Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Specters of Cape Town: Heritage, Memory, and Restitution in Contemporary South African Art, Architecture, and Museum Practice

Daniela Franca Joffe & Nick Shepherd

Published online: 07 Mar 2021.

Submit your article to this journal ↗

Article views: 1675

View related articles ↗

View Crossmark data ↗

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Specters of Cape Town: Heritage, Memory, and Restitution in Contemporary South African Art, Architecture, and Museum Practice

Daniela Franca Joffe[a] and Nick Shepherd [b]

[a]University of Hull, Cape Town, South Africa; [b]Aarhus University, University of Pretoria, Aarhus, Denmark

ABSTRACT

Cape Town is home to a series of extreme disjunctive arrangements of wealth and poverty. Key to understanding the city is the deep inscription of historical injustice and its expression in contemporary forms of social injustice. In the paper that follows, we report on conversations with four indispensable commentators on the contemporary state of the city: artist Thania Petersen, architect and artist Ilze Wolff, museum practitioner Bonita Bennett, and heritage practitioner Calvyn Gilfellan. These conversations occur at a particular moment in South African life and being: in the aftermath of the Zuma presidency, in the aftermath of #RhodesMustFall, in the context of the perceived failure of the project of non-racialism, in the context of growing frustration over the intractability of historical inequality and the slow pace of change, and amid a heated national debate around the ANC government's draft land expropriation bill. A common set of themes and preoccupations emerge: questions around race and religion; history, representation, and restitution; memory and forgetting; social justice and the abiding presence of historical injustice. Thinking inside and outside of the disciplines of art, architecture, and museum and heritage practice, these conversations present an accumulated body of wisdom and insight that might also be read as a transcript on the contemporary state of the city.

Tropes of Cape Town

How to write about Cape Town? As a city it invites hyperbole and excess. In 2014, the *New York Times* named Cape Town number one of fifty-two "must-see" travel destinations (New York Times 2014). In 2016, the UK-based *Telegraph* published "22 reasons why Cape Town is the world's best city" (Khan 2016). According to a report published in July 2016 in South African newspaper *City Press*, Cape Town has the world's second highest seasonal fluctuation of US-dollar multimillionaires in the world, after the Hamptons in New York (Brown 2016). Meanwhile, the *State of Cape Town Report 2016*, the most recent comprehensive report on the city, notes that roughly 20% of households live in "informal

housing," mostly shacks made of corrugated iron. The same report estimates youth unemployment in the city at 45% (State of Cape Town Report 2016). In March 2018, *BusinessTech* reported that Cape Town is the 15th most violent city in the world, citing a study published by the Mexican Council for Public Security and Criminal Justice (BusinessTech 2018). In terms of the actual murder rate per 100 000 residents, however, Cape Town stands third in the list of the fifty most violent cities globally, with just two cities reporting higher absolute numbers of homicides for the year 2017–2018 (Caracas in Venezuela and Fortaleza in Brazil). In early 2018, Cape Town made global headlines over the protracted drought threatening the city's water supply (Shepherd 2019). The BBC's Gabriella Mulligan reported: "Cape Town, home to Table Mountain, African Penguins, sunshine and sea, is a world-renowned tourist destination. But it could also become famous for being the first major city in the world to run out of water" (Mulligan 2018). Commentators predicted Mad Max–style water wars and the collapse of civil society. (Neither happened.)

How do we reach behind the headlines to make sense of the city as it currently exists? For us, one of the keys to understanding the city and its inhabitants is the deep inscription of historical injustice and the ways in which this is expressed in contemporary forms of social injustice (Shepherd 2012, 2015a). From the moment of its rounding by Portuguese mariners in the 1490s, the Cape has functioned as a crucible of modernity. In this respect, it somewhat resembles the Caribbean, another site of focus for the forces of modernity in its "colonial" aspect: racial slavery, colonialism, genocide, and racism (Karras 2015). Situated at the oceanic crossroads between East and West, the Cape was colonized in the mid-seventeenth century by the Dutch, who established a brutal slave economy. Enslaved persons were imported from all parts of the Dutch commercial empire – East and West Africa, Madagascar, what are now parts of Indonesia and Malaysia, and as far afield as India, China, and Japan – creating the most diasporically diverse slave society on earth (Worden 1985; Worden, van Heyningen, and Bickford-Smith 2004). Historian Mohamed Adhikari has documented the genociding of the Cape San, the indigenous people of the Cape, as the frontiers of the colony expanded northward and eastward, leading to the simultaneous capture and reduction of independent Khoekhoen/herder polities (Adhikari 2011). In the second half of the nineteenth century, Cape Town acted as a staging post for the industrialization of the interior. Working-class areas of the inner city were inhabited by indigenous-descended Capetonians, slave-descended Capetonians, settler-descended Capetonians, and more recent migrants from Europe, Asia, other parts of Africa, and the Americas (Worden, van Heyningen, and Bickford-Smith 2004). The creole society of the Cape gave rise to a number of hybrid cultural forms, including the local patois "Afrikaans," a creolized form of Dutch (Mesthrie 1995). First introduced by enslaved Capetonians, Islam has been an organizing force at the Cape for centuries, existing in tension with the Christian proselytizing and missionary zeal of various church groups and reformers (Tayob 2009).

Apartheid impacted the creole society of the Cape with particular ferocity, alienating black ("African" and "Coloured") Capetonians from their homes and land, reserving the best and most spacious residential areas for white Capetonians, and reorganizing the city as a patchwork of racially segregated and "cleansed" residential areas (Field 2001). The memory and legacy of forced removals, including the historical legacy of white wealth and black poverty established through the alienation of land as property, exist as an open wound in the contemporary city (O'Connell 2019). In the post-1994 period,

runaway property speculation and development made Cape Town the ninth most profi-table city in the world in terms of real estate investment in the second quarter of 2017, ahead of Melbourne, Paris, and Hong King and just behind Berlin (Knight Frank 2017). For the most part, this loosely regulated development has been overlain onto the blue-print of apartheid racial segregation, reproducing and reinforcing the racial and spatial divisions of the past (Ernsten 2015, 2017a, 2017b; Shepherd 2019). Subjectively, the experience of dwelling in Cape Town involves being confronted moment-by-moment with extremely disjunctive arrangements of wealth and poverty. We can think of no other city with such starkly contrasted scenarios, vistas, and living conditions: the stately homes of Constantia and Bishopscourt, the seaside villas of Clifton and Camps Bay, the windswept shacks of Khayelitsha, and the dystopian ganglands of the cynically named "Lavender Hill" and "Ocean View." Cape Town's spectacular natural worlds, its unparalleled beaches, and the stately magnificence of Table Mountain compound this sense of disjuncture when held up against the human misery and despair that form the ineluctable other face of the city.

In a now-famous intervention, Jacques Derrida proposes that "specters" are those things or phenomena that history has repressed (Derrida 1994). Instead of writing an ontology as an account of the nature of being, he proposes a "hauntology": an account of repressed contents, disavowed meanings and narratives, and the systematic acts of for-getting that haunt the present. For us, this has provided a rich interpretive framework through which to engage with Cape Town's contested pasts (Shepherd 2012, 2015a). Based on this work, and on the brief history of the city outlined above, we propose that it is possible to discern five "tropes" of Cape Town that together haunt its contem-porary transcript: the Indigenous Cape; the Cape of Slavery; Creole Cape Town; the Cape of Forced Removals; and the Cape of Forgetting. These tropes have been variously disavowed, denied, or repressed and, as such, are among the city's many specters. In many instances, the mechanism of the disavowal is hidden in plain sight, as it were – as in the pervasive practice of referring to the slave plantations of the Cape as "estates" (as in "wine estates"), evoking gentle bucolic pleasures, or simply as "farms" ("wine farms"). In the rainbow-tinted Cape of Forgetting, by contrast, it is the act of forgetting itself that is repressed or repackaged (as "non-racialism," "development," or "design"). Any transcript of Cape Town is, then, also a kind of hauntology.

