been depicted; recognition, meaning, expressive-requirement, mediating change, and anxiety and defense function.”⁹⁰

Place attachment itself is the recognition of a place one does not want to be apart from, “place attachment is defined as an affective bond or link between people and specific places.”⁹¹

Place attachment is that desire not to separate but rather maintain the ties and bonds one has and that can range in relation to what is determined as place. It could be a house, community,

⁸⁷ Åshild Lappegard Hauge, ‘Identity and Place: A Critical Comparison of Three Identity Theories,’ *Architectural Science Review*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (2007), 5.

⁸⁸ Hauge, ‘Identity and Place,’ 5.

⁸⁹ Norsidah Ujang and Khalilah Zakariya, ‘The Notion of Place, Place Meaning and Identity in Urban Regeneration,’ *Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Vol. 170 (2015), 713.

⁹⁰ Hauge, ‘Identity and Place,’ 5.

⁹¹ Bernardo Hernández and Carmen M. Hidalgo, ‘Place Attachment: Conceptual and Empirical Questions,’ *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, Vol. 21 (2001), 274.

city, country. Therefore, places and what we make of them are important in that they have a role to play in making us and defining us.

Identity is etched into and onto people and it is around people. Place identity is a mirror for identity itself in which people see an extension of themselves in the environment they live, grew up, work. What happens when one is then forcefully removed from that place? That place that has the inheritance of meaning. That loss of meaning therefore comes to symbolize placelessness: “While 'placeness' embedded in rootedness connotes belonging, envisions fate and destiny and embodies will and volition, placelessness signifies loss of meaning.”⁹² That meaning that is lost is the identity relationship between people and a place. For me that placelessness symbolizes an insecurity in that one doesn't have that safety of belonging anymore. Therefore, to quell that insecurity one has to go in search of meaning and that is found in the narrative of that place. It is securing the history of the place in narrative and biography to make sure that the future knows its relation to the place.

This is where the process of narration is crucial: “At the same time, narration activities unite two different ways of making sense: a scientific approach according to which events follow each other in a quasi-causal and non-teleological sequence; and a hermeneutic and plot-governed approach from where events gain their meaning quasi-retrospectively owing to the overarching contour in which they configure.”⁹³ The narrative which will fuel identity provides meaning and hopes to lessen the insecurity that people feel in a place. This further grows the attachment that people have towards a place.

⁹² Mahyar Arefi, 'Non-Place and Placelessness as Narratives of Loss: Rethinking the Notion of Place,' *Journal of Urban Design*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1999), 183.

⁹³ Michael Bamberg, 'Who am I? Narration and its Contribution to Self and Identity,' *Theory & Psychology*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (2010), 5.

Place and Race in the Narration of Cape Town's Biography

In the case of Cape Town as a place there are two particular narratives I want to focus on.

The first one, which I would call the Jan van Riebeeck narrative is based on the City of Cape Town's (CoCT) expression and view of Cape Town's history. The second is the Camissa narrative based off of the concept of Camissa and heritage activism done by Patric Mellet.

According to the CoCT, meaning was gained through the fresh water, as it was vital to the establishment of the port of Cape Town. According to the City's website: "If it wasn't for the fresh water flowing from Table Mountain into the streams and springs of what is now Adderley Street, the Cape of Good Hope would not have been established by Jan van Riebeeck as a fresh food refreshment station for ships on their way to the East. Without that, Cape Town would be a very different place today."⁹⁴ Added to this is the acknowledgment of what this meant for the status of Cape Town: "Under the control of the Dutch, our city grew as a global trade port and agricultural destination."⁹⁵ The CoCT itself therefore holds onto the narrative of Jan van Riebeeck and the arrival of Europeans as being the course of progression for Cape Town, a narrative that is troubling to say the least. Not only is this narrative troubling because of what the figure of Van Riebeeck represents within the history of South Africa but also because of what this narrative and history omits as will be shown later.

Johan Anthonisoorn 'Jan' van Riebeeck was born on 21 April 1619 in Culemborg and he died the 18 January 1677. Fifty-seven years, not an old age, neither young too but filled with accomplishments nonetheless. And to the racist mind he can be perceived as the father of White South Africa and Coloured South Africa. This is dually a problem, which will be

⁹⁴ 'What is Our History?' <https://www.capetown.gov.za/Explore%20and%20enjoy/cape-towns-history-and-heritage-/Understanding-our-history-and-heritage/What-is-our-history/What%20is%20our%20history?> Accessed 11 May 2020. The CoCT is currently controlled by the Democratic Alliance (DA), which gives insight into who is writing the narrative.

⁹⁵ 'What is Our History?'

explored at a later stage. Van Riebeeck served as an official for the Dutch United East India Company (VOC), as the “VOC was a Dutch commercial company, with the sole purpose of establishing settlements or ‘colonies’ to increase profit.”⁹⁶

Building a narrative around Van Riebeeck and the VOC as the catalyst which the port of Cape Town needed to progress, disavows what was already happening at the port but also seems to alleviate the fact of what actually followed. This attitude is reminiscent of the now infamous and much criticised tweet by former premier of the Western Cape, Helen Zille who said: “For those claiming legacy of colonialism was only negative, think of our independent judiciary, transport infrastructure, piped water, etc. Would we have had a transition into specialised health care and medication without colonial influence? Just be honest please.”⁹⁷

Her argument in short was that is yes colonialism is bad, but let us not discount the legacy it has left us, such as infrastructure.

To push the narrative of Van Riebeeck, the CoCT reiterates and enforces the opinion of Helen Zille that the legacy of colonialism is in a way to be celebrated. 1952 was another celebration. It was the Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival, which commemorated the anniversary of Van Riebeeck’s arrival at the Cape. This event was a celebration of White identity and Europeanness in the Africa, “depictions of a South African nationhood based on whiteness and a European past, which were at the core of the festival.”⁹⁸ This event pushed the narrative of White settler identity through the commemoration and narrative of van Riebeeck’s arrival. The Festival created a home, evident in that “the key objective of these festivals is to create a sense of belonging and identification to what is proclaimed to be a new

⁹⁶ ‘The VOC and the World that Slaves Lived In,’

<https://slavery.iziko.org.za/vocandslavery#:~:text=The%20Cape%20was%20colonised%20by,%20E2%80%9c9colonies%E2%80%9D%20to%20increase%20profit>, accessed 12 June 2020.

⁹⁷ Francisa Villette, ‘Helen Zille defends colonialism tweets again,’ *Cape Times*, 8 April 2019.

⁹⁸ Leslie Witz, *Apartheid’s Festival: Contesting South Africa’s National Pasts* (United States of America: Indiana University Press, 2003), 5.

nation.”⁹⁹ This Festival was a celebration and endorsement of apartheid, recognising White superiority and achievement and apartheid exercised race. Therefore, the approach to identity that comes out of this is a primordial one, one embedded in essentialism, in which race is real and the recognition that what ‘we’ are is very different to ‘them.’ This narrative therefore creates a place in which not everyone is included but rather separated. This Festival by the apartheid government shows the importance and power and use of biography as the biography of Van Riebeeck is used as justification for the role of White superiority in South Africa and the establishment of the apartheid regime.

Patric Mellet and Dr Ruben Richards work exposes the mind-set of Van Riebeeck and this is shown by the case of *Nieuwe Haerlem*. In 1647 the Dutch ship *Nieuwe Haerlem* was wrecked at Table Bay and “62 of them who had been on board remained at the Cape”¹⁰⁰ writes Mellet. The crew remained in the Cape for nine months as they waited for another ship. While stranded at the Cape the crew under the guidance of Leendert Janszen examined the Cape and they, “recorded the flora and fauna; the way of life of the indigenous Africans.”¹⁰¹ The information was gathered and written into a report to be sent to the VOC officials in Netherlands as well as another report, “in a famous letter to the VOC in 1649 – the *Remonstrantie* – Janssen and Proot argued the case for making the Cape a stopping point for ships to and from the Far East.”¹⁰² Van Riebeeck used Janszen’s report as a means to put himself back into the good graces of the VOC, “he developed a contrary view regarding the Khoe to that expressed by Janszen.”¹⁰³ Van Riebeeck did this as he as well as others were

⁹⁹ Witz, *Apartheid’s Festival*, 9.

¹⁰⁰ Patric Tariq Mellet, *The Lie of 1652: A Decolonised History of Land* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2020), 113.

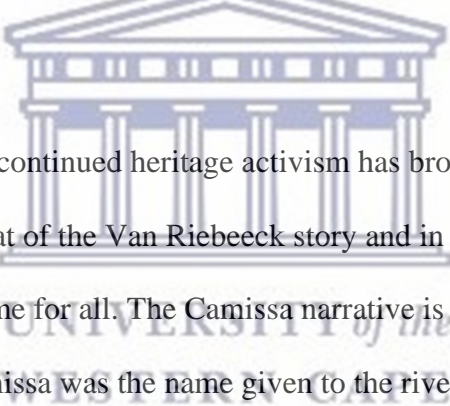
¹⁰¹ Mellet, *The Lie*, 113.

¹⁰² Ruben Richards, *Bastaards or Humans: The Unspoken Heritage of Coloured People. Volume 1: Origins, Identity, Culture, and Challenges* (California: Indaba Publishing, 2017), 147.

¹⁰³ Mellet, *The Lie*, 114.

found to be corrupt and was summoned back to Netherlands: “He was guilty of insider private dealing at the expense of the VOC.”¹⁰⁴

Whereas Janszen favoured the path of co-operation with residents, Van Riebeeck pursued the path of total control, “he supported and implemented a total VOC ban on private trading, great or small, by European settlers and officials as well as indigenes.”¹⁰⁵ Van Riebeeck was given this opportunity when he offered himself to set up Dutch control at the Cape, which was based off the *Remonstrantie* report. What follows is years and years of war, dispossession of land, slavery, colonialism. It is essentially displacement and unrooting. Therefore, when one looks at the 1952 Festival, it is the establishment of White roots and the reinforcement of White narratives as historian Leslie Witz points out that have prevailed in the South of Africa.



Mellet through his work and continued heritage activism has brought to life, histories that are not as public or general as that of the Van Riebeeck story and in doing so provides a narrative that sees Cape Town as a home for all. The Camissa narrative is a history that looks at the peopling of Cape Town. Camissa was the name given to the river around which the trading post of the port of Cape Town grew: “The Camissa River ran from Table Mountain through to the sea and at the mouth of the river, as it entered the sea, the Camissa people or Watermans, also referred to as Goringhaicona, had established their successful port servicing settlement.”¹⁰⁶ The stark difference in the acknowledgment of the port of Cape Town’s creation and growth to that of the CoCT is the main characters. As much as Jan van Riebeeck is mentioned here, he is not the sole focus. Rather there are two characters Xhore and Autshumao (Haddah/Herrie), which deserve credit. It should be noted that the port and the

¹⁰⁴ Patric Tariq Mellet, *The Camissa Embrace: Odyssey of an Unrecognised African People* (Cape Town: Dibanisa Publishing) 58.

¹⁰⁵ Mellet, *The Lie*, 115.

¹⁰⁶ Mellet, *The Camissa Embrace*, 11.

surrounding regions was not dormant and waiting for outside influence to flourish into a well-organized port. The years preceding 1652, the port was bustling with activity, “Mellet points out that over the period 1590 until 1700 there were 2632 ships that had to call at the Cape.”¹⁰⁷

Therefore, with Van Riebeeck no longer the central figure the focus should be on Xhore and Autshumao, and their role in the founding of Cape Town Mellet states, “that the emergence of divergent formations, clans, tribes and individual entrepreneurs and farmers coincided with the English engaging the services of Xhore (Coree) in 1613 and Autshumao (Haddah/Herrie) in 1631.”¹⁰⁸ Interactions with Europeans were therefore prominent. One interaction, which has been overlooked is the altercation with the Portuguese in which Portuguese Viceroy to India, Francisco d’Almeida who had a violent reputation, “stopped off at the Cape of Good Hope, then known as Aguada de Saldanha, to take on water and supplies.”¹⁰⁹ The Portuguese were helped kindly but they chose to take advantage and later decided to do a cattle raid: “In the raid on 1 March 1510 the Khoena put up fierce resistance and the Portuguese lost one soldier.”¹¹⁰ In what now become known as the Battle of Salt River the Portuguese were met with resistance. As Mellet argues: “the real battle awaited the Portuguese on Woodstock beach near the mouth of the Salt River. Here the Khoena cut d’Almeida off from escape and launched a return attack in which d’Almeida and 64 of his men were killed.”¹¹¹

Xhore was kidnapped and taken to London to enhance the foothold and presence of the English in the Cape: “Indicators of the progression of the English approach is to study their actions of taking Chief Xhore of the Goringhaiqua to London for training and orientation in 1613.”¹¹² Upon his return Xhore used the knowledge he obtained from his time in London to

¹⁰⁷ Richards, *Bastaards*, 127.

¹⁰⁸ Mellet, *The Camissa Embrace*, 81.

¹⁰⁹ Patric Tariq Mellet, *Lenses on Cape Identities: Exploring Roots in South Africa* (Cape Town: Dibanisa Publishing, 2009), 57.

¹¹⁰ Mellet, *Lenses*, 57.

¹¹¹ Mellet, *Lenses*, 57.

