

**“You Are Now in Fairyland”:
The Shifting Nature of Space in the
Fiction of Cape Town**

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The travel guide, *Lonely Planet: Cape Town*, portrays Cape Town, South Africa as one of the most beautiful cities in the world, a place where “the image of the mountains and the sea will linger in your mind” (7). Cape Town, however, is equally well known as an example of South Africa’s former system of racial policies known as apartheid, a set of policies in place between 1948 and 1994 whereby the white minority government exercised control over a disenfranchised black majority. Now, slightly more than ten years after apartheid, South Africa promotes itself as a rainbow nation, where colors, like the spectrum of a rainbow, mix to form one beautiful and harmonious country. But while an outsider or tourist relying on the Lonely Planet guide might think of Cape Town as a beautiful microcosm of the Rainbow Nation, on closer examination the gridlines of apartheid still exist in the form of property ownership. When examined through literature and text, the landscape of Cape Town functions as a “heterotopia.” According to Edward W. Soja, a heterotopia is “capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces [and] several sites” (17). In other words, it is a single physical space that holds different, fragmented meanings that reflect the constantly shifting ebb and flow of society, including class structure, political struggles, racial tensions, and culture. Using Soja’s definition, this paper examines a range of fictional texts set in Cape Town and written over the last 40 years or so to draw attention to the heterotopic nature of Cape Town from the period of rigid apartheid control in the

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early 1960s through to the millennium and the contemporary idea of a culturally unified Rainbow Nation.

Early 1960s Cape Town was deep in the trammels of apartheid. In terms of literary expression, Michael Chapman, one of South Africa's leading literary historians, would later call this "the silent decade" (248) because apartheid had such total control over South Africa that anyone, particularly non-whites, who criticized the state risked censorship, banning, or imprisonment. One writer who would not be silenced was the Coloured¹ novelist Alex La Guma, whose writings constantly challenged the apartheid system. His novel *A Walk in the Night* details the events of one night in District Six, focusing "on the collective experience of oppression and struggle rather than on individual experience" (Balutansky 2). Kathleen Balutansky reads the novel "as a largely naturalistic story" in which the character's tragedy is predetermined by the oppressive apartheid state (14). His "celebrated descriptive style" presents District Six as what Lewis Nkosi, a contemporary South African writer of La Guma's, calls a "ruthless selection of what counts" (262); therefore, La Guma's intentness on physical descriptions cannot be overlooked. In reference to his work, even the highly acclaimed author J. M. Coetzee champions La Guma as a "critical realist who politicizes his art by gesturing toward a revolutionary transformation of history" (Contexts 12). Interestingly, La Guma often portrays landscape as lacking space. Residents of District Six have "been thrown together in the whirlpool world of poverty, petty crime and violence" (4).

La Guma vividly represents the people and general atmosphere of District Six as "wasted ghosts in a plague-ridden city" (19). The image is especially interesting because since the early years of the Cape Colony, municipal authorities have constantly seen disease as a problem due to overcrowding, poverty, and poor sanitation. During the Boer War in 1899-1902, the city became rife with the fear of disease. Some saw the opportunity to push for displacement of non-whites, non-Christians, and the poor. A former medical officer, W. J. Simpson believed a plague threat existed because Africans, Coloureds, Malays, Indians, and poorer classes of Portuguese, Italians, Levantines, and Jews all had "dirty habits" (Bickford-Smith 19). These race-, culture-, and class-based accusations provided the basis for eventual, forced displacement of most non-whites.

La Guma alludes to the turn-of-the-century plague hysteria in a number of specific architectural descriptions; for example, when he refers to the “Victorian plaster around the wide doorway” being “chipped and broken,” (20) La Guma implies that apartheid causes the entire social construct of Cape Town to decay. In emphasizing the decay in District Six, La Guma insinuates that the effects of apartheid took a particularly damaging toll on the Coloured population. During the Victorian age, Coloureds had possessed enough social standing to ensure some acknowledgment from, albeit secondary treatment by, the white Afrikaners and British authorities. But during the 1930s and 40s, Coloureds were denied the right to fight alongside their fellow white South Africans in World War II, and afterwards faced the same restrictions of apartheid as all other non-whites. Given this historical background, the crumbling Victorian doorway symbolizes the disintegration of earlier compatibility between whites and the Coloured populace. Thus, although, Balutansky and Nkosi are correct to draw attention to the realism of La Guma’s style, his writing is driven by choices that go beyond the necessity for precise observation.