In the paper that follows, we report on conversations with four indispensable commen-tators on the contemporary state of the city: the visual artist Thania Petersen, the architect and artist Ilze Wolff, the museum practitioner and former director of the District Six Museum Bonita Bennett, and the heritage practitioner and CEO of the Castle of Good Hope Calvyn Gilfellan.[1] These conversations took place in Cape Town in early 2019, as part of a week of dialoging between various local artists, activists, practitioners, and scho-lars and a small group of Europe-based artists and researchers that included ourselves, in our crossover capacity as Capetonian scholars and practitioners affiliated with European universities. This program was organized as part of an EU-funded and Europe-led research project on heritage practices in colonially entangled cities. Though linked to this formal research project, the dialogs themselves were deliberately informal, unscripted, and non-directive. In each case, we simply asked our interlocuters to reflect on their own prac-tice and on how it responds to contemporary meanings, challenges, and contestations, as they understand them.

The dialogs occurred at a distinct moment in South African life and being: in the aftermath of the Zuma presidency, in the aftermath of #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall, in the context of the perceived failure of the project of non-racialism, in the context of growing frustration over the intractability of historical inequality and the slow pace of change, and, perhaps most urgently, amid a heated national debate around the ANC government's draft land expropriation bill. Across the four conversations that we report here, a common set of themes and preoccupations emerge in relation to Cape Town in particular: questions around identity, race, and religion; questions around history, representation, and restitution; questions around memory and forgetting; questions around social justice and the abiding presence of historical injustice. Questions, indeed, because our interlocuters were not interested in easy formulations or resolutions and met the messiness of the city's present moment as much with ambivalence, wariness, and disquiet as with vision, conviction, and hope. Thinking inside and outside of the disciplines of art, architecture, and museum and heritage practice, their responses present an accumulated body of wisdom and insight that might also be read as a cross-section of the ongoing, unfinished transcript of contemporary Cape Town.

A Note on Method

Working within the formal constraints and expectations of the peer-reviewed journal article, it becomes necessary to add a note on method. Research-driven encounters between the Global North and the Global South are necessarily fraught (Smith 1999), especially when initiated and funded by the former, and even when marked by a spirit of dialog and listening. Even with the best intentions, such encounters cannot help but recall colonial knowledge relations between Europe and the rest of the world, wherein disembodied, rational subjects (*humanitas*) observed and inspected racially marked objects of knowledge (*anthropos*), and in so doing invented and legitimized these distinctions (see Mignolo 2009). In addition to the epistemological baggage surrounding European research in Africa, such research is shot through with other layers of ethical murkiness. Another one of our interlocuters during our week in Cape Town, the Durban-based artist and architect Doung Anwar Jahangeer, articulated this murkiness poignantly in relation to his own encounters with European cultural bodies. He raised key questions around agenda-setting and power differentials:

> It seems there is an underlying discourse that feels like a kind of fetishism, of not being able to let go. Like a criminal who always wants to come back to the site of the crime, to see what's happening, to see whether they will be caught or not … We, here, we don't have programs that will invite European artists to come to Africa and tell them, OK, we want you to do a program around this and that. But it is constant the other way around, and the agenda is not always transparent … Who asked for it? And who's telling us that this is what needs to be done? And there is the power of capital also. So it's complex. (Jahangeer 2019)

Jahangeer's image of the criminal returning to the crime scene to confront their own criminality or lack of remorse brings to mind what Tuck and Yang (2012, 9) call "settler moves to innocence": strategies that attempt, in one way or another, to absolve whiteness of its culpability and complicity in the violence of the colonial past and that have the effect of recentering whiteness. For Tuck and Yang (2012, 28), any moves on the part

of whiteness that are not a commitment to land restitution (and relinquishment) are purely rhetorical and therefore "incommensurable" with decolonization proper, as they define it.

Mignolo (2009, 14), for his part, distinguishes between a politics of identity (available to "whoever wants to join") and identity politics (limited to "the definition of a given identity"). In the politics of identity, the agenda is set by indigenous communities, but anyone can be invited to support it, regardless of descent (Mignolo 2009). Knowledge-making, on these terms, is about using research not to "advance" a specific discipline but to advance indigenous causes (Mignolo 2009, 9). Inverted in this way, research can become a form of "epistemic disobedience" (Mignolo 2009), where what is disobeyed is precisely the coloniality that still subtends much disciplinary practice. Ultimately, however, no research method is neutral (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015). Particularly in the African context, knowledge-making always risks becoming a gate-keeper of other voices, logics, and worldviews (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015, 489). As a minimum, Jahangeer (2019) suggested that we "keep the criticality alive" when navigating the treacherous waters of Europe–Africa encounters.

These tensions form the broader frame of this essay, and we do not wish to resolve them. We prefer to let them haunt the piece as half-specters, not necessarily repressed but not addressed either, because the uncomfortable aspects of European research in Africa cannot be got around. We have, though, been "undisciplined" (Haber 2012; Shepherd 2015b) in our approach, to the extent that we choose to present our interlocuters' practices and perspectives in their own words, instead of framing them in conceptual terms. The ideas sketched in the previous section around hauntology and tropes are about as far as we go in terms of framing; these ideas can be discarded altogether or read alongside the far richer ideas put forward by the speakers themselves. It seemed important to *get at* the transcript of contemporary Cape Town rather than *get in the way of* it, and while some degree of narrating, contextualising, and reflecting is demanded by the form, at the same time we are sceptical of such moves. We are also aware of the irony of our even needing to say so: through this little note on method, it would seem that we get to "have our cake and eat it, too."

1. "We are the good, we are the bad, we are the damaged": Close-readings of past, present, and future

Thania Petersen is a multidisciplinary artist from Cape Town. Her work over the past ten years has included photographic self-portraits, installations, and multisensory-based performance and has functioned as a deliberate "counter-narrative," challenging the erasure and distortion of Cape Malay culture in public discourse (Petersen 2019). Her first solo exhibition, *IQRA* (February–April 2019, WHATIFTHEWORLD, Cape Town), departed from this line of enquiry and extended her practice of counter-narrative to the coloniality of religion. In particular, it looked at the post-1970s rise of ultraconservative Wahhābism within Islam and what the artist understands as the colonial backstory of this development (Petersen 2019).

Petersen (2019) walked our group through the show, which featured a series of hand-embroidered Islamic prayer mats in a range of different styles (Figure 1). The bottom edges of all the mats were marked, almost scorched, by a nullifying black – the color

that has become a stand-in for Wahhābism the world over (Petersen 2019). The prayer mats, Petersen (2019) told us, "are trying to talk about and show the infiltration of these new and hardcore extreme ideologies into our sacred spaces." The exhibition's name, *IQRA*, means "read" in Arabic and, in the Qur'an, is the first revelation and instruction received by the Prophet Muhammad. In the context of Petersen's work, it is an invitation to embark on a series of close-readings: of the links between religious extremism and the colonial past; of the liberatory role Islam has played for communities in former colonies such as Cape Town; of Islam's forgotten feminist histories.