¹¹² Mellet, *The Camissa Embrace*, 60.

increase functioning at the port, “local Khoisan underwent a dramatic shift in commercial and pricing consciousness as a result of Xhoré’s British education.”¹¹³ Xhore’s relationship with the English was fruitful but his relationship with the Dutch was a frosty one: “He made a principled stand not to deal with the Dutch as they had been abusive to his people.”¹¹⁴ Xhore was murdered in 1626, with the unofficial rumour being that Dutch killed him because of his refusal to co-operate with them.

Autshumao emerged as the next prominent leader after Xhore: “Besides making himself indispensable, Autshumao educated the Khoe about the value of their livestock and pricing.”¹¹⁵ Autshumao knew the importance of location as his community settled to place themselves in prime position to be trading with visitors at the Cape: “They adopted different ways of sustaining themselves and remained largely settled in one location.”¹¹⁶ This location was the Camissa River. Autshumao who was part of this community, the Watermans or the Ammaqua knew the importance of not only the location of the Camissa River but also its water and so too did Van Riebeeck: “The first aggression of the Dutch against the indigenes was the seizure of the fresh-water site of Autshumao’s community who were the guardians of the river.”¹¹⁷ Autshumao’s position as leader was derailed by the presence of the Dutch settlement: “In the process of this takeover Autshumao was divested of his accomplishments, marginalised, humiliated and finally imprisoned.”¹¹⁸

By looking at the history of Cape Town through this lens, it provides a different sense of place and identity, particularly affecting those classified as Coloured. According to Mellet: “The obliteration of the true story of the foundation of Cape Town, through Autshumao’s

¹¹³ Richards, *Bastaards*, 130.

¹¹⁴ Mellet, *The Lie*, 104.

¹¹⁵ Mellet, *The Lie*, 135.

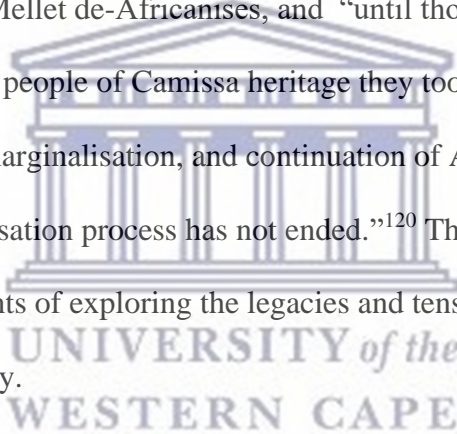
¹¹⁶ Mellet, *The Lie*, 108.

¹¹⁷ Mellet, *The Lie*, 113.

¹¹⁸ Mellet, *The Lie*, 130.

foundation of the trading post at the Camissa is a sore that continues to fester and infects and affects our ability to address identity issues among those labelled ‘Coloured’.”¹¹⁹ This is a thriving history that is not as expressed or known as the Van Riebeeck narrative. However, why is it so significant to Coloured people? This history and narrative signify meaning, it also signifies a narrative that is not embodied in race such as the narrative the CoCT pushes. It is important because it determines what we embed our identity and experiences in, a narrow version of race or a rich heritage?

It is exactly that, as raised by the experiences shared earlier in this introduction: how can someone born in Africa, right in the south of Africa be anything but African? The Coloured classification according to Mellet de-Africanises, and “until those categorised as ‘Coloured’ are recognised as an African people of Camissa heritage they too have a case to be made against discrimination and marginalisation, and continuation of Apartheid as a crime against humanity, as the de-Africanisation process has not ended.”¹²⁰ These are some of the motivations and starting points of exploring the legacies and tensions about race and housing struggles in Cape Town today.



History of Coloured Identity

As highlighted earlier in this chapter, to the racist mind Jan van Riebeeck is the father of White South Africa and Coloured South Africa and this is through the acceptance of racial reasoning. For the former, being White South Africa, this relationship was shown and established through 1952 Tercentenary Festival and to the latter, Coloureds it is the 1652 date that is important. This point is at times, writes Adhikari, is referenced as a joke: “A related jibe is that coloured people celebrate with coon carnivals at New Year to mark their birth as a

¹¹⁹ Mellet, *Lenses*, 7.

¹²⁰ Mellet, *The Camissa Embrace*, 169.

people – nine months after Van Riebeeck’s landing on 6 April.”¹²¹ Mohamed Adhikari highlighted this as the essentialist approach to Coloured identity, which holds race to be real. In other words, “for essentialists there is usually no need to explain the nature or making of coloured identity because it is part of an assumed reality that sees South African society as consisting of races.”¹²² Coloured people within this approach are deemed as ‘mixed’ race, despite there being no evidence that there is any such thing as a pure race. A pure race is assumed to be a European. This point is highlighted by Zimitri Erasmus’ analysis of the four processes of race whereby:

Hierarchical differentiation of the human by European colonists and scientists; hierarchical differentiation between the human and the non-human by these same colonists and scientists, in the interests of imperialism; a biological or scientised conception of race developed by European Enlightenment scientists; and colonial conceptions of culture as a bounded dimension of the human.¹²³

In this understanding, race is therefore a differentiation that enables the acknowledgment of the European man as the Man, the defining and perceived representation of what it is to be human.¹²⁴ To hold ourselves to this standard defines those that are not European as sub-human.

In an interview with Mellet, he highlighted that the history of the San and Khoi goes back a very long way: “The San people lived from here right up to Ethiopia and up through to Congo and Angola. They weren’t Western Cape people, they were all over, southern and southeast Africa. The Khoi only arrived in the Western Cape around about 1200AD, they were not people that emerged from here.”¹²⁵ Here being the Western Cape or Cape Town

¹²¹ Mohamed, Adhikari, ‘From Narratives of Miscegenation to Post-Modernist Re-Imagining: Towards A Historiography of Coloured Identity in South Africa,’ in *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*, ed. by Mohamed Adhikari (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2009), 7.

¹²² Adhikari, ‘From Narratives,’ 7.

¹²³ Zimitri Erasmus, *Race Otherwise* (South Africa: Wits University Press, 2017), 57.

¹²⁴ Erasmus, *Race*, 57.

¹²⁵ Interview with Patric Tariq Mellet by Keenan Africa, Cape Town, 17th March 2020.

specifically, raised here to show the tangible relationship between the Khoi and Cape Town, which plays a significant role in the following chapters.

The history of Coloured people can be traced back to Autshumao and Xhore in that they were the indigenous people within the region when the Dutch arrived. What should be noted is that they are African: “The terms ‘Indigenes’ or ‘Indigenous people’ is used in their broadest sense of being indigenous to Africa.”¹²⁶ This highlights the point firstly that these are people and this is what Mellet raises when he speaks of Camissa tributaries as a means to understanding the peopling of southern Africa. This peopling is summed up by what Mellet calls The Seven Steps: “The Seven Steps speaks of the ‘Seven roots or tributaries of identity’ in the Cape.”¹²⁷

This helps move us beyond the limited idea of a race but at the same time enables an understanding of Coloured identity or heritage that has a history and can be traced back to Autshumao and Xhore. The Seven Steps are made up of Indigenes, Slaves, Free Blacks, Europeans, Maroons or Drosters, Exiles and Refugees, and lastly Indentures and Migrants.¹²⁸ This is another way of looking at the different influences that make up the heritage of the current people in Cape Town and South Africa at large. Although the Camissa relationship has emphasised placed on Coloured people and its classification is a South African projection, “the Seven Steps and the Camissa Footprint explained here celebrates the ‘ties that bind us’ as South Africans and importantly starting from our Indigene roots, it highlights the creolisation experience that took place at the Cape to produce a community identity.”¹²⁹ I would concur with Mellet that Coloured classification is not only an over simplification of a

¹²⁶ Mellet, *The Camissa Embrace*, 75.

¹²⁷ Mellet, *Lenses on Cape Identities*, 15.

¹²⁸ Mellet, ‘The Heritage Lens: Camissa Footprint Matrix – The Key in The District Six Steps,’ in *Lenses on Cape Identities: Exploring Roots in South Africa* (Cape Town: Dibanisa Publishing, 2009).

¹²⁹ Mellet, *Lenses on Cape Identities*, 30.

complex history and heritage, it de-Africanises as well. Therefore, if we look at the peopling of South Africa as told through the Camissa concept, we find a heritage to be embraced that acknowledges the different strands and tributaries of Coloured people beyond just a racial classification.

Coloured identity as we know it today, according to Adhikari only crystallized in the late nineteenth century precipitated “by the sweeping social changes that came in the wake of the mineral revolution.”¹³⁰ The Mineral Revolution was the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1867, which led to industrialization and the need for labour. The arrival of Xhosa speakers and African people from across the region as migrant labour caused people themselves to adopt the identity of ‘Coloured.’ This adoption was done on the basis of distinction. These dynamics “drove acculturated colonial blacks to assert a separate identity in order to claim a position of privilege relative to Africans on the basis of their closer assimilation to western culture and being partly descended from European colonists.”¹³¹

Coloured identity and race became official through the 1911 census, whereby “the term ‘Coloured’ was used for the first time as a catch-all term for 85 892 Africans with the following tribal identities – Nama, Damara, Korana, Griqua, San and Cape Khoi, all referred to by the derogatory term ‘Hottentots’ (Khoena or Khoi).”¹³² The Coloured category as well was “used for the 288 181 people regarded as the mixed descendants of 48 000 African and Malagasy slaves, 17 200 Indian slaves and 13 500 Southeast Asian slaves.”¹³³ Mellet argues that the census was a further process of de-Africanisation of classified Coloured people, arguing that: “De-Africanisation by means of the constructed ‘Native’ and ‘Coloured’

¹³⁰ Mohamed Adhikari, ‘Hope, Fear, Shame, Frustration: Continuity and Change in the Expression of Coloured Identity in White Supremacist South Africa, 1910–1994,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32 No. 3 (2006), 469.

¹³¹ Adhikari, ‘Hope,’ 469.

¹³² Mellet, *The Camissa Embrace*, 10.

¹³³ Mellet, *The Camissa Embrace*, 10.

identities imposed in 1911 was a pernicious and insidious follow-through on land dispossession by colonialism and imperialism.”¹³⁴

The classification process of Coloured became more complicated under apartheid with different sub-groups again being formed as a Coloured race. The sub-groups of Coloured at that time included Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Nama, Bushmen and Other Coloured.¹³⁵ The classificatory system was also a means to sow divisions between different groups, as “the apartheid regime used every tactic in the book to drive wedges between those labelled ‘Black’ and ‘Coloured’.”¹³⁶ This apartheid division will show itself in the next chapter when looking at the post-apartheid protest of Siqalo.

Thiven Reddy through his analysis of the discourse of classification, with focus on Coloured people highlights the power of the Coloured concept.¹³⁷ Reddy states that the official or the dominant discourse of classification of apartheid and colonialism relied on the idea of pure races. He shows how “colonial and Apartheid discourses of state and civil society located themselves firmly within the tradition that saw identity based on biology.”¹³⁸ It was stated earlier in this chapter that there is no pure race, however the argument of the dominant discourse is to maintain the idea or possibility of purity and by implication that there is impurity. Reddy shows how “the very notion of ‘impure’, ‘mixed’, ‘the borderline’, ‘the unclassifiable’, ‘the doubtful’, people/category, represented by ‘Coloured’, functions as both the extreme Other of dominant racial discourse in South Africa, and also as its very

¹³⁴ Mellet, *The Lie*, 272.

¹³⁵ Mellet, *Lenses*, 112.

¹³⁶ Mellet, *The Lie*, 293.

¹³⁷ Thiven Reddy, ‘The Politics of Naming: The Constitution of Coloured Subjects in South Africa,’ in *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town*, ed. Zimitri Erasmus (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001).

¹³⁸ Reddy, ‘The Politics,’ 67.

ambivalent core.”¹³⁹ Coloureds, therefore serve the function of maintaining a dominant discourse but also serving as its opposition.

The opposition viewpoint is found in the instrumental discourse positioned as the opposing discourse to that of the dominant discourse. This is explained by Reddy: “The opposition discourses to colonial and Apartheid practices, somewhat in contrast to hegemonic practice, organized its subjects of resistance such that the idea of group identity was considered instrumentally, either benefiting dominating or resisting practices.”¹⁴⁰ Group identities were therefore tactically constructed within political and social frameworks as forms of resistance. The category Coloured as already mentioned functions as an opposition, highlighting the fluidity of the discourses but also the power of the Coloured category. According to Reddy, it cannot however, be up to Coloureds to undo the dominant discourse while it is still being maintained. He maintains that “unless *all* these stable, racialised categories are problematised, located in discourses, and made the focus of countless attacks and contests, the dominant discourse of racial classification and its material expressions in everyday social relations, will remain in the formidable position it sadly won for itself in South Africa.”¹⁴¹ This expresses how the question of Coloured identity is a national question in that it exposes how the formulation of a Coloured race gives explanation to other race groups in South Africa and therefore cannot be limited to questioning the belonging of just Coloured people.

Apartheid and Place

South Africa suffered long before apartheid but those fifty years, the theoretical fifty years of apartheid, have managed to seep into everyday living in which South Africans although with great attempts to try to claim a kind of colour blindness, find that apartheid and its effects on

¹³⁹ Reddy, ‘The Politics,’ 68.