In fact, just as we can read his realistic details metaphorically, we can also read and interpret some of La Guma’s deliberate haziness or lack of detail. For example, in his description of the atmosphere of District Six, he refers to “shadows of the people [who] were blurred and blotched” (57). Later, when “night crouched over the city” the light gives off a “yellow haze” (68). Metaphorically, this blurred mental picture further demonstrates the loss of individuality, discernable landscape, and ultimate reality in Cape Town because of apartheid. These shadowy, hazy, night-time descriptions suggest a general loss of spatial identity which, in turn, appropriately reflects the actual historical destruction of District Six and the forced relocation of its inhabitants.

The cultural landscape of District Six underwent a historical transformation in the 1970s from an area acknowledged for its painful relocation, gangsters, and bleak oppression, to more like a cultural melting pot for the arts, similar to Harlem in 1920s America. Writers such as Andre Brink in his novel *Looking on Darkness* and Abdullah Ibrahim’s poem “Blues for District Six” promoted this shift toward what Vivian

Bickford-Smith terms the “unique, and essentially ‘good’ District Six” (138).

Unfortunately, by 1982 apartheid rule ended both La Guma’s bleak vision and the 1970s cultural Renaissance by razing District Six. The apartheid Regime declared District Six a White Group Area in 1962 and by 1982 the whole community was destroyed. For the displaced, the lack of physical structures does not correlate to a loss of cultural meaning; rather, the remaining empty space still holds historical and personal meaning for two reasons. First, as previously mentioned, the literature holds vast amounts of historical information, forever retaining previous manifestations of District Six’s culture and individuality. Secondly, the demolition of District Six begins another heterotopic shift as captured on May 5, 1982 when the photographer David Goldblatt shot a subtle but powerful photograph: in the foreground lies the empty space where District Six once stood, while in the background, on the horizon, the city bowl erupts with buildings and commerce. When juxtaposed against the congested, identity-less “yellow haze” of *A Walk in the Night*, Goldblatt’s photograph of a razed District Six speaks to the viewer with an elegiac elegance. The physical destruction of communities such as District Six was the most visible of apartheid’s assaults on black South African’s ties to the land. It was inevitably accompanied by massive psychological damage. Forced dislocation causes longing among those forcibly displaced and prompts amnesia toward the previous occupants among those that remain.

In one section of the novel *Mother to Mother* the author, Sindiwe Magona, confronts the emotions of the main character, Mandisa, as she attempts to cope with her physical displacement from Blouville to Guguletu Township. Magona deliberately juxtaposes the differences of the two townships, focusing on the attractiveness of Blouville despite its poverty and decrepit facilities. The description of Guguletu resembles La Guma’s District Six because in both cases severe overcrowding produces pain and suffering. Magona describes Guguletu as “congested” to the point that it’s “hard for you to find any place where you can put your foot down” while, inversely, “[t]he place sprawls as far as [the] eye can see” (27). Magona’s description accurately reflects the actual design and construction of townships, which were supposed to be modern but were never sufficiently spacious to cope with the actual population – so

although the design may have been rational, the places still felt totally chaotic. After the Soweto Uprising in 1976, most townships were equipped with high intensity lights perched on tall standing poles as a criminal deterrent. Because of their height, tsotsis (petty criminals) had a more difficult time shooting them out. Also, as David Goldblatt describes, under the intense light, there are no shadowed spaces, so the townships seem more spacious (185). While Mandisa struggles with the realities of Guguletu, she fondly remembers Blouville as “that beloved place we called home” (28), where she could safely leave her children at home during the day because neighbors looked out for one another.