Regarding the links between religious extremism and the colonial past, Petersen shared her view that religious nationalism, not only within Islam but "across the board," is part of a "postcolonial global narrative" that "feeds off and is fueled by our older colonial situations" (Petersen 2019). This narrative's defining feature is that "people do not know who they are anymore":

> We are not who we think we are. We are not "African" and we are not "Indian" and we are not "European". We are completely mixed. There's no such thing as homogeny. There's no such thing as purity. But I feel like people are trying to find a space where they can find a sense of purity, and they're doing that within their religions. (Petersen 2019)

According to the artist, religious purity or puritanism is one type of response to colonial violence and postcolonial fragmentation.

In terms of the liberatory function of Islam, Petersen spoke of the decolonial and subversive legacy of Islam at the Cape, which is a part of the Islamic story that is rarely told:

> From our perspective as a Muslim community in South Africa … Islam has never been anything but liberating for us. It has been a liberating force. And throughout colonialism, it was a counter-narrative. It was a revolutionary narrative. It spoke against colonialism. It spoke for brotherhood. It spoke against racism. (Petersen 2019)

The artist also underscored the fact that the Cape Malay community is distinctly "matriarchal," free of "economic imbalance in the house" and any attendant "patriarchal bullshit" (Petersen 2019). The disjuncture between these progressive properties of Islam as it is practiced locally ("liberating," "counter-narrative," "revolutionary," "against colonialism … against racism," "matriarchal"), on the one hand, and the way Islam is expressed in forms such as Wahhābism and jihadism, on the other, was what "propelled" Petersen to create *IQRA* in the first place (Petersen 2019). "Because what is happening in the world and the Islam you see – that is not Islam," she explained (Petersen 2019).

In general, Petersen's show seemed to be interested in the various entanglements at the heart of Islam – between coloniality and decoloniality, between liberation and oppression, between survival and obliteration – entanglements that she refuses to resolve and that her entangled embroideries perform with particular force. In a photographic portrait titled *In Sentiment of What Comes and Goes II*, the artist, dressed in a *sari*, stands side-by-side and back-to-back with a small child (the artist's son) (Petersen 2019). Petersen (2019) explained that her figure, "dripping with color," represents Islam as she understands its essence (Petersen 2019), while her son's figure, draped in a "sea of black," represents the Wahhābī "global community of mourners," who, in her words, mourn the "love" and "freedom" they once found in their religion (Petersen 2019). The artist is photographed facing an ancient Sufi shrine in Aurangabad, India, a sacred site within the

Figure 1. Thania Petersen, *IQRAA* (2019). Embroidery thread on cotton fabric, approx. 172 × 97 cm. Photograph by WHATIFTHEWORLD gallery.

Islamic tradition (Petersen 2019). Such sites are "frowned upon" by extremists for "making gods of men," and the Wahhābī figure literally has his back to this one (Petersen 2019). Though the two figures represent two irreconcilable polarities within Islam, their hands are intertwined, which is arguably the most crucial part of the work. The mother–child significance hangs over the two opposed figures, suggesting their mutual dependence as well as the possibility of mutual care. Petersen is not interested in neat binaries or easy resolutions (Figure 2).

Toward the end of our conversation, Petersen extended this logic to the fraught question of Capetonian identity. She troubled her own use of the term "Cape Malay" and pointed to the entanglement of cultural identities at the Cape:

> If you come from a lineage that has been created in Cape Town, we are a creolized society—we have all got each other in each other … If you really think that you are pure in any way and you don't have a little bit of Dutch and a little bit of this and a little of that in you, you are very sadly mistaken … It is OK to know where you come from, but don't hold onto the fantasy of something that's precolonial.

Elaborating on the "fantasy" of the precolonial, she said:

> It's very attractive to be something precolonial, because it's a time that's glorious: it's a time before rape, a time before pillage, a time before abuse, and so we all want to be there. But that's not who we are. We are all the things: we are the good, we are the bad, we are the damaged. And we have been damaged. We're damaged. Everyone in Cape Town is fucked … We need to actually now work together to heal our trauma … We need to realize, I am the same as you, and you are the same as me. (Petersen 2019)

For Petersen, recognizing this fantasy seems to mean recognizing a fundamental commonality or "sameness" among even the most opposed Capetonians, among even the oppressor and the oppressed – a commonality based on mutual damage or "fuckedness," and on the need for mutual healing.

Leaving the conversation there would have meant a clean symmetry between the themes in the artist's visual work on religion and her conceptions of contemporary identity, with the emphasis in both instances on entanglement rather than essentialism or binarism. However, almost immediately, Petersen shared with us her uneasiness at "saying a part of [her] is white" (Petersen 2019). This opened up a reflection marked by ambivalence, hesitation, and sadness:

> But I don't know … I don't have the answers. I just know that separation is not the way, because separation perpetuates apartheid … But even now, having this conversation makes me feel sad. You don't want to be a traitor to your people in any way. You don't just want to be like Mandela and say, Oh, look, freedom, rainbow nation, when it's not. And at the end of the day, that kind of ideology also doesn't change anything. That rainbow nation bullshit didn't change anything. It just kept the white people in their positions and kept the black people working for them and kept the Malays making the food …
>
> Until they fix things—and I think this is the responsibility of the white people in this country, only they have the power to change things, only they have the power to say, Let's redistribute this, let's put up trauma centers on every corner of every neighborhood, let's put up rehabilitation centers, let's take all this [colonial wealth] that we're living off the interest of … and let's put it back. And only until that happens are people of color going say, You know what, let's all be South African. But until that point we're not ready. I'm not ready … There's a hurt. There is a hurt that exists. (Petersen 2019)

Black-and-white separation comes at a cost, but so do the "progressive" alternatives, which often fail to assign responsibility where it is due and too readily accept what remains unacceptable.

This reflection from the artist, in addition to encapsulating so lucidly what is at stake in the contemporary South African dilemma, raises important questions about readiness and timing. There may be the will to move past binary divisions and embrace a more entangled

Figure 2. Thania Petersen, *In Sentiment of What Comes and Goes II* (2019). Archival ink-jet print on Hahnemuhle photo rag, 80 × 53 cm. Photograph by WHATIFTHEWORLD gallery.

view of identity and community; there may be a theoretical acceptance and even pro-motion of such a paradigm. But the lack of tangible socio-economic transformation and justice in South Africa, combined with the lack of "trauma centers on every corner," makes adopting such a paradigm painful and near-impossible in practice ("I'm not ready. There's a hurt. There is a hurt that exists"). For us, this was a crucial reminder of the points at which theory (neat, confident) breaks down and is engulfed by reality, in all its messy, painful complexity, demanding that we remain "unsettled" (Tuck and Yang 2012, 3).

2. "Heritage that can pay homage": Interventions in and into space

Ilze Wolff is an artist and architect based in Cape Town. She runs an architectural prac-tice, Wolff Architects, with her partner, Heinrich Wolff, which has a strong commitment to advocacy, research, and documentation (Wolff Architects n.d.). In our conversation with Wolff at her practice, she described the firm's commitment as two-fold: on the one hand, it makes "interventions in space through bricks and mortar"; on the other hand, it makes "interventions *into* space, which is about thinking about loss and thinking about not the bricks and mortar but … the social imagination" (Wolff 2019). For Wolff, part of engaging with the social imagination is acknowledging the "charged" context in which architects in South Africa operate:

> As an architect in South Africa, you cannot actually ignore the charged landscape that we sit in, in terms of the history of forced removals, the history of colonial conquest, and the history of spatial injustice, essentially. How do we situate ourselves in this world where we're actually making space, we're intervening in space? How do we do that mindfully and with a con-sciousness of the deep history of our space? (Wolff 2019)

Wolff went on to explain that her way into this consciousness of spatial history and injus-tice is an emphasis on "narrative and storytelling" (Wolff 2019). Through an unrelenting questioning in search of the "story" behind any project, she unsettles the way architecture is traditionally practiced:

> I think what I bring to the architectural practice is a challenge—it's not an easy thing to do. The easiest thing to do is just to draw the plans, do what the client wants, meet the budget, everybody's happy … The other, more unsettling way is to question: Why are we even doing this? Is our intervention necessary? (Wolff 2019)

This challenge might take the form of telling a client that she does not think a building should be constructed at all, or else it might mean convincing the government that the site they have chosen for a school is inappropriate or that natural light needs to feature heavily in the plans for a local hospital (Wolff 2019). Sometimes, this means that projects take many years, as issues and red-tape get negotiated and renegotiated.