¹⁴⁰ Reddy, ‘The Politics,’ 67.

¹⁴¹ Reddy, ‘The Politics,’ 78.

material and ideological daily life are very much alive. This is obvious by just looking out the window of your house, walking around in your community, and realizing that the skin complexion is pretty much the same, with a particular thanks to Group Areas Act and apartheid's classification of race as enshrined in The Population Registration Act. For apartheid, the biological conception of race was fused with cultural and social understanding. In fact, "a racial classification was a judgement about a person's 'social status', as much as physical appearance."¹⁴²

Apartheid as a political system began in 1948 with the ascension of the National Party (NP) to governance. Apartheid and its laws officially came to an end in 1990. The literal translation of apartheid, that of separation is very bland, there is no colour to it. We know that "Apartheid called for the separate development of the different racial groups in South Africa."¹⁴³ Separation was central to ensuring that race groups would 'develop' on their own. Separation was the mask for control, as John Western pointed out in his seminal history *Outcast Cape Town*: "segregation means domination."¹⁴⁴ The need for domination is fear. This is not a fear of others, it is a fear of scarcity, of losing oneself in a system of competition.

The Group Areas Act was the embodiment of apartheid in practice, complete separation. The Group Areas were three acts by the government initially implemented in 1950 and further amended in 1957 and 1966. As Western summarises: "The Group Areas Board was established to plan group areas for the various racial groups in settlements throughout the country, its aim being to achieve total racial homogeneity in each residential zone and a

¹⁴² Deborah Posel, 'What's in a name? Racial Categorisations under Apartheid and Their Afterlife,' *Transformation*, Vol. 47 (2001), 56.

¹⁴³ 'A History of Apartheid in South Africa,' <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-apartheid-south-africa> accessed 25 November 2020.

¹⁴⁴ John Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (United States of America: University of California Press, 1996), 60.

‘satisfactory’ disposition of such zones in any given settlement.”¹⁴⁵ It is not only the separation that is important but also the acknowledgment and application of a particular racial group to a particular space. In *Transforming Cape Town*, Besteman shows how spaces in Cape Town gained meanings of hierarchy: “beyond Woodstock, one enters, white space; one leafy suburb after another declared white under apartheid’s Group Areas Act and ‘cleansed’ of all black residents.”¹⁴⁶ Coloured and Black residents as will be shown in the next chapter were placed on the edge of the city, far away to represent their position as disconnected from the city and out of place as in out of a White filled space of meaning. Their new home is based on their race; therefore, our place is our race, and our race is our place. Through the Group Areas Act, places gained meaning, the meaning, and significance of being racially classified. The justification for the Group Areas Act was the maintenance of harmony using friction theory as a basis, “any contact between the races inevitably produces conflict.”¹⁴⁷ The rearranging of city space took on many justifications, including for example, the notion of slum clearance, “slum clearance and the concomitant, ‘health hazard’ argument are frequently employed as official justifications for group areas removal of persons (almost always Nonwhites) from one part of a city to another.”¹⁴⁸

Therefore, there was a time when White South Africans felt the insecurity of their identity and place in South Africa. Apartheid attempted, through the idea of Group Areas “to ‘deal with’ the fact that Whites are being increasingly outnumbered by Nonwhites in urban areas.”¹⁴⁹ This fear fed into the essentialised conception of race and that the White race was to remain pure, which Deborah Posel highlighted as one of the reasons for apartheid’s racial

¹⁴⁵ Western, *Outcast*, 70.

¹⁴⁶ Catherine Besteman, *Transforming Cape Town* (United States of America: University of California Press, 2008), 47.

¹⁴⁷ Western, *Outcast*, 85.

¹⁴⁸ Western, *Outcast*, 73.

¹⁴⁹ Western, *Outcast*, 59.

reasoning. Apartheid is the modelling of a White South Africa that not only takes away that fear and insecurity and ensures the superiority of the White race and that sense of belonging that validates one's place. Part of asserting and establishing that belonging was the Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival that asserts White superiority and a performance that comes to validate the need for apartheid.

Conclusion

Apartheid had succeeded in solidifying race to place in that, that relationship of race and place has come to be used to make claims for belonging in Cape Town. Not only did the Group Areas Act trap people spatially, the classification structures of apartheid made sure people were to be trapped into race. The question therefore is how can we be notably different having grown up or emerged under very similar historical circumstances? This is shown through the narratives that we choose but it is also highlighted by the spatial geography of apartheid that is still entrenched in South African society. It is also highlighted by the continued use of apartheid's racial classification to classify people in a democratic South Africa. This chapter has shown how identity is an important factor and determinant in the narration of our lives. The next chapter will therefore look at how this plays out in post-apartheid South Africa, as we are now no longer 'bound' by race. With the end of apartheid, Coloured people found themselves in the minority, not only statistically within South Africa but politically. The Coloured population therefore found itself in an insecure position. With what narrative do Coloured people make Cape Town a home? The CoCT or the Camissa? And to what extent does the continued influence and use of apartheid forms of classification as highlighted by Reddy influence that decision? These questions will be explored in the next chapter by looking at the Siqalo protest that took place in May of 2018.

Chapter Two

A House is Not a Home

Part I: Clashing Protests

Introduction

Welcome to today's episode of The Big Debate and I am your host, Richard Kriel. South Africa, house to all, home to some in it, is a nation like no other. After witnessing what we hoped would be the demise of apartheid in 1994, and the birth of a nation, a house to all and a home to all who live in it, we find ourselves twenty-six years later in a warzone, a house for no one and a home for no one. We are facing pandemics such as gender-based violence, corruption and not to mention covid-19. Yet, even in all this, we hoped the past mistakes of apartheid's racial classification system of dividing us as a nation would not be present in a free and democratic South Africa. However, it has and it has reared itself in another pandemic, lack of housing.

Today, we will be looking at two competing narratives of the City of Cape Town. One in which Cape Town is represented as a home for all and one where it is not. At the centre of this are people that are classified as Coloured as it involves either the rejection or acceptance of race classification. Cape Town has a sort of kinship bond with Coloureds, it is represented as home for Coloured people. Home in the sense of association and belonging. The need to assert this has become all the more present in the years following the demise of apartheid. Whether it be pro-Coloured or Khoi revivalists, there is a conversation happening in which Cape Town and Western Cape should be acknowledged as a space in which Coloured people have a special bond. This does not sound like Cape Town being a home for all but rather a home for Coloured people.

Therefore, on today's episode we are visiting Mitchells Plain in the Mother City, Cape Town and looking at the ways in which housing and land claims are being made not only for the need of decent housing but it has also become a means and contest to claims of identity and race. Simply put, it is the irony of Group Areas; we are now claiming the place that apartheid signified for us? On May 1 2018 in Siqalo, an informal settlement community just on the periphery of Mitchells Plain, a protest took place in which the community protested for electricity and housing. What followed was unexpected but underneath the surface, it was simmering. The neighbouring community of Colorado responded to the protest of Siqalo. They retaliated and chose to march on Siqalo. Various scuffles erupted into what became communities facing off against each other. Therefore, on today's episode we want to look at what went down, the various motivations behind the protest, and the retaliation from the various perspectives.

Today's panel we welcome Luvuyo Booi, a resident from Siqalo, Faeza Meyer former resident of Siqalo, Sakeena Frenchman, secretary for Gatvol Capetonian and lastly a representative from the City of Cape Town, Bonginkosi Madikizela. Before we delve right in, let us look at the history of Mitchells Plain and how it came to be.

Mitchells Plain

Group Areas Act was the mapping out of areas designed to enclose different race groups. One such area is Mitchells Plain, which was designated for those classified as Coloured, "Mitchell's Plain was created in the 1970s to alleviate housing shortages in the coloured community of Cape Town when communities were forcefully removed and/or relocated in terms of apartheid legislation."¹⁵⁰ True to the nature of segregation, Mitchells Plain was "planned as a segregated, self-sufficient dormitory suburb far removed from the black and

¹⁵⁰ Department Provincial and Local Government, *Mitchell's Plain Nodal Economic Development Profile*, 4.

Indian communities.”¹⁵¹ Mitchells Plain was seen as a solution for Coloured people who were forcefully removed due to Group Areas and a means to tackle the issue of the housing shortage, which was arising due to the forced removals. Cleared and displaced away from the city, displaced communities were shipped off to the edge far away from life itself-Mitchells Plain is about 20 kilometres from the City of Cape Town and was built at the end of a brand new railway line, just west of Langa.¹⁵² Overtime Mitchells Plain grew, “from 56 dwellings in 1976 to over 33, 000 in 1989.”¹⁵³ Sad to say, townships formed due to Group Areas were never filled with promise for its inhabitants, “Mitchells Plain is in the heart of the notorious “Cape Flats” area, just outside Cape Town, where drugs and gang violence are a scourge, as in many similar areas.”¹⁵⁴ Therefore, if we look at Mitchells Plain today and other suburbs or townships in Cape Town, it is a constant reminder of the crimes of apartheid.

Siqalo much like Mitchells Plain itself started with a few but the community expanded due to evictions, in November 2011 after “a spate of evictions from backyard shacks in informal settlements and townships in and around Philippi, isiQalo grew from just a few shacks to approximately 1 600-1 800 dwellings.”¹⁵⁵ This highlights the growing housing crisis, which is happening not only in South Africa. With the onset of globalization and the world being wrapped up in development, more and more populations have moved to urban areas. In fact, “in 1950 there were 86 cities in the world with a population over one million; today there are

¹⁵¹ *Mitchells Plain Nodal*, 4.

¹⁵² ‘Mitchells Plain, Cape Flats,’ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/mitchells-plain-cape-flats> accessed 14 August 2020.

¹⁵³ Vivian Bickford-Smith, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Nigel Worden, *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century* (South Africa: David Philip Publishers, 1999), 206.

¹⁵⁴ Elmarie Kotzé, Linda van Duuren, Chulaine Afrika, Luqmaan Rakiép and Yasmina Abdurahman, ‘Telling Our Teaching Stories: Overcoming Despair in Mitchells Plain, South Africa,’ *Transformations: The Journal of Inclusive Scholarship and Pedagogy*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2010), 113.

¹⁵⁵ ‘Lytton Props and Robert Ross v Occupiers of isiQalo and City of Cape Town (‘isiQalo’),’ <https://www.serisa.org/index.php/19-litigation/case-entries/166-lytton-props-and-robert-ross-v-occupiers-of-isiqalo-and-city-of-cape-town-isiqalo> accessed 15 July 2020.

400, and by 2015, there will be at least 550.”¹⁵⁶ Urbanization is the movement of people from rural to urban areas and this shift has accelerated in post-apartheid South Africa putting strain on the demand for housing in urban areas.

The Housing Crisis

Zooming and focusing on South Africa, with particular focus on Cape Town, the housing crisis highlights the racial exclusivity developed during the colonial and apartheid eras. The combined policies of Group Areas, influx control, and Coloured Labour Preference “resulted in massive housing shortages for black families.”¹⁵⁷ For those classified as Coloured, areas such as Mitchells Plain, Manenberg, Bonteheuwel were built. Despite the creation of Cape Flats, these cold concrete towers were never enough. In fact, “the supply of these flats was criminally low; by 1992, 42,570 coloured families were on the waiting list for subsidized council housing, most looking at a ten-year wait.”¹⁵⁸ The only secure people in Cape Town after apartheid would be white people with “high-value white neighbourhoods and low-value neighbourhoods for black people.”¹⁵⁹ The Coloured Labour Preference policy meant that within Cape Town during apartheid, Coloureds had entitlement to job opportunities, establishing their belonging in Cape Town. Counter to this, Black residents were denied belonging. Cape Town was designated as “a so-called ‘Colored Labor Preference Area’ during this period, Xhosa residents were deemed ‘migrants’ and deported over a thousand kilometres eastward to state-created ‘homelands’ in the Eastern Cape.”¹⁶⁰ Overtime, with the apartheid regime loosening as well as losing grip, movement from rural to urban areas became more frequent, “by the early 1980s, black residents were able to establish squatter

¹⁵⁶ Mike Davis, ‘Planet of Slums: Urban Involvement and the Informal Proletariat,’ *New Left Review*, Vol. 26 (2004), 5.

¹⁵⁷ Besteman, *Transforming*, 48.

¹⁵⁸ Besteman, *Transforming*, 48.

¹⁵⁹ Besteman, *Transforming*, 50.

¹⁶⁰ Zachary Levenson, ‘We are Humans and Not Dogs: The Crisis of Housing Delivery in Post-Apartheid Cape Town,’ *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 58 (2014), 14.

settlements in peri-urban locations around the country, seeking jobs in cities and having no other affordable housing options.”¹⁶¹ The exodus of movement during the latter stages and after apartheid’s official curtain call brought to light the housing crisis, “in the province in which Cape Town is located, the housing backlog nearly doubled over the first decade after the transition, remaining relatively constant since 2006.”¹⁶²

Our first guest not only lived in Siqualo, but has had years of experience as a founding member of the Cape Town Housing Assembly. Faeza, do you see the housing crisis as a problem specific to South Africa or is this happening across the world? “There’s definitely a housing crisis. I think there’s a South African housing crisis. There’s an international housing crisis for the working class.”¹⁶³ This is aligned with the demands of the Housing Assembly, which state, “the main reason for the failed housing policy is the profit-making system of neoliberal capitalism.”¹⁶⁴ This is also shown by Reclaim The City’s slogan of, ‘Land for People Not For Profit.’