The idea of nostalgia for a landscape in and to which one belongs is not uncommon for township dwellers; for example, anthropologist Anna Bohlin reached similar conclusions when she examined the fishing community of Kalk Bay, located in False Bay, about 20 miles from Cape Town. In 1967, Kalk Bay became a White Group Area according to the government imposed Group Area Act. By law, this act required the movement of a quarter of the population of Kalk Bay, most of whom were classified as “Coloured.” Though forced to leave the “spatial and social forms” which bound these people to Kalk Bay, they still “dialectically intertwine and transform one another”(Soja 1989: 17). The displaced, like Mandisa, still long for the past, while residents in the White Area deal with a different form of transformation. For example, one displaced Coloured woman from Kalk Bay currently living in the Cape Flats keeps postcards of Kalk Bay to remind her that the “idealized landscape is [still] present” (Bohlin 281). Interestingly, locals who lived in Kalk Bay through apartheid have a contrasting idea of the past. Bohlin suggests that instead of an idealized longing for the past, long-term residents of Kalk Bay maintain a “collective amnesia” (283) about the displacement of Coloured occupants. Kalk Bay exemplifies how history and time have created different remembrances of landscape. To the dispossessed, remembrance is marked by nostalgia; while for Kalk Bay’s long-term residents, memories are erased by amnesia. For Kalk Bay residents, it is simpler to remember the landscape without a displaced people and ignore the vacant land where the “coloured” wash house and mosque once stood, which according to Bohlin, “further defines this space as one in which Coloured people once lived and worked”

(284). So here in Kalk Bay, as in Magona's novel, conflicting perceptions transform the landscape into a heterotopia.

Like the spaceless void left in Kalk Bay or the razed remains of District Six, the novel *Life and Times of Michael K* by J.M. Coetzee gives us yet another angle on the representation of Cape Town as a heterotopia. Unlike La Guma and Magona, Coetzee does not concern himself with realism; instead he introduces an apocalyptic reality, while working in a postmodern style, as David Attwell claims, by dealing "with narrative and its relation to other discourses" ("Contexts" 13). Stylistically, Coetzee creates a "metamyth" or parable that "operates in terms of its own procedure and issues in its own conclusions," not one that operates and responds to procedures "checkable by history" (Head 11). New to South African literature, this postmodern, esoteric style of writing challenges the author's validity and his/her created reality, which represents many of the problems white writers faced during the 1980s. Novelist Nadine Gordimer used the term *interregnum* to describe the literary and social climate of the 1980s when South Africa was preparing for radical change and apartheid was exhaling its last gasp of power. Gordimer wrestled with the literary philosophy that the white writer "does not know his place in history at this stage, in this time" (261). With the apartheid state under desperate stress, and responding to the state of semi-permanent insurrection with a raft of draconian legal and extra-legal measures, authors such as Coetzee struggled to represent South Africa from anything except a deteriorating minority status.

In response to these literary and social dilemmas, Coetzee creates an apocalyptic and exaggerated vision of Cape Town in the throes of chaos. Consequently, with no conventional land or cultural boundaries, common social ideals such as truth, law, and absolute meanings become fragmented and deferred, thus accentuating the heterotopic nature of Cape Town. The novel *Life and Times of Michael K* chronicles the movement and inner responses of Michael K, a Coloured man, as he migrates to the country, leaving behind an apocalyptic Cape Town where gunfights between police and citizens occur "amid screams" while both sides "occup[y] affected blocks" (12). The city symbolizes chaos in a world breathing the final gasp of a corrupt regime. It also represents a universal allegorical apocalypse, while simultaneously deferring any

explicit representation as Cape Town. Though Coetzee details exact street and place names such as “De Waal Park,” “Sea Point,” and “Beach Road” (5, 4, 12), he never explicitly locates the devastated country as South Africa or calls the turmoil apartheid. By implying an archetypal, allegorical battle, the street names specific to Cape Town lose their denotative meaning and become a simulacrum of any anarchic city. To highlight the residual effects the battle has on the surrounding area, Michael K notices that in peaceful times the city is “flooded with people from the countryside looking for work of any kind” (13-14), but now in the country and on the veld, people walk “where none had walked before, in the middle of the highway” (26). Chaos begets an inverse perception between “standard” realities of the city and the country resulting in a breaking of norms, while further plunging this apocalyptic land into ambiguous, multiply deferred meanings and landscapes.

