Voortrekker Road Palimpsest:

A Study in Social, Spatial and Temporal Flux in the City

By Sophia Margaretha Ferguson

_____

A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Magister Artium in the Department of History, University of the Western Cape.

Date of submission: 14 October 2019

Supervisor: Professor Patricia Hayes

Keywords

Micro-history, Fragment, Visuality, Montage, Afrikaner Nationalism, Migration, Afropolitanism, Urbanism, Affect, Counter-monument

Abstract

With its Afrikaner Nationalist past and its current status as an Afropolitan hub, Voortrekker Road simultaneously constitutes a place of separation and transgression, resulting in a quotidian tableau of urban life that could in some ways be read as a microcosm of social dynamics in contemporary South Africa. This thesis is a study on the intersecting microhistories at play in Voortrekker Road as a site of fractured negotiation within South Africa as a transitional society, and a place where multiple historical narratives intersect and become rewritten.

In interpreting and portraying the layered, entangled histories, attention will be paid to microhistories and the fragment in order to steer away from totalising perspectives. Furthermore, the study draws heavily on the theories of Walter Benjamin in order to position a montage approach to history at the center of interpreting the historical layers enveloped along the road. A montage approach to historical thinking aims to deviate from the deterministic method of Hegelianism. Gyanendra Pandey emphasises how 'part of the importance of the "fragmentary" point of view lies in that it resists the drive for a shallow homogenization and for other, potentially richer definitions of the "nation" and the future political community.'[1]

---

[1] Gyanendra Pandey, 'In Defense of the Fragment: Writing about Hindu-Muslim Riots in India Today,' *Representations*, no. 37 (1992): 28.

Particular attention is paid to the microhistories and intimate business praxis amongst migrant entrepreneurs and informal businesses in order to consider the explosive creative refunctioning of Voortrekker Road in relation to its socially engineered segregationist history. In consideration of Voortrekker Road as a startling respite from xenophobic violence, the study considers the infusions of affect into the cityscape. As AbdouMaliq Simone aptly prompts 'What are some of the ways in which urban residents are building a particular emotional field in the city, trying to restore a very physical sense of connection to one another?'[2]

---

[2] A. M. Simone, *For the City Yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 12.

Declaration

I declare that *Voortrekker Road palimpsest: A study in social, spatial and temporal flux in the city* 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: Sophia Margaretha Ferguson   **Date: October 2019**

Signed ....

Acknowledgements

Foremost I would like to thank the people I have encountered on Voortrekker Road over the years for their energy and creativity which inspired this thesis. Most prominently I would like to Thank Anesu and Riyaaz Ismail for their friendship, insight and unmitigated support over many years.[1] This thesis would not be possible without their invaluable input both in terms of knowledge and support.

Thank you to Professor Patricia Hayes for her astute and supportive supervision. Her guidance injected crucial insights into my research, and without her patience and encouragement the completion of this thesis would have been unthinkable.

I would like to thank the Centre for Humanities Research of the University of the Western Cape and the DST-NRF for funding my Master's studies. Without this financial support I would not have been able to balance sustenance throughout my studies. The CHR has also provided further cardinal support in terms of making contact with remarkable scholars. In particular I would like to thank Leslie Witz, Paolo Israel, Suren Pillay, Heidi Grunebaum and Ciraj Rassool for the various contributions they had on my work. Thanks to Wilton Schereka for encouraging me to apply for my Master's degree and François Verster for introducing me to the multidisciplinary mode of instruction available at the CHR.

To Laura Nkula-Wenz from the African Centre for Cities, thank you so much for helping me articulate my incoherent jumble of photographs into ideas, and assisting me to develop those ideas into the first theoretical framework which eventually led to this thesis.
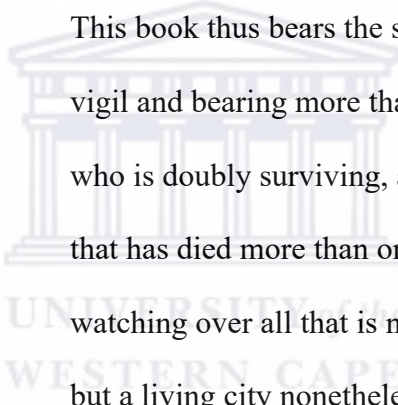
---

[1] Anesu: name has been changed to protect his identity.

4

On a personal level I would like to thank my friends and family for their patience and support during my studies. I would like to thank Kate Highman for reading my work and cheering me up with witty comments. Thanks to Jonathan Sidego and Ines Meyer for always being one phone call away from support and encouragement. To Willie Ferguson, thanks for being there in times of good and ill. Thanks to Mariana Ferguson and Willem Ferguson for supporting my decision to study again after ten years.

5

The single quantity 'time' melts into a spiderweb of
times. We do not describe how the world evolves in
time: we describe how things evolve in local time, and
how local times evolve relative to each other. The world
is not like a platoon advancing at the pace of a single
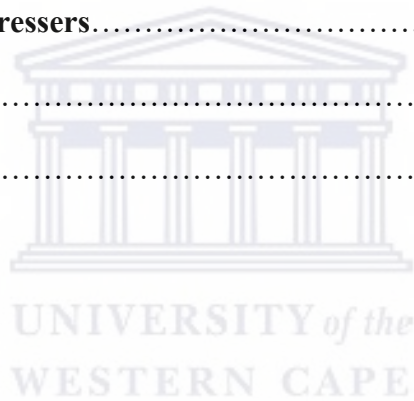commander. It's a network of events affecting each
other.

- Carlo Rovelli

This book thus bears the signature of someone keeping
vigil and bearing more than one mourning, a witness
who is doubly surviving, a lover tenderly taken by a city
that has died more than once, in many times, a city busy
watching over all that is noncontemporaneous within it,
but a living city nonetheless.

- Jacques Derrida

6

Contents:

UNIVERSITY *of the*

WESTERN CAPE

18

N
↑↑

I. Introduction

Figure. 1. 126 081 11540, National Geo-spatial Information, Mowbray.

Looking at a place from above is a visually alienating experience. The eye has to clutch and grasp at visual markers that reconstruct into unfamiliar shapes from an aerial perspective. Google Earth helps the eye by adding numerous layers of informative labels, turning an abstract land volume into a coherent document for the layperson; an enormous document that can be navigated and measured, analysed and evaluated. We have come to

think of expanses of land, too large to be experienced in the material reality of the everyday, as a Google image, with the ever present logo hovering somewhere on the edge. The knowledge we attain from Google Earth is quantitative. It measures, rates, lists and surveys. The way it conveys knowledge about the world shapes our understanding of the material environment in an expressly calculating manner. Michel de Certeau compares the panoramic view from the top floor of a skyscraper to a 'celestial eye' with 'omnivisual power', turning men into gods.[1]

In 1807 Friedrich Hegel, in no uncertain terms, declared 'the true is the whole'.[2] With this statement he suggested that to form an understanding of any phenomenon, one should understand the totality of all its relations, and the slow movement from particularities to godly completion.[3] In Hegelian thought, the nation state is endowed with divine significance and represents the actualisation of the Spirit. Hegel fuses the European progressivist tradition with theology in service of the conviction that 'the process of Spirit's actualisation in the world culminates in the state.'[4] Furthermore, he traces the development of man's consciousness parallel to the configuration of statehood by postulating that man achieves a rational existence with the formation of the state. His theory of history is typically

---

[1] Michel De Certeau, 'Practices of Space.' In *On Signs*, edited by Blonsky Marshall (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 124.

[2] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A. V. Miller (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 11, quoted in Balfour, Ian. "The Whole Is the Untrue." Edited by William Tronzo. In *The Fragment: An Incomplete History*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2009.

[3] From the Marxist side, Adorno was battling to work against Hegel while at the same time being deeply indebted to the Hegelian tradition. In 1949 he declared 'The whole is the untrue' in his seminal text of short meditations and aphorisms. It is interesting that Adorno delivers this statement as a short reflection, devoid of context. Are we to see this reflection as a fragment of a larger idea, or a self-contained statement? If it is self-contained, and we follow its instruction, it shouldn't be taken seriously. And if it's a remnant of larger unspoken idea, should we accept it as truth? The paradox in this statement betrays Adorno's ambiguous relationship with Hegel. In *Aesthetic Theory* Adorno further wrestles with Hegelian totality: 'The category of the fragmentary — which has its locus here — is not to be confused with the category of the contingent particularity: The fragment is that part of the totality of the work that opposes totality.'

[4] Ranajit Guha, *History at the Limit of World History* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2002), 39.

Eurocentric and designates stateless populations to a prehistoric limbo. However he has a final aim in mind, his concept of the Spirit is inextricable with freedom, in his *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* he argues: 'The history of the world is none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom.'[5] The unification of freedom and divinity in Hegel's work made his philosophy ambiguously susceptible to both nationalist and revolutionary impulses, producing contradictory interpretations which are still disputed to this day.

Teleological Hegelianism justifies any violence insomuch as the result is to bring about the Spirit. This influential interpretation is firmly deterministic and strips Hegel of his radical bifurcations, plotting both nationalism and imperialism along a linear plan towards divine perfection. Susan Buck-Morss, in her pathbreaking work *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History,* stresses that 'Hegel's philosophy of history has provided for two centuries a justification for the most complacent forms of Eurocentrism.'[6] I would like to premise this disembodied Hegel as a metaphor for the clumsy totality behind Eurocentric domination, a world view at once machinelike and limp in its simplicity.

What Google doesn't label are the human experiences and memories embedded in the land. When you turn down all the quantitative layers from Google's satellite view, the world takes on a more abstract shape again. One starts paying attention to the patterns and crevices, the contrasts, textures and varying character of lines.

---

[5] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York: Dover Publications, 1956), 33.

[6] Susan Buck-Morss, *Hegel, Haiti and Universal History* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009), 74. In her audacious attempt to wrest Hegel from the rigid grip of the European tradition she compellingly proposes the Haitian revolution as the inspiration for the famous the master–slave dialectic. In the long run the truth of this claim is irrelevant, because her project has less to do with absolving Hegel from his Eurocentrism than a sort of cathartic annihilation of Eurocentrism from the centre of its bowels.

Christopher Tilley is useful in thinking about landscapes historically, and suggests that 'landscapes gather'. Landscapes gather testimonies of physiography, fauna and flora, manmade structures, people and their experiences, civil and communal relations, hopes and sentiments, and the academic discourses through which they are conceptualised.[7] Thus knowledge of a landscape can never be complete or truthful in an absolute sense. Any view or account of the landscape is always already a fragment. Tilley furthermore suggestively elaborates on this idea by drawing out the entangled epistemologies of space as:

> involv[ing] specific sets of linkages between the physical space of the non-humanly created world, somatic states of the body, the mental space of cognition and representation and the space of movement, encounter and interaction between persons and between persons and the human and non-human environment. Socially produced space combines the cognitive, the physical and the emotional into something that may be reproduced but is always open to transformation and change . . . Space has no substantial essence in itself, but only has a relational significance, created through relations between peoples and places. Space becomes detotalized by virtue of its relational construction.[8]

Looking at an aerial view bearing these words in mind, all quantitative elements rapidly fall away. The world takes on an acutely abstract and cryptic shape with affective reverberations. The unknowability of the landscape becomes a more dependable registry of the world. Tilley goes on to describe the power dynamics involved in social spaces, and the elusive nature of a coherent spatial epistemology:

> Spatial experience is not innocent and neutral, but invested with power relating to age, gender, social position and relationships with others. Because space is differentially understood and experienced it forms a contradictory and conflict-ridden medium through which individuals act and are acted upon. The experience of space is always shot through with temporalities, as spaces are always created, reproduced and transformed in relation to previously constructed spaces provided and established from the past. Spaces are intimately related to the formation of biographies and social relationships. Such a notion of space is undoubtedly complex.[9]

---

[7] Christopher Tilley and Kate Cameron-Daum, *Anthropology of Landscape: The Extraordinary in the Ordinary* (London: UCL Press, 2017), 1-22.
[8] Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments* (Oxford: Berg, 1997), 10-11.
[9] Ibid.

Thinking about space in this way means that an inherent paradox emerges in the conceptual realm of spatial temporality. Despite landscape being traditionally conceptualised as a stable element, the grounding factor in the world, space begins taking on an unsettled and shifting nature. The image of the landscape begins to flicker and seesaw in front of the eye, an unanchored landscape starts to emerge, almost like an unstable camera.

In 1822 William John Burchell described in his *Travels in the interior of Southern Africa* a road leading out of Cape Town: 'On the lower part of Liesbeeck's river, by which place, passes the great road into the Interior of the Colony, branching afterwards northward and eastward . . . On this road wagons are constantly passing to and from distant parts of the colony...'[10]

Voortrekker Road, as it is currently known, would have been the first road into the northern-eastern hinterland, an entry point from which subsequent expansion would branch. At the time of his writing, it would have been a barren dust route susceptible to mishaps by the wind. Reverend W.A. Newman, senior colonial chaplain writes :

> Across this arid plain a hard road had been contemplated for nearly five and twenty years, and then for a while silently forgotten, or abandoned as impracticable; yet, till such improvement was made, it was idle talk of extended intercourse with other parts of the Colony. At times, this track was perfectly impassable, nay, undiscoverable: deep sand rendered it so heavy and difficult that a wine-wagon required 18 or 20 oxen to move it slowly through; and when a strong South Easter prevailed, it rushed and howled over this waste like a hurricane, carrying before it clouds of hot sand, which blinded the eyes, stung and irritated the skin, often overturned wagons, encrusting the luckless traveller in a perfect covering of dust and grit.[11]

---

[10] William John Burchell, quoted in Eric Rosenthal, *Goodwood and its story* (Cape Town: Goodwood Municipality Press, 1981), 1.
[11] Reverend W.A. Newman, quoted in Rosenthal, *Goodwood*, 2.

The anticipated hard road was finally commenced in 1843, and completed in 1845. In 1854 the first railway line was announced, which would run parallel to Voortrekker Road, and continue to Wellington:

> The Cape Town to Wellington line is as yet the first and only railway in the Cape Colony… The lines run from Cape Town through the Cape Flats, on to the fertile districts of Eerste Rivier, Stellenbosch, the Paarl and Wellington, and will touch at a convenient point to receive the grain of the Koeberg, the granary of the Colony. When completed the line will be 50 miles long… and is expected to be the commencement of a new order of things in the Western Province.[12]

On 8 August 1936 two ox wagons departed from the statue of Jan van Riebeeck in Cape Town, progressing along D'urban Road (as Voortrekker Road was known at the time) to commemorate the centennial celebration of the Great Trek. Stopping over at Goodwood on the first night, this commemorative trek to the Transvaal would serve to ignite an awakening of the Afrikaner nationalist spirit. The road was renamed Voortrekker Road in the same year in order to commemorate this centennial celebration, which would finally develop into an orgiastic explosion of emotive Afrikaner unification.[13] As the inaugurating event of Afrikaner Nationalism, the centennial celebration drew on conflict-ridden histories to represent the Afrikaner as an oppressed people awakening from British domination, reinscribing the landscape with the renaming of the road.

The post-war economic boom and the victory of the National Party in 1948 inaugurated an era of housing development combined with iron-fisted social engineering. The road and railway line acted as convenient spatial planning instruments for apartheid city

---

[12] Cape Town Roads Board report, 1854, quoted by Rosenthal, *Goodwood*, 2.
[13] Ernest Allen Messina, 'Die Voortrekkereeufees, *1938*' (master's thesis, Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland, 1982), 99-103.

planners, serving as buffers between ethnic groups. While a robust business ribbon was developed along the road, the Group Areas Act of 1950 stripped multitudes of residents of their homes by means of forced removals.[14] Garden cities were planned out for white residents while the coloured population was designated to low economic housing, and the black population was moved to townships and migrant hostels.[15] In an effort to justify its authoritarian policies, the National Party would, in the coming years, repeatedly draw on the shared emotional chords mobilised by the centennial celebration, toward characterising the Afrikaner community as worthy of special protection. This rhetoric for exclusive protection drew from genuinely valid memories of the traumatic Anglo-Boer wars, which saw the British implement a scorched-earth policy and concentration camps in order to subjugate and starve Afrikaners into capitulation.[16] The Afrikaner nationalists cynically utilised these traumatic memories to sway support for the Apartheid government.

Voortrekker Road connects the municipal nodes of Cape Town and Bellville. It starts at the Salt River circle, and over the span of 17 kilometres it traverses the mixed industrial zone of Maitland, the small scale businesses of Goodwood, the Parow market, and ends just after Bellville's hopeful skyline. With its history of colonial conquest and racial segregation, Voortrekker Road zealously personifies the linear logic of crude Hegelianism. As applied both in colonialism and Afrikaner Nationalism this logic has resulted in the steamrolling of countless subaltern histories. The centenary renaming of the road furthermore played its part in hegemonising a particular brand of South African history as written from the Afrikaner

---

[14] Walter Fieuw, 'An investigation of development processes in a strategic spatial planning intervention: Bellville node on Voortrekker Road Corridor in Cape Town' (master's thesis, University of Glasgow, 2016), 19.