The Housing Assembly along with other organizations such as Reclaim the City and Ndifuna Ukwazi and others such as community-based activists have been at the forefront of pushing the need not only for housing but also the need to address the spatial geography of apartheid that still exists in South African urban areas. Ndifuna Ukwazi and Reclaim The City were recently at the forefront of a huge case against the provincial government of the Western Cape regarding the sale of land close to the city centre. The housing activists argued that the City and Province have a duty bound by the constitution to provide affordable housing, a sentiment which the Western Cape High Court agreed with, “the court issued a declaratory

¹⁶¹ Levenson, ‘We are Human,’ 14.

¹⁶² Zachary Levenson, ‘Living on the Fringe in Post-Apartheid Cape Town,’ *Contexts*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2017), 25.

¹⁶³ Interview with Faeza Meyer by Keenan Africa, Community House, Salt River, 21st February 2020.

¹⁶⁴ Housing Assembly, *3rd Annual Political School: Status of the Working Class*, 2019.

order that the Western Cape government and the City of Cape Town failed constitutionally to provide access to affordable housing to people who qualified.”¹⁶⁵

These organizations bring to light not only the housing crisis but also the language that surrounds it- “‘Land invasion,’ is language that suggests self-interest or even criminal intent as opposed to urgent need.”¹⁶⁶ The language surrounding occupation of land is framed as opportunistic as opposed to highlighting the need for housing, “land occupations—or “land invasions” in the government’s terminology—are represented as obnoxious, dangerous, and ultimately, housing for an undeserving poor.”¹⁶⁷ Therefore, the framing of individuals that occupy places them at risk of being perceived as outsiders that seek to take advantage, “occupations are represented by the City government as exceptional cases of opportunists scrambling to seize land.”¹⁶⁸ This perceptions and belief places them in opposition with individuals that are not only themselves waiting for housing but also with the average resident who makes the claim that land occupations would devalue their property value and that these occupations would bring unruly elements to the surrounding community. It is however with the first point of waiting for a house in competition with others who are too waiting for a house which the tension manifests itself and that is the question of the waiting list.

What about the waiting list? There is no *one* waiting list, in fact there is no waiting list. This is according to a report done by the Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI) and the University of the Western Cape’s Community Law Centre (CLC), ‘Jumping the Queue’, *Waiting Lists and other Myths: Perceptions and Practice around Housing Demand and*

¹⁶⁵ Suné Payne, ‘Landmark Tafelberg Ruling: Western Cape High Court Strikes a Blow Against Apartheid Spatial Planning,’ *Daily Maverick*, 31 August 2020.

¹⁶⁶ Deena Bosch, Kyle Hazell and Michael Clarke, ‘Poor Working Class Citizens Are Losing Ground In the Battle for Adequate Housing,’ *Weekend Argus*, 8 August 2020.

¹⁶⁷ Levenson, ‘Living,’ 25.

¹⁶⁸ Levenson, ‘Living,’ 27.

Allocation in South Africa.¹⁶⁹ The waiting list is spoken of as something official, however according to the report: “The reality is that there is no waiting list, whether one conceives of ‘the waiting list’ as a mechanism which simply allocates housing to those who have waited the longest, or as a slightly more complicated device meant to take special needs and/or geographical location into account.”¹⁷⁰ Based off summarising the report, it seems the City’s reasons behind this is that there can be no official list, considering all the different housing projects, backyard dweller projects, informal settlement projects, some of which are not even intent on building houses. Add to this government inadequacy and mismanagement, corruption and forced occupation of built social housing, the waiting list is therefore just a registry that highlights the housing crisis but it also becomes a fight for a house based on the claim of being more deserving.

Siqalo

RK: Luvuyo, can you tell us about Siqalo? How did the community come about?

LB: “The history of Siqalo started with me. I was working in Westgate Mall, that was... started 2007 up to 2012. So, I recognised that some people were having plastic shelter, I can call a tent.”

RK: Was the community predominantly Black? Coloured? Who were the first residents?

LB: “I recognise those people, that was Coloured guys about four families. And also, Black African.’ So, this community was not initially or predominantly Black African as you say but mixed? ‘Almost mixed.’”

¹⁶⁹ Kate Tissington, Naadira Munshi, Gladys Mirugi-Mukundi and Ebenezer Durojaye, ‘*Jumping the Queue*’, *Waiting Lists and other Myths: Perceptions and Practice around Housing Demand and Allocation in South Africa* (South Africa: Community Law Centre (CLC), University of the Western Cape and Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI), 2013).

¹⁷⁰ Tissington, Naadira, Mirugi-Mukundi and Durojaye, ‘*Jumping the Queue*,’ 80.

RK: And you stated it began with you, so what was your influence and role in the initiation of this community?

LB: “Thereafter I decided to go there and organise them. Because I was already in the struggle in Samora. So, I go there to mobilise them, just to tell them about their rights. But they ask me if ever I can move in there with them? So, I can help them, to mobilise them. I move there, we start. A lot of people follow me because of what I organised in Samora.”¹⁷¹

RK: Thank you Luvuyo for that. Now Faeza, for you when did Sigalo become your residence?

FM: “Sigalo started in 2012... it could be 2011 or 2012 one of the two. But I think it’s 2012. So, in 2012, we were already occupying in Tafelsig.¹⁷² And then we were part of the Housing Assembly and we were involved with a lot of different communities and organizations that are either going through evictions or have been evicted. And so, we drove past on Vanguard Drive and I think there was about ten shacks on the field there, that was the first day. And we noticed and we were like we have to come back here. And the very next day there was about eighty shacks. And then we stopped there and we got out and we started to talking people, they were like, “Okay, where you coming from?” And according to them they were backyarders who were living in Khayelitsha, who were living in Samora, who were living in Philippi... backyarders from the surrounding areas that just decided, ‘We can’t live like this anymore, we occupying this land.’”¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Interview with Luvuyo Booi by Keenan Africa, Community House, Salt River, 10th March 2020.

¹⁷² The occupation that Faeza Meyer is referring is further explored and analysed in, Koni Benson and Faeza Meyer, ‘Reluctantly Loud: Intervening in the Politics of a Land Occupation,’ in Pieterse and Edjabe (eds.) African Cities Reader III: Land, Property, and Value. (Cape Town: African Center for Cities and Chimurenga Magazine, 2015), 173-210.

¹⁷³ Interview with Faeza Meyer by Keenan Africa, Community House, Salt River, 21st February 2020.

RK: The 1st of May 2018, the focal point here was not the first protest by the residents of Siqalo and protests are usually framed around service delivery and the lack thereof. Faeza, what are some of the services that are lacking in Siqalo and what are some of the issues that Siqalo residents face?

FM: “Okay, housing. They will tell that they want decent housing. What we were workshopping, and preaching and talking to people was... the twofold to the struggle. There’s the long term and there’s the short-term goals. So, the short-term is, we need water. We need electricity. We need lights, because we need that safety. But all of that mustn’t substitute the fact that we want decent housing. So, yes, we want all of the small reforms that you are giving us but it will always be under protest. So, the main goal, if it is still the same as far as I’m concerned is decent housing. That’s what you get from Siqalo and in the mean time they will tell you that they have issues with the kids in community not all going to schools because there isn’t a school close by.”¹⁷⁴

RK: Service delivery protest is not new to South Africa. South Africa has been dubbed the “Protest Capital of the World,” and even in lockdown due to the coronavirus pandemic protests continued with a total of 511 protests during the lockdown period of 27 March to 31 July 2020.¹⁷⁵ Luvuyo, as highlighted by Faeza already, there are a range of issues and concerns that Siqalo residents need addressing. When Siqalo protests take place, who is it aimed at?

LB: “We are there by the road to attack the government to come and answer and hear what we are suffering from.”¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Interview with Faeza Meyer by Keenan Africa, Community House, Salt River, 21st February 2020.

¹⁷⁵ Lizette Lancaster and Godfrey Mulaudzi, ‘Rising Protests are a Warning Sign for South Africa’s Government,’ <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/rising-protests-are-a-warning-sign-for-south-africas-government> accessed 14 November 2020.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with Luvuyo Booi by Keenan Africa, Community House, Salt River, 10th March 2020.

RK: The protest that took place on 1 May 2018, I would think would be centred around service delivery such as the majority of protests that do occur in South Africa? ‘Land and electricity were the issues residents of Siqalo originally protested over.’¹⁷⁷ The word originally is mentioned in that article, as service delivery no longer became the central issue but attention shifted toward the tension between Siqalo and Colorado residents. Luvuyo, what do you see as the reason for this?

LB: “We were busy protesting. And then... any protest it can happen that there must be. It’s not a must but it has a criminal element. Because sometimes as a community leader, you don’t mean to go and vandalise other stuff. We need to picket, go to our picket. Finish and klaar. But there are some people, who come to other communities. They are criminal. They said, ‘These people they are doing this. We must use this to vandalise.’ A fruit and veg stand were looted. And from there the people of Colorado, all of them they came out and fight Siqalo. And the police, instead of separate the people, were helping them fight us. So, to me it was racism. Even the police were fighting us.’¹⁷⁸ Faeza, do you share this sentiment with regards to the motivation behind Colorado resident’s retaliation? “I think it’s the racism first of all. There is racism, not going to say there was, there is still racism and it’s open.”¹⁷⁹

RK: Now on the other side of this are the Colorado residents but more importantly, the figure of Gatvol Capetonian. Now we have the secretary, Sakeena Frenchman and to Gatvol, the Siqalo protest is significant. Because as you say: “The Siqalo event brought to light, and was the start of the rise of Gatvol Capetonian.”¹⁸⁰ The protest by the Siqalo community that took

¹⁷⁷ Annie Cebulski, ‘Mitchells Plain and Siqalo Residents Meet to Defuse Conflict,’ *Daily Maverick*, 3 May 2018.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Luvuyo Booi by Keenan Africa, Community House, Salt River, 10th March 2020.

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Faeza Meyer by Keenan Africa, Community House, Salt River, 21st February 2020.

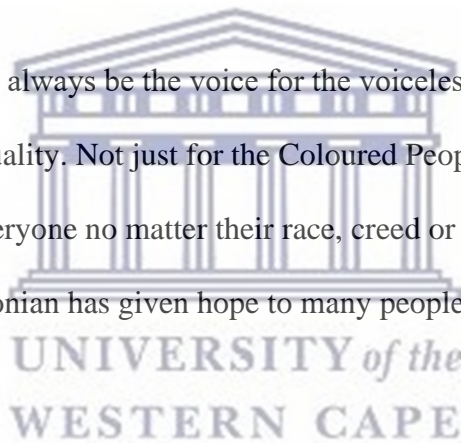
¹⁸⁰ Sakeena Frenchman Gatvol Capetonian – Secretary, written response. 14th August 2020.

place 1 May 2018 was not the first protest by the community, therefore what is the basis for reacting on this occasion?

SF: “Siqalo residents were known for their protests over the years, and never did any of the surrounding Coloured communities stand up or do anything about it. On the day of their protest Siqalo residents looted a nearby shop and destroyed a Coloured gentleman’s fruit and veg stall. They also threatened to go inside the Colorado community and burn down house shops. This is when Gatvol Capetonian and the residents of Colorado stood up and said that they will not allow it to happen.”¹⁸¹

RK: Who or what is Gatvol Capetonian?

SF: “Gatvol Capetonian will always be the voice for the voiceless. We will continue to address unfairness and inequality. Not just for the Coloured People, but for all marginalized citizens of South Africa. Everyone no matter their race, creed or colour deserves equal opportunities. Gatvol Capetonian has given hope to many people across South Africa and will continue to do so.”¹⁸²



RK: For two days, there was unrest between these two communities. It escalated into violence, with various scuffles between the communities and Law Enforcement, a fruit and veg stall being looted and the nearby ATM being set alight. However, perhaps the most tragic event was that a young man was killed. The press reported that “the stand-off between residents of Siqalo informal settlement and Colorado Park in Mitchells Plain claimed its first casualty when a young man was run over by a taxi.”¹⁸³ From the offset there was a racial element being applied to what happened between the two communities, especially on social

¹⁸¹ Sakeena Frenchman Gatvol Capetonian – Secretary, written response. 14th August 2020.

¹⁸² Sakeena Frenchman Gatvol Capetonian – Secretary, written response. 14th August 2020.

¹⁸³ Rusana Philander, ‘Man Killed by Taxi in #SiqaloProtest Laid to Rest,’ *Cape Argus*, 4 May 2018.

media where: “Inflammatory messages fuelling racial hatred and divisiveness were circulating on social media among communities on Wednesday night.”¹⁸⁴ This has highlighted the role of social media not only as a form of communication but also as a narrator, providing people with a particular context to approach this protest.

We have with us former MEC for housing in the Western Cape, Bonginkosi Madikizela who along with other officials met with both communities on the 3rd of May 2018 to diffuse the tension. The meeting did succeed in the issue of violence as both communities agreed to stop the violence but there is still the issue of the needs of Siqalo. Can you comment Mr. Madikizela?