After the death of his mother, Michael K chooses to continue his journey, bypassing highways in favor of the open country. He briefly resides with an army deserter, soon leaves, then becomes a military prisoner, and while confined in a work camp, he longingly “stare[s] out over the empty veld” (75). After a stint in the hospital Michael K escapes and decides that with “a teaspoon and a long roll of string” to dip water “one can live” (184). Coetzee highlights Michael K’s desire to live on the land and his aversion toward authoritative control. Paul Franssen sheds light on important background dealing with the European conception of land, describing how the Boers began migrating from the Cape Colony to Natal, and how many of these “semi-migrants” became settlers, “carv[ing] up the landscape to create a sense of permanence for themselves” while simultaneously “displacing the original African inhabitants” (458). David Attwell further promotes this idea while musing on a section in Coetzee’s book “White Writing” in which Coetzee discusses how “land based on property and the maintenance of existing social relations” further empowers and enriches the colonists and strengthens their perceived claim to the land (96). Similarly, while crossing the veld, Michael K wonders “whether there were not forgotten corners and angles and corridors between the fences, land that belonged to no one yet” (47). This sudden question leads to an insightful critique of the nature of European claim to land.

Paul Franssen believes Michael K represents the postmodern definition of nomadology because “K dislikes fences and borderlines and the repressive structures they symbolize, preferring open and smooth spaces to striated ones” (459). To Michael K, land takes on a pan-African, space-for-all ideal in which all space exists as one undivided whole. Michael K envisions a landscape so empty “it was not hard to believe at times that his was the first foot ever to tread on a particular inch of earth” (97). In contrast, Coetzee depicts a destroyed and over-crowded Cape Town, busy highways full of displaced people, and images of veld camps as “hot dark hut[s]” full of “strangers lying packed... on their bunks” and “air thick with derision” (77). Such bleak descriptions hark back to a gritty La Gumaesque style or Magona’s vision of Guguletu. Michael K exists as an elusive, raceless being represented, as the scholar Dominic Head pronounces, post-structurally in the “idea of infinitely deferred meaning” (4), able to move virtually undetected through European space in a world of chaos. Through his idea of an apocalyptic Cape Town, Coetzee resists giving the city a single meaning and creates it as an infinite heterotopia characterized by an ambiguous and indefinable landscape.

The literary trend occurring after *Life and Times of Michael K* can best be described as a “rediscovery of the ordinary,” which Njabulo S. Ndebele, a highly praised South African writer, addressed during his keynote address at the conference on New Writing in Africa in London, November 1984 (41). He argued that fiction from the early 1980s and before (specifically noting La Guma) focuses too heavily on the spectacular, the violent, and the oppressive, causing a “tyrannical hold on the imagination of the average African writer” (120). Ndebele believes a new form of fiction should “rediscover the ordinary” and force “attention on necessary detail,” while “paying attention to the ordinary and its methods” which “will result in a significant growth in consciousness” (53). Taking a similar position, in an in-house seminar speech in 1989, Albie Sachs espoused creating a less politically charged form of literature by declaring that ANC members “should be banned from saying that culture is a weapon of struggle” (239). Sachs believed writers wrote too politically safe and failed to “push to improve the quality of their work” (239). Like Ndebele’s protest, Sachs felt too

many people wrote about violence because those topics were acceptable, but no one dared criticize various works for fear of being seen as an Apartheid sympathizer. Both men feel that spectacular writing has no real critical power to analyze current social and cultural affairs; therefore, spectacular literature becomes little more than propagandized pulp fiction.

The novel/story cycle that Zoe Wicomb created, entitled *You Can't Get Lost in Cape Town* is a perfect example of the kind of "ordinary" representation of South African reality that Sachs and Ndebele were seeking in 1987. The novel forms a fragmented bildungsroman in which the reader follows the youthful protagonist, Frieda, as she becomes an adult. During this journey, Wicomb recreates the ordinary life of a young woman forced to deal with the final pangs of apartheid. The title of the novel offers a declarative fact: you cannot get lost in Cape Town. Yet, in the title story, Frieda has lost her way to the doctor. This contradiction supports the heterotopic notion of Cape Town because a person actually *can* get lost in Cape Town. Although Frieda's boyfriend insists on the objectivity of land markers such as Table Mountain and Lion's Head, the city does not apparently simply exist as a set of objective, unambiguously legible landmarks; instead, it functions as a historical, cultural, and social space. Michael can easily dismiss the idea of getting lost in the city because his white skin affords him privilege and identity. In contrast, Frieda lives as a Coloured girl, constantly forced to deny her heritage and attempting to fit into the dominant culture. Frieda metaphorically gets lost in Cape Town because her skin denies her privilege and offers only identity-less subjugation. Frieda's shifting version of Cape Town suggests that the city might actually take the form of a Fairyland (a slogan taken from a spray-painted picture on a wall in District Six saying: "You are in Fairyland"). Like Oz in *The Wizard of Oz* or Neverland in *Peter Pan*, Cape Town bends and exists beyond one simple definition or set of physical structures. In fact, the title of Wicomb's novel is deeply ironic: it is quite easy to get lost in the heterotopic fairyland of Cape Town.