[15] Sean Field, 'Ambiguous Belongings: Negotiating Hybridity in Cape Town, 1940s-1990s', *Kronos*, no. 25 (1998): 227-238.

[16] Dominic Griffiths and Maria L.C. Prozesky. 'The Politics of Dwelling: Being White / Being South African,' *Africa Today* 56, no. 4 (2010): 25.

14

perspective, paving the way for hard-line segregation policies. This thesis treats Voortrekker Road as commemorative space which can be conceptualised as a horizontal monument to the totalising histories which flattened down the communities in its way. I propose that the spectre of linearity hovers disembodied over the length of the road, a phantom monument that haunts the post-apartheid present where neoliberal market logics have replaced previous linear histories and policies. This monument to simplistic rationality and ruthless policies operates as a totalising faceless entity, and is endlessly modified to fit new scripts.

In this vein it would be apposite to reflect how attention to the fragment can be used to rethink linear historicist approaches. Attending to the fragment could be instrumental in steering away from totalising perspectives. Gyanendra Pandey echoes this sentiment by stating that: 'Part of the importance of the "fragmentary" point of view lies in that it resists the drive for a shallow homogenization and for other, potentially richer definitions of the "nation" and the future political community.'[17]

The post-apartheid era saw a domino effect of 'capital flight', and the high street retail aspirations of the road gave way to discount traders, factories, second hand shops, motor dealers. As upscale retail spaces were abandoned, informal retail and living patterns burgeoned, and the road has since developed into a haven for migrants, not only from all over Africa, but also from the Middle-East, Asia, as well as South Africans migrating from the Eastern Cape.[18]

---

[17] Gyanendra Pandey, 'In Defense of the Fragment: Writing about Hindu-Muslim Riots in India Today.' *Representations*, no. 37 (1992): 28.
[18] Fieuw, 'An investigation', 19.

The migrant entrepreneurial spirit coexists daily with the various South African populations, creating an atmosphere of frenzied movement and ceaseless negotiation. Despite multifold challenges and the fractured nature of the population, as Ingrid Brudvig shows, a more or less convivial 'communality emerges from a negotiation of the constructive and the destructive'.[19] AbdouMaliq Simone suggests that it would be apposite to reflect on the everyday practices of city dwellers in forging connections beyond institutional systems:

> What are some of the ways in which urban residents are building a particular emotional field in the city, trying to restore a very physical sense of connection to one another? . . . It is a practice of being attuned to faint signals, flashes of important creativity in otherwise desperate manoeuvres, small eruptions in the social fabric that provide new texture, small but important platforms from which to access new views.[20]

In a time of xenophobic tension, the way in which Voortrekker Road gives anchorage to foreign nationals who feel significantly safer on Voortrekker Road than surrounding areas, suggests that an investigation into these everyday affective realms would be well-timed.[21] Furthermore, It would be pertinent to reflect on the explosive creative refunctioning of Voortrekker Road in relation to its segregationist history, and to examine the lessons which could be learnt from this anarchic metamorphosis. Does a shift count as an act of rebellion if it happens unscripted? What is the significance of these two migratory histories of the Great Trek and the African migrant simultaneously mirroring and boldly contradicting each other? Most importantly, how should one go about interpreting and portraying the entangled, layered and fragmented histories intersecting along Voortrekker Road? What do the intimate histories of individuals and the various affective historical reverberations along the road reveal about the macro historical contexts?

---

[19] Ingrid Brudvig, 'Conviviality in Bellville: an ethnography of space, place, mobility and being' (masters thesis, University of Cape Town, 2015), 11.
[20] A. M. Simone, *For the city yet to come: changing African life in four cities* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 12.
[21] Brudvig, 'Conviviality in Bellville', 28.

If we accept the premise to conceptualise Voortrekker Road as a horizontal monument to linear trajectories, what are the counter-monumental moves which we can also expect to find? Indeed, with its diversity of 'interstitial narratives that speak to the whole in defamiliarising ways', Voortrekker Road challenges the centralised narrative of the nation state as epitomised by Hegel.[22] In Rita Sakr's pressing work *Monumental Space in the Post-Imperial Novel,* she compellingly argues that attention to the counter-monumental need not only consider decidedly coordinated episodes, but that:

> countermonumental energies . . . are also part of microhistories erupting in macrohistory through the channels of the everyday as the circulation of bodies, words, and dreams in a landscape theater orchestrates a phenomenology of stone to the rhythms of human life that build, conserve, ignore, insult, awaken, attack, and destroy monuments.[23]

In light of the abovementioned impetus to disrupt the linear narrative structure of teleological Hegelianism, this thesis uses a montage approach to historical writing, taking to heart Walter Benjamin's query:

> In what way is it possible to conjoin a heightened graphicness to the realization of the Marxist method? The first stage in this undertaking will be to carry over the principle of montage into history. That is, to assemble large-scale constructions out of the smallest and most precisely cut components. Indeed, to discover in the analysis of the small individual moment the crystal of the total event.[24]

Benjamin engages with images to conceive of time as something that takes the form of a spatial dimension instead of a chronological sequence. The structure of his writing breaks the format of a systematic outline, taking a more visual form so as to look at the theme from different angles. Juxtaposing visual imagery with no manifest relations amongst each other,

---

[22] Sarah Nuttall, *Entanglement: Literary and Cultural Reflections on Post-Apartheid* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009), 25.

[23] Rita Sakr, *Monumental Space in the Post-imperial Novel: An Interdisciplinary Study* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 79.

[24] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2002), 461.

17

the meaning of his text shifts depending from which angle it is viewed. The traditional

theoretical structure of linearity and sequential propositions dissolves in favour of disparate

positional views which interlace through unexpected interactions.[25]

The function of Benjamin's practice, rather than a traditional historical account, is to

draw out expressive moments, and by borrowing the style of the montage with its startling

juxtapositions, create an eruption of possibilities for the future. Miriam Hansen aptly

describes how: 'Above all, the model of cinematic montage offered a *temporal* dynamic that

allowed Benjamin to think against and beyond the overwhelming facticity of the present

situation, to imagine an alternative to the all-but-certain catastrophe.'[26]

In *Theses on the Philosophy of History* Walter Benjamin draws from the Jewish

Kabbalistic tradition to sketch out his late ideas on historicism. Kabbalistic mysticism is

many-layered, complex and does not follow the laws of rationalism.[27] The Kabbalistic

tradition accentuates transcendent knowledge which unfolds multifariously, from disjointed

viewpoints and reveals itself cryptically through analogies, enigmas and mysteries.[28] Mystical

experience of time is antithetical to the relentless march of progressivist time, which is

amnesiac, homogenous, and rigorously flattens out history into an unbroken continuum.[29]

---

[25] Walter Benjamin, 'Theses on the philosophy of history,' in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections,* Ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 253-264.
[26] Miriam Bratu Hansen, *Cinema and Experience. Siegfried Kracauer, Walter Benjamin, and Theodor W. Adorno* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 89.
[27] Gershom Scholem, *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis: Selected Essays*. Edited by Werner J. Dannhauser (Philadelphia: Paul Dry Books, 2012), 201.
[28] Spencer Shaw, *Film consciousness: from phenomenology to Deleuze* (Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2008), 108.
[29] Judith Butler, 'Benjamin and the philosophy of history,' YouTube video, 1:02:09,
 lecture at the European Graduate School, posted by 'European Graduate School Video Lectures,' February 11, 2012, https://youtu.be/dtRwOkGV-B4.

18

The image of the messiah appears as a revolutionary antidote to empty homogenous time. In a moment of messianic inspiration the revolutionary subject grasps fragments from the past and reconstructs them in a constellation, linking forgotten histories—left behind by progressivist time—to the present moment. In this moment time stops and the ceaseless continuum of progressivist time is blasted open.[30] The traditional faculty of chronology is replaced by the flash of a crystalised image which exists outside of sequential time. This image presents itself as a monad in which a set of phenomena congeal into one single crystalisation of larger events.[31]

Crucially, therefore, the following pages will not be laid out sequentially with numbered headings and subheadings. Neither will the arguments follow a linear structure building up to a teleological conclusion. The chapters will be organised in concert with images that intersect with consonant themes. Elizabeth Edwards suggests that in some ways the photograph denies history, because it depicts a decontextualised slice in space and time which resists diachronic relations. The photograph, as such, displaces the natural unfolding of events into a fractured reality. The boundary of the frame and the manner in which photographs invite ambiguous interpretations means that the photograph's historical meaning defies containability.[32] By breaking up time into disjointed particles, temporalities are displaced and fragmented. But Edwards argues for embracing this fractured nature of photography, to trace the specific social biographies and microhistories of individual photos in order to uncover the little narratives of the particular. She suggests that in this way photographs have the capacity to disrupt the grand narratives of progress and Western

---

[30] Walter Benjamin, 'Theses on the philosophy of history,' in *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections,* Ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 253-264.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories. Photographs, Anthropology, Museums* (London: Polity Press, 2001), 1-8.

historicism.[33] The impetus to disrupt traditional modes of historical narrative is echoed by Michel de Certeau. De Certeau discusses narrative specifically in relation to how it organises text and time into a coherent story. He highlights how the narrative 'prescrib[es] for beginnings what is in reality a point of arrival'. In this way he points out that any historical text is a fragment in a vast field of uncontainable historical meaning.[34] The image as fragment rejects the conclusiveness of a closed historical narrative.

The arguments in this thesis will follow Benjamin's example of historical materialism which pays painstaking attention to the details of the everyday in an effort to upend the grand narrative of progress emblazoned in the rationalistic theodicy of Hegelianism. Progress is here a narrative which paradoxically results in an endless repetition of the same by hedging its bets in a deterministic logic. For Benjamin, strikingly, this perpetual repetition of the same is the very definition of hell, a world marked by ceaseless technological progress, absent of any moral advancements.[35] An interruption to the grip of determinism is most pointedly felt by small moments in everyday life that carry the potential for wilful action, according to Benjamin. These moments come to the fore, for instance, when Ivan Vladislavić describes particular moments in the city as 'an endless jumble of body parts and ruins, a gyrating hip, an enigmatic navel, a fossicking hand, a pointed finger, sign language for a secret alphabet, fragments of city streets, images flaring and fading, dissolving, detaching, floating in airtime, dwindling away into nothing.'[36] The work of the historical materialist, then, is to rescue these fleeting moments from nothingness and draw out their potential to change the course of events in the past and in the future, and therefore inspire willful action in the direction of

---

[33] Ibid., 1-8.

[34] Michel De Certeau, *The Writing of History* (Columbia University Press, 1988), 86.

[35] Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 842-843.

[36] IvanVladislavić, *The Exploded View* (New York: Archipelago Books, 2017), 24.

freedom. In Convolute N of The Arcades Project, Benjamin declares: 'In the fields with which we are concerned, knowledge comes only in lightning flashes. The text is the long roll of thunder that follows.'[37] It is in this spirit that the following chapters find their anchorage.

---

[37] Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 456.

II. Adjusting Bonnets to the North: Centenary

Figure. 2. *'n Nasie Hou Koers*. Directed by Hans Rompel. South Africa: Reddingsdaadbond Amateur Rolprent Organisasie, 1938.

Filmed by amateur cinematographers during the 1938 centenary celebrations of the Great Trek, the first six minutes of the five hour film ''n Nasie Hou Koers', follows the first day's proceedings starting at the Jan van Riebeeck statue in Heerengracht Street, and ending at the first night's stop-over in Goodwood. On this Monday, handkerchiefs, hats and flags were waved, a cannon was fired, a wreath laid, whips were cracked, and ox-wagon processions were led.[1] In the midst of all the ceremonial drama, also on the first day, foreheads were wiped, eyes were shaded from the sun, bonnets were adjusted, children were picked up and put down again, individuals dithered about and changed direction from the crowd, and in-between all the marching, a whole lot of shuffling took place.[2] All of this can be discerned if you watch the first six minutes at five frames per second instead of the usual twenty-five. These mundane punctuations in the centre of a laboriously fabricated spectacle

---

[1] *'n Nasie Hou Koers*, Directed by Hans Rompel (South Africa: Reddingsdaadbond Amateur Rolprent Organisasie, 1938.)
[2] Ibid.

remind one that the crowd was an ordinary mass of in-cohesive people, drawn together in a contrived demonstration of group unification which shrouded 'myriad regional, gender, and class tensions.'[3]

Brian Massumi calls our attention to the way in which the 'onset of the event crystallizes a field of potential movement… a pragmatic field, made up of co-present vectors or potential trajectories that are immediately felt, intuitively understood, in an intensely embodied way, that call everyone to attention and energize us towards action.'[4] Many things happened in Cape Town during the centenary events of 8 August 1938, in Cape Town but certain aspects of this day, and the following four months of celebration, would be remembered and recalled specifically over the proceeding decades. Jonathan Smith reflects how 'ritual is an exercise in the strategy of choice. What to include? What to hear as a message? What to see as a sign? What to perceive as a double entendre? What to exclude? What to allow to remain as background noise?'[5] A sneeze is always already excluded from the annals of history. What would come to the fore in the following years, as Anne McClintock describes in her text on women and nationalism in South Africa, is 'the whip-wielding white patriarch prancing on horseback, black servants toiling alongside, mother and children ensconced in the wagon—the women's starched white bonnets signifying the purity of the race, the decorous surrender of their sexuality to the patriarch.' [6]

Towards dusk, 20 000 people gathered for the first night's celebrations which took place in Goodwood. At this point, 6:04 minutes into the film, a crowd gathers around a circle

---

[3] Anne McClintock, '"No Longer in a Future Heaven": Women and Nationalism in South Africa.' *Transition*, no. 51 (1991): 108.
[4] Brian Massumi, *The Politics of Affect* (Cambridge: Polity, 2015), 119.
[5] Jonathan Z. Smith, *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 56.
[6] McClintock, 'Future Heaven', 107.

of women in Voortrekker garb, who dance around a fire holding hands, while in the midst

braaivleis is being cooked (see fig. 2). One can just make out the outlines of their bonnets as

the silhouetted figures jump up and down, first in one direction and then the other.[7] Joining

hands was a prominent feature of the Voortrekker folk dances of the time, invoking the

nostalgia of an idealised past in order to mould an imaginary community into a budding

Afrikaner nation. The tactility of this ritual imprints the Afrikaner myth intimately on bone

and skin. Highlighting the contrivance of this myth, André Brink counter narrates the

mythology surrounding the original Voortrekkers in his book *Imaginings of Sand*:

> They'd all trickled into those parts in small family groups or larger clans, five or ten
> wagons at a time . . . They'd all been fired by the same urge to get away from the
> English and become independent, but each group wanted to be independent on its own
> terms and governed by its own leader. Gradually some of the smaller groups merged,
> but in the end there were at least four major factions, those of Potgieter, of Maritz, of
> Retief, and of Uys, each of them conniving against the others. And not only the
> leaders were bickering, but everybody else joined in. There were quarrels about
> grazing and water and camping sites and firewood; arguments about religious sects
> and denominations and about which route to follow to get where; fisticuffs about
> ammunition and strayed cattle and missing kegs of brandy and lost axes or grease
> barrels or yokes or God knows what.[8]

In light of this selective commemoration Rita Sakr writes how 'memory and forgetting are

not opposing things; rather, they are an interplay of the same process. It was the peculiarities

of what an individual forgets and the invention of a new pathology of amnesia, after all, that

led the Victorian psychologists to privilege memory as the locus of identity.'[9]

The ecstasy of the silhouetted volksmoeders is bracketed by men in hats watching

over the feminine image, they appear as guardians protecting the categories of female

enjoyment which may and may not be permitted. As Margaret Atwood suggested in 1985, the

bonnet cuts off the wearer's peripheral vision, functioning as a metaphor for the

---

[7] Ibid., 107.
[8] André Brink. *Imaginings of Sand* (London: Vintage, 2000), 122.
[9] Sakr, *Monumental Space,* 83.

supervisionary pruning of knowledge by the patriarch.[10] Dazed as they were by the quasi-mystical thrust of the centenary events, in these images the Afrikaner woman willingly give in to the gaze of the patriarch, participating in a heightened celebration of her own submission. This mysticism would subsequently give rise to the language of Christian nationalism, upheld by Kuyperian neo-Calvinist Christianity.[11] The feeble intellectual framework of this theology becomes apparent when we consider that this mysticism was enveloped by a fetishisation of the state bordering on fanatic veneration, 'making nation a God-substitute and nation-worship a replacement for God-worship.'[12]

But, in some sense these images of dancing have less to do with ideology than a range of encounters felt in the body, the ideological superstructure being located on another, lateral plane. The images draw our attention to the heightened emotion of the event, as Massumi argues: 'Power structures are secondary effects of affective encounters, and ideologies are secondary expressions of power structures. Ideology is on the side of effects – twice over. It is not fundamentally on the side of causes. What it is certainly not is a sufficient cause.'[14] Thus the touching of hands during folk dances, the material encounters, the adoration of the patriarch, had a formative impact on the direction of Afrikaner nationalism, and the bodily memory of those encounters would turn the ideology into a way of life.