BM: “Our plan as provincial government and the City of Cape Town is that we are going to move the people of Siqalo from where they are.”¹⁸⁵

The reason for moving the residents of Siqalo is due to the settlement being situated on private land, with the land being too expensive for CoCT to purchase and not suitable for housing. These are the words of the MEC: “I want to make it categorically clear that we are not interested in buying that land. It is not suitable for human habitation and it is too expensive.”¹⁸⁶ Yet to this day, the residents of Siqalo have not been relocated.

Part II: It’s My House

Facebook as Home and Protest

The protest of Siqalo residents dealt with service delivery and the lack of housing. The retaliation to this protest by Colorado residents and Gatvol Capetonian may have been out of

¹⁸⁴ Suné Payne, ‘One Dead, 30 Arrested in Violent Clashes Between Residents,’ *Daily Maverick*, 3 May 2018.

¹⁸⁵ Tshego Lepule, ‘Siqalo Residents Will Get Houses, Vows Housing MEC,’ *IOL*, 6 May 2018.

¹⁸⁶ Lepule, ‘Siqalo Residents.’

pure frustration as roads were once again blockaded by protests but it brought to light deeper issues. As mentioned earlier, Cape Town has the reputation or representation of being the birthplace of Coloureds, “out of this ‘Tavern of the Seas’-as retrospective myth sometimes cheerily dubs Cape Town-emerged the Coloureds.”¹⁸⁷ This is however in contrast to what has been raised in the previous chapter in which the narrative of Jan van Riebeeck was used to characterize the White race as the dominant presence not only in Cape Town but in South Africa. That belonging, that intimate connection and relationship with place was established using racial ideals and a means to solidify a segregationist apartheid state. The question therefore is what fuels the claims of Coloured belonging within Cape Town? Important to this is the point of rejection or acceptance of the race classification. A prevalent space and platform for this conversation has been Facebook.

Social media has become the vanguard for social movements. If we reflect on the past decade, we would have noticed that a hash tag actually has power beyond the keypad. Movements such as #FeesMustFall, #RhodesMustFall, #BlackLivesMatter, #MeToo... and so many others have shown the power of communication and exposure.¹⁸⁸ The more people are in contact and engaging topics, the more it becomes a daily discussion that at times leaves the surrounds of a cell phone screen and enters reality. Facebook is a prominent platform in which our thoughts are played out in discussions in a Facebook group chat. Therefore, in the future when we reflect back on political and social movements that have taken place in the world, social media will be one of our archives, and one of our references. Within social media, we find context in the conversations that are taking place between people. Therefore, to find context in Gatvol Capetonians response to the Siqalo protest as well as the growing

¹⁸⁷ John Western, ‘Africa Is Coming to the Cape,’ *Geographical Review*, Vol. 91, No. 4 (2001), 619.

¹⁸⁸ Social media has its benefits as well its limits, which is highlighted in Sabiha Gire, ‘The Role of Social Media in The Arab Spring,’ *Pangaea Journal*, 1-10. that examines the supporters and sceptics of social media by looking at the role that social media played in the Arab Spring.

case for belonging that Coloured people feel within Cape Town, Facebook can provide insight. Facebook and social media also provide this space for identity construction in that it does not require an imposing intellectuality.

The discussion on Coloured identity has been happening. Michele Ruiters highlighted this in an article where she mentioned some of the different political and social movements and forums such as December First Movement, Khoi Revivalist and Roots and Visions Forum, which have provided platforms of discussion for Coloured identity.¹⁸⁹ Yet, the problem is that this discussion lies in an underlying language of academia, “this is an intellectual debate which fails to gain a footing in the broader coloured community.”¹⁹⁰ These discussions therefore escape people because they are not immediately relevant to reality but rather a space that seeks to evolve itself on the position of Coloured identity and the language may not always resonate with the public. Social media however is more sociable, easier to communicate on a vast scale and more importantly, it is reactionary. An event or incident can happen any moment and social media becomes the medium to share it, react to it, and provide your opinion on it with limited pressure of actually being factually correct. The power of Facebook groups lies in their maintenance of an issue or subject. A group is framed around a particular topic and it is usually stated in the name of the group, to catch the attention of potential members. Facebook groups are therefore virtual homes, bringing people together based on a common issue.

The issue of belonging is two-layered; it is South Africa and then focused in on Cape Town, Western Cape as the primary place of Coloured belonging. These Facebook groups are not all negative, but there are posts or comments that do cause controversy and posts that are at

¹⁸⁹ Michele Ruiters, ‘Collaboration, Assimilation and Contestation: Emerging Constructions of Coloured Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa,’ in *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*, ed. Mohamed Adhikari (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2009).

¹⁹⁰ Ruiters, ‘Collaboration,’ 126.

times flagrantly and even unknowingly racist. First is the statement that Coloured people are the original inhabitants of South Africa and then it zooms in on Cape Town as being this birthplace. Posts such as these show this:

The origin of the coloured community of South Africa is so diverse. Most of come from the Khoisan and our forefathers and mothers were here in South Africa for more than 200 years. The Nguni people (Zulu, Xhosa, Swati, Ndebele etc.) migrated from East and central Africa a few hundred years ago. So the coloured communities are the original South Africans...(Post in THE COLOURED VOICE).¹⁹¹

The Coloured people must boycott businesses who employ more black people instead of Coloured people in the Western Cape (Post in Khoisan First Nations).¹⁹²

Although there are more posts that are similar in nature to these, these two posts were chosen in that they reveal the narrative of a Coloured home and the danger that this narrative may effect. Both of these posts garnered discussion within the comments section, where people are allowed to comment and share their view on the post. There were agreements and there were disagreements. The first post posits that Coloured people are Khoisan descendants and therefore the original inhabitants of South Africa.¹⁹³ This forms part of what has become Khoi revivalism, “the phenomenon of people identifying as Khoisan (descendants) and asserting indigenous rights.”¹⁹⁴ Khoi revivalism is not limited to one particular action or movement but varies. There is language, there is naming of places, there is attire, social and community activism that all seek to highlight a Khoi identity. At the centre of it is belonging:

¹⁹¹ The Coloured Voice 12 November 2020

<https://m.facebook.com/groups/colouredvoice/permalink/3778265102205674>

¹⁹² Khoisan First Nation 10 November 2020

<https://m.facebook.com/groups/222159844628823/permalink/1735644036613722>

¹⁹³ The term Khoisan is deemed offensive due to its origins by a German scientist, Leonard Schults that experimented on Nama and San in Namibia and he coined the term KhoiSan race. I use the term Khoisan here as it has come to be the generally academically accepted term for people classified as the indigenous people of South Africa.

¹⁹⁴ Rafael Verbuyst, ‘Claiming Cape Town: Towards a Symbolic Interpretation of Khoisan Activism and Land Claims,’ *Anthropology Southern Africa*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2016), 83-84.

“Reaching back into history for a sense of belonging and differentiation shows a need for people to connect Coloured identities to what they would regard as an authentically African identity that predates black African identities.”¹⁹⁵ This is done to counter the view as Mellet previously raised that the Coloured classification strips Africanness, “‘Coloureds’ were second class non-Africans to those using the Apartheid ethnic label ‘Blacks’ who were regarded as the only Africans.”¹⁹⁶ This gives reason to the friction that exists between Coloureds and Blacks in South Africa, “educated and middle-class coloured people tend to be supportive of the new government and its policies, but do not identify as African because they see the state’s conception of Africanness as being narrowly rooted.”¹⁹⁷ Therefore, by linking an identity to place, such as numerous Khoi revivalist groups link themselves to Cape Town and Western Cape, Coloureds are asserting that they belong here.

Part of this discussion is the issue of secession, the Western Cape and by extension the Northern Cape becoming an independent state from South Africa. This discussion has been around, with the Cape Party, a political party advocating for secession since its inception in 2007. More recently, however on Facebook a group has emerged, CapeXit RSA, which started in 2018 but has quickly garnered support for its calls of Western Cape independence. The calls for secession seems to be gathering pace in 2020 and reason for this was a survey conducted by the Cape Independence Advocacy Group (CIAG) that has been circulating around various pro-Coloured and Khoi Facebook groups: "Results showed that 47% of all Western Cape residents would like to see a referendum on independence , with 36% wanting independence outright.”¹⁹⁸ Gatvol Capetonian, along with its newly formed affiliated political

¹⁹⁵ Ruiters, ‘Collaboration,’ 121.

¹⁹⁶ Mellet, *Camissa Embrace*, 165.

¹⁹⁷ Ruiters, ‘Collaboration,’ 114.

¹⁹⁸ Hassan Isilow, ‘Party Backs Secession of Western Cape From South Africa,’

<https://www.aa.com/tr/en/africa/party-backs-secession-of-western-cape-from-south-africa/1960676> accessed 11 November 2020.

¹⁹⁸ Sakeena Frenchman Gatvol Capetonian – Secretary, written response. 14th August 2020.

party, Cape Coloured Congress is also advocates for secession. There is also another point that Gatvol raised Sakeena: “What we called for was for Black people that were not born in Cape Town pre 1994 that came from the Eastern Cape to return to the Eastern Cape. The reason for this is that they are a strain on the economy of the Western Cape.”¹⁹⁹

Patric Mellet raised this issue of Khoi revivalism and its linkage to secession: “They speak of starting a war for the secession of the Cape as a country of so-called pure Khoisan, who in their opinion are effectively people labelled ‘Coloured’. They have created false historical tribes, kingdoms and an empire.”²⁰⁰ Dr Ruben Richards too is critical of these movements and the calls for people to return to Eastern Cape: “My criticism of these popular and cultural movements is that they are emotionally driven and not driven by historical facts. If that’s the case that you must just drive them back to the Eastern Cape, then the Eastern Cape people will say, ‘Well, we’ll just drive all the Coloureds out of the Eastern Cape back to the Western Cape.’”²⁰¹ Secession is a declaratory exit. There are the political and economic arguments raised for secession, which CIAG raised: “The group claimed Western Cape residents support a more capitalist, free-market economic approach, as well as smaller government closer to the people.”²⁰² There is also, however the exclusionary nature of it and its identity politics, which aim to make people, particularly Blacks feel out of place, while asserting belonging for Coloureds.

The second Facebook post, which speaks to representation, is something that goes back to Coloured Labour Preference. This policy made Western Cape by some extension a safe haven for Coloureds in that in spite of the evils of apartheid, a Coloured person would be

¹⁹⁹ Sakeena Frenchman Gatvol Capetonian – Secretary, written response. 14th August 2020.

²⁰⁰ Patric Tariq Mellet, *Some Final Thoughts: Navigating the Future as an African People of Camissa Cultural Heritage* (Cape Town: Dibanisa Publishing).

²⁰¹ Interview with Dr. Ruben Richards by Keenan Africa, Cape Town, 10th March 2020.

²⁰² Isilow, ‘Party Backs.’

guaranteed work over the Black person thereby ensuring some ‘privilege.’ Perpetuated as a preferential place for Coloureds, CLPP ensured the marginalisation of Blacks: “The government’s goal has not merely been containment, or freezing, of numbers but in fact diminution of Black African presence in the western Cape.”²⁰³ Post-apartheid, the ANC government has embarked on affirmative action policies to redress past inequalities. However, affirmative action has further heightened insecurity amongst Coloured people, “the national policy of affirmative action was erroneously perceived by many coloureds to be part of the reason for their inability to find work.”²⁰⁴ These concerns by Coloured people are sadly not without merit. Sakeena, Gatvol has uncovered affirmative action gone wrong: “In 2019 we discovered that the labour department was destroying CV’s being handed in from Coloured People. The HRC did a preliminary report and discovered this to be true, not just in one area, but various labour departments across Cape Town. We have the signed report of this.”²⁰⁵

Conclusion

When considering what is fuelling Coloured belonging in Cape Town, one realizes the place Coloureds invested meaning into, Cape Town, the Western Cape to them is under threat, which is fuelling an insecurity. However, when looking at that meaning and narrative, which has made Cape Town, a home we come to realize that is really just a continuation of apartheid politics and tactics that fuel racism.²⁰⁶ This is due to the need to assert place and

²⁰³ Western, *Outcast*, 291.

²⁰⁴ Cheryl Hendricks, ‘Debating Coloured Identity in The Western Cape,’ *African Security Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (2005), 119.

²⁰⁵ Sakeena Frenchman Gatvol Capetonian – Secretary, written response. 14th August 2020.

²⁰⁶ For more on the mobilisation of identity, race and ethnicity in land claims see: William Ellis, ‘Genealogies and narratives of San authenticities: The #Khomani San land claim in the southern Kalahari (PhD, University of the Western Cape, 2012). Sarah Godsell, “New “traditional” strategies and land claims in South Africa: A case study in Hammanskraal,’ *New Contree: A Journal of Historical and Human Sciences for Southern Africa*, Vol. 67 (2013), 139-165. Jochen S. Arndt, ‘Struggles of Land, Language, and Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa: The case of the Hlubi,’ *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, Vol. 9 No. 1 (2018), 1-26.

who belongs based on race. It is not making a home for all. Another product of apartheid that is still in our midst is the housing crisis, an invaluable resource. Therefore, when we look at the protest, Siqalo residents were protesting for service delivery and by extension decent housing. The protest of Colorado residents and Gatvol becomes more symbolic, and embedded in meaning of place and identity. Therefore, in the present we are stuck with the apartheid legacies of a housing crisis and race classification.