After realizing she is lost in Cape Town, Frieda calms herself with memories of her days in Namaqualand. "In the veld," she thinks, "you can always find your way home" because "the landmarks blaze their permanence" (73). When she actually returns to Namaqualand, as Carol

Sicherman points out, she “discovers a landscape altered by a tumultuous flood that, she imagines, must have ‘raged its way for miles’” (119). Time has changed the homeland Frieda once knew, causing a sense of dislocation similar to when she was lost in the city. For Frieda, both the city and the country cause a sense of dislocation, suggesting that all landscape is ultimately heterotopic.

By employing the conventions proposed by Ndebele and Sachs, Wicomb creates a bildungsroman that provides another heterotopic view of Cape Town. In addition the novel also re-instills Frieda’s pride regarding her Griqua heritage, representing the essence of the heterotopia in racial form. Yet in 2002, just as Wicomb herself has become comfortable being Griqua, another heterotopic shift begins to occur. In her 1998 work “Shame and Identity,” Wicomb speaks about her distaste toward the “resurgence of the term Coloured, once more capitalized” and objects to “amnesia with regard to the National Party’s atrocities in maintaining Apartheid” (93, 99). Though proudly displaying her Griqua heritage in 2002, Wicomb rightly fears the reinstatement of the capitalization of the term “Coloured” in the South African lexicon. This hints of a nationwide amnesia beginning to influence powerful South Africans. Slowly, remembrances of distant, but familiar, Apartheid structures are beginning to recur.

To combat the subtle, unnoticed amnesia affecting South Africans, K. Sello Duiker published the novel *Thirteen Cents* in 2000. He effectively abandons the idea of Ndebele’s “rediscovery of the ordinary” and instead details the stark, painful life of a young black boy named Azure (a twelve year old orphan). Azure, like Frieda, lives in a world of constant racial indeterminacy because his black skin contrasts with his deep blue eyes; therefore, Azure cannot live as a typical black person because black people only notice his eyes, while white Capetonians only notice his skin. Also like Frieda, he too seems metaphorically lost in Cape Town, existing in a raceless purgatory because his body precludes him from embracing specific racial ties. The novel itself exposes the realities of Cape Town by blending the violent, poverty stricken oppression of La Guma with the apocalyptic nightmare of Coetzee. The foreign public, readers of the *Lonely Planet* guide to Cape Town, may believe that the new millennium has indeed brought Tutu’s Rainbow Nation into

existence, but on closer examination, South Africa still maintains old apartheid structures, now determined as much by class as skin color.

Historically, land distribution in South Africa was based on race. Although the rules have technically changed to a system of ownership based on wealth, the nation suffers from apartheid-era amnesia. Land is still disproportionately in the hands of white people in South Africa. As just one example of the way in which post-apartheid urban development replicates the apartheid structures, Simon Lewis (2000) discusses a community called Heritage Park, located approximately 25 miles east of Cape Town. Heritage Park is promoted as a self-contained community, featuring grocery stores, schools, churches, a 40-man police force and even a cemetery, all built within a tall electrified fence. Just outside the fence lies a squatter community. The spatial arrangement of the development, with the white privileged on the inside and the poor non-whites on the outside, ironically evokes the “heritage” of apartheid. To address the needs of the squatter community, architects did little more than erect another township for the squatters on the fringe of Heritage Park. This blatantly illuminates the class divisions in modern day South Africa and emphasizes how the wealthy still maintain social geography that reproduces apartheid behind the veil of acceptable class distinction. The Heritage Park development shows just how much of a struggle the ANC government faces if it wants to create a more equitable division of property and to confront the kind of amnesia that would allow for continuing de facto racial discrimination.