---

[10] Margaret Atwood, *The Handmaid's Tale* (London: Vintage, 2011).

[11] J. A. Loubser, 'Apartheid Theology: A "Contextual" Theology Gone Wrong?' *Journal of Church and State* 38, no. 2 (1996): 327-330.

[12] Charles Bloomberg, *Christian-nationalism and the Rise of the Afrikaner Broederbond, in South Africa: 1918-48* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 18.

[14] Massumi, *Politics of Affect*, 93.

III. Land and Body: Windermere

Figure. 3. Heseltine, Bryan. Barber, Windermere. c.1949-1952. District Six Museum, Cape Town.

In 1936 a crew from the South African Air force flew over Maitland on flight strip 81 and made a photograph directly above Windermere settlement (see fig. 1). At the time this photo was taken, Windermere fell just outside the Cape Town municipal boundary, and had a semi-rural layout peppered with informal housing. The area was attractive to rural migrant workers, because lodging just outside of the municipal boundary meant being close to the

industries of Voortrekker Road while avoiding paying municipal taxes, as well as its semi-rural layout being hospitable to keeping livestock. And so from early on the Windermere community established itself as a nerve centre for migrant workers moving to the city, and it maintained this character even after the municipal boundary shifted to include the settlement into the municipality in 1943.[1]

Over time the migrant atmosphere thrived and a diverse community converged on a heterogeneous cultural landscape. Although the settlement, with its corrugated iron and wooden housing structures, consisted of an economically marginalised population, it developed into a culturally vibrant landscape with a lively social atmosphere.[2] The influx of rural workers during the war resulted in a radical growth of the community, expanding from roughly 2000 inhabitants to between 25000 and 35000 in the 1940s, making it the largest informal settlement in Cape Town at the time.[3]

The settlement was situated only 50 feet above sea level, which meant that winter months brought inevitable flooding.[4] Water, livestock and cultural activities all assembled on a settlement characterised by open yards surrounded by shelters facing in. Trading, chores and cultural activities transformed what was locally known as the 'Timberyard' and 'Strongyard' into energetic social spaces. Informal traders selling meat, vegetables and homemade beer could be found in these areas, even barbers and hairdressers were available. In an interview from the oral history archive, former resident Mr. Johnson proclaims: 'You

---

[1] Sean Field, *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2002), 28.
[2] Ibid., 28
[3] Mathias Cornille and Konstantijn Verbrugge. 'Context: Recasting Voortrekker' (master's thesis, Ghent University, 2016), 46.
[4] Field, *Lost Communities,* 29.

could buy anything!'[5] The cultural activities were numerous, and Windermere was famous

for its dance halls and string bands. Jive dancing, discos (called 'hops' at that time), township

jazz and film screenings were but a few of the activities which prevailed in the area. The

communal nature of the settlement and the mixed racial consistency of its inhabitants meant

that Windermere formed an energetic and transgressive space like few others at the time. One

former resident, Mrs. Johannessen, recounts how her father used to turn their kitchen into a

bioscope by stacking it with benches and collecting one 'tiekie', a silver coin valued at three

pennies, per head.[6] This story, with its communal vitality, highlights the overall spatial

porosity of Windermere, what Benjamin conceived of as the softening between the edges of

private and public space.

Sean Field notes that Windermere was not a utopic space of social cohesion;

turbulence occurred in the form of occasional factional disagreements and street-gang fights.

Similarly, tuberculosis arose as a problem between 1945 and 1955.[26] However the media at

the time displayed an excessive preoccupation with the physical character of the settlement

bordering on the fantastical. The Reverend R. Barr—the chairman of a white liberal charity

which concerned itself with the plight of Windermere residents—penned a poem to the *Cape

Times* in 1943, in which he floridly laid out his anxieties about the Area. The poem is too

long to quote in full, but a short excerpt will suffice to give an impression of the overwrought

tone of the writer:

> Gambling, brothel dens and drugs,
> Fleas, mosquitoes, flies and bugs,
> Human filth in stagnant pools
> Where abominable ghouls
> Wait to launch a massed attack

---

[5] W (Minie) Johnson, Interview by Christopher Du Preez, July 17, 2002, Centre for Popular Memory, UCT Libraries, http://digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/oral-history-interview-w-minie-johnson-1.
[6] Stella Johannessen, Interview by Christopher Du Preez, July 8, 2002, Centre for Popular Memory, UCT Libraries, http://digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/oral-history-interview-w-minie-johnson-1.

28

On coloured, white as well as black,
This, my master sonneteer,
This is Cape Town's Windermere.[8]

The poem ends with the Reverend imploring the city to do something about these circumstances. A few years later, after the National Party was elected, the government would of course do something about the conditions of Windermere: in the form of forced removals which would eventually destroy the community, encapsulating what Fred Moten in a different context describes as the 'schizo-imperial imperative to liberate by destroying.'[9]

The poem makes an impassioned plea for the redemption of the community through municipal intervention by conjuring fanciful images of damnation. As such the poem says more about the anglophone middle class readership which took pleasure in these fantasies of jouissance and putrid transgressions, while the writer simultaneously purifies himself and his readers from the musty taint of their own self-indulgence. The Reverend, as a self-styled flaneur, reports to the elite by aimlessly intruding on the ordinary affairs of citizens, while paradoxically distinguishing himself sharply from the realm of loiterers who embody the type of aimlessness that should be prosecuted.[10]

The first pass raids in the area began in 1948, when police started removing bachelor African men from the community. The raids were resisted by the community, with stones and bottles regularly thrown at the raiding police forces. Relying on an overdetermined discourse of contagion and disease, the authorities were able to perform these raids under the auspices

---

[8] R. Barr, *Cape Times* (Cape Town, September 1, 1943), quoted in Field, Sean. 'Remembering Experience, Interpreting Memory: Life Stories from Windermere.' *African Studies* 60, no. 1 (n.d.): 166-167.
[9] Fred Moten, *Black and Blur* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 112.
[10] Mary Pat Brady, *Extinct Lands, Temporal Geographies: Chicana Literature and the Urgency of Space* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 113.

29

of the Slums Act which prohibited overcrowding.[11] Ken Barris compellingly argues that in its profession of Christian values and dogmatic creeds of social order, the ruling power betrays something of its own analytical clumsiness: 'in its obsessive and savage application, and in its fascination with taboo objects, it showed as much disorder, as much unreason, as the putative unreason of the dark Other it was designed to suppress.'[12]

At this point, turning to a photograph by Bryan Heseltine from 1951 would shift attention from the discourse surrounding Windermere to its more mundane everyday materiality (see fig. 3). The photo shows a Windermere barber shaving a man's head. Various indistinct activities are visible in the open air background. To the right of the barber's elbow it looks like a man might be cutting wood or arranging merchandise. Figures further back are walking by, some figures ambling about, perhaps stopping to look at merchandise from a trader falling out of the picture. To the left a man with a beret is staring into the distance towards the flooded area. Horse carts are visible behind him and perhaps a horse's mane is visible in the middle distance behind the barber's left shoulder. In the immediate background sandy terrain is visible and an expanse of shanty structures stretch off into the far distance. It's an overcast day and a flash was used to light up the barber's face. His expression is placid and concentrated on the task at hand, with a match gently clamped between his lips. The stark shadow of his hat, created by the flash, obscures his right eye, while his left eye is just visible, looking downward one can only discern the lashes. He is wearing a white barber's apron, suspenders and a felt pork pie hat with a ribbon. He is lightly pressing against the tufts of his client's hair with his left hand, while shaving with his right hand, a few delicate veins decorating his right arm. It looks like his client might be wearing a tailored jacket.

---

[11] Field, *Lost Communities,* 28-37.
[12] Ken Barris, 'The Afrikaner Grotesque: Mediating between Colonial Self and Colonised Other in Three Post-Apartheid South African Novels.' *English in Africa* 41, no. 1 (2014): 95.

The photograph portrays a moment that is simultaneously private and public by showing the intimate act of shaving someone's head in the context of an outside communal space. This private event within a public space can be seen in relation to Mrs. Johannessen's account of a private space turned into a public event, thus evincing Windermere as a space where private and public social conceptions of space were radically blurred. The eccentric serenity of the scene, the quiet grace of the barber's facial expression, the elegant touch of the classic garb amidst the sand and flooding, all the tiny details furnish this quotidian Windermere scene with an aura of nonconformist integrity. Crucially, the photograph thoroughly counters every drop of Reverend Barr's fanatically charged moral anxieties. The photo depicts a placid atmosphere with bodily postures that testify to a relaxed sense of social cohesion. Several of Heseltine's Windermere photos show residents in similarly smart yet demure attire, a modest respectability that flies in the face of the alarmist discourses of the time.

To bring about the order of the racially segregated social engineering apparatus, innumerable families were pulled apart. The removal of bachelors resulted in many children being separated from their fathers. A 'bachelor' was defined as any African man not married under statutory law—and countless husbands and partners were not necessarily married under the narrow definition of government law—which rested on Christian definitions of the family unit. In one especially devastating onslaught, 4000 people were removed in a 5 am police raid, and by 1958, 12000 alleged bachelors had been removed and relocated to Langa.[13] The segregation intensified that same year and, under the Group Areas Act, Windermere was declared a 'coloured' area and all other residents had to go. A former inhabitant, Mr H.V.

---

[13] Field, *Lost Communities,* 28

recounts the experience as such: 'You see the bulldozer running through these places, running through it . . . The way it was done, it was done in a real unscrupulous way. As if there was no feeling towards the people that was moved.'[14]

The town planners had a new vision of urban renewal, racial segregation and property development, and white families were moved to the adjacent white suburb of Maitland which the government planned to turn into a garden village.[15] Inspired by the Arts and Crafts movement, the city planners sketched out the drafts for their concept of a utopian ideal city.[16] Curiously the notion of the garden village emerged in the context of the British Arts and Crafts movement which was conceptualised as:

> a revolt against the hard mechanical conventional life and its insensibility to beauty (quite another thing to ornament). It is a protest against that so-called industrial progress which produces shoddy wares, the cheapness of which is paid for by the lives of their producers and the degradation of their users. It is a protest against the turning of men into machines.[17]

It's deeply cynical that this idealistic salvation project which meant to save men from turning into machines, was embedded into a social engineering project which exactly attempted turning the majority of the population into machines. The associated policies intervened into a socially cohesive community which was declared 'unnatural', encroaching on the private and intimate details of people's lives. The era of iron-handed segregation established Voortrekker Road and its adjacent railway as a buffer zone between racial groups.[18]

---

[14] Ibid., 28.
[15] Cornille and Verbrugge, 'Recasting Voortrekker', 40.
[16] Ibid., 40.
[17] Peter Davey, *Arts and Crafts Architecture* (London: Phaidon, 1995), 60, quoted in Cornille and Verbrugge. 'Recasting Voortrekker', 42.
[18] Fieuw, 'An investigation', 19.

If we go back to the aerial photograph of Windermere (see fig. 1), and look at it as a body imprinted with the lesions of a charged history, we could possibly intuit the vast web of bodies who have been affected by the destruction of this area. Or to explain more thoroughly using Mary Pat Brady's description of a body/land lexicon which:

> transforms the concept of land from its objectified status as outside culture, outside temporality, into one of process and connection, of interrelatedness. [This] reconfiguration of land jars the term's stability in the lexicon of meaning. Land is now body; body is now housing project.[19]

Sean Field crucially points out that while the residents 'were poor and lived under difficult conditions in Windermere, the limited material advances in their contemporary lives are overshadowed by the turbulent political and social conditions of township life through the 1970s - 1990s.'[20]

---

[19] Brady, *Extinct Lands,* 152.
[20] Sean Field, 'The Power of Exclusion: Moving Memories from Windermere to the Cape Flats, 1920s–1990s' (PhD thesis: University of Essex, 1996), 161-169.

IV. Spielraum in red and yellow: Goodwood Supermarket

Figure. 4. Nazir and Riyaaz. Ismail Family Album, Cape Town.

In 1925 Goodwood's Village Management board was established when, of the 840 names on the voters roll, 595 cast their vote and 35 spoilt their papers. By October that year Goodwood's first building regulations were drawn up, and in November everyone on the board rose to their feet when chairman W.B. Canter paid respects to the recently deceased 'Queen Mother, Queen Alexandra', Empress of India.[1]

---

[1] Rosenthal, *Goodwood*, 101.

Over the following years the Goodwood Board would make numerous important decisions, including, but not limited to, notifying Mrs. L. Ezra 'to remove the tree stumps outside her store', introducing a dog tax, purchasing a pigeonhole filing cupboard, authorising loitering by-laws, and buying celebratory 'Voortrekker Cups' for Goodwood school pupils.[2] After Goodwood was raised to a municipality in 1938, town council meetings commenced on every last Wednesday of the month, and one of the first actions of the new council was to increase the recently renamed Voortrekker Road speed limit from 20 miles to 30 miles per hour.[3]

Soon after the Second World War, the National Party came into power, and Naspers erected South Africa's largest book and magazine printing plant in Goodwood.[4] While the Nasionale Pers was printing out copies of the F.A.K. Sangbundel, not far from there, the Ismail family was running Goodwood Supermarket on the corner of Voortrekker Road and Fitzroy Street, with the extended family unit living in the residential property adjacent to the shop. On 31 May 1967 Riyaaz Ismail was born on Republic Day, Prime Minister John Vorster marking the state celebration with a speech: 'It is not my intention to try to build Rome in one day, but slowly and systematically to establish relations to our benefit and the benefit of the neighbouring states in Southern Africa and further North where saner attitudes prevail.'[5] The appeal for cooperation was of course based on the condition of non-interference with domestic policy. In that same year a new set of Robes and Regalia was ordered for the Goodwood Town Clerk and Councillors.[6]

---

[2] Ibid., 25.
[3] Ibid., 25.
[4] Ibid., 28.
[5] John Barratt, 'South Africa in a Changing World.' in *Race Relations in South Africa: 1929-1979*, edited by Ellen Hellmann and Henry Lever (New York: St. Martins Press, 1980), 231.
[6] Rosenthal, *Goodwood*, 24.

Riyaaz's fourth birthday coincided with the 10th anniversary of the Republic of South Africa, and the celebrations were centred around the Goodwood show-grounds where a R10 000 government subsidy ensured special lighting, decorations, and an abundance of flags.[7] At 64 Voortrekker Road, the Goodwood Supermarket was selling fresh produce to its white customer base within the midst of a robust Apartheid nationalism that showed no sign of dwindling. In the residential backyard, an avocado tree was thriving, and before Riyaaz could climb the tree he used to pick up the avocados and present them to his mother who would use them to make avocado juice.[8]

Riyaaz is a second generation Indian South African, his grandfather came to South Africa by free passage as part of the Gujarati trading class who was well versed in business affairs. The Ismail supermarket sold everyday goods to the local community and provided credit services to their customers. The family was able to stay on in Goodwood by skilfully outmanoeuvring the Group Areas Act:

> My dad, Ebrahim Moosa Adam Ismail through his attorney briefed a young advocate Peter Hodes at the time. A week later, Mr Hodes called my dad to Huguenot Chambers to explain how the family can still remain resident at 64 Voortrekker Road Goodwood. Mr Hodes indicated to my dad that a public company needs to be floated. Shares to be given to family and friends. This company was Dowgood Properties (PTY) LTD. Then another company was created which was the holding company of the aforementioned. Every year, the Group Areas Board would issue a permit for the family to live there.[9]

The Group Areas act eventually evicted the family in 1981, when the administrator who was issuing their business permits died.[11] The family drove through the night looking for

---

[7] Ibid., 101.
[8] Riyaaz Ismail, in discussion with the author, August 2018.
[9] Riyaaz Ismail, in discussion with the author, September 2019.
[11] Ibid.

somewhere to stay, while Riyaaz's parents had no explanation to give their children as to why they so suddenly had to abandon their house.[12] Years after their removal the white residents still remembered the imprint the Ismail family left on their community. Riyaaz explains how:

> My dad bumped into some of the residents of the area, and especially those who used to buy on credit from us, and says 'Meneer Ismail, hoekom het meneer Ismail van Goodwood af verhuis want ons, ons kry nie meer op die boekie nie'… we don't get credit any longer. You know that kind of thing. For example whenever my mom, or my aunt would cook and, uh, you know there was some food over or something, it wasn't a problem for my mom or my aunt to give it to somebody, one of our customers that would like some food you know, some curry, some Indian curry and rice, or make, or maybe bake the cake or some biscuits, or something, they loved all these things.[13]

The significance of the Ismail family's former place in the Goodwood community can only be fully appreciated by examining the context from which their business emerged. The Apartheid government was markedly active in its bigotry against the success of Gujarati-descended business owners. One NP magistrate condemned Indian businesses for giving credit to Afrikaners, because they would 'obtain influence thereby which he will use to his advantage in one or another manner'.[14] In the lead-up to the 1938 election, the National Party dramatically ramped up fears by invoking the image of Indian shopkeepers employing white women and seducing them into 'miscegenation'. Although this rhetoric relied on an anxiety-ridden forcefield of irrational prejudice, as Jonathan Hyslop argues, the trope of the predatorial shopkeeper also acted as a 'quite conscious attempt to introduce discriminatory measures against Indians which would open up economic space for Afrikaner entrepreneurs'.[15] Furthermore, in his book *Outcast Cape Town*, John West shows how Indians and their businesses were by a large margin much more heavily targeted by the group

---

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Jonathan Hyslop, 'White Working-class Women and the Invention of Apartheid: "Purified" Afrikaner Nationalist Agitation for Legislation Against "Mixed" Marriages, 1934–9.' *The Journal of African History* 36, no. 01 (1995): 57-81.