Almost nothing has changed in relation to race classification, we are therefore forced to find the meaning of race in a democratic and constitutionally stated non-racialist society. The next and final chapter will focus on how South Africa has built meaning post-apartheid by looking at some of its nation building initiatives and the responses to it. Change happens in the shift of the narrative of a place. In post-apartheid South Africa, “Coloured insecurity generated by the transition to a democratic order eroded the measure of security they had under apartheid as a group with relative privilege.”²⁰⁷ What post-apartheid presented was the changing of the guard from apartheid to democracy, what did not change however was the race classification structure of apartheid. Therefore, the next chapter will come back to the recent growth of Khoi revivalism and the ongoing issue of Coloured identity to explain how even with this change in narrative and optimism of nation-building, we are still trapped in race.

²⁰⁷ Michael Besten, ‘We Are the Original Inhabitants of This Land’: Khoe-San Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa,’ in *Burdened by Race: Coloured Identities in Southern Africa*, ed. Mohamed Adhikari (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2009), 150.

Chapter Three

Race of The Nation

Introduction

Continuing on the theme of the previous two chapters, this chapter will focus on place. Place is a symbolic home. The previous chapter highlighted the ways in which apartheid and experiences with colonialism have tainted our view of belonging in which housing and land have become symbols of identity and racism. For all the change South Africans have invested in, we have still fallen short on making this land a home for all. The change referred to here is the shift to becoming a democratic South Africa and a society that is non-racial as declared within the Constitution. However, the trappings of race are still prevalent. This was shown recently by a Western Cape teacher being charged with fraud and “summoned to a disciplinary hearing on Wednesday for claiming to be ‘African’ in his CV, instead of sticking with his ‘official’ coloured identity.”²⁰⁸ This brings to light the fluidity of race classification as Posel highlighted this issue when she examined how apartheid’s racial classification created a race structure: “A reassuring promise of a lifetime's worth of privilege for those classified 'white', classification as 'Coloured' or 'native' had the more unsettling finality of sealing a person's fate to a lower rung on the ladder of opportunity, reward and power from then on, and removing the prospect of mobility.”²⁰⁹ The way to climb up this ladder was to appeal to the Race Classification Board. In my interview with Mellet, he expands on this: “Most people that went to them wanted to go up the ladder. So, somebody who was classified

²⁰⁸ Bobby Jordan. ‘Coloured’ teacher on fraud charge for saying he was ‘African’: Western Cape education department says the teacher must supply ‘evidence’ to change race on its system,’ <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-10-14-coloured-teacher-on-fraud-charge-for-saying-he-was-african/> accessed 19 Nov. 20.

²⁰⁹ Posel, ‘What's in a name?’ 62. For a more personal examination of the issue of re-classification see, Ulla Dentlinger, *Where Are You From: ‘Playing White under Apartheid,’* (Switzerland: Bester Afrika Bibliographen, 2016).

as native, wanted to become Coloured. Somebody Coloured wanted to become white. Or somebody was Indian wanted to become Coloured. Or somebody was Chinese wanted to become Coloured or white, or whatever... They call it the chameleon dance.”²¹⁰ This brings to light how race is not only viewed as an essentialised identity but also the manner in which it can be used strategically showing the fluidity of something meant to be rigidly defined.

The previous chapter highlighted the housing crisis that is happening in South Africa and this chapter extends on that but focuses on a house being the symbolic representation of a home and belonging, that home being South Africa and Cape Town. How is belonging expressed in post-apartheid South Africa and do South Africans actually embrace that belonging? The process of nation-building was and is a means and process to build a national and South African identity but how is one to do that when we are still confined to apartheid notions and nations signified by race and ethnicity? Coming back to the description of desegregation by Dixon and Durrheim, this chapter will argue that desegregation was the first failed process within the nation-building of South Africa and through this further entrapped race and racism within the South African society. This approach works to expose the legacy of insecurities that apartheid has left on South African society. This chapter will therefore focus on the question raised within the conclusion of chapter two: with what narrative do Coloured people make Cape Town a home?

Nation-Building

This mini-thesis has focused so far specifically on Cape Town and highlighted the manner in which apartheid through its racial policies enforced difference but it is worth noting Bantustans. These were created homelands based on ethnicity and devised to keep Black

²¹⁰ Interview with Patric Tariq Mellet by Keenan Africa, Cape Town, 17th March 2020.

South Africans away from urban and more importantly White South Africa. The nature of the Bantustan or homelands were to be conceived as nations. According to Peris Sean Jones: “The South African government's bantustan strategy was centred upon instilling 'national unity' and 'national culture' within each of the homelands and, in doing so, it also attempted to create, and maintain, linkages between these territories and all black South Africans.”²¹¹

Therefore, with the end of apartheid it was not just race groups having to come together to form a unified South Africa but the idea of nations having to come together. The idea of nations stems from the man regarded as the ‘architect of apartheid,’ Hendrik Verwoerd. This was actually a change in that when Verwoerd became Prime Minister in 1958, he changed the title of apartheid as a policy to separate development. An ideal based off that people were meant to develop within the confines of their defined nations: “The ideology of ‘Separate Development’ which argued that South Africa was a constellation of separate nations each entitled to self-determination was more commonly known as Apartheid.”²¹² Ten homelands were created, “four homelands being declared independent (Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana) and six territories getting limited self-determination (Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Lebowa, KwaZulu and QwaQwa).”²¹³ These homelands although focused on separating and moving racially classified Black people to confined spaces, the homelands were centred on ethnicity. By focusing particularly on ethnicity, the apartheid regime validated an Afrikaner ethnicity through, “reconfiguring the South African landscape into one dominated by ethnicity, it managed to incorporate both the Afrikaner experience of oppression at the hands of the British and the fear associated with the so-called colour

²¹¹ Peris Sean Jones, “‘To Come Together for Progress’: Modernization and Nation-Building in South Africa's Bantustan Periphery - The Case of Bophuthatswana,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (1999), 583.

²¹² Mellet, *The Camissa Embrace*, 161.

²¹³ Steffen Jensen & Olaf Zenker, ‘Homelands as Frontiers: Apartheid's Loose Ends – An Introduction,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 5 (2015), 941.

question.”²¹⁴ Ethnicity was therefore a tool, that is not only linked to apartheid forms of classification but colonialist as well, which makes it a continuous means to differentiate and control people. This adds to Mamdani’s examination in *Citizen and Subject* that the South African case and experience of apartheid is not exceptional but a continuation of colonial exercise of power. He explains that “as a form of rule, apartheid—like the indirect rule colonial state—fractured the ranks of the ruled along a double divide: ethnic on the one hand, rural-urban on the other.”²¹⁵ Independence movements sought deracialisation, which is shown by South Africa’s nation-building project and the ANC’s stance of non-racialism and by doing so ignoring the issue of ethnicity: “the unreformed Native Authority came to contaminate civil society, so that the more civil society was deracialized, the more it took on a tribalized form.”²¹⁶ This explains the growing cause for an identity likened with ethnicity more so than race as the first process of independence was deracialisation.

The end of apartheid brought everyone within this geographical space of South Africa together and although there was some resistance from former homelands such as Bophuthatswana that highlights the influence of Native Authority in the form of Lucas Mangope, leader of Bophuthatswana to form part of this new South Africa, the democratic shift happened. The African National Congress (ANC) who won the first democratic elections in 1994 saw the need and importance for a new relationship to be built between the citizens and its country and “with its nation-building project seeks to unite the nation.”²¹⁷ Nation-building was the embodiment of a new South Africa, with an identity that is built around the nation of South Africa, and not the past nations that apartheid signified. Various

²¹⁴ Jensen & Zenker, ‘Homelands,’ 940-941.

²¹⁵ Mamdani, *Citizen*, 27.

²¹⁶ Mamdani, *Citizen*, 21.

²¹⁷ Scarlett Cornelissen and Steffen Horstmeier, ‘The Social and Political Construction of Identities in the New South Africa: An Analysis of the Western Cape Province,’ *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (2002), 56.

projects promoted nation-building such as, “the promotion and use of political symbols, such as the national flag, the new national anthem (which coalesces the anthems of apartheid South Africa and that of the liberation movement), and national holidays that commemorate key moments in the recent history of the country.”²¹⁸ As mentioned within the first chapter, the biography of Nelson Mandela too played a role within the narrative of nation-building in that the nation was constructed through him.

Perhaps the most popular tool for nation-building, perhaps due to the messenger was the concept of South Africa as the Rainbow Nation, coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu: “The Rainbow metaphor projects the image of different racial, ethnic and cultural groups being united and living in harmony.”²¹⁹ The Constitution and the ANC embrace and push for a non-racial society but alongside the concept of Rainbow Nation it becomes confusing and even contradictory, “the Rainbow Nation metaphor represents a compromise between the ANC’s commitment to non-racialism and the need to deal with the continuing politicization of ethnicity in post-apartheid South Africa.”²²⁰ This represented the early stages of nation-building under the tutelage of Nelson Mandela, with the aim of uniting in difference. This raises the issue that of post-apartheid nation-building, can you be different and same? Or equal but different? Using Mamdani again here it can be argued that difference is maintained when we reflect on the bifurcated state remaining intact as democratisation has not taken place.

²¹⁸ Cornelissen and Horstmeier, ‘The Social,’ 56.

²¹⁹ Elirea Bornman, ‘National Symbols and Nation-Building in the Post-Apartheid South Africa,’ *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 30 (2006), 384.

²²⁰ Elirea Bornman, ‘The Rainbow Nation versus the colours of the rainbow: Nation-building and group identification in the post-apartheid South Africa,’ in *South Africa in Focus: Economic, Political and Social Issues*, ed. by Charl C. Wolhouter (United Kingdom: Nova Science Publishers, 2013).

Thabo Mbeki in the famous speech, “I Am an African”²²¹ envisioned the African Renaissance and nation-building beyond the borders of South Africa and into the rest of Africa: “The aim of nation-building consequently becomes the creation of a single nation with a dominant African identity that should become the primary identity of all South Africans.”²²² The point raised within the previous chapters speaks on how the classification of Coloured de-Africanises and therefore it becomes troubling to think of where do Coloured people fit within this nation-building project. Therefore, the African Renaissance dims the Rainbow Nation in that Coloured do not see themselves as part of that rainbow and this will come to show itself when Coloureds through Khoi revivalism assert their own nation. Another reason for the shift to a more African focused discourse was the recognized failure of Rainbowism, as an “official document argues that the concept of the rainbow nation could ‘fail to recognize the healthy osmosis among the various cultures and other attributes in the process towards the emergence of a New African nation’.”²²³ Nation-building aims to be different from the past and is therefore a presentation of something different and a reshaping of a society and looking at South Africa, it is post-apartheid, creating a society that is different to one built on apartheid values.

Desegregation

I argue that desegregation was the first nation-building project in that it is a process of building beyond racialised lines of apartheid. I argue this because apartheid or separate development was based on the idea that people based off their race were to be and to live separately and therefore desegregation is the continued process to undo this separation and achieve the desired nation of South Africa. In South Africa, the main terms used to discuss

²²¹ Thabo Mbeki, *I Am an African’ Speech at the Adoption of the Republic of South Africa Constitutional Bill*, 1998, available: <https://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4322> accessed 20 November 2020.

²²² Bornman, ‘The Rainbow Nation.’

²²³ Ruiters, ‘Collaboration,’ 107.

desegregation in the post 1994 years have been “transformation” and “development.” The Integrated Development Plan (IDP), which have been the official goals of the CoCT, “is a five-year plan required in terms of the Municipal Systems Act, Act 32 of 2000. This legislation states that an IDP is the principle strategic planning instrument which guides and informs all planning, development and decisions in the municipality.”²²⁴

Desegregation represents that shift in that no longer do places carry the meaning of race, “racial desegregation invariably produces a re-organization of space and place.”²²⁵ Before delving into how desegregation has or has not played itself out within Cape Town it should be mentioned that the spatiality of apartheid has continued not only within Cape Town but throughout South Africa. The Commission on the Demarcation/Delimitation of Regions (CDDR), in 1993 was commissioned to focus on how to deal with the internal borders that apartheid. The CDDR however left the borders intact, “the new regions that were demarcated by the CDDR reproduced the nine development regions that had been created by former President P W Botha's government as part of his preparation for the 1983 tricameral constitution.”²²⁶ This means that the nations that apartheid classified continue to be concentrated within the space that apartheid signified for them so as much as we are building towards being South African, our place confines us to apartheid classifications of race and ethnicity. There is however a new nation rising looking to claim its place, the First Nation, discussed below.

The new South Africa had the effect of self-determination to an extent in that firstly nation-building came to build a unified South African identity and under the rainbow, you were allowed to express your own identity. This is where I feel the description used by Dixon and

²²⁴ City of Cape Town Five-year Integrated Development Plan: July 2017 – June 2022.

²²⁵ Dixon and Durrheim, ‘Dislocating,’ 456.

²²⁶ Maano Ramutsindela, ‘Resilient Geographies: Land, Boundaries and the Consolidation of the Former Bantustans in Post-1994 South Africa,’ *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 173, No. 1 (2007), 49.