Given the background to these growing dilemmas, *Thirteen Cents* gives strong fictional evidence of the amnesia written on the landscape of Cape Town. Early in the novel, Duiker shows that the Cape Town illustrated in travel guides such as *Lonely Planet* is not entirely accurate; in actuality there exists a highly populated, disadvantaged social underbelly, a dark side to the majesty of Table Mountain. Azure does not have a house; instead, “the streets of Sea Point are [his] home” (1). He brags that he knows where to find food at Camps Bay that “hasn’t seen too many ants and flies” and he wisely sleeps near a swimming pool at Sea Point because “in town there are too many pimps and gangsters” (2,3). Today Camps Bay is known as “one of the most beautiful beaches in the world . . . [w]ith the spectacular Twelve Apostles of Table Mountain as a backdrop and soft, white sand” (*Lonely Planet* 145).

While walking the same enchanting beach, Azure reveals a very different spatial reality. Azure lives in Camps Bay as a kind of parasite, scavenging for food and milling around in the atmosphere of wealth because at such a young age city life is too dangerous. Duiker uses stark, blunt dialogue and street slang — “white people are full of *kak*,” for example — without translation (81). By combining a violent, physical and social landscape with an equally challenging linguistic landscape, he confronts the reader with moments of discomfort in an effort to show a “real” version of Cape Town unfamiliar to most citizens and tourists. Although Ndebele might classify this style as “spectacular,” Duiker raises acute awareness to the fact that what white privileged sensibilities may consider spectacular, an impoverished non-white Capetonian may simply consider a typical day. In a sense, Duiker’s novel cries out to wake South African citizens and visitors out of their collective amnesia and force them to face reality.

As the novel juxtaposes Azure’s wasteland with the gardens of the upper class, it unsettles perceptions of the world of the wealthy. For instance, while in the apartment of a white man, Azure notices his image on a television screen and realizes he is being video taped (83). He thinks the man must be a pervert who films his sexual acts with little boys, while his family is out of town for pleasure, but Azure also considers the man’s voyeurism as a symptom of the rich (89). Earlier in the section, the door man declared, “you better park your car in the garage, Mr. Lebowitz, we’ve had some burglaries outside the building” (82). Also, while walking around Mr. Lebowitz’s apartment, Azure notices most of the doors are locked. The constant fear and paranoia manifested in the precaution of locking rooms, cars, and having surveillance cameras, disgusts Azure. He comments, “I wouldn’t want all his money if it meant I had to live like that. To always have people watching you is a curse” (89). Duiker shows that the rich of Cape Town also suffer, but from an Orwellian fear of losing their wealth and control. The paranoid need for spatial control shows the sizable gap that still exists between the worlds of the privileged white minority and the oppressed, poverty stricken non-white majority. By exposing truths of amnesia in the wealthy and contrasting those realities with the daily trauma of Azure, Duiker’s novel gives us yet another version, and a particularly graphic one, of the heterotopia of Cape Town.

Ultimately, analysis of *A Walk in the Night*, *Life and Times of Michael K*, *You Can't Get Lost in Cape Town*, *Mother to Mother*, and *Thirteen Cents* demonstrates that representations of Cape Town fragment and shift the meaning of the physical space. In these works, the Cape Town landscape constantly defers and changes meaning based on shifts among various political, social, and cultural meanings.

No location of the city symbolizes the ugliness of urban Cape Town better than where I taught third grade, Khayelitsha.² The township I witnessed contained no aesthetic beauty. What it lacked by way of paved streets, it made up for in mounded desert space. What it lacked in toilet facilities, it made up for in row upon row of fetid port-o-johns. What this “New Home” lacked in formal housing structures, it made up for in metal, wood, and plastic shacks that were not much larger than prison cells. Apparently not everyone visualized the same township that I encountered, however, because in my travels I picked up a postcard of Khayelitsha in a local Cape Town gift shop. The photograph beautifully displays a fruit vendor’s table stocked full of bags of oranges whose vibrant color heightens as the sun sets, giving a golden tint to the scene. Beyond the vendors lie the variegated roof tops of the shanties with the “safety” lights towering above them, while in the background, the mountains of Stellenbosch rise, creating a rugged natural frame for the photograph. For many businesses within and outside of South Africa, the end of apartheid meant the beginning of total exploitation. Now postcard, magazine, and other businesses can legally promote and exploit the picturesque “beauty” of poverty and dilapidation.

The Khayelitsha