Because of the long duration of most projects, Wolff felt inspired to "develop a public culture" around the firm's research through exhibitions, lectures, talks, open-house tours, and other platforms, which was equally about "collect[ing] wisdoms that [they could] implement back into the practice" (Wolff 2019). As part of this effort, *Pumflet: Art, Architecture and Stuff*, a publication Wolff co-founded with a team of collaborators, was born. Each issue is typically centered on a site-specific interven-tion or workshop, which then leaves a remnant in the form of a printed pamphlet ("pumflet") (see Figure 3).

For example, in the pumflet "Luxurama," Wolff documents an intervention she made at the old Luxurama Theatre in Wynberg, Cape Town, which during apartheid served a "mixed" audience for many years – through a loophole in the Separate Amenities Act – and was a stage for big international acts such as Percy Sledge and Eartha Kitt. With the building long since fallen into disrepair and disuse, Wolff decided to stage a funeral for the building as part of the 2018 Live Arts Festival in Cape Town (ICA 2018). The ceremony included a historical tour of the building by its former manager, a performance by a funeral procession band, and a celebratory tea party at a local corner café (Wolff 2018B). This ritual paid homage to the building's complicated heritage and allowed its forgotten specters to be both seen and laid to rest.

The "Luxurama" publication gives this ritual an after-life befitting the subject matter. It documents the process in a spectral sort of way that is in keeping with the style of all the *Pumflet* editions: empty space; floating heads; long, introspective letters from Wolff to her collaborators; isolated clippings from newspapers, journals, musical scores, and social media; archival images (see Figures 4 and 5). Together, these fragments – held together with tape – form a story of how and why the intervention unfolded and of the history of the Luxurama itself (Wolff 2018A). The medium of tape is important to Wolff: "The way you place the tape becomes very important, because it becomes a way of marking something or taking out something or even erasing mistakes" (Wolff 2019). It also lends the books a "transitory" quality: "If there's nothing to put on a page, you can always put a piece of tape there, for now" (Wolff 2019).

Our conversation with Wolff also turned to the challenges or interventions that she has made beyond her personal practice, in the broader institutions of South African architecture and heritage. Wolff spoke of the small missionary town of Wuppertal in the Cederberg mountains outside of Cape Town, which in late 2018 was razed to the ground by a devastating wildfire. Because of its well-preserved Cape Dutch architecture, the town had, pre-wildfire, always been "a prime pedagogical site for architects," with students at Cape Town universities being sent there to "study" the buildings – "and maybe talk to one or two inhabitants" (Wolff 2019). Studying was a requirement; talking was not. With the town reduced to ashes, Wolff realized that the architecture community needed to do things differently this time around: "[Wuppertal] is very rich, in terms of pedagogy and studying, but there's a violence in studying in that way. I went to the meeting [at the Cape Institute for Architecture] and I said: Can we please not do that again?" (Wolff 2019).

Wolff's (2019) vision of doing things differently involves using architecture as a generative, corrective force, one that seeks to "restore some of the dignity that was lost when people came there and just examined." The first step in this process would be engaging with the community: "There are only 53 homes – it's not a lot. Imagine if you just have a conversation with everyone" (Wolff 2019). The second step would be acknowledging the real architects of Wuppertal:

> These homes were built by descendants of slaves, descendants of workers, descendants of Khoekhoen. They were never acknowledged. And it's so easy to acknowledge. I've been looking at the history of architects that have documented Wuppertal. They say, Oh, the church was done by so and so and so. That was done by so and so. Everyone has names. And then the houses were done by "unknown builders." So I thought maybe it would be interesting if the Cape Institute [for Architecture] could say, This is of heritage value
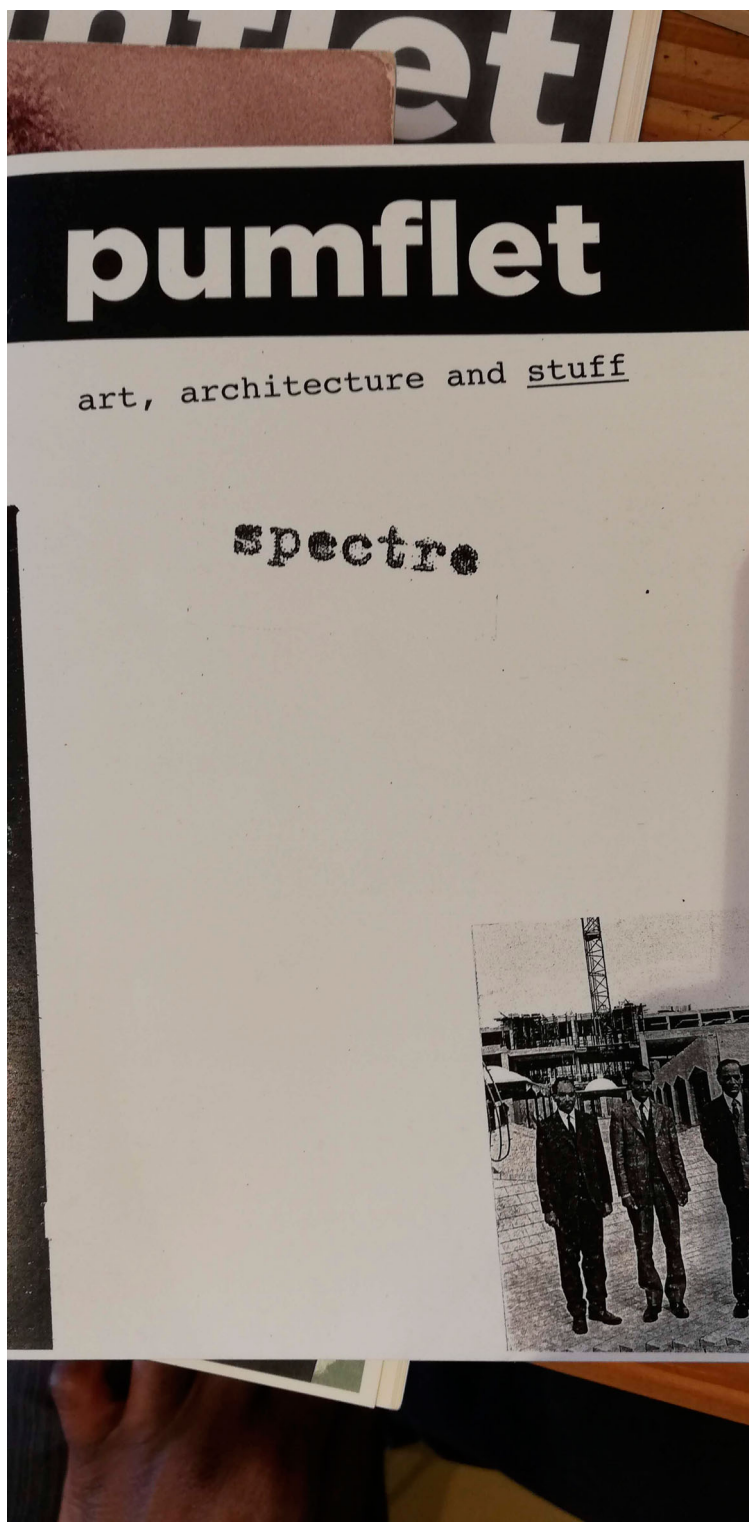
Figure 3. Ilze Wolff, Israel Ogundare, and Megan Ho-Tong, "Spectre," *Pumflet: Art, Architecture and Stuff* (2017). Photograph by Shawn Sobers (2019).

Figure 4. Ilze Wolff, "Luxurama," sample page, *Pumflet: Art, Architecture and Stuff* (2018). Image supplied by artist.
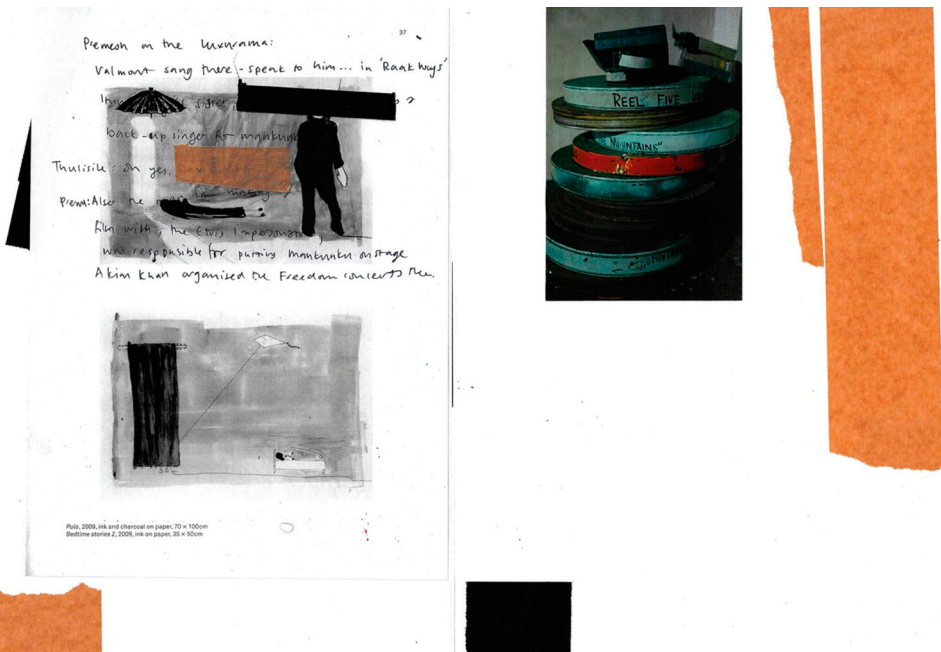

Figure 5. Ilze Wolff, "Luxurama," sample page, *Pumflet: Art, Architecture and Stuff* (2018). Image supplied by artist.

because these individuals or these families built them, or these were the architects of it. Without becoming all preachy or pretentious about it. But if this is our so-called heritage, then let's be serious about it. About who contributed to this heritage. (Wolff 2019)

Here, Wolff offers up a counter-practice to the institutional status quo in South Africa, where colonial structures are meticulously preserved for architecture students' benefits, while the actual needs and histories of those who live in them today are seen as incidental to the main event of the built environment. She challenges heritage to do better and be better, yet without "becoming all preachy and pretentious about it."

As a model for what Wolff (2019) calls "heritage that can pay homage," she cited Sol Plaatje and the investigative work he did in the aftermath of the Native Land Act of 1913, which forced the 80% black majority into 7% of the land (SAHO 2019). She is drawn to Plaatje's process because of the way it inventoried and commemorated the injustices of the past, and she is moved to continue this work:

> To me, that is a kind of a heritage practice: how do you observe, how do you think through, the legacies of spatial violence. That tour of observation should still be ongoing. And I'm trying to do that with this practice, going through every situation and thinking, Whose heritage?

This question ("Whose heritage?") is a kind of fault line for Woolf, one that determines whether heritage stifles or supports the lives associated with it. As she explained:

> Heritage has benefits as well, in terms of homage, in terms of multiple constructions of ima- ginaries, narratives, storytelling, indigenous knowledge, local knowledge—those kinds of things, the kind of life-giving aspects of it. But there is a threat that heritage can be a kind of a—killing … It becomes a kind of a death. (Wolff 2019)

Paying homage; legacies of spatial violence; tours of observation; serious heritage; life-giving heritage; heritage-as-death. These were some of the key words that we took away from our dialog with Wolff. In addition to expanding our conception of heritage, these key words allowed us to reflect on our own position. Was our own group engaging in a "tour of observation" of Cape Town right then, or merely a tour, we wondered? And if heritage-as-death is standard institutional practice, could we ever really get outside of it, as scholars, commentators, and activists? These questions were left open.

3. "A place of safekeeping": The museum as memory-keeper and change-agent

We had the chance to speak to Bonita Bennett, then director of the District Six Museum in Cape Town.[2] In contrast with post-apartheid state initiatives such as the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights, the District Six Museum was created in the late 1980s for the express purpose of being a custodian and a keeper of community memories. As Bennett (2019) explained, the museum emerged out of the Hands Off District Six move- ment, which fought to stop the removal of families from District Six and – when that was not successful – lobbied to prevent development on the demolished land and "ensure that the apartheid dream of a white neighborhood never materialized." She described the museum's origins as follows:

> At [the Hands Off District Six] conference in 1988, very interestingly, there were two major decisions that people made. The one was that all talking and all thinking about the rebuilding

of District Six, whatever happened on that land, had to be done in the context of building a democracy and restitution, and that anything else that happened outside of that framework was not to happen. And the second important decision was the call for a place of memory. And that's how the museum comes into being.

Its designation as a "place of memory" immediately set the District Six Museum apart from the general South African museum landscape, which remained steeped in a traditional, collections-centered model of museology rather than exploring the social and political roles available to museums as part of the "new museology" (Bennett 2019) movement. For this reason, the museum's inception is highly significant from a historical perspective, as Bennett told us:

> For me, I'm very interested in that moment. I've been doing a lot of thinking and looking at the early documents and talking to people, because it was such an unusual and very, very strange decision to make. The late 1980s, when this decision is made, is at the tail-end of apartheid, a time when, locally, there's no precedent for a museum that's leading social change or part of social change. And by my very light examination of the museum world at that time in South Africa, I think that South African museums were standing outside of this whole broad movement of the new museology that started across the world in the 1970s. There's no sign that I can see that South African museums were part of any kind of transformation, either social or internal self-transformation. (Bennett 2019)

A museum specifically conceived as a place of memory and as an agent for social justice and change, in the context of an untransformed and conservative museum space in South Africa, naturally raises the question of whether such a place should have been called a museum at all. Bennett said that she herself was initially ambivalent about the term "museum," tending towards the site being called a place of memory and healing instead, but she eventually understood that it could have no other name:

> For the community, when everything else was crumbling around them, when everything seemed like it was in flux, there was this broken landscape that people notionally knew that they wanted to return to, but they had no idea how that would happen. The museum was the thing that would be permanent, that was not going to go anywhere, that was going to be a place of safekeeping. And when I arrived at an understanding of that, I was sold on the idea that we are a museum. (Bennett 2019)

Bennett also discussed the political significance of being able to occupy the name "museum" in a particular way:

> I think occupying the name "museum" has allowed us to enter the field in a different way … Some of the more traditional museums in Cape Town were the ones that were telling us, Don't call yourselves a museum! You can just be a community project! I think it was part of the discomfort of people around us, feeling, I suppose, challenged by having to think about transforming themselves and their practice as well. (Bennett 2019)

In occupying museumness and emerging as what it is today, the District Six Museum became a permanent and solid fixture on a broken landscape and also disrupted traditional museum practice in the city, setting a new precedent for what museums could and should do.

The museum found its home in the old Methodist Church building on Buitenkant Street in Cape Town in late 1994, after existing as a mobile movement for the previous five years (Bennett 2019). Meanwhile, the physical site of the former District

Six, thanks to the sustained efforts of the Hands Off District Six campaign and its ally movements, remained throughout apartheid and early post-apartheid an undeveloped "memorial scar" on the landscape (Ernsten 2017a), its emptiness leaving open the possibility of the physical return of former residents and their descendants. In 2005, this possibility was actively taken up by the District Six Museum and its partners, who launched the Hands On District Six campaign as a way to drive the community land claim and hasten the government's implementation of a restituted District Six (Ernsten 2017a).

Bennett explained that the restitution process has been slow and mired by bureaucratic, practical, and political obstacles: "It's taken more than 10 years to bring 165 families back. There are 2,000 more families. My maths is bad, but even I can see that's another generation or two" (Bennett 2019). She also told us that the museum is not as involved in the restitution process as it was during the early days of its life. This, she said, is partly because there are now many more actors in this space than there were in the 2000s, which has led the museum to take on "more of a support function" and become "more of a holding space, but also a place of sense-making, because there's quite a lot of confusion, quite a lot of distress, around what's happening with restitution at the moment" (Bennett 2019).

Beyond this, though, the museum has also "very consciously" sought to "take on a different role" within the District Six community (Bennett 2019). Today, most of the museum's interventions are site-based and involve what Bennett described as "embedding an ongoing story into the site," even as the site itself is constantly changing as restitution unfolds at its drawn-out pace. This work is commemorative and processional, rooted in remnants and storytelling (see Figures 6 and 7):

> Most of our public engagement takes place outside of the museum. A lot of it is site-based: it's processional walks, it's storytelling on-site. People love also just scratching around and finding things … With every Walk of Remembrance that we do at a certain time of the year, we try and leave a remnant on the site. If you walk through the site, you'll see these remnants—some of them are gone, but some remain. You'll see there are some mural-type wheatpastes coming from the [District Six] photographic archives, and new stories and wishes that people have written at different points through the site. Obviously, it's going to change with restitution, because some of the buildings that we're marking are not going to be there anymore. But we're hoping to also create a model for how people engage with a changing environment and how you can embed an ongoing story into the site. (Bennett 2019)

The museum's site-based practice is so strong that, according to Bennett, it is now faced with the opposite problem to that of most museums, whose emphasis tends to be inward: "I think we were trying so hard to reframe this whole question of what a museum does, and focusing very much on the processional and on doing that work *outside* of the museum, that we have actually neglected our museum … So we're in the process now of taking stock of the physical space" (Bennett 2019).

Generally, the museum, under Bennett's leadership, prioritizes practice over discourse and is wary of rhetoric for rhetoric's sake.

> I think we're constantly revisiting our views on certain things. So the whole thing around the discourse of museums, for example. We've been very conscious of this—I've certainly been conscious, and I've challenged my colleagues on this matter: Don't use terms that you
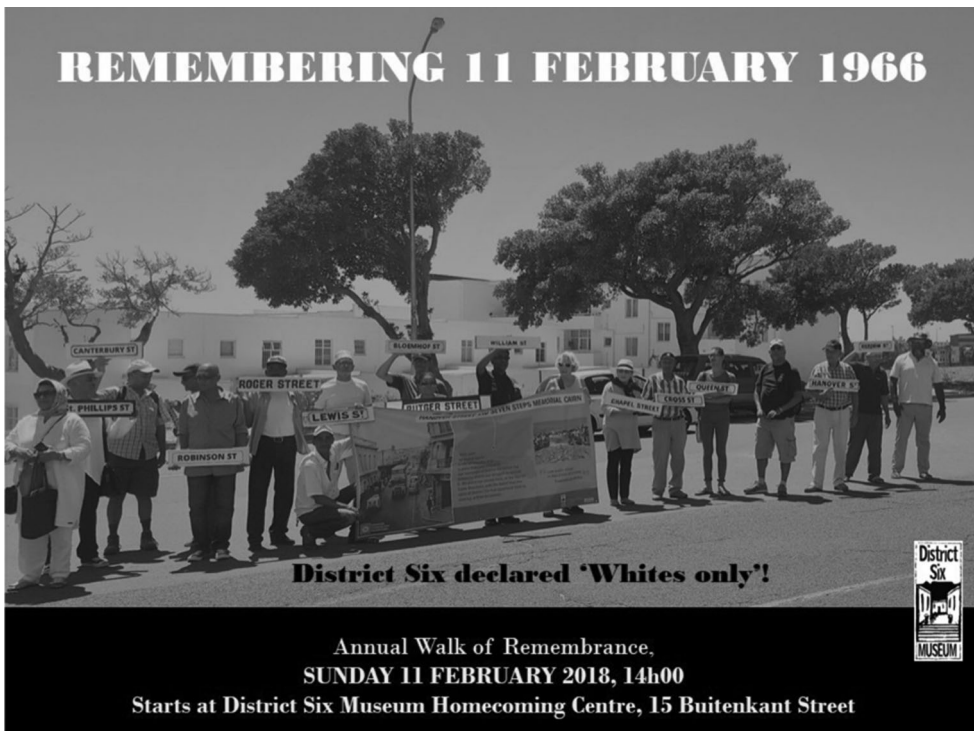
Figure 6. Laying stones ("remnants") on Hanover Street in District Six, Cape Town, during an annual Walk of Remembrance organized by the District Six Museum. Photograph by Jan Greshoff, taken from the District Six Museum website (2019).

Figure 7. District Six Museum poster for the 2018 Walk of Remembrance, held every year on 11 February to commemorate the day District Six was declared a white group area in 1966. Photograph from the District Six Museum website (2019).

can't occupy with integrity. So don't say, We're co-creating, because everyone's talking about co-creating. I say, Do the work and you don't need to use the term. And in the same way with "decolonizing museums." Our work is very much based in the theory of decoloniality in terms of museums, but you'd never see anywhere any of us talking about decolonizing. (Bennett 2019)

There are drawbacks to this approach, Bennett (2019) said: for instance, the museum being contacted by "storytelling consultants" offering their services, despite the fact that storytelling and narrativization are the museum's main activities, simply because these terms are not explicitly mentioned in its material. But, overall, "doing the work" instead of "using the term" has had a "centering" effect on the District Six Museum's practice (Bennett 2019). By doing decoloniality, it seemed to us, the museum does not need to speak decoloniality; decoloniality and heritage become verbs rather than terms in "the discourse of museums." This powerful distinction, and Bennett's challenge to her colleagues to only use words that they can "occupy with integrity," was particularly resonant for us. Were there ways in which we could center practice more, and theory less, in our work? Was decolonial discourse a contradiction in terms? "Do the work and you don't need to use the term": an opening onto deeper introspection. These questions emerged as a central concern in our subsequent conversation with Calvyn Gilfellan.

4. "You talk decolonization, we do decolonization": Why the Castle did not fall

We met Calvyn Gilfellan, the CEO of the Castle of Good Hope, on-site. Constructed between 1666 and 1679 to protect the burgeoning Dutch settlement at the Cape, the Castle is "the oldest surviving colonial building in South Africa" (SAHO 2019). During apartheid, the insignia of the South African army was modelled on the Castle. Today, the building still falls under the jurisdiction of the South African Department of Defence and is an endowment property of the National Defence Force, making it a "very peculiar" site, according to Gilfellan (2019). Gilfellan was appointed in 2013 to, as he put it, "change this hard, colonial, apartheid military image of the Castle to one that is inclusive, reconciliatory, healing" and to "use [the Castle] almost as a tombstone of apartheid, of our previous system" (Gilfellan 2019).

Entering the Castle fifteen years ago, Gilfellan (2019) said, one would have seen "soldiers with guns – it would have been very hardened and militaristic." Entering today, one sees "student group and tourists" (Gilfellan 2019), which we can attest to. In the central courtyard, one also sees four "freedom fighter" statues, unveiled in 2016, featuring the seventeenth-century Goringhaiqua Khoekhoen resistance leader Doman, the Zulu king Cetshwayo, the Pedi king Sekhukhune, and the Hlubi king Langalibalele, all of whom opposed Dutch and later British colonial rule (Gilfellan 2019). Their statues have been placed "in the most powerful place" within the courtyard, explained Gilfellan: "that space is where the governor would come out to read the riot act," which criminalized any form of protest or resistance within the colony (Gilfellan 2019). "We deliberately placed those forgotten freedom fighters in that space, to confront that space," he said (Gilfellan 2019).

Another major intervention in the physical space of the Castle since Gilfellan's tenure has been the transformation of Adam Tas Hall (named after the Afrikaner extremist and slave-owner) into a state-of-the-art conference facility called the Centre for Memory, Healing and Learning. In this center, the Castle hosts a program of book launches, round-tables, community meetings, and dialogs, including, at the time of our conversation, meetings between Khoekhoen community leaders and a team of lawyers working together on a bill that would give the Khoekhoen and San recognition of their status as the nation's First People. "Those are the kinds of discussions we're having here,"

Gilfellan told us. "They're difficult, but they are very important. We're juxtaposing what [the space] used to stand for and what we are moving towards" (Gilfellan 2019). Whereas in the past a "Muslim slave with a page of the Qur'an" could have been "condemned to death for education and learning," and tortured in the chambers just beneath the current center, today the message is "Let's come together in the Centre for Memory, Healing and Learning" (Gilfellan 2019).

As Gilfellan explained, at the start of his tenure the demographics of visitors to the Castle would have been "80% rich tourists and white South Africans" (Gilfellan 2019). In response to this highly skewed audience, Gilfellan and his team had a mandate to "create balanced access" and "increase public access to the Castle" overall (Gilfellan 2019). They introduced "free events, free concerts, so that you expose people without them having to pay," and also partnered with transportation agencies that bussed people in from the townships into the city center free of charge (Gilfellan 2019). For the CEO, the guiding question during these processes of community inclusion and engagement has been: "How do we sow the seeds, while we move towards equality, so that people appreciate heritage and have access to heritage? It's difficult, it's a work in progress, you make mistakes, you learn from them" (Gilfellan 2019).

Reflecting on the Castle's progress over the past few years, Gilfellan mentioned the responses he has received in places such as France and Sri Lanka, which are grappling with their own heritage questions: "When we report to them what we have been doing in terms of a radical interpretation of heritage, and how we make heritage really meaningful, demystifying and deconstructing it, they say, But you are far ahead of us" (Gilfellan 2019). Gilfellan clarified that the process has "not been smooth" and that there are "many enemies" (Gilfellan 2019). Specifically, he spoke of the challenge of dealing with the "white grey men" at conservative South African lobby organizations such as the VOC (Dutch East India Company) Foundation, which try to engage him in "ontological discussions" about how to preserve the dimensions and features of the original seventeenth-century fortress, despite the fact that "very little" within the Castle is "real heritage" and the majority of what exists today is "constructed heritage" that has been "redone over generations" (Gilfellan 2019).

In one particular instance, Gilfellan was challenged by the VOC Foundation over his team's erection of a memorial plaque to former slaves, on the grounds that the plaque was placed "at a very important site" (Gilfellan 2019). Gilfellan's retort was simple: "Important to you, but not to the people you displaced here" (Gilfellan 2019). He perceives a fundamental hypocrisy at the heart of such lobby groups:

> It's a fight between a technocratic approach toward heritage and built heritage and the inconsistency and hypocrisy that go with that. Because you want to know about the building, but the plaque that talks about the forgotten histories, the hidden stories—you don't want that. Your objection is actually not that there's a plaque there. Your objection is the unwritten that is behind that plaque. (Gilfellan 2019)

Another "huge problem" that the Castle faces is "private tour guides or big companies that sell a particular narrative," one that neutralizes or even celebrates colonial history (Gilfellan 2019). Because, like the lobby organizations, such groups are "protected by the Constitution," the Castle cannot curb their access to the institution. Instead, its approach is education and engagement:

> We had them here yesterday … We say to them, Listen here, it's been 25 years. You can't tell fairytales to people anymore. People can Google, people can do their own research. So you need to change. We know you're chasing the dollar, you're chasing the money. But tourists are witty. They know. You can still present a balance there. (Gilfellan 2019)

This approach to the challenge of conservativism is not merely about being constitutional, however. Rather, it reflects a very specific strategy, one that Gilfellan (2019) tentatively defines as "matured radicalism":

> I'm almost like a matured radical. So I would say, Okay, then, that [a difference in viewpoints] is the basis to bring in the missing stories. Because if you take one story away—you can be completely revisionist, you can say, Cut out all of that, put it somewhere else, bring in something else. But then you make the same mistake that the previous regime has made. And then you don't provide a platform where people can engage. Because you've driven *that* one away, underground, and then you only have *this* discussion. Thabo [Mbeki] and Mandela said, You have to learn from your enemy. If you just chase them into the sea, there's no basis for you to build a new [society].

In drawing people on the other end of the political and cultural spectrum, whether colonial lobbyists or private tour guides, into conversation, rather than "chasing them into the sea," matured radicalism seeks to avoid repeating the errors of the past. In doing so, though, it inevitably draws criticism from other radicals:

> You get critique. People say, No, but you must chase them into the sea. So you work around that, and you talk. Eventually, the one who said, Chase them into the sea in 2015 is beginning to understand that you can't chase this one into the sea, because we have a common destiny. Our children are now in the preschool together, talking together, but we want to chase each other into the sea. We're going to be in the sea, and our children are going to go to school together. So I think that discussion is important. (Gilfellan 2019)

Again, Gilfellan's approach to this conflict is discussion and debate, as well as a healthy dose of humor. And it is precisely this openness to dialog that fostered a productive relationship between the Castle, arguably the most colonial of all symbols and monuments on the Cape landscape, and the decolonization-focused #RhodesMustFall movement. As Gilfellan (2019) put it:

> With #RhodesMustFall and everything must fall, why do you think the Castle mustn't fall? We said, Come and talk, come and have a discussion. Rhodes, Voortrekker, fees—everything must fall. But did you hear anything about "The Castle must fall"? No. Because we *had* those difficult discussions.

Gilfellan described a critical moment in one such dialog at the Castle, where anti-apartheid struggle hero Denis Goldberg was confronted by a #RhodesMustFall activist, who accused him and his generation of selling out and protecting colonial heritage over human rights. "But he gave them a lesson. He said, You talk Africanization, you talk decolonization. Go to the Castle. There, we *do* decolonization, we *do* Africanization" (Gilfellan 2019).

As with the District Six Museum, the Castle treats decoloniality as a doing word. In this case, the practice is transforming the city's most iconic colonial heritage site from within, rather than burning it down. Gilfellan helped us see that matured radicalism means more action, not less: more engagement, more dialog, more community, more effort. It is still radical.

Hauntedness

The work and words of Petersen, Wolff, Bennett, and Gilfellan point us toward a transcript of contemporary Cape Town and toward the meaning of heritage, memory, and restitution in such a place at such a time. They also begin to elucidate what it means to live among specters, in a state of hauntedness. To live in such a state means to live with ambivalence, to live with anger, to live poised between hope and despair, to be driven to rethink received disciplines and practices, to value practice over "theory" and empty words, to be suspicious of other people's attempts to frame one's own experience, to respond with love through the creativity and generosity of one's own practice, to never forget; to find ways to continue to struggle, to be angered – and saddened – that life should continue to be constituted as a struggle, to be deeply invested in place. These are responses and emotions that are likely to resonate for all of us who have lived in the beautiful, frustrating, scary, creative, infuriating, heartbreaking city of Cape Town.

We came to this exercise in joint writing through a fairly conventionally framed research project centered in the Global North. Thinking about museum and heritage practices in Cape Town has involved navigating our status as white/off-white/mixed-race scholars saturated in the memories and experiences of apartheid and postapartheid South Africa. Thinking with and across a Global North–South axis has been an exercise in ambivalence and irony, which will be familiar to any of the many scholars and practitioners who share our position. Framing this work for academic publication has involved navigating academic tropes around "fieldwork" and "case studies," as well as expectations around delivering insights, conclusions, and a definitive analytical voice. What emerges is an uneasy compromise. Above all, we have tried to convey a particular attitude or stance in relation to our interlocutors, which is one of attentive, respectful listening.

Notes

1. Petersen, Wolff, Bennett, and Gilfellan consented to being included in this paper. All images have been used with permission.
2. In early 2020, Bennett stepped down from this position, which she had held for more than eleven years, to pursue other endeavors.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

Notes on contributors

Daniela Franca Joffe has a PhD in English Language and Literature from the University of Cape Town. She earned her BA at Harvard University and her master's at the University of Oxford.

Between 2018 and 2019, she was a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Hull. Currently, she runs her own editing company and is involved in early childhood education.

Nick Shepherd is an associate professor of archaeology and heritage studies at Aarhus University, and an extraordinary professor at the University of Pretoria. He has been a visiting professor at Brown University, Colgate University, and the University of Basel; a Mandela Fellow at Harvard University; and an artist-in-residence at the Amsterdam University of the Arts.

ORCID

Nick Shepherd 🄳 http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3378-7076

References

Adhikari, M. 2011. *The Anatomy of a South African Genocide: The Extermination of the Cape San Peoples*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Bennett, B. 2019. Personal interview [transcribed]. 28 March 2019. Cape Town, South Africa.

Brown, J. 2016. Wealthy Flock to Cape Town. *City Press*. 11 July 2018. Available: https://city-press.news24.com/Business/wealthy-flock-to-cape-town-20160711.

BusinessTech. 2018. Cape Town is one of the Most Violent Cities in the World. *BusinessTech*, 7 March 2018. Available: https://businesstech.co.za/news/lifestyle/230123/cape-town-is-one-of-the-most-violent-cities-in-the-world/.

Derrida, J. 1994. *Spectres of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*. New York: Routledge.

Ernsten, C. 2015. "The Ruins of Cape Town's District Six." *Archaeologies* 11 (3): 342–371.

Ernsten, C. 2017a. "A Renaissance with Revenants: Images Gathered from the Ruins of Cape Town's Districts One and Six." In *Contemporary Archaeology and the City: Creativity, Ruination and Political Action*, edited by L. McAtackney and R. Ryzewski, 211–228. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ernsten, C. 2017b. "Truth as Historical Recapitulation: The Dead of Cape Town's District One." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23 (6): 575–586.

Field, S. 2001. *Lost Communities, Living Memories: Remembering Forced Removals in Cape Town*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Gilfellan, C. 2019. *Personal interview [transcribed]* 25 March 2019. Cape Town, South Africa.

Haber, A. 2012. "Undisciplining Archaeology." *Archaeologies* 8 (1): 55–66.

Institute for Creative Arts (ICA). 2018. Live Arts Festival Programme. Available: http://www.ica.uct.ac.za/ica/news/LAFprogramme2018.

Jahangeer, D. A. 2019. Personal interview [transcribed]. 27–28 March 2019. Cape Town, South Africa.

Karras, A. L. 2015. *The Caribbean Region: Crucible of Modern World History. In The Cambridge World History, vol. 6*. Cambridge: CUP.

Khan, S. 2014. 52 Places to Go in 2014. *New York Times*, 12 January 2014. Available: https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/01/10/travel/2014-places-to-go.html.

Knight Frank Residential Research. 2017. Prime Global Cities Index. Second quarter 2017. Available: https://content.knightfrank.com/research/323/documents/en/prime-global-cities-index-q2-2017-4862.pdf.

Mesthrie, R. 1995. *Language and Social History: Studies in South African Sociolinguistics*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Mignolo, W. 2009. "Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought, and de-Colonial Freedom." *Theory, Culture & Society* 26 (7–8): 1–23.

Mulligan, G. 2018. Will Cape Town be the First City to Run Out of Water? *BBC News*, 12 January 2018. Available: https://www.bbc.com/news/business-42626790.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. 2015. "Decoloniality as the Future of Africa." *History Compass* 13 (10): 485–496.

O'Connell, S. 2019. *Impossible Return: Cape Town's Forced Removals*. Cape Town: Kwela Books.

Petersen, T. 2019. Personal interview [transcribed]. 25 March 2019. Cape Town, South Africa.

Shepherd, N. 2012. "Ruin Memory: A Hauntology of Cape Town." In *Reclaiming Archaeology: Beyond the Tropes of Modernity*, edited by A. Gonzalez-Ruibal, 233–243. Oxford: Routledge.

Shepherd, N. 2015a. "Digging Deep: A Hauntology of Cape Town." In *Archaeology for the People: Joukowsky Institute Perspectives*, edited by J. Cherry, and F. Rojas, 96–107. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Shepherd, N. 2015b. "Undisciplining Archaeological Ethics." In *After Ethics: Ancestral Voices and Post-Disciplinary Worlds in Archaeology*, edited by N. Shepherd and A. Haber, 11–25. New York: Springer.

Shepherd, N. 2019. "Making Sense of "Day Zero: Slow Catastrophes, Anthropocene Futures, and the Story of Cape Town's Water Crisis." *Water* 11 (9): 1744.

Smith, L. T. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Zed Books.

South African History Online (SAHO). 2019. 19 June 1913: The Native Land Act is passed. Available: https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/native-land-act-passed.

State of Cape Town Report 2016–2017. Development Information and Geographic Information Systems Department. Available: http://maitcid.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/State-of-Cape-Town-Report-2016.pdf.

Tayob, A. 2009. *Islam in South Africa: Mosques, Imams and Sermons*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.

Tuck, E., and K. W. Yang. 2012. "Decolonization is not a Metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1 (2): 1–40.

WHATIFTHEWORLD. 2019. IQRA exhibition page. Available: https://www.whatiftheworld.com/exhibition/iqra/.

Wolff, I. 2018a. Luxurama [digital]. Pumflet: Art, Architecture and Stuff. Available: https://issuu.com/Wolffwolff/docs/luxurama_pdf.

Wolff, I. 2018b. Presentation at the Centre for the Less Good Idea. Johannesburg, South Africa.

Wolff, I. 2019. Personal interview [transcribed]. 25 March 2019. Cape Town, South Africa.

Worden, N. 1985. *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*. Cambridge: CUP.

Worden, N., E. van Heyningen, and V. Bickford-Smith. 2004. *Cape Town: The Making of a City*. Cape Town: David Philip.