Durrheim becomes useful, “the process entails a transformation of boundaries so that new kinds of encounter and co-presence become possible in places formerly characterised by racial isolation.”²²⁷ Besides enforcing already prominent identities, desegregation as well nation-building is the awakening of new or dormant identities that may have been suppressed. This is the conflict that can arise in that the new South Africa has to cater on both sides, the new South African identity, redressing apartheid and thereby catering for apartheid-classified identities and new identities as espoused by the new nation.

What the process of desegregation aims to highlight is the negative aspects of change and what it means, even though it is meant to be a positive process. Change becomes the enemy in terms of the relationships that people have built with places in which they have invested meanings. Dixon and Durrheim therefore argue: “Loss of place tends to provoke strong social and psychological responses precisely because it entails a loss of self.”²²⁸ The case of Cape Town is curious in that what is threatened to Coloured people is a place that has not been defined yet in relation to the period of apartheid. Coloured people did not build their place identities around Cape Town but more so their communities from which they were forcefully removed. District Six stands out as the most prominent example of this. Cape Town therefore became defined post-apartheid through Khoi revivalist movements as a home for Khoi and their descendants, people classified as Coloured. The desegregation process therefore indeed highlighted the loss and insecurity of Coloured people that fear what change might represent for them in the new South Africa. To counter that fear and insecurity is to have a narrative and identity, to have meaning.

²²⁷ Dixon and Durrheim, ‘Dislocating,’ 456.

²²⁸ Dixon and Durrheim, ‘Dislocating,’ 458.

The First Nation

Within Cape Town, desegregation and post-apartheid for Coloureds meant being part of the rainbow and equal. However, past injustices had to be addressed and within that, the safety that Coloureds felt with the ideals of apartheid in which they were considered better than Blacks and just behind Whites on the racial ladder disappeared. This added to the feelings of insecurity and marginality of Coloureds within a country in which there is a Black majority from which Coloured identity is still officially excluded: “It has become commonplace for Coloured people disaffected with the new South Africa to express their disgruntlement by lamenting that 'first we were not white enough and now we are not black enough'.”²²⁹ Zimitri Erasmus further shows the complexity of what this change can mean, which further signifies difference: “To be Coloured is to be outside of hegemonic ideas about what it means to be Black.”²³⁰ This dynamic played itself out within elections in Western Cape in which Coloureds have steered clear of ANC as shown by the 1994 elections: “The black-peril tactics of the National Party during the 1990s, particularly in the run-up to the 1994 elections, were undoubtedly instrumental in heightening race consciousness within the Coloured community.”²³¹

The Khoi revivalist moment and the call for indigeneity came at an opportune time. Early 1990s saw the end of apartheid and more focus on indigenous rights, “the 1990s saw an increasing number of people identifying as indigenous and a growing sympathy towards indigenous rights with the First Decade of the World’s Indigenous Peoples declared by the United Nations in 1995.”²³² Khoi revivalism in its bid for recognition post-apartheid, have

²²⁹ Mohamed Adhikari, “‘Not Black Enough’: Changing Expressions of Coloured Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa,” *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (2004), 168.

²³⁰ Erasmus, *Race Otherwise*, 7.

²³¹ Adhikari, ‘Not Black Enough,’ 169.

²³² Rafael Verbuyst, ‘Claiming Cape Town: Ethnographic Interpretations of Khoisan Activism and Land Claims’ (MA, Leiden University, 2015), 49.

sought the acknowledgment of being First Nation.²³³ First Nation is seen as a synonym for aborigine or indigenous: “The terms ‘First People’ and ‘First Nation’ could be used as alternatives to ‘indigenous’ in restitution campaigns.”²³⁴ Erasmus provides a critique on First Nations, “the idea of ‘First Nations’ needs to be problematised because it suggests a hierarchy of nations – a construct itself informed by ideas of race – with a corresponding hierarchy of access to rights.”²³⁵

However, this continues the narrative of apartheid, “projecting themselves as indigenous, claimants to Khoe-San identity appropriated a status generally associated with Bantu-speaking communities in South Africa during the apartheid period.”²³⁶ This is done however on the basis to counter and exceed not only apartheid but also the ANC’s conception of being African, “A Khoe-San identity further allowed coloureds to outdo Bantu-speaking Africans in claims to indigeneity and entitlement to resources in South Africa.”²³⁷ This then becomes an identity with purpose and this is why the Khoi revivalist movement can be seen as strategic essentialism, “the conscious use of ‘essentialisms’ to achieve political or economic goals.”²³⁸ Essentialisms are, “material or immaterial and stress specific and unalienable essences based on stereotypical and popular ideas.”²³⁹ Part of this essentialism is the claim of being First Nation or indigenous. Beyond just embodying a Khoi identity, the Khoi revivalist is in search of perhaps more importantly acknowledgement.

Coloured people have come to feel side-lined in this new nation and this was evident with the issue of renaming Cape Town International Airport. When the ANC came into power in 1994

²³³ The term First Nation is best associated with Canada as a general term for the indigenous communities under the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP).

²³⁴ Besten, ‘We Are,’ 141.

²³⁵ Erasmus, *Race Otherwise*, 114.

²³⁶ Michael Besten, ‘We Are,’ 141.

²³⁷ Michael Besten, ‘We Are,’ 151.

²³⁸ Rafael Verbuyst, ‘Claiming Cape Town: Towards a Symbolic Interpretation of Khoisan Activism and Land Claims,’ *Anthropology Southern Africa*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2016), 85.

²³⁹ Verbuyst, ‘Claiming Cape Town,’ 85.

it decided that airports would maintain neutral names based on their destinations and not named after political figures, which was the tradition of apartheid. However, in 2007 the Johannesburg International Airport, which was named Jan Smuts International Airport under the apartheid dispensation was renamed O. R. Tambo International Airport. In 2018, it became the turn of Cape Town International Airport to enter the debate of a name change. The name change came into sharp focus after the death of Winnie Mandela in 2018, “EFF leader Julius Malema called for the airport to be renamed after Winnie Madikizela-Mandela after the mother of the nation died.”²⁴⁰ At a public meeting to discuss the renaming, Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) members were in full support of renaming the airport after Winnie Mandela. On the other side was the Khoi community, “members of the Khoi community were in favour of the name Krotoa – after the historic Khoi figure.”²⁴¹ The meeting did not go according to script, as it became a shouting and chanting festival between the two competing sides.

The airport renaming saga, which is still ongoing has highlighted not only the Khoi and by extension Cape Town’s case for acknowledgement. That said, however the EFF does too have a case in that South Africa’s struggle narrative has been prominently filled by the roles of men with women being marginalized. By saying that, there could be a case made that the airport be renamed after Dulcie September or Zainunnisa ‘Cissie’ Gool, or Sarah Baartman, whose name was brought up by some Khoi activists. The point being that at least let it be named after someone from Cape Town. This forms part of reterritorializing Cape Town: “Reterritorialization can be understood as the process of rendering space meaningful or

²⁴⁰ Jason Felix, ‘Cape Town Airport Renaming Descends Into Chaos,’ <https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/news/watch-cape-town-airport-renaming-meeting-descends-into-chaos-15312700>, accessed 28 Nov. 20.

²⁴¹ Christina Pitt, ‘Emotions Run High at Public Meeting on CT International Airport Renaming,’ <https://www.news24.com/amp/news24/southafrica/news/watch-emotions-run-high-at-public-meeting-on-ct-international-airport-renaming-20180604>, accessed 28 Nov. 20.

intelligible by those who physically and symbolically attach significance to it—some refer to this as 'making place'.²⁴² Part of this is to acknowledge who has more claims to Cape Town and further establishment of belonging in Cape Town.

An attempt at renaming was also highlighted in a paper by Rafael Verbuyst's when he writes on the campaign to rename Cape Town: "The name ||Hui !Gaeb was also at the centre of a 2012 campaign launched by IRASA to symbolically restore the 'original' name of the area."²⁴³ Institute for the Restoration of the Aborigines of South Africa (IRASA), launched the campaign to highlight the acknowledgment or lack thereof of Khoi representation in Cape Town and a "demand for a name change was a powerful way of highlighting the Khoisan roots of, and presence in, Cape Town."²⁴⁴ Mellet too highlights the significance of ||Hui !Gaeb, "in pre-colonial days and pre-Camissa settlement days, the broader Peninsula was referred to as ||Hui !Gaeb, the place where clouds gather."²⁴⁵ The name change is a means to attach meaning to a place and simultaneously a narrative of one's relationship and identity to that place.

In Chapter One it stated that essentialized or primordial identities within a globalised world would within a globalised world would create tension. Arjun Appadurai, however argues for the inverse of that, globalisation creates the tension. Globalisation is defined as, "a set of transitions in the global political economy since the 1970s."²⁴⁶ Appadurai argues that globalisation creates multiple uncertainties but there is one that is relevant to me, "these various forms of uncertainty create intolerable anxiety about the relationship of many individuals to state-provided goods—ranging from housing and health to safety and

²⁴² Shannon M. Jackson, 'Being and Belonging: Space and Identity in Cape Town,' *Anthropology and Humanism*, Vol. 28 No. 1 (2003), 65.

²⁴³ Rafael Verbuyst, MA Thesis, 94.

²⁴⁴ Rafael Verbuyst, 'Claiming Cape Town,' 88.

²⁴⁵ Mellet, *The Camissa Embrace*, 11.

²⁴⁶ Arjun Appadurai, 'Dead Certainty: Ethnic Violence in the Era of Globalization,' *Public Culture*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1998), 228.

sanitation—since these entitlements are frequently directly tied to who ‘you’ are, and thus to who ‘they’ are.”²⁴⁷ Whereas Appadurai speaks on how globalisation influences the rising cases of ethnic violence with particular focus on violence directed towards the body, his construction of predatory identities is important here. It is important in that it highlights how change in the form of globalisation influences people, at times to a violent extent.

Globalisation is the face of neoliberal capitalist policies: “The model of neoliberal globalization promoted by leading global financial institutions and world powers emphasized scaling back government services and redistribution, dismantling state management of the economy and economic resources and prioritizing privatization.”²⁴⁸ While globalisation presents itself as the standard-bearer for future political and economic relations, it is capitalism expanding its reach.

Globalisation is capitalistic in nature, it promotes free trade and the constant movement of capital beyond borders, and the privatization of resources. Globalisation increases insecurity, which can be added to the uncertainty that Appadurai speaks of and raises real questions about survival and belonging. The influence of capitalism on South Africa stretches back according to Koot, Hitchcock and Gressier: “Capitalism in southern Africa emerged alongside colonialism, mostly emanating from South Africa.”²⁴⁹ Koot, Hitchcock and Gressier argue that neoliberal capitalism has an effect on the questions of belonging in southern Africa. Their argument is linked to land and nature, and mine is linked to an insecurity that arises, which can be attributed to the effects of neoliberal capitalism. Capitalism’s focus on privatisation and commodifying of all resources has made human essentials a product to be bought and sold. Land and housing, which is an essential is out of

²⁴⁷ Appadurai, ‘Dead Certainty,’ 229.

²⁴⁸ Besteman, *Transforming*, 11.

²⁴⁹ Stasja Koot, Robert Hitchcock & Catie Gressier, ‘Belonging, Indigeneity, Land and Nature in Southern Africa under Neoliberal Capitalism: An Overview,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (2019), 3.

reach for those who need it, as they cannot afford it. This was raised in the introduction above, where Madlingozi explained how GEAR had an adverse effect. In her case study of the Crossroads Women's Protest, Koni Benson highlights the impact of GEAR on the creation of housing:

This brought massive cuts to local municipalities, and a turn towards commercialisation and privatisation of basic services as a means of generating revenue no longer provided by the national state. For housing in the new South Africa, the shift meant smaller and fewer subsidised houses built each year, despite rising costs, growing families, and farm evictions that led to urban migration.²⁵⁰

In South Africa the insecurity of not only land and housing but rising unemployment has resulted in growing relocation to urban areas such as Cape Town in search of opportunities, which in turn puts strain on the need for housing, as shown by Siqualo's protest. The case for housing in this context of globalisation and capitalism becomes important when reflecting on the Housing Assembly, whose pursuit as stated in the previous chapter is the profit-making system neoliberal capitalism. Added to this is their case for decommodification: "The full decommodification of housing would mean direct access to houses and land without the mediation of markets; housing would be distributed in accordance with need, and decommodification would be achieved through direct occupation of land rather than negotiation with local government officials."²⁵¹ More importantly, what this highlights is a target for the housing crisis, which is aimed at economic practices and the market. Zachary Levenson highlights the benefit of this in overcoming state-imposed identities of housing needs: "Preexisting movements tended to organise on a parochial basis around specific housing identities: the shack dweller, the backyarder, the number on a waiting list, the

²⁵⁰ Koni Benson, 'A "Political War of Words and Bullets": Defining and Defying Sides of Struggle for Housing in Crossroads, South Africa,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 41 No. 2 (2015), 376.

²⁵¹ Zachary Levenson, 'Social Movements Beyond Incorporation: The Case of The Housing Assembly in Post-Apartheid Cape Town,' in *Southern Resistance in Critical Perspective: The Politics of Protest in South Africa's Contentious Democracy*, (eds.) Marcel Paret, Carin Runciman and Luke Sinwell (London: Routledge, 2017), 90.

recipient of crumbling state-provisioned housing.”²⁵² Therefore, Housing Assembly as a social movement through targeting the market can move beyond divisions that would divide people on ultimately something they all want, a decent house.