[15] Ibid., 62.

areas act than other racial groups, effectively destroying a business network which relied on a widely dispersed multiracial market.[16]

The Ismails were temporarily able to outmanoeuvre the Group Areas Act through savvy business connections, but apart from the technical circumvention there is also a process of emotional outmanoeuvring at play. The violent policing of emotional realms meant that races were consigned to interact on the symbolic basis asserted by the ideology of the apartheid state. Locking subjects into this discourse meant that all interactions were mediated by a symbolic circuit created by the state, pre-emptively foreclosing organic affiliations.[17] However, the Ismails, to a certain degree, circumvented these parameters by nurturing insurgent affective circuits.

Riyaaz's family ran the Regent Cinema in Athlone and had access to imported films. Before their removal from Goodwood, his uncle would set up a home movie projector in the living room on Friday nights:

> What used to happen on a Friday evening, is we used to have supper, then we used to bath, we used to get into our pyjamas, and then we knew it's now movie time… Friday night. So then we always would sit in the front room, and my uncle would come in and he would thread the projector with a reel, and normally a movie, the Indian movies were long movies, three hour movies, so he would start the one reel, say a reel would be an hour, so there would be three reels, and then he would start the movie, and then some of the movies were subtitled and others were not subtitled. So those that were not subtitled he would then tell us, then my cousin or myself would ask, uh Ismail what are they saying there, and then he would stop the movie, and he would give us an explanation of what's happening there. [18]

---

[16] John Western, *Outcast Cape Town* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), 81-82.
[17] Derek Hook, *Critical Psychology of the Postcolonial: The Mind of Apartheid* (London: Psychology Press, 2012), 63.
[18] Riyaaz Ismail, in discussion with the author, August 2018.

The measured absorption in the threading of the projector, the intervalled mode of watching while translating from Hindi, draws our attention to Premesh Lalu's suggestion that film brought an alternative mode of extracurricular education to a population embedded in a school system determined to undermine its subjects. Lalu surmises that the 'bioscope offered a substitute horizon to the geographies of apartheid' which 'disturbed the binaries of global and local, inside and outside, home and the world.'[19] As an alternative to the interruption of the intercom to 'deliver sermons and daily prayers from on high', the film interlude presents an opportunity to communicate ideas about an aesthetic education which falls outside apartheid's rigidified modes of instruction.[20]

We are reminded of Benjamin's notion that film opens up the realm of 'Spielraum', a concept which awakens figurative as well as literal senses, its double meaning connoting both 'play-room' or '-space' and 'scope or field of action, leeway, margin, room to move or manoeuvre'. Miriam Hansen elaborates: 'It names an intermediary zone not yet fully determined in which things oscillate among different meanings, functions, and possible directions. As such, it harbours an open-ended, dynamic temporality, an interval for chance, imagination, and agency.'[21]

This playfulness is expanded by Riyaaz as he recalls how they imported a shipment of yo-yos from Joburg for the supermarket:

> My uncle, my uncle Ismail, whom I showed you in the picture, he used to do a very good display of fruit. He would pack the apples on a particular stand, he would shine the apples, it used to look very appealing, and uh, and then I remember once somebody went to Johannesburg, I think one of my younger uncles went to Johannesburg and yo-yos, you know these yo-yos, when, by the way everything

---

[19] Premesh Lalu, 'The Trojan Horse and the Becoming Technical of the Human' in *Remains of the Social: Desiring the Post-Apartheid*, edited by Premesh Lalu, Maurits Van Bever Donker, Ross Truscott and Gary Minkley (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2017), 261.

[20] Ibid., 261.

[21] Hansen, *Cinema and Experience,* 192.

comes out first in Johannesburg, so he phones my uncle, or my dad in Cape Town, he says man Johannesburg has got yo-yos, we don't have yo-yos in Cape Town, I'm going to buy some yo-yos and send it down, I'm going to rail it down and you people sell it there. So we were the first people to sell Coca-Cola yo-yos in Cape Town.[22]

The founder of the American Yo-Yo manufacturing company, Pedro Flores, was a Filipino immigrant who began his company by carving Yo-Yos from wood in his spare time. Flores reportedly spoke about his motivation for starting the company in the following terms: 'I do not expect to make a million dollars, I just want to be working for myself. I have been working for other people for practically all my life and I don't like it.'[23]

The Ismail family represents a slippage of time, a state of exception at the centre of a police state. This temporal slippage is aptly reproduced by the movement of the Yo-Yo, which is a game of distorted temporality. With the release of the Yo-Yo, time seems to speed up, then stops, and reverses. The logic of games operates on a different plane to that of day to day social convention. It enables the player to imagine different orders of being beyond the apparatus of the system. Time is suspended, grasped and reversed, rearranged into complex relations with elaborate tricks.[24]

During school holidays Riyaaz would spend time in the shop, and he formed some lively relationships with the customers during this time. He remembers for instance, Mr. Van der Westhuysen, a retired railway employee, who shared his interest in boxing. Riyaaz recalls with animated enthusiasm when he bet fifty cents against Mr. Van der Westhuysen in support of John Tate during a 1979 boxing match with Gerrie Coetzee at Loftus Versfeld.

---

[22] Riyaaz Ismail, in discussion with the author, August 2018.

[23] Naomi Hirahara, *Distinguished Asian American Business Leaders* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2003), 57.

[24] Timothy Dow Adams, 'Games in Frank Conroy's "Stop-time."' *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal,* 20, no. 4 (1987): 51-53.

40

As Miriam Bratu Hansen echoes in her discussion of Charlie Chaplin, by playfully mimicking the state's racial divisions in a bet, Riyaaz 'disarms the aggressor or malicious object by way of mimicry and adaptation, and that assures the temporary victory of the weak, marginalized, and disadvantaged, of David over Goliath.'[25]

---

[25] Hansen, *Cinema and Experience,* 48.

V. Teddy bear Fascism: Bellville suburbia

Figure. 5. *Sierwa Vir Kleinspan*. Bellville Public Library. In *Die Burger*. Cape Town, Western Cape: Nasionale Pers, 1968.

On 30 September 1968, a lavish street parade kicked off the Bellville Gala week in Cape Town, when the South African Navy band, Bellville Fire Brigade and numerous advertising and youth floats led a procession from the Bellville Civic Centre down

Voortrekker Road.[1] The spectators, gathering on street corners and roof tops, were disappointed when the parachuting feature was cancelled due to safety concerns. Mayor M.H. Pienaar opened the event with a speech, noting his pride in a new shopping centre, and with the release of a thousand carrier pigeons he hailed in a new era of prosperity in the area. Organised by the Bellville Chamber of Commerce and the Afrikaanse Sakekamer, the event intended to champion Bellville as an up-and-coming town with promising investment opportunities by celebrating commerce, industry, and residential development.[2] The festival programme reflects a heady cocktail of events ranging between the banal, the oddball ('"Smiley" starts his marathon live-in in the shop window of Swanees Medekuil'), and the formal.[3] Some highlights of the festival programme included an exhibition of children's drawings, a gala ball, an industrial exhibition, Miss Bellville beauty pageant, a cake baking competition, and a demonstration of meat deboning at Blomtuin Butchers.[4]

If the Gala week was a triumphant sensory display of a blooming Afrikaner volkskapitalisme, the opening procession was perhaps a crowning example of the pomp Afrikaners could employ in service of this purpose. A *Cape Argus* photograph from the opening shows three young women in the midst of the procession holding up a Dairy Belle advertisement from a beach buggy vehicle, with a crowd of people and a lone cyclist proceeding beside them.[5] Another photo shows the navy band blasting an array of brass instruments, their shadows casting a uniform pattern on the tarmac.[6] But the photograph

---

[1] 'Volop Pret en Plesier,' *Die Burger* (Cape Town), September 30, 1968.
[2] 'Big Crowd at Bellville Festival,' *The Cape Argus* (Cape Town), September 30, 1968.
[3] 'Programme', *Bellville Gala-Week,* September 30, 1968.
[4] 'Duiwe Kondig Fees in Bellville Aan,' *Die Burger* (Cape Town), October 2, 1968.
[5] September 30, 1968. Bellville Public Library. *Cape Argus*. Cape Town, Western Cape: Independent News and Media, 1968: Beautiful young women occupied an important place on the floats which passed through Bellville's streets today to signal the start of the town's gala week.
[6] September 30, 1968. Bellville Public Library. *Cape Argus*. Cape Town, Western Cape: Independent News and Media, 1968: Members of the S.A. Navy Band provide a musical start to Bellville's gala week today. Here they lead a procession of floats down Voortrekker Road.

which endures as the most arresting is one of a 'bakkie' carrying a colossal column of stuffed toys, with a young woman perched on the roof of the vehicle. Published in *Die Burger* of 2 October 1968, the photo fails to give the name and age of the young woman, if one goes by appearances it's possible to situate her in the transition phase between late adolescence and early adulthood. Next to her, emerging from the cargo area of the pickup truck, the giant mound of toys towers above her head, its pinnacle approaching the top edge of the photo.[7]

The giddy naivete in the midst of a parade bracketed by state authority, it might appear, miniaturises the disciplinarian presence and gives it a benign gloss. The juxtaposition of stuffed toys next to the fire brigade and navy band lends itself to whimsical associations of toy fire trucks and tin soldiers. However, it would be apposite to remember that the state, at this time, was routinely interrogating and brutalising people under the Suppression of Communism Act. The chairman of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer noted with pride in the gala week newsletter how the festival would make sure that 'everyone gains new awareness of everything that is offered to the public in Bellville', urging the public to 'look through this booklet as you please and let the articles and advertisements convince you!'[8] In the same year the abovementioned organisation would oppose trading licences to Africans in townships.[9]

How could one go about interpreting this confluence of muscular state apparatus and buoyant fluff? I would like to argue that the aesthetic category of cuteness had a ubiquitous presence in the lexicon of the Afrikaner during apartheid, and that it fruitfully resonated with

---

[7] *Sierwa Vir Kleinspan*. Bellville Public Library. In *Die Burger*. Cape Town, Western Cape: Nasionale Pers, 1968.
[8] H. M. Pansegrouw, ''n Boodskap Van Die Voorsitter Van Die Afrikaanse Sakekamer' (Bellville), September 30, 1968.
[9] Roger Southall, 'African Capitalism in Contemporary South Africa.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 7, no. 1 (1980): 43.

a population that was promulgating itself as a vulnerable minority in need of unique

protection.

The young woman in the photograph is squinting from the sidelong sun, wearing a

broad smile, and her hair as well as the fluffy hair of the giant toys seem slightly windswept.

She is clad in a short dress with wide stripes, a lamp pole is protruding from behind her head,

a perfect antenna projecting from right in the middle of her skull.[10] The sun is gleaming on

the truck's frame, and there is a giant teddy bear on the passenger seat. Most of the toys

appear to be teddy bears, while a massive puppy with a protruding tongue appears on the

right, and a big tiger emerges from the top of the bundle. The toys are bulging from what is

almost certainly a jungle gym, with a cylindrical frame and steel tubes connecting at right

angles.[11] The monumental form that the toys take on, both in terms of their individual scale

and the obelisklike build of the frame they inhabit, seems to thrust a haunting agency on

them.[12] They compete with the agency of the young woman who is of equal bodily

proportions. This re-scaling of agency and proportions, draws our attention to the way in

which I intend to suggest there is an unstable reversal between adult and children's forms of

enquiry into the world during apartheid.

Christi van der Westhuizen, in her book *Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in*

Postapartheid South Africa, points out that in the late 19th Century Afrikaners had come to be

seen as a debased breed of settler by the British colonists, who referred to them as 'savages

---

[10] *Sierwa Vir Kleinspan*. Bellville Public Library. In *Die Burger*. Cape Town, Western Cape: Nasionale Pers, 1968.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Elizabeth Legge, 'When Awe Turns to Awww: Jeff Koons' Balloon Dog and the Cute Sublime' in *The Aesthetics and Affects of Cuteness*, eds. Joshua Paul Dale, Joyce Goggin, Julia Leyda, Anthony P. McIntyre and Diane Negra (New York: Routledge, 2017), 140.

with a thin white veneer.'[13] With their settler status reencoded with 'subaltern forms of whiteness' by competing colonists, they were depicted as inert, half-witted, and above all a simple people filled with ignorance.[14] Van der Westhuizen further goes on to describe how 'Afrikaner nationalist discourse recuperated the eighteenth century discourse of Boers-as-unspoilt-children-of-nature to reinscribe simplicity, ignorance and child and nature analogies as signs of Afrikaner innocence, uncorrupted mentality and closeness to God.'[15] The ambiguity of the young woman's age and the peculiar rearrangement of physical scale disorientates the viewer, with the proportional axis separating youth and maturity seeming to wobble precariously. The paternal apartheid state indeed treated its citizens as a flock of lambs, withholding sensitive information which only the upper echelons of the Broederbond and state apparatus would have been privy to. Conversely, as I will show, the Afrikaner child was often both brought into contact and forced to participate in brutal ideologies and practices which encroached on their everyday experiences.

The interweaving of fraternity awareness with daily life was a common feature of Afrikaner households. This is minutely brought to light in an excerpt from the Apartheid Archives Project, which collected everyday personal accounts of ordinary South Africans from their experiences with Apartheid. The project shows a concerted engagement with personal and collective memory, and a commitment to thoughtful involvement with everyday Apartheid narratives. Narrative 29 from the project outlines such an everyday experience:

> I remember being about seven or eight years old, in 1968. Something large was being delivered at our house—could it have been furniture, or building materials? . . . I had watched my mother and our nanny setting out trays with drinks or tea countless times before. So I put on the kettle, found the tray, a tray cloth, the cups and saucers, the

---

[13] Kitchener Papers (Public Record Office, London), PRO 30/57/22, Y62, Kitchener to St. J. Brodrick, June 22, 1901, quoted in Christi Van der Westhuizen, *Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2018.

[14] Christi Van der Westhuizen, *Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2018), 25-29.

[15] Ibid., 35.

silver teaspoons and sugar bowl, the teapot and milk jug covered in a pattern of delicate roses. At this point my mother came into the kitchen. I could see her becoming inexplicably angry as she looked at the tea tray, laden with the 'best' china. 'Don't be ridiculous!' she may have said—or words to this effect . . .

It took a short while for me to realise what I had done wrong. The men outside were not family, or friends. They were not 'like us' . . . In the cupboard below the sink was a set of mugs. They were bright red, and made of tin. These were the mugs used by the nanny and the gardener. These were the mugs that could be given to the black men unloading the truck.[16]

The ornamental cup then, as an overdetermined source of moral affect stands in direct dichotomy to the tin cup, on which all the negative tropes of disorder and savagery are projected. To this degree the ornamental cup and the tin cup comes to represent a reified version of the psychology of apartheid. Carol Long discusses how children's activities are disrupted by fascist systems of rigidity, negating the 'playful moments in which the narrator [enters] into a space and [finds] that it [is] turned into something malignant, destructively different from the promise it had initially offered'. Children's play is situated within a space of transitionality, which blurs the boundaries of separation between internal/external, me/you, fantasy/reality. In this mode, difference can be held in a phase of playful tension by collapsing categories into relational contact.[44] Long goes on to propose that:

> Apartheid institutions can be understood as the opposite of transitional spaces. Rather than opening up potential spaces to play, apartheid structured space, creating rigid rules about where and where not to play, who could play with whom and what was serious and thereby unavailable for creativity. Apartheid structures offered no creative tension between differences; rather, they proclaimed untranscendable divisions between me and you; black and white; my space and your space.[17]

Thus, while infantilising its populace, the apartheid ethos simultaneously engaged in manoeuvres to disrupt childhood spaces by bursting from the kitchen cupboard of the

---

[16] 'Apartheid Archives Project, Documentation and Narratives, 2009.' Historical Papers, 2009. Accessed August 6, 2018, http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/?inventory/U/collections&c=AG3275/R.

[17] Carol Long, 'Transitioning Racialised Spaces,' in *Race, Memory and the Apartheid Archive: Towards a Transformative Psychosocial Praxis*, by Garth Stevens, Norman Duncan, and Derek Hook (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 63.

Afrikaner child's home.[18] This points to the way in which, as Tom Whyman notes, 'an infantilised adult is exactly not a child.'[19] Whereas the child wants to inquire and probe the limits of her world's boundaries, the infantilised adult wants to hide from the world in a state of sanitised innocence. Whyman goes on to describe that 'it is only possible, as an adult to remain a cognitive child if you are a child without sticky fingers, drily conforming to a prescribed set of rules.'[20] This is a world where knowledge, as Hannah Arendt would have it, exists 'beween dog and cat and flowerpot', and it becomes viable to deny knowledge of and much less admit responsibility for anything that happens outside this realm.[21] Johan Snyman elaborates how:

> The Afrikaner was encouraged to cultivate a 'blissful' ignorance about the dark side of the exercise of political power, and about the inhumane effects of an Afrikaner-centred (and, therefore, an Afrikaner-dominated) policy of forced removals (of black people from areas designated for white residents to areas mostly at a considerable distance from places of employment) . . . Not only did the policy of apartheid restrict the Other to a separate space, it also removed the pain and humiliation that accompanied this displacement from the total field of experience of the Afrikaner.[22]

Furthermore, the suffusion of cute aesthetics in Afrikaner life serves to fetishise vulnerability, and by implication, protection from a higher order in the face of a feared Other. This performed vulnerability regularly takes the form of effeminate spectacle along the lines

---

[18] The youth were drawn into the apartheid apparatus on many levels with various degrees of premeditation, from unconscious daily events to grand scale events. Funded and governed by Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (a blanket organisation which oversaw all Afrikaner cultural organisations and in turn was governed by the covert Afrikaner Broederbond), the Voortrekker youth movement, for instance became increasingly involved with separatist ideologies. During the 1940s the movement became a salient feature of the Afrikaner volkfeeste, after the election of the National Party it was subsidised by the government, and by the 60s a military element stressing the defence skills of its members emerged. An account by Hettie V., a former Voortrekker who participated as a young woman during the sixties, describes how: 'We learned about politics, basic survival, how to operate a two-way radio, how to do first aid. It was designed to fit us into a civil defence system.'
[19] Tom Whyman, 'What Is Cupcake Fascism?' *Full Stop*. April 2, 2014. Accessed December 01, 2018. http://www.full-stop.net/2014/04/03/blog/tom-whyman/what-is-cupcake-fascism/.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 52, quoted in Sianne Ngai, *Our Aesthetic Categories: Zany, Cute, Interesting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 3.
[22] J. Snyman, 'To Reinscribe Remorse On A Landscape,' *Literature and Theology* 13, no. 4 (1999): 286.

of ornate 'aestheticisation of powerlessness.'[23] A bank advertisement in the gala week
newsletter appeals to female customers by offering attractive bank interiors, friendly advisors
who 'will even fill in forms for you', 'cute cheque books', electronic administration
'(whatever that might mean)', and 'allerlei dingetjies, soos 'n gefrankeerde koevert elke keer
as jy geld deponeer' (miscellaneous little things, like a scented envelope every time you
deposit money.)[24] We see here how ignorance and incompetence is fetishised, while offering
cute distractions in the form of scented envelopes to keep the female client interested in the
face of a so called complicated banking system. The advertisement implies that the female
client doesn't have to learn how to fill in a form, but that the limp rationality of the
patriarchal machine will take care of her in order to save her from the mysterious tasks of
detailed intensive paperwork. This performative vulnerability is notable if you take into
account how much National Party rhetoric was directed to towards the 'vulnerability' of
white women to racial 'miscegenation'.[25]

As the above advertisement demonstrates, the Afrikaans language particularly lends
itself to 'cutification' by way of the suffixive 'tjie' which qualifies any noun to be instantly
converted into a diminutive form by adding a syllable ('dingetjies'/little things). In some
cases, like 'meisie' (girl), the noun structure already implies diminution and adding 'tjie', like
in 'meisietjie', doubly belittles the noun. Sianne Ngai similarly points out how 'cuteness is
not just a style of object but also a style of language, one characterised by nondiscursive
"twittering" or "babbling"'.[26] Crucially, however, Ngai suggest that cuteness is characterised
by unstable power relations, which 'flip-flop' from one end to the other. She notes that the

---

[23] Ngai, *Aesthetic Categories,* 64.
[24] Trust Bank. 'Net Vir Mans?' Advertisement. *Bellville Gala-Week*, September 30, 1968, 4.
[25] Hyslop, 'White Working-Class Women', 59.
[26] Ngai, *Aesthetic Categories,* 8.

deverbalising effects of cuteness 'result in a squeal or a cluck, a murmur or a coo, the cute object seems to have the power to infantilize the language of its infantalizer.'[27] Ngai compellingly demonstrates this vicissitude by describing the etymology of the word cute:

> Since 'cute' derives from the older 'acute' in a process linguists call aphaeresis (the process by which words lose initial unstressed syllables to generate shorter and 'cuter' versions of themselves; 'alone' becomes 'lone', 'until' becomes 'til'), its etymology strikingly replicates the logic of the aesthetic it has come to name. But there is a key difference between 'cute' and these other examples. While cuteness is an aesthetic of the soft or amorphous that therefore becomes heightened when objects are depicted as sleepy, 'acute' means 'coming to a sharp edge or point' and suggests mental alertness, keenness, and quickness. Cute thus exemplifies a situation in which making a word smaller—or, if you like, cuter—results in an uncanny reversal, changing its meaning into its exact opposite.[28]

As an unstable signifier, cuteness can be strategically deployed to conceal brutality and exploitative hierarchical relations. Thus the 'child of god' Afrikaner is obfuscated as always already a victim in the history of race relations, perpetually surrounded by a malicious Other. We are, however, reminded by Sarah Nuttall that 'Afrikaans shaped the syllables of the country's darkest acts.'[29]

---
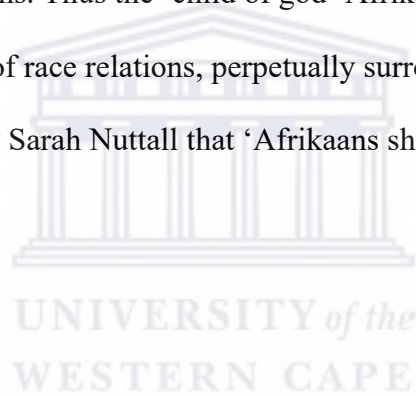
[27] Ibid, 87.
[28] Ibid, 87.
[29] Nuttall, *Entanglement,* 66.

VI. The Afterlives of a printer cartridge: Informal economy

Figure. 8. Anesu's workshop, Voortrekker Road, Cape Town. Personal photograph by author.
October 8, 2018.

Many of the businesses on Voortrekker Road evoke a spatial porosity and hybridity

reminiscent of Windermere of the 1940s. Supermarkets share space with internet cafes, which

share space with hairdressers, which share space with mobile phone repair shops.

Agricultural produce appears on display metres away from wired up computer screens, their

aromas enveloping the scentless Wi-Fi signals. Such a multiplicity of space is strikingly

reminiscent of Benjamin's evocative description of Naples:

> In such corners, one can scarcely discern where building is still in progress and where
> dilapidation has already set in. For nothing is concluded. Porosity results… above all,
> from the passion for improvisation, which demands that space and opportunity be

preserved at any price. Buildings are used as a popular stage. They are all divided into innumerable, simultaneously animated theaters.[1]

Anesu runs a printer cartridge refilling service, in a small room, at the back entrance of a printing company in Voortrekker Road. The printing company is owned by a South African who shares a remarkable resemblance to former president of the Transvaal, Paul Kruger. Apart from refilling cartridges, Anesu's informal business consists of repairing laptops, computers, and printers. His service is situated in a dark room with no windows, and the space is crammed with cartridges, printers, boxes, and electronic equipment in various stages of disrepair. Apart from his own clutter, his friends often use the space to store items of their own for days to weeks on end. The confinement of the space, combined with the lack of windows means that entering his office is accompanied by a sudden dilation of the pupils. Anesu has a friendly and easy going demeanour, and if he's not running around he's sitting at his desk, faintly illuminated by the dim light spilling from the door, while chatting to a customer or friend.

He has a close relationship with the print shop owner which spans almost a decade, and there is a symbiosis where customers are shared and services are exchanged. Most of the customers who spill over to him from the printing shop are pastors who print documents or pamphlets at the front shop because their printers have broken. The front shop, then, recommends Anesu to help them with their printer problems after the job has been completed. He also helps with the repair of smaller printers in the front shop, and gets a commission if he refers large jobs to them. Remarkably, both parties suffered losses after their previous shop located just down the road burned down, and the front shop owner helped

---

[1] Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings, V.1, 1913-1926* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 416.

Anesu to rebuild his business from scratch after all his cartridges and equipment were

destroyed.[2]

Another Zimbabwean cartridge recycler, and close friend of Anesu's, occasionally

shares office space with him. Anesu describes the relationship in the following terms:

> The printers, mostly they are for clients, some they are for [T], for Rasta, for his clients. He's got his own clients… So, when they are coming to him, he just tell them, come also here, he's got his own clients. Me I do my own thing, he does his own thing… but there's other times when, maybe I've got somebody, somebody contact me to say… or maybe they have cartridges, or they have some printer to sell, to sell to us, when I don't have money… maybe he's got money… I'll tell him, and then he will give me the money, we make half, half the profit. If, in my case. Or him also sometimes when he's got a client but he doesn't have money, to buy... he'll call me or he just come and tell me what's happening, and then if I have money… I'll put my money also and then he give my percentage of the profit. But we're not like partners. Every man for himself (laughs).[3]

The apparent discrepancy between 'every man for himself' and the evident mutual

reliance on each other as sometimes collaborators points to the open-ended adaptability of the

relationship, ready to respond and modulate according to the demands of the environment.

The provisional and fluid arrangement of space, relationships and practices resembles an

immanence of experience in tandem with Brian Massumi's idea of affective atunement:

> Experiencing this potential for change, experiencing the eventfulness and uniqueness of every situation, even the most conventional ones, that's not necessarily about commanding movement, it's about navigating movement. It's about being immersed in an experience that is already under way. It's about being bodily attuned to opportunities in the movement, going with the flow. It's more like surfing the situation, or tweaking it, than commanding or programming it. The command paradigm approaches experience as if we were somehow outside it, looking in, like disembodied subjects handling an object. But our experiences aren't objects. They're us, they're what we're made of. We are our situations, we are our moving through them. We are our participation – not some abstract entity that is somehow outside looking in at it all.[4]

---

[2] Anesu, in discussion with the author, August 2018.
[3] Ibid. T's name is redacted to protect his identity.
[4] Massumi, *Politics of Affect*, 13.

Massumi's words echo Sarah Nuttall's characterisation of the contemporary African city as a place which accommodates 'conceptual categories which embrace social velocity, the power of the unforeseen and unfolding, and a concept of the social as experiment and artifice versus order and contract.'[5] We are again reminded of the importance of playfulness to open up potentialities and to drawing our attention to the constellation of possibilities every moment implies. Michel de Certeau draws our attention to forms of praxis absent in the annals of history, incarnations of resistance implicit in certain arts of living that are carried out by the most ordinary people.[6]

Where such an opening up of the field might occasionally open the scene up for destructive contingencies, the metropolitan periphery, instead of displaying disorder, as the metropolitan elite would have us believe, embodies a different mode of ordering which rejects a sanitised reality. While the metropolitan centre spits out the infuriated subjects of its capitalist and imperial violence, the periphery picks them up on ambiguous terms, thrusting one into a confrontation with the veritable multiplicity of post-apartheid with all its vivacity and discontents. Benjamin goes further, in order to describe the multiplex potentialities of Naples as 'a stretching of frontiers that mirrors the most radiant freedom of thought.'[8] We should delimit, however, that this 'radiant freedom of thought' does not only emit a balming radiance, but, that this radiance can be fiery, it can be nakedly confrontational. Or, to put differently, as Varma would have it:

> The city itself is nothing but a labyrinth of signs and images that need to be constantly decoded but whose meanings are ever shifting and subject to the vagaries of capital.

---

[5] Nuttall, *Entanglement,* 156.
[6] Georges Didi-Huberman, 'To Render Sensible,' in Alain Badiou et al., *What Is a People?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 74.
[8] Benjamin, *Selected Writings, V.1,* 420.

In this, urban space is entirely transformed into a site of commodity spectacle, but it also where the fault-lines of capitalist culture become visible.[9]

There is a character of immanence in the way Anesu's office presents itself to the customer which stands in direct antithesis to the urban centre's veneered business interiors. Even with the artisanal aesthetic in proliferation, when business fronts represent themselves as workshop interiors, there is always a calculated way that 'incidental' contingencies are arranged. In Anesu's shop there is zero arrangement. In this way the customer has a much fuller, unmediated experience with the product. Where the wealthy enclaves present products as static and predictable, businesses in Voortrekker Road reveal aspects of the commodity's history, providing a sensory interaction with the grease that lubricates the capitalist engine. The result is a reversal of the phantasmagoric quality of the urban commodity, and the customer has no choice but to be awake to the history these sensory residues evoke.[10]

Furthermore, the absence of bureaucratic intermediaries and standardised business practices means that unforeseen potentials are opened up and affective attunement emerges which seems to foster organic relationships. Anesu bespeaks of this aspect when he says:

> I've made a lot of friends through this work, especially Nigerians, I've got very good, good friends, Nigerians, Cameroonians, ja, when they come to me, you know they, those guys, they are, they are gifted, when they come to you they can talk, talk, talk, in the end you're not gonna look at him as your client… like your customer, because sometimes when they don't have something they are doing, maybe they'll just come and sit with me here, we talk stories, and, but they don't want to do any business. But we meet through this business that I'm doing of fixing computers and printers. So I meet a lot of friends, guys, people, who are very close friends of mine.[11]

---

[9] Rashmi Varma, *The Postcolonial City and Its Subjects: London, Nairobi, Bombay* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 60.

[10] Arvind Rajagopal, 'Violence of Commodity Aesthetics: Hawkers, Demolition Raids and a New Regime of Consumption.' *Economic and Political Weekly* 37, no. 1 (2002): 65-76.

[11] Anesu, in discussion with the author, August 2018.

One of Anesu's biggest clients is a contact in Johannesburg who provides supplies for the South African government. When he gets an order in from this client he goes from business to business to collect empty cartridges. Formal and informal, legality and illegality emerges as mutually imbricated in a forcefield of fluid arrangements. The same bureaucracy that ejects him to the margins of his dusky office, picks up his merchandise and utilises it to print those very documents that authorise his invisibility. As Lisa Marchi argues: 'The politics of turning illegal migrants into invisibility is tightly related to a conceptualization of the nation state and the local community as "homogeneous," "sealed," "pure spaces."'[12] However, as it turns out, the fallacy of this absolutism is betrayed by the very fabric the state deploys to communicate its myths.

Anesu spends plenty of time on Gumtree, mostly looking for laptops that he can fix and resell, however, any item that he can get his hands on that presents a pecuniary opportunity is seen as a potential investment. A lot of the time when he fixes something in order to resell, he consults YouTube to help him do so. In addition to recycling cartridges for reuse, whichever item is jettisoned from the capitalist orbit has the potential for joining the profusion of items stacked against his office walls. Sometimes this jetsam surfacing from the surfeit of the market is sublimated into shelf dreams:

> Keyboard, I have a keyboard, but I don't even know how to play it. Music keyboard… Phew. I've got..I..I love making music, but I don't know how to play, so maybe one day I'm gonna get somebody who's gonna teach me how to play. I bought it, somebody brought it here, and then I bought it, very cheap… two hundred Rands. There's another guy from Elsies, he's my customer. So I don't know how he get it, or, he just brought it to me. He know that I normally buy anything that I can see if it's gonna give me money, maybe if I'm gonna sell it I'll make an extra hundred or two hundred, so whatever that I see, I can be able to sell it… I buy. 'Cause I've got already people here, mostly guys for [the print shop], pastors who come here to print

---

[12] Lisa Marchi, 'Ghosts, Guests, Hosts: Rethinking "Illegal" Migration and Hospitality Through Arab Diasporic Literature,' *Comparative Literature Studies* 51, no. 4 (2014): 603-26.

their church stuff. So when in here, when they see it, all of them they want to buy it, for their church. But me I say… I don't want to sell it, I'm just…[13]

Anesu's uncertainty about this dream, his oscillation between 'maybe' selling the keyboard to make another hundred or two hundred rand, and his earnest dismissal of potential buyers, reminds me of his reflections with respect to his possible return to Zimbabwe. This hankering is always expressed in alternate configurations of the phrases 'I don't know when', 'It will be a one way ticket', and 'one day maybe', intervalled by long pauses and the interjection 'yoh'. The ambiguous situation of his home country, it would seem, puts him in a permanent readiness to leave South Africa, yet this homecoming is endlessly deferred. He flits back and forth between hopefulness and resignation. We are reminded of the back and forth motion of the yo-yo, and I recall an excerpt from Jessica Hagedorn's short story 'Black':

Dear Doctorcito: Some say the yo-yo was invented by a Filipino. Some say the Chinese. Why do they always say the Chinese? Some say it once was a jungle weapon. Even the French have tried claiming it as theirs. In English, yo-yo connotes flakiness. The back and forth motion of indecision. A toy. In Spanish, yo-yo means 'I, I.' I read somewhere that in Tagalog, yo-yo means 'to return.'[14]

---

[13] Anesu, in discussion with the author, August 2018.
[14] Jessica Hagedorn, 'Black: Her Story,' *Ploughshares* 19, no. 4 (1993): 173-78.

Belparkgebou

VII. Definitions of hospitality: Cape Town as world city

Figure. 7. Belpark building, Voortrekker Road, Cape Town. Personal photograph by author. June 6, 2015.

Almost every nook of Cape Town's urban centre has in recent years taken on the globalised aesthetic of minimalist interiors, faux artisan fittings, industrial lighting, and mid-century furniture. The pervasiveness of wooden surfaces, meant to give a warm atmosphere to interiors, has become generic and sterile. In Cape Town's eagerness to be recognised as a world city, the business class bubble it has created becomes increasingly disconnected from its surrounding enclaves. David Mc Donald observes how 'intercity connectivity is contributing to the homogenisation of cities around the world: socially, economically,

politically and spatially. As cities strive to become more remarkable than other cities it is their very unremarkability that defines them.' [1]

After three centuries of colonialism and four decades of apartheid, globalisation has further contributed to Cape Town's local connections weakening, and the city centre becoming dislodged from its surrounding social milieu. With an emphasis on outward directed services and high tech facilities which cater to the Northern transnational elite, Cape Town operates in a global climate where entry across borders are permitted along clear lines of privilege and inequality.[2] Ian A. Morrison suggests that 'The management of tourism . . . involves its optimization through the attraction of desirable visitors and the dissuasion of undesirable visitors.'[3] In this world risk is carefully managed and controlled by the state, risk is something which must be minimised to the lowest stakes.

It does not seem too far-fetched to position Voortrekker Road as a space that functions in a different realm of order to the business class bubble of the urban centre, with logics and practices which stand apart from normative notions of growth and development. As a transnational Afropolitan nexus, Voortrekker Road operates in tandem with what AbdouMaliq Simone characterises as 'diffuse experimentation with the reconfiguration of bodies, territories, and social arrangement'.[4] Crucially, the hospitality foreign nationals experience along the road marks a departure from both the Europeanised centre and the poverty designated peripheries. Along these lines, it would be apposite to explore different

---

[1] David A. McDonald, *World City Syndrome: Neoliberalism and Inequality in Cape Town* (Routledge, 2009), 23.
[2] Ibid., 265
[3] Ian A. Morrison, 'The Thai Host Gaze: Alterity and the Governance of Visitors in Thailand,' in *The Host Gaze in Global Tourism*, ed. Omar Moufakkir and Yvette Reisinger (Boston: CABI, 2013), 37.
[4] Simone, *For the City*, 2.

notions of hospitality that challenge the rationalised reciprocity of the tourism industry, embedded as it is in the logic of neoliberalism.

Igor Kopytoff notes the 'general African "adventurousness": the eagerness to see new places, the curiosity about other societies, the avidity for travel, the readiness to migrate.'[5] James Clifford however, warns against facile comparisons between tourists and migrants, as it could downplay the extent to which forced migration involves exploitation and trauma. Iain Chambers suggests that 'In the gap between such connections and differences we can begin to unwind the self-reflexive national idiom and its xenophobic refusal of external referents in its formation.'[6] I would like to discuss hospitality in the context of cross-national migration without reducing the hardship of the forced migrant, but rather expanding the concept of hospitality to include migration. Hospitality, as a historical concept, did not always have the connotations of calculated reciprocity it currently holds in the hospitality industry. Gudrun Friese explains how:

> The notion 'hospitality' is highly ambivalent. It refers both to a friend and to the enemy (hostis /hospis). Accordingly, 'the languages of hospitality' arrange the relations towards an Other and harbor a variety of tensions. They allow for generosity, solidarity, trust, alliance, mutual exchange and engagement, a common place as well as to hostility, rejection, mistrust and demarcation (both of which are certainly not just a European attribute). 'Hospitality harbors a trace of its double – hostility' and a hospitable welcome is a probe into risk and uncertainty. It brings about tensions between 'being at home' and being considered a 'stranger', between alterity and belonging, closeness or distance, of private and public space (political, social and cultural), membership and exclusion.[7]

Karam is a form of audacious hospitality among the Balga tribes of Jordan, which has been described as 'the Arab madness' (hiblat al-'arab). Andrew Shryock explains how: 'Like

---

[5] Igor Kopytoff, *The African frontier: the reproduction of traditional African societies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 23.
[6] Iain Chambers, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity* (London: Routledge, 1993), 28.
[7] Heidrun Friese, 'The Limits of Hospitality,' *Paragraph* 32, no. 1 (2009): 51-68.

saintly figures overcome by divine spirit, people famed for generosity are often depicted as irrational.'[8] There is a sacrificial element to Karam that opens up the host to risk, and furthermore overturns capitalist ideas of calculated reciprocity. The radical nature of Bedouin hospitality can be seen in Shryock's observation: 'Welcome resembles trespass; it courts and reconfigures trespass. This quality explains why hospitality is a morally indefinite virtue that exposes us to the hazards (and the delights) of stepping over and overstepping human boundaries'.[9]

Karam is a spiritual quality diffused with bravery, and crucially, Bedouin culture has used the custom to challenge dominant ideas about the centralised state. Bedouin hospitality leaves room for much ambiguity and sees risk as something that is always already present, 'unlike "peace on earth," the ambivalent coupling of welcome and trespass is already perpetual. It engenders all we dread, and all we desire, as we face each other across the threshold.'[10]

Bellville's central business district is often the first entry point for new arrivals in Cape Town and South Africa, and so acts as a hospitable reception into the province and country.[11] The experience of migration becomes a common thread in the road's social strata that informs its ongoing hospitality towards newcomers. Ingrid Brudvig observes how 'a community of migrants, local and global nomads so to speak, have culminated in a space that is symbolic of movement and transition informed by ideas of being, redefining Bellville in light of its multiple connections that cut across space, place and locality.'[12]

---

[8] Andrew Shryock, 'Thinking about Hospitality, with Derrida, Kant, and the Balga Bedouin,' *Anthropos* 103, no. 2 (2008): 406-419.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Brudvig, 'Conviviality in Bellville', 8- 35.
[12] Ibid.

Zimbabwean and Somali migrants in particular have been on the receiving end of relentless eruptions of violence at the hand of South Africans. Voortrekker Road, however, has emerged as a relatively safer enclave for not only Somali and Zimbabwean nationals, but also Ethiopians, Ghanaians, Tanzanians, Angolans, Mozambicans, Kenyans, Jordanians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis amongst others.[13] Although migrants on Voortrekker Road remain unprotected from discrimination, data from the African Centre for Migration and Society shows no recorded incidences of xenophobic attacks on Voortrekker Road, In contrast with the Cape Town CBD, Mitchell's Plain, Philippi and other high risk areas.[14]

Although, perhaps, not directly influenced by 'Karam', the concept gives us a conceptual framework to begin to interpret this departure. Neville Hoad suggests that 'to be embraced by the hospitality of the cosmopolitan is to accept the invitation to share the work of mourning'.[15] This formulation draws our attention to the mutual imbrication for both foreigner and host in the management of risk and conviviality within a landscape layered in historical trauma.

The marketing of Cape Town as a 'world class city' exemplifies the phenomenon of the desirable and undesirable visitor, with policy makers resolved on attracting visitors of a certain class and influence that would attract investment. Voortrekker Road challenges this category of world cityness by bringing together a transnational population in direct defiance of the city's aspirational norm. The undocumented migrant stands diametrically removed

---

[13] Ibid.

[14] ACMS. Xenophobic Incidents Database. ACMS, University of Witwatersrand. http://www.xenowatch.ac.za, accessed 8 September 2019.

[15] Neville Wallace Hoad, *African Intimacies: Race, Homosexuality, and Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 123.

from the Northern tourist, and Bellville as a transnational, cosmopolitan space displaces the notion of world city as envisioned by city planners.

VIII. Fluorescent and/or divine light: Pentacostalism

Figure. 6. Fullness of God International Ministries, Maitland, Voortrekker Road, Cape Town. Personal photograph by author. August 23, 2015.

A *Die Burger* newspaper article from 1 December 1966 notes that the Bellville city council ordered a religious sect to halt the 'unearthly noises' coming from church services. No information is given about the denomination of the church, however, it is clear that the community was up in arms about the fervour emanating from the premises. The residents in the area were so 'omgekrap' (ill-tempered) about the services, that a recording was made and handed over to the Bellville council in a petition against the church.[1] The city clerk, Mr. H. Hahn, duly investigated the case and reported that rhythmic clapping, 'unearthly' moans, and a woman shrieking can be heard from the recording. One resident was aggrieved that the

---

[1] 'Kerk Moet "Lawaai" Staak.' *Die Burger* (Cape Town), December 1, 1966.

services were accompanied by 'shuffling of feet' and another complainant reported the presence of a musical instrument projecting sounds reminiscent of a 'little puppy'. It is reported that the church, which occupied a hall above a fuel station, conducted services every evening, Sundays the whole day, and from early mornings when someone in the congregation was sick.[2]

If the church services disturbed the residents, it is evident by the obsessive attention to histrionic details in the newspaper piece, that the dissatisfaction was not merely directed at excessive noise. It would appear that the community was disturbed by the liturgical lexicon of the congregation which fell outside the Afrikaner 'horizons of comprehension' and is thus framed in lurid terms.[3] While the church denomination is omitted from the article, concerns about 'lawaaigedoente' churches were of concern since the turn of the twentieth century, said to 'lure' the urban poor Afrikaners away from the Dutch Reformed Church. Isabel Hofmeyr speculates that the rising number of apostolic churches must have provided 'emotional satisfaction which [the working-class Afrikaner] had failed to find in the joylessness of Calvinism.'[4] Dubbed 'the National Party in prayer',[5] the DRC would have seen these churches as a threat to 'Eendersdenkendheid' (literally translated to 'thinking the same', a word popularised by Hans Strydom during his tenure as prime minister), since besides its liturgical practices, in some cases such churches hosted a multiracial congregation.[6]

---

[2] Ibid.

[3] I invoke here Premesh Lalu's phrase 'colonial horizons of comprehension,' from his work 'The Grammar of Domination and The Subjection of Agency: Colonial Texts and Modes of Evidence,' *History and Theory,* 39, no.4 (2000): 45-68.

[4] Isabel Hofmeyr, 'Building a Nation from Words: Afrikaans Language, Literature and Ethnic Identity, 1902-1924,' in *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*, ed. S. Mark, Stanley Trapido (New York: Routledge, 1987), 100.

[5] Tracy Kuperus, 'Resisting or Embracing Reform? South Africas Democratic Transition and NGK-State Relations,' *Journal of Church and State* 38, no. 4 (1996): 841-872.

[6] Samuel Longford, 'The Suppression of Communism, the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Instrumentality of Fear During Apartheid,' (master's thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2016), 120.

Furthermore, Sam Longford argues that according to the nationalists 'South Africa was the "New Jerusalem", and the Afrikaner, with one foot in the Old World and one foot in the New, was imagined as the new custodian of that land', which afforded them the privilege to command and maintain the 'standards of western civilization' on the continent.[7] As such the DRC saw it necessary to obstruct African Independent churches, for instance, when the Ethiopian church movement started to attract large numbers of Africans who felt constrained by the prevailing South African church hierarchies. In stark contradiction with their later party line of racial 'selfsyn', or development 'on their own terrain, separate and apart', in 1905 the DRC distributed pamphlets with a stiff warning that the wave of Ethiopianism aimed to achieve independence from whites.[8] As has often been remarked elsewhere, this manner of flip-flopping with regards to separate development was characteristic of the nationalists, who preached scrupulous separatism while maintaining deep-rooted entanglements in terms of racial paternalism and labour reliance.

Today Voortrekker Road harbours a generous profusion of independent churches participating in all manner of electroacoustic assisted 'lawaaigedoentes' inhabiting any type of premise: from street level to tucked away and three levels up, from shop fronts to former office spaces and warehouses. By far the greatest number of these churches broadly fall under the neo-Pentecostal denomination with hope-infused names peppering the scene: Spirit Praise and Worship Centre, Forward in Faith Ministries, Glory Restoration Assembly, Omega Fire Ministry, Lighthouse Ministries, Life Mending World Mission, Miracle Centre Church, Christ Amazing Love Ministries. It is important to note, however, that these churches are not

---

[7] Ibid.
[8] Hermann Giliomee, 'The Making of the Apartheid Plan, 1929-1948,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, no. 2 (2003): 373-92.

always easy to categorise, since they are forever restyling and proliferating under different moulds. As Benson Onyekachukwu Anofuechi points out, 'some of the largest Pentecostal churches are not associated with any denomination and are part of the growing movement of independent churches that are "networked" together but do not aspire to be organised along denominational lines.'[9]

On Voortrekker Road the split between religion and entertainment is fundamentally blurred, with churches aiming to compete with casinos and night clubs. Many of the churches are of Nigerian and Zimbabwean origin, while all of them are influenced by the North American Pentecostal movement and its focus on prosperity gospel. With the revolving door quality that emerges in this highly competitive spiritual field, and the perpetual promise to deliver in the here and now, the impression is indeed of the devotee throwing in their bet to the most immersive audio-visual experience.[10]

Notwithstanding, with an emphasis on a global God, and spiritual concepts like 'church without walls' and 'the equality of all people in Christ', the transnational migrant community finds these churches attractive for compelling reasons. Moreover, the Pentecostal movement offers the convert a semblance of a new family from which she can draw support and comfort, somewhat ameliorating the immense upheaval caused by the process of setting up shop in a new country. The participatory aspect of these liturgies ensure that every member feels included in the worship services, evincing a spirit of communal celebration, as well as lamentation in times of crisis.[11] Thus, in the context of a migrant community, the

---

[9] Benson Onyekachukwu Anofuechi, 'Pentecostalism and the Further Fragmentation of Christianity: An Investigation of the Factors Contributing to the Establishment of New Churches in Belhar since 2000' (master's thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2015), 178.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.

emphasis on universal religion can be understood to forge a transnational civil society which probes and eludes traditional conceptions of the nation state.[12]

Speaking from a Salvadoran perspective, Vásquez and Marquardt compellingly describe how the multi-layered global worlds of Pentecostalism serve as 'flexible transnational networks attempting to redraw cartographies for a displaced population'.[13] The Pentecostal nexus in Voortrekker Road, as such, can be described as nourishing affective networks which are pertinent to the concerns of the migrant community. Vásquez and Marquardt elaborate how this spiritual realm facilitates the 'local redeployment of the community life that has been undermined by geopolitical conflicts, transnational migration, and [a fractured] economy.'[14] Anofuechi notes that the charismatic movement's attention to the 'flexibility of the spirit' enables it to effortlessly adapt its universalist ideas to the local context.[15] He elaborates how 'ideas originating in the USA have been subject to constant forms of cultural appropriation, repackaging, and dissemination into the transnational realm.'[16]

It is important to note, however, that this universalised language is perhaps merely an outgrowth of Pentecostalism's aforementioned intimate relation to the market logic of globalisation. We find, simultaneously, a strong emphasis on individualism and self-improvement, with a discourse that bypasses conversations about social inequalities. Anofuechi points out that: 'Instead of working for structural change, evangelical Churches

---

[12] Peggy Levitt, '"You Know, Abraham Was Really the First Immigrant": Religion and Transnational Migration,' *International Migration Review* 37, no. 3 (2003): 847-73.

[13] Manuel A. Vásquez and Marie F. Marquardt, *Globalizing the Sacred: Religion across the Americas* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 142.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Anofuechi, 'Fragmentation of Christianity', 131-136.

[16] Ibid.

discourage collective action and promote individual strategies of upward mobility'. [17] Power struggles and leadership squabbles often lead to congregational splits, and the emphasis on upward mobility sometimes leads church pastors to overreach their influence.[19]

Conceptualising this realm is not a clear cut endeavour: Vásquez and Marquardt remind us that religion is also 'about shifting identities and hybrid cultures, about theodicies and utopian aspirations that might make for messy theories.'[21] Additionally, the devotee's experience of liturgical practices and praise services can be highly subjective and vary a great deal among congregation members, making any broad claims untenable.[22] Hence, it is with caution that I would like to elaborate on how specific liturgical practices might operate within the layered histories coming together on Voortrekker Road. How might memory particularise in the framework of the transnational Pentecostal church? Birgit Meyer makes a suggestion in this regard, noting that: 'For pentecostalists, remembrance . . . does not have the task to restore history in order to serve as a basis for an identity that may well carry a person into the future. Instead, remembrance is to reveal the occult sources of present troubles.'[23] This cryptic relation to remembrance is further accented when she elaborates that 'pentecostalism seeks a rupture from a "tradition" or "past" which it has previously helped to construct, thereby engaging in a dialectics of remembering and forgetting.'[24]

---

[17] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[21] Vásquez and Marquardt, *Globalizing the Sacred,* 5.
[22] It is also, however, this subjective aspect which makes Pentecostalism attractive to its members. Vásquez and Marquardt suggest that 'with its emphasis on the collective and personal experience of the sacred rather than on high theology, and its capacity to address the most pressing problems of the poor (illness, alcoholism, and the violence of everyday life), Pentecostalism is truly a grassroots religion.'
[23] Birgit Meyer, 'Make a Complete Break with the Past. Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostalist Discourse,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, no. 3 (1998): 328.
[24] Ibid.

I would like to argue that this dialectic between remembering and forgetting seems to come to life in the vivid corporeal manifestation of glossolalia, which combines the prelinguistic with the postlinguistic in a dialectic tension. Michel de Certeau draws our attention to the appearance of glossolalia in everyday conversation in the form of stutters, verbal fragments, interjections, and involuntary sounds.[25] These postlinguistic episodes 'made from the excesses, the overflows, and the wastes of language' remind us of Anesu's verbal breaks and interjections when he speaks about returning to Zimbabwe. De Certeau calls this a 'garden of rich sounds drifting and playing down many paths', and I would extend this line of thought to suggest that glossolalia encompasses the most promising aspect of Pentecostalism in Benjaminian terms if it could be grasped in a moment of subversive potential.[26]

De Certeau argues that speaking in tongues unsettles institutional speech, which dictates 'you can speak here but not there; you can say that here, but not under such and such circumstances.'[27] Therefore, it has a liberating effect on practitioners, which unties the devotee temporarily from these conventions. De Certeau warns, however, that these ephemeral departures from institutional determinism have the potential to assert the status quo even more robustly in the aftermath.[28] In this regard, Pentecostalism could be said to bolster the prosaic lexicon of capitalism in an admittedly hearty manner. Therefore, we might add, that the latent potential charismatic churches hold to interject the logic of capitalism is

---

[25] Michel De Certeau, 'Vocal Utopias: Glossolalias,' *Representations*, no. 56 (1996): 29-47.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.

reversed in the immediate after when they 'exacerbate and legitimize this culture by mapping the sacred onto it'.[29]

---

[29] Manuel A. Vázquez, "Saving Souls Transnationally: Pentecostalism and Gangs in El Salvador and the United States," (conference paper presented at Lived Theology and Community Building Workgroup, University of Virginia, October12-14, 2001) http://livedtheology.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/mvasquez.pdf, accessed November 12, 2018.

IX. Stranger intimacy: hairdressers

Figure. 9. Draft game, Maitland, Cape Town. Personal photograph by author. June 2, 2015.

I'm there on a Monday public holiday afternoon, and the client whose hair Pamela is braiding is a South African UWC student doing her masters in nuclear physics. In the midst of the conversation Pamela tells her client 'But I see now the difference, your hair is growing nice…' Pamela acquired her education through what Julie Willet describes as the 'informal girlhood rituals of play and practice.' She describes her childhood in Congo as such:

> Oh, I've been a hairdresser since I was eleven, it's a gift. Long time, I didn't go to school to learn the hair, it's a gift . . . I used to learn from kids, né. The small kids, those ones younger than me that time. I forced them, I begged them to plait some (Laughs). Sometimes it was not easy because sometimes they don't want, I have to buy them treats, (laughs) yes.[1]

---

[1] Pamela Ekanda in discussion with the author, October 2018.

The student is braiding her hair into the popular corn rows style, and she explains:

> I'm growing my afro and I don't like to pull it a lot, so I know she knows how to do it. So I always come to her and tell her this is what I want, and she always does it this way, it's just you know, the only difference is that maybe the lines are facing the other way, but it's always braids like this.[2]

Pamela helped the student get her hair back to a natural state after it got damaged when she relaxed it. In a 1982 edition of *Ebony*, Novelist Bebe Moore Campbell described the 'chemical abuse' of relaxers, where hair has to be 'burned into submission', as the product of beauty standards selling black women 'a tiny, suffocating box filled with self-hatred.'[3] It would be easy to, at this point, assert the truism that the Afro, with the anti-bourgeois assertion of its own 'offending texture', stands diametrically opposed to the self-appointed 'morally pink complexion' of whiteness.[4] However, in the Bellville hair salon, a much subtler dynamic is at play which is has to do with, without being limited to: touch, gossip, laughs, shrugs, and sighs. — 'Resistance cannot be communicated or inculcated. It can only be gestured… It cannot impose itself. It can only catch on.'[5]

At a time when political differences are expressed through instrumentalism and starkly aggressive tactics, it is sometimes difficult to find the subtle movements beyond the curve of the main thrust. However, it is vital to remember that there are some significant examples of revolutionary movements bringing change through open ended rhetoric. In 1989 Malusi Mpumlwana commented:

> The main thing that we saw ourselves as doing was to raise consciousness . . . And with conscientization people would do all kinds of things. Some people's conscientization will only lead them to stop using skin lighteners . . . It would give . . . [some a] commitment to

---

[2] Sinegugu Mthembu in discussion with the author, October 2018.

[3] Bebe Moore Campbell, 'What Happened to the Afro,' *Ebony*, (June 1982): 79-84.

[4] I take this term From *The Salaried Masses: Duty and Distraction in Weimar Germany*, the author, Siegfried Kracauer interviews a Weimar-era department store manager about his methods of employee recruitment. As Kracauer questions him about the requirements for prospective employees to secure a position, the term 'pleasant' keeps turning up. When Kracauer quizzes him about what he means by 'pleasant', the manager clarifies with: 'oh, you know, a morally pink complexion.'

[5] Massumi, *Politics of Affect*, 105.

political activism. And yet for others it would give them the commitment to the armed struggle. But there was no way of controlling what people would do with their consciousness once it was raised.[6]

This anecdote suggests an intimation of the open-ended approach Black Consciousness seized, giving rise to 'multiple forms of political awareness, resistance and agency'. This openness 'afforded a breadth of interplay in how proponents might link the micro-political domain of their own everyday practices . . . to the broader shared objectives of macro-political and structural change.'[7] Furthermore, since Black Consciousness drew breath from this amorphous intangibility, its irreducibility to organisational structure meant that endeavours by apartheid authorities to decimate it proved fruitless. Massumi reminds us that 'to say "ought" is to enact our servitude to abstract principle, and to justify our imposing it on others, as from outside and above. It's a power move. As such, it carries seeds of domination — perhaps a new order of domination, but domination nonetheless. Freedom, like oppression, is desired, or it is nothing at all.'[8]

The student mentions that it is sometimes easier to talk to someone you don't know, and Pamela nods her head. We are reminded of Georg Simmel's essay, where he mentions in regards to the stranger: 'the fact that the most surprising openness and admissions are brought up to him, almost approaching the nature of a confession, which one carefully withholds from anyone who is close.'[9] Since most of Pamela's clients are South Africans (other Africans 'they are stingy to pay'), we can presume that the intimacies provided by the hairdressing businesses in Voortrekker Road open up important affective relationships between South Africans and migrants. 'When you're in a place like this, then you get to know each other,

---

[6] Malusi Mpumlwana, 1989, quoted in Hook, *The Mind of Apartheid*, 54.
[7] Hook, *The Mind of Apartheid*, 54.
[8] Massumi, *Politics of Affect*, 13.
[9] Georg Simmel, *Sociology: Inquiries into the Construction of Social Forms*, eds. Anthony J. Blasi, Anton K. Jacobs, and Mathew J. Kanjirathinkal (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 602.

74

I'm a regular because I like her, that's why I come back to her all the time, so I don't look at her like, you know the way others would view someone from, like, who's not from South Africa.'

Even with the likes of McDonald's encroaching on the communal nature of Voortrekker Road businesses, it could be reasoned that hairdressers and barbers serve as a constraint to corporate culture by absorbing aspects of intimacy and touch that can't easily be overturned. Julie Willet elaborates:

> The bonds of intimacy that have shaped the history of hairdressing have offered a measure of resistance against corporate efforts to further de-skill service workers, lower their wages, and undermine their control, yet many hairstylists increasingly face conditions that rival that of fast-food work. Indeed, high turn-over rates and occupational burnout have come to characterize much of the industry. At the same time and most important of all, the latest threats to beauty workers and their shop cultures have much broader implications that stretch beyond the workplace. As a century of hairdressing has shown, the beauty shop, the worker, and the customer have been at the forefront of community change and institution building. While some of these institutions have been based on exclusion and upheld the status quo, others have provided rare resources and have been geared toward social change. Thus corporate trends in hairdressing have much broader implications that remind us that attempts to undermine worker control affect larger social and community efforts designed to protect individual freedom and civil rights.[10]

It would be apposite to keep Willet's words in mind when thinking about the encroaching gentrification of Voortrekker Road. The hairdressers and barbers remind one of the communal, enterprising, and innovative spirit of the Windermere community, a spirit which is echoed in multiple locations and temporalities, as a photo from a Maitland barber shop reinforces (Fig 9). In this photo two clients in a barber shop play the popular Nigerian game Draft, while a third customer stares off into the distance. None of these clients are consuming any service or product from the shop that indicates any immediate economic

---

[10] Julie A. Willett, *Permanent waves: the making of the American beauty shop* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 200.

benefits for the shop owner. Yet, in some sense, the barber shop has taken on the likeness of a private space for the clients. The photo brings to mind the image of the barber shaving his client in the public yard in Windermere, perhaps fracturing and transposing the Heseltine image into an inverse parallel, linking Windermere to Maitland in a peculiar temporal rearrangement.

X. Intersections / Conclusion

Figure. 10. Maitland Bridge, Maitland, Cape Town. Personal photograph by author. June 2, 2015.

Voortrekker Road simultaneously constitutes a place of separation and transgression, exemplifying the temporal complexity of South Africa as a society in transition. On Voortrekker Road, we see not only South Africa's segregationist city planning, but foreign nationals from Africa, the Middle East and Asia, the struggle for economic survival and xenophobic tensions. The perpetual flow of people and products carries with it an inherent sense of displacement, everybody is rendered an outsider somewhere along the road. While this lack of a close-knit community is clearly alienating to some, to others it provides an, albeit ambiguous, opportunity to blend in, resulting in a quotidian tableau of urban life.

With its history of conquest, racial zoning, and freight networks, the road reifies the linear logic of Western expansion. The renaming of Voortrekker Road during the centenary celebrations monumentalised Afrikaner nationalism, and imprinted the grand narrative of the volk under the feet of its residents, commuters, and trespassers. The railway is a reminder that the spatial segregation of apartheid persists to a large degree into the foreseeable future, with labourers traveling from the early hours of the morning to cover protracted distances between their workplaces and homes.[1] The intensive concentration of freight and commuter networks brings to mind Benjamin's words about the Paris metro: 'This labyrinth conceals in its innards not just one, but dozens of blind, rushing bulls, into whose jaws not once a year one Theban virgin, but every morning thousands of anemic young cleaning women and still sleepy salesmen are forced to hurl themselves.'[2] Furthermore, the intersection of air, rail, road and sea travel juxtaposes the older and newer modes of freight and transportation which brings with it new vocabularies of rationalisation.[3]

This thesis has attempted to destabilise the linear logic of the apartheid past with the spectre of Afrikaner nationalism still hovering on its street signs. In a sense the most compelling disruption to the logic of deterministic temporality happens every day in myriad different ways without the intervention of scholarship. I would invite anyone to walk down the road and experience these quotidian, unplanned interruptions in all their affective immediacy. Rita Sakr proposes that:

---

[1] Rita Barnard suggests that 'the train was clearly a tool of oppression, indispensable to the maintenance of residential segregation and to the exploitation of labour.' Barnard, Rita. *Apartheid and Beyond: South African Writers and the Politics of Place* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 7.

[2] Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften,* 6 vols., eds. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhliuser, with the collaboration of Theodor W. Adorno and Gershom Scholem (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1972-), vol. V. quoted in Buck-Morss, Susan. *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 102.

[3] Airplanes fly low over Bellville before landing, container yards in Voortrekker Road links sea travel to the road.

Reading the politics of performance in monumental space requires an attention to ambivalent forms of resistance, appropriation, and negotiation that occur outside the context of official events: attacking, insulting, ignoring, and carnivalizing monumental space (both physically and discursively).[4]

My aim has been to draw attention to these ambivalent forms of resistance, which manifest in the daily activities of people whose lives intersect with the road in the form of gestures, transactions, laughter, irreverence, indifference, and misremembrance. We are reminded of James Joyce's reimagining of monumental space:

Once I made a little epigram about statues. All statues are of two kinds (He folds his arms across his chest). The statue which says: How shall I get down? and the other kind (he unfolds his arms and extends his right arm, averting his head) the statue which says: In my time the dunghill was so high[5]

In his forensic biography of Voortrekker Road, Brent Abrahams draws our attention to the coincidental defacement of Bellville's 'Twaalf Myl' milestone where 'the Roman letters denoting the number twelve are covered by leaflets advertising abortion.'[6] The messy, forgotten legacy of the road gives rise to ad hoc modes of subversion which do not fit neatly into teleological conceptions of revolution and transformation. The street name with its disembodied monumentalisation emphasises the spectral aspect of Afrikaner history and furthermore highlights the practices of countermemory and indifference which occupy its length.

The cluttered workshop and the jumbled display of consumer products on street level challenge the sanitised ratio of the shipping containers at the Maitland cargo depositories. Allan Sekula accentuates how 'containerization was the victory of the rectangular solid over

---

[4] Sakr, *Monumental Space*, 33.
[5] James Joyce, *Exiles* (New York: Penguin, 1973), quoted in Sakr, *Monumental Space,* 41.
[6] Brent Abrahams, 'A Forensic Approach to Constructing a Biography of Voortrekker Road, Bellville.' *WritingThreeSixty: Journal of Research and Creative Texts* 2, no. 2 (February 13, 2016): 10.

the messy contingency of the Ark'.[7] As such, containerisation serves to abstract the consumer product from its origins, erasing its history and obscuring its operations. Crucially, abstraction serves to shroud both the environmental and labour costs involved in the circulation of goods. Sekula goes further to point out:

> The more regularized, literally containerized, the movement of goods in harbors, that is, the more rationalized and automated, the more the [harbor] comes to resemble the stock market. A crucial phenomenological point here is the suppression of smell. Goods that once reeked—guano, gypsum, steamed tuna, hemp, molasses—now flow or are boxed.[8]

By paying attention to photos I hoped to use the fragment as monadic interruptions to the linear flow of this monument. Ulrich Baer questions how we think about photographic temporality by investigating two conceptions of historical temporality: The Hericlitean idea of time-as-river, where the human subject is forever surrounded by the inevitable and deterministic forward motion of time, and the Democritean notion of time as a vast, fragmented rainfall where events occur by singular drops randomly touching each other.[9] The second notion entertains a more absurd and fractured dimension of time, echoed by the modern physics understanding of reality as atoms moving in a void.[10] Baer argues that analysis of the photograph has traditionally overtly been focussed on the Hericlitean notion of time as a narrative, contextualising photos within their before and after frame of reference and situating them within the sequential progression of time. Baer suggests that we move away from this model, not by thinking of photography only in terms of Democritean time, but apprehending the oscillating nature of these two temporalities in a bilateral whole.

---

[7] Allan Sekula, *Fish Story* (Düsseldorf: Richter Verlag, 1995), 49.

[8] Ibid., 12.

[9] Baer, Ulrich. *Spectral evidence. The photography of trauma* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2002), 2-7.

[10] Ibid., 9.

Baer argues that thinking about time in the Democritean sense is especially helpful

when apprehending images of trauma, because the temporality resulting from the experience

of trauma is reverberated in the Democritean temporality, and in some ways the photographic

object itself as a fractured entity.[11] He notes this overlap in trauma theory, where the singular

traumatic experience fractures the sequential movement of time within the psychology of the

injured subjectivity. In this moment time is splintered and blown apart to form a single

repetitive moment bereft from linear apprehension.[12] In this mode of thinking we can seize

photographic discourse from the 'deterministic grip of history and time in which most critics

have embedded it'.[13]

I would like to suggest that the practice of glossolalia offers a promising interruption

to the logic of the institutional apparatus, if it could find a way to be ruptured from the

neoliberal rationale of prosperity gospel. As de Certeau argues, scholarship around

glossolalia has focussed overtly on interpreting the phenomenon and translating it into

conventional verbal paradigms, analysing, for instance, the syntax and relating it to ordinary

linguistic occurrences.[14] However, with its resemblance to both laughter and tears, bursting

forth from seemingly out of nowhere, the phenomenon betrays an affective tension

reminiscent of Massumi's 'bodily becoming' which releases an

> intensifying bodily potential, trying to get outside or underneath the categories of
> language and affective containment by those categories, trying to pack vast potentials
> for movement and meaning in a single gesture, or in words that burst apart and lose
> their conventional meaning, becoming like a scream of possibility, a babble of
> becoming, the body bursting out through an opening in expression.[15]

---

[11] Ibid., 9.
[12] Ibid., 9.
[13] Ibid., 15.
[14] De Certeau, 'Vocal Utopias': 29-47.
[15] Massumi, *Politics of Affect*, 44.

81

It could be argued that if glossolalia has the potential to enunciate a historical perception, it would be a Benjaminian collision of past and future, provoking attunement to both ecstatic possibility and catastrophic memory. A revolutionary glossolalia, therefore, would explore a Benjaminian dialectic by uniting the messianic potential with 'a chora of loss': the inscrutability of a muted history.[16]

By mapping neoliberal vocabularies onto the spiritual realm, the phenomenon of the mega church disinherits the truly creative potential of glossolalia from its radical possibilities. Like the babbling spectator of the cute object, the dialectical tension between affect and reason, ecstasy and judgement have not found its way into the proper realm of freedom. Similar to the train, there is a tension between movement and incarceration, possibility and confinement. It would be apposite to remember the staffrider who converts the train into a spielraum for creative resistance. Stephanie Vos draws our attention to the way in which:

> The staffrider puts the means of oppression – the train – to use on his own terms. He leaps on and off at will, precariously and provocatively. The power of the in-between space – the train as a node in a network, where people and ideas briefly congregate and then disperse – is similarly evident in the opportunistic use of the train to advance ideas and mobilise agendas that have no space elsewhere.[17]

From this perspective, play is essential to the practice of freedom, because it 'transcends the drab and stultifying restrictiveness of deterministic utilitarianism'[18] From today's point of view, looking back at apartheid, it is easy to see why the verbal flourishes of the National Party was a thin veneer to rationalise inhumane practices. What is more important is to take note how the same rationalising tactics are used today to suppress questions about neoliberal

---

[16] Sakr, *Monumental Space,* 49.

[17] Stephanie Vos, 'South African jazz and exile in the 1960s: Theories, discourses and lived experiences' (master's thesis, University of London. 2015), 39.

[18] Richard N. Coe, *When The Grass Was Taller: Autobiography and the Experience of Childhood* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 252, quoted in Adams, 'Stop-time', 58.

labour practices in post-apartheid South Africa.

Bibliography

Abrahams, Brent. 'A Forensic Approach to Constructing a Biography of Voortrekker Road, Bellville.' *WritingThreeSixty: Journal of Research and Creative Texts* 2, no. 2 (February 13, 2016): 10.

ACMS. Xenophobic Incidents Database. ACMS, University of Witwatersrand. http://www.xenowatch.ac.za, accessed 15 September 2019.

Adams, Timothy Dow. 'Games in Frank Conroy's "Stop-time."' *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal,* 20, no. 4 (1987): 51-53.

Anofuechi, Benson Onyekachukwu. 'Pentecostalism and the Further Fragmentation of Christianity: An Investigation of the Factors Contributing to the Establishment of New Churches in Belhar since 2000.' Master's thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2015.

"Apartheid Archives Project, Documentation and Narratives, 2009." Historical Papers, 2009. Accessed August 6, 2018. http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/?inventory/U/collections&c=AG3275/R.

Atwood, Margaret. *The Handmaids Tale.* London: Vintage, 2011.

Baer, Ulrich. *Spectral evidence. The photography of trauma*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2002.

Barnard, Rita. *Apartheid and Beyond: South African Writers and the Politics of Place*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Barratt, John. 'South Africa in a Changing World.' In *Race Relations in South Africa: 1929-1979*, edited by Ellen Hellmann and Henry Lever, 231. New York: St. Martins Press, 1980.

Barris, Ken. 'The Afrikaner Grotesque: Mediating between Colonial Self and Colonised Other in Three Post-Apartheid South African Novels.' *English in Africa* 41, no. 1 (2014).

Benjamin, Walter. *Selected Writings, V.1, 1913-1926*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996.

Benjamin, Walter, *The Arcades Project*. Translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Benjamin, Walter. 'Theses on the philosophy of history.' In *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections.* Edited by Hannah Arendt. Translated by Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1969, 253-264.

Bloomberg, Charles. *Christian-nationalism and the Rise of the Afrikaner Broederbond, in South Africa: 1918-48*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.

Brady, Mary Pat. *Extinct Lands, Temporal Geographies: Chicana Literature and the Urgency of Space*. Durham: Duke University Press, 200.

Brink, André. *Imaginings of Sand*. London: Vintage, 2011.

Brudvig, Ingrid. 'Conviviality in Bellville: an ethnography of space, place, mobility and being.' Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, 2015.

Buck-Morss, Susan. *Hegel, Haiti and Universal History*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009.

Buck-Morss, Susan. *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999.

Butler, Judith. 'Benjamin and the philosophy of history,' YouTube video, 1:02:09, lecture at the European Graduate School, posted by 'European Graduate School Video Lectures,' February 11, 2012, https://youtu.be/dtRwOkGV-B4

Campbell, Bebe Moore. 'What Happened to the Afro.' *Ebony*, June, 1982.

Chambers, Iain. *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Cornille, Mathias, and Konstantijn Verbrugge. 'Context: Recasting Voortrekker.' Master's thesis, Ghent University, 2016.

De Certeau, Michel., Pierre Mayol, and Luce Giard. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.

De Certeau, Michel. 'Practices of Space.' In *On Signs*, edited by Blonsky Marshall. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.

Michel De Certeau, *The Writing of History*. Columbia University Press, 1988.

De Certeau, Michel. 'Vocal Utopias: Glossolalias.' *Representations*, no. 56 (1996).

Didi-Huberman, Georges. 'To Render Sensible,' in Alain Badiou et al., *What Is a People?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

Du Toit, Marijke. 'Women, Welfare and the Nurturing of Afrikaner Nationalism : A Social History of the Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue Vereniging'*, C.1870-1939*. PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 1996.

Edwards, Elizabeth. *Raw Histories. Photographs, Anthropology, Museums*. London: Polity Press, 2001.

Field, S. 1998. 'Ambiguous Belongings: Negotiating Hybridity in Cape Town, 1940s-1990s', *Kronos*, no. 25.

Field, Sean. *Lost communities, living memories: remembering forced removals in Cape Town*. Cape Town: David Philip, 2002.

Field, Sean. 'Remembering Experience, Interpreting Memory: Life Stories from Windermere.' *African Studies* 60, no. 1 (n.d.): 166-167.

Field, Sean. 'The Power of Exclusion: Moving Memories from Windermere to the Cape Flats, 1920s–1990s.' Doctoral thesis: University of Essex, 1996.

Fieuw, Walter. 'An investigation of development processes in a strategic spatial planning intervention: Bellville node on Voortrekker Road Corridor in Cape Town.' MA thesis, University of Glasgow, 2016.

Friese, Heidrun. 'The Limits of Hospitality.' *Paragraph* 32, no. 1 (2009): 51-68.

Gal, Susan. 'Language Ideologies Compared: Metaphors of Public/Private.' *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15, no. 1 (2005).

Giliomee, Hermann. 'The Making of the Apartheid Plan, 1929-1948.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, no. 2 (2003).

Griffiths, and Prozesky. 'The Politics of Dwelling: Being White / Being South African.' *Africa Today* 56, no. 4 (2010).

Guha, Ranajit. *History at the Limit of World History* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2002).

Hagedorn, Jessica. 'Black: Her Story.' *Ploughshares* 19, no. 4 (1993): 173-78.

Hansen, Miriam Bratu. *Cinema and Experience. Siegfried Kracauer, Walter Benjamin, and Theodor W. Adorno*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *The Philosophy of History*. Translated by J. Sibree. New York: Dover Publications, 1956.

Hirahara, Naomi. *Distinguished Asian American Business Leaders*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003.

Hoad, Neville Wallace. *African Intimacies: Race, Homosexuality, and Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

Hofmeyr, Isabel. 'Building a Nation from Words: Afrikaans Language, Literature and Ethnic Identity, 1902-1924.' In *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*, edited by S. Mark, Stanley Trapido, and S. Marks, 100. New York: Routledge, 1987.

Hook, Derek. *Critical Psychology of the Postcolonial: The Mind of Apartheid*. London: Psychology Press, 2012.

Hyslop, Jonathan. 'White Working-class Women and the Invention of Apartheid: "Purified" Afrikaner Nationalist Agitation for Legislation Against "Mixed" Marriages, 1934–9.' *The Journal of African History* 36, no. 01 (1995).

Johannessen, Stella. Interview by Christopher Du Preez, July 8, 2002, Centre for Popular Memory, UCT Libraries, http://digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/oral-history-interview-w-minie-johnson-1.

Johnson, W (Minie). Interview by Christopher Du Preez, July 17, 2002, Centre for Popular Memory, UCT Libraries, http://digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/oral-history-interview-w-minie-johnson-1.

Kopytoff, Igor. *The African frontier: the reproduction of traditional African societies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.

Kuperus, Tracy. 'Resisting or Embracing Reform? South Africa's Democratic Transition and NGK-State Relations.' *Journal of Church and State* 38, no. 4 (1996).

Lalu, Premesh. 'The Trojan Horse and the Becoming Technical of the Human.' In *Remains of the Social: Desiring the Post-Apartheid*, edited by Lalu Premesh, Van Bever Donker Maurits, Truscott Ross, and Minkley Gary, 249-74. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2017.

Legge, Elizabeth. 'When Awe Turns to Awww: Jeff Koons' Balloon Dog and the Cute Sublime.' In *The Aesthetics and Affects of Cuteness*, edited by Joshua Paul Dale, Joyce Goggin, Julia Leyda, Anthony P. McIntyre, and Diane Negra. New York: Routledge, 2017.

Levitt, Peggy. '"You Know, Abraham Was Really the First Immigrant": Religion and Transnational Migration.' *International Migration Review* 37, no. 3 (2003).

Long, Carol. 'Transitioning Racialised Spaces.' In *Race, Memory and the Apartheid Archive: Towards a Transformative Psychosocial Praxis*, by Garth Stevens, Norman Duncan, and Derek Hook. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Longford, Samuel. 'The Suppression of Communism, the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Instrumentality of Fear During Apartheid.' MA thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2016.

Loubser, J. A. 'Apartheid Theology: A "Contextual" Theology Gone Wrong?' *Journal of Church and State* 38, no. 2 (1996).

Lu, Leslie. 'The Asian Arcades Project: Progressive Porosity.' *Perspecta* 36 (2005).

Marchi, Lisa. 'Ghosts, Guests, Hosts: Rethinking "Illegal" Migration and Hospitality Through Arab Diasporic Literature.' *Comparative Literature Studies* 51, no. 4 (2014): 603-26.

Massumi, Brian. *The Politics of Affect*. Cambridge: Polity, 2015.

McDonald, David A. *World City Syndrome: Neoliberalism and Inequality in Cape Town*. Routledge, 2009.

Messina, Ernest Allen. 1981. 'Die Voortrekkereeufees'*, 1938*. Verhandeling (MA)-- Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland, 1982.

Meyer, Birgit. 'Make a Complete Break with the Past. Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostalist Discourse.' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, no. 3 (1998).

Meyer, B. 'Pentecostalism and Neo-Liberal Capitalism: Faith, Prosperity and Vision in African Pentecostal- Charismatic Churches.' *Journal for the Study of Religion*20, no. 2 (2009).

McClintock, Anne. 'No Longer in a Future Heaven': Women and Nationalism in South Africa.' *Transition*, no. 51 (1991).

Morrison, Ian A. 'The Thai Host Gaze: Alterity and the Governance of Visitors in Thailand.' In *The Host Gaze in Global Tourism*, edited by Omar Moufakkir and Yvette Reisinger. Boston: CABI, 2013.

Moten, Fred. *Black and Blur*. Duke University Press, 2017.

Ngai, Sianne. *Our Aesthetic Categories: Zany, Cute, Interesting*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015.

Nuttall, Sarah. *Entanglement: Literary and Cultural Reflections on Post-Apartheid*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009.

Pandey, Gyanendra. 'In Defense of the Fragment: Writing about Hindu-Muslim Riots in India Today.' *Representations*, no. 37 (1992).

Pansegrouw, H.M . 'n Boodskap Van Die Voorsitter Van Die Afrikaanse Sakekamer, Bellville. *Bellville Gala-Week*, September 30, 1968.

Rajagopal, Arvind. 'Violence of Commodity Aesthetics: Hawkers, Demolition Raids and a New Regime of Consumption.' Economic and Political Weekly 37, no. 1 (2002): 65-76.

Rompel, Hans, *'n Nasie Hou Koers*. Directed by Hans Rompel. South Africa: Reddingsdaadbond Amateur Rolprent Organisasie, 1938.

Rosenthal, Eric. *Goodwood and its story*. Cape Town: Goodwood Municipality Press, 1981.

Sakr, Rita. *Monumental Space in the Post-imperial Novel: An Interdisciplinary Study*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013.

Scholem, Gershom. *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis: Selected Essays*. Edited by Werner J. Dannhauser. Philadelphia: Paul Dry Books, 2012.

Sekula, Allan, and Barbera Van. Kooij. *Fish Story*. Düsseldorf: Richter, 1995.

Shaw, Spencer, *Film consciousness: from phenomenology to Deleuze*. Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2008, 108.

Shryock, Andrew. 'Thinking about Hospitality, with Derrida, Kant, and the Balga Bedouin.' *Anthropos* 103, no. 2 (2008).

Simmel, Georg, Anthony J. Blasi, Anton K. Jacobs, and Mathew J. Kanjirathinkal. *Sociology: Inquiries into the Construction of Social Forms*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Simone, Abdou Maliq. *For the City Yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

Smith, Jonathan Z. *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Snyman, J. 'To Reinscribe Remorse On A Landscape.' *Literature and Theology* 13, no. 4 (1999).

Southall, Roger. 'African Capitalism in Contemporary South Africa.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 7, no. 1 (1980).

Tilley, Christopher. *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*. Oxford: Berg, 1997.

Tilley, Christopher, and Cameron-Daum, Kate. 'The Anthropology of Landscape: Materiality, Embodiment, Contestation and Emotion.' In *An Anthropology of Landscape: The Extraordinary in the Ordinary*, 1-22. London: UCL Press, 2017.

Tronzo, William. *The fragment: an incomplete history*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2009.

Van der Westhuizen, Christi Van Der. *Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2018.

Varma, Rashmi. *The Postcolonial City and Its Subjects: London, Nairobi, Bombay*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Vásquez, Manuel A., and Marie F. Marquardt. *Globalizing the Sacred: Religion across the Americas*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003.

Vladislavić, Ivan. *The Exploded View*. Brooklyn, NY: Archipelago Books, 2017.

Vos, Stephanie. 'South African jazz and exile in the 1960s: Theories, discourses and lived experiences.' MA thesis, University of London. 2015.

Western, John. *Outcast Cape Town*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981.

Willett, Julie A. *Permanent waves: the making of the American beauty shop*. New York: New York University Press, 2000.

Whyman, Tom. 'What Is Cupcake Fascism?' Full Stop. April 2, 2014. Accessed December 01, 2018. http://www.full-stop.net/2014/04/03/blog/tom-whyman/what-is-cupcake-fascism/.