The other side of this competition and economy of scarcity is the case is the issue when pro-Coloured and Khoi revivalist movements target and blame Black people for the lack of housing and jobs in Cape Town. It is in this case that the question of predatory identities come into play, can the rise in pro-Coloured and Khoi revivalist movements be seen as predatory identities? Whereas the violence expressed within Appadurai’s readings is of a brutal nature and focused on the body, the violence in this instance is geared toward claims of belonging and targeting the meaning of place in a physical and symbolic sense.

Beyond a Nation of Race

What fuels racism and its connection to place is the sense of belonging that people continue to have with places based off colonial and apartheid classifications of race and ethnicity and enforced separation of people based on those classifications as well. Race and ethnicity therefore become synonymous with difference and belonging. There is no nation, there are nations. South Africa is a multinational country and this is shown when South Africans choose to recede into race and ethnic forms of classification. The home that is South Africa has not gained the traction of belonging, and that lack of acknowledgment means that South Africans have found belonging and meaning elsewhere. That belonging is bound up in race and ethnicity, legacies of colonialism and apartheid. We cannot wait every twelve years for the Springboks to win a Rugby World Cup, or for the opportunity to host a global event to feel South African.

²⁵² Levenson, ‘Social Movements,’ 90.

Chris Rock in his 2008 stand-up special *Kill the Messenger* stated: “Racism all over the world. It will never die, it will never die. It will only multiply, baby.”²⁵³ Sadly, that is the reality. It becomes more evident in contexts in which there is history of race and ethnicity being conflated. Therefore, non-racialism cannot be seen as the means to an end, if anything we have to find a way to live with race. Part of the problem with race is that it becomes part of who you, it is the reality of race. Neville Alexander argues as well that the persistence of racial identities may be due to a lack of awareness, “that even though they are constructed, social identities seem to have a primordial validity for most individuals, precisely because they are not aware of the historical, social and political ways in which their identities have been constructed.”²⁵⁴

There are numerous ways in which the question of race can be assessed in post-apartheid South Africa but I will focus on two possibilities. The first one being Patric Mellet’s concept of *Camissa*. Mellet argues much like this thesis has been arguing that sense of belonging and identity is bound with race: “If identity is so bound with ‘belonging’ and we wish to create South Africa as a home for all, we are challenged to find a way to move beyond this crippling framework.”²⁵⁵ This belonging is trapped within what Mellet calls the four race silos; White, Black, Coloured and Asian. Alexander speaks of the four race silo as the four nation thesis: “The basic liberal position, analysed in terms of a ‘race relations’ framework, was and remains that the four population registration groups that inhabit South Africa are ‘races’ which should be enabled through sound economic, political and cultural policies to coexist in ‘multi-racial harmony’ within a single nation state.”²⁵⁶ The call is therefore to abolish the race

²⁵³ Chris Rock: *Kill the Messenger* (dir. Marty Callner, 2008).

²⁵⁴ Neville Alexander, ‘Racial Identity, Citizenship and Nation Building in Post-Apartheid South Africa,’ Edited version of a Lecture delivered at the East London Campus University of Fort Hare 25 March 2006.

²⁵⁵ Mellet, *The Camissa Embrace*, 5.

²⁵⁶ Neville Alexander, ‘Approaches To the National Question in South Africa,’ *Transformation*, Vol. 1 (1986), 77.

structure, classifying people based on colour. Mellet argues rather for expression within our cultural heritage: “What we have in South Africa is, we have three broad cultures: An Afro-Asian culture, an Afro-European culture and an African culture.”²⁵⁷

The second being Xolela Mangcu’s conception of “a multi-racial society in an anti-racist democracy,’ that will lead to a ‘joint culture.”²⁵⁸ Mangcu uses multi-racialism as an extension of Albert Luthuli view of multi-racialism, “I accept the multi-racial in his formulation because it seems to me a pragmatic recognition of the racialised identities that no amount of scientific rationality, left -liberalism or Marxism can diminish.”²⁵⁹ The vision of a joint culture stems from Biko, “Biko suggested an anti-racist integration based on mutual respect for each other’s cultures.”²⁶⁰ A joint culture built out of respect for each other’s culture and identity and part of that is not diminishing the identities that people have created from state-imposed identities therefore race cannot be disregarded.

These two examples show the complexity of the race question in South Africa as we can move away from race or move towards it in acknowledgment. Either way, it is a discussion worth having in order to ensure that we mediate a discussion about and beyond race.

Conclusion

Structure and agency are a very theoretical discussion and it has been brought up within the second chapter but in this chapter, I want to focus on what I deem as the core of its debate, choices, or decisions. Structure here infers that we have no choice or it is limited, and agency assumes that we are free to make our own choices and therefore have determination. Within

²⁵⁷ Interview with Patric Tariq Mellet by Keenan Africa, Cape Town, 17th March 2020.

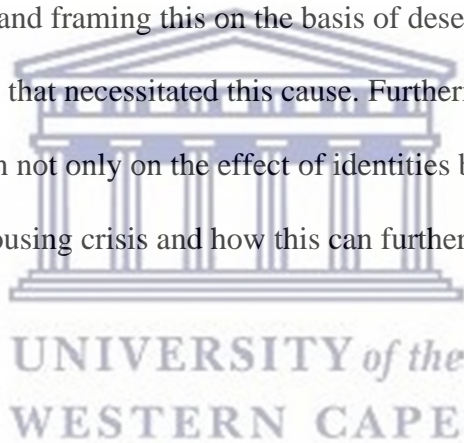
²⁵⁸ Xolela Mangcu, ‘What Moving Beyond Race Can Actually Mean: Towards A Joint Culture’, in *The Colour of Our Future: Does Race Matter in Post-Apartheid South Africa?* ed. Xolela Mangcu (South Africa: Wits University Press, 2015).

²⁵⁹ Mangcu, ‘What Moving,’ 9-10.

²⁶⁰ Mangcu, ‘What Moving,’ 15.

this thesis, structure and agency have been at play. In the previous chapter, it was highlighted through the protest for housing, between the physical and symbolic house. The housing shortage is the physical structure that resembled Siqalo's protest in their need for housing. The symbolic house of Cape Town to Coloured and Khoi, which further explored within this chapter is the choice to embody the identity of being First Nation and being indigenous. Coming into the new South Africa, as this chapter has shown, the structure of apartheid through creating nations and confining and classifying people to race has continued in that we have come to adopt our structure and turned it into our agency.

This chapter has looked at how this happened by looking at the Khoi revivalist movement and its case for First Nation and framing this on the basis of desegregation and nation-building as being the change that necessitated this cause. Furthermore, this chapter looked at the influence of globalisation not only on the effect of identities but also its role as a growing capitalist influence on the housing crisis and how this can further influence divisions.



Conclusion

The aim of this research was to reflect on the legacies of apartheid's racial, identity politics and how it influenced insecurities of identity and housing in post-apartheid South Africa by looking at the protest that took place at Siqualo on May 1 2018. The research also reflected on the growing case and claims of belonging of Cape Town by various pro-Coloured and Khoi revivalist groups on Facebook. This brought to light the point of what I see as the structure/agency and physical/symbolic tension that is spread throughout the chapters.

Chapter One reflected on the concept of identity in relation to a framework of social and place to show the influence that identity has in defining not only people but the relationship that people build with places and how that is reflected in reality. Using the argument of Ciraj Rassool's PhD thesis in which he highlights the use of narration in the writing and construction of biographies, I argued that identity too resembles the process of narration. The importance of this I argue is that through producing a narrative that forms a particular identity, is the desire to create meaning. Therefore, the narratives and identities that we subscribe to is a process of meaning creation that can inform and give meaning to our reality. The particular focus on the two narratives of in the creation of Cape Town, the Jan van Riebeeck and the Camissa narrative was to highlight how these narratives can produce meaning. The aim of the chapter was to bring to light the importance of home and through narrative, what narrative do we use to make home and that is reflected in the next two chapters. The Van Riebeeck narrative made home based on race, which is resembled by apartheid and its policies of separate development and racialisation. The Camissa narrative seeks to dispel this and encourages the celebration of heritage.

The rise of social media is a turning point as it presents a changing space of narration and where narratives are produced as highlighted in Chapter Two, through analysing the Siqualo

protest in which numerous texts and posts that were floating around on social media chose to highlight racial tensions, which came to frame the protest. Add to this the growth of Facebook groups that are by their creation framed around a particular topic, interest, or agenda that live in their own narratives and meaning it becomes a form of mobilisation. The physical/symbolic tension is represented here as it became a protest on both sides, the Siqualo community through the protest highlighted the need for housing, electricity, water, basic services, that is the physical element. The retaliation of Gatvol as well the growing number of groups on Facebook represent the symbolic form of protest in that they want Cape Town to be recognised as a Coloured place. This is where the role of narrative as the adoption of an identity that signifies race and ethnicity to place is a continuation of the Van Riebeeck narrative that has the implication of fuelling racism.

Through writing this thesis, I had to question and reflect on what I view as my identity. My surname is Africa so I would think it's a given that I am African but as highlighted in this thesis the claim to being African is taken away the moment you classified as Coloured. Therefore, how do you exist as both? Do you reject one or use your identity strategically? This brought out the discussion on nation-building and the difficulty of it when there is an entanglement of race and identity politics that cloud a person's being to adopting national identity. Chapter Three, therefore looked at the nation-building process of South Africa and using the analysis of desegregation by Dixon and Durrheim shown how nation-building failed. Furthermore, it highlighted again the structure/agency and physical/symbolic tension.

What is shown in this thesis is what is mentioned in Chapter One, the convergence of identities that are deemed different in a globalised world that would create tension and through analysing what identity is, which is meaning for reality; it is multiple realities and meanings co-existing, creating a tension. This thesis therefore sought to look at the sources of

that tension and its causes. In Chapter Two, the case study of Siqalo and the housing crisis brought to light not only the housing insecurity but the insecurity of identity that leads to claims of belonging and thereby the motive of exclusion.

Chapter Three further reflected on the sources of this tension by focusing on the nation-building project and its failure in which racial and ethnic divisions did not recede but deepened. The use of Mamdani is important here as his arguments laid out in *Citizen and Subject* saw the failure of democratisation bound to happen without the proper process of deracialisation and detribalisation. More importantly is the influence of globalisation and its capitalistic nature that not only brings uncertainty to the fore but a need to express that uncertainty, which is protest and violence. The retaliation therefore by Coloured residents and Gatvol is worrying. I purposefully did not answer the question I asked, which is whether pro-Coloured and Khoi revivalist movements can be seen as predatory identities as the growing issue of racism within South Africa can each be explored with the sentiment of uncertainty showing that predatory identities and claims of belonging cannot be limited to Khoi revivalist movements.

However more importantly what we are seeing is the inverse of apartheid and something Mamdani foretold. Under colonialism and apartheid race had power, “to have a racial identity was an identity of privilege whilst having an ethnic identity condemned one to severe marginalization as a rural subject.”²⁶¹ Highlighted chapter in Chapter Three, the process of deracialisation without the process of detribalisation would lead to growth of ethnicity. That is the inverse, the continuation of colonial power but it is no longer race that has privilege but ethnicity and this has fuelled the insecurity and marginality of the Coloured identity that was

²⁶¹ Suren Pillay, ‘Being Coloured and Indian in South Africa After Apartheid,’ <https://africasacountry.com/2018/06/being-coloured-and-indian-in-south-africa-after-apartheid> accessed 16 December 2020.

classified a race during apartheid. The structure and agency thus are reflected when the structure of apartheid and colonialism through its creation of classifying people to race and ethnicities has continued in that we have come to adopt our structure and turned it into our agency to stake claims of belonging.

The Union of South Africa and South Africa as place and country was a union between the two White groups of Afrikaners and English and following that came apartheid, in which people were not classified as South African but by their race and ethnicity, thereby meaning that South Africans only came to be in 1994. Therefore, the argument of place identity is so important due to the failure of democratisation, there is a need to find meaning to make sense of the reality and cause thereof. The ANC led government has found meaning in the struggle narrative but at the cost of a disconnect to many South Africans who deem that struggle hopeless in the face of increased poverty, crime as a daily part of life and, the growth of the housing crisis. It can be argued that the ANC has made progress but it becomes questionable when its stance on corruption is unsure. South Africans therefore find meaning in place but that meaning has been influenced by colonial and racial perspectives and has been inculcated through the failure of nation-building and democratisation.

There is much need for a continued discussion for South Africa to reflect on its democratisation process and how it views race. The theory and practice of the non-racial position needs to be questioned in serious conversations about how we remake place. This thesis has shown the importance that identity and place identity plays in our lives and therefore the need to assess the identity making process and the meanings thereof, not as a theoretical or academic question but one central to the debates about race and housing in Cape Town today.

A question raised in the introduction was whether Coloured identity and belonging - is a Coloured question specifically for Coloured people or a national question. This thesis has shown that it is a national question through exploring the question of Coloured belonging in Cape Town, it becomes a ripple effect that explores processes of nation-building, globalisation, capitalism, deracialisation and democratisation, processes that have an effect on a grand scale. Therefore, as much as this research explored belonging of Coloureds on a limited scale it brings to light the acknowledgement that Coloured belonging and belonging for all South Africans within all their demarcated groups is a national question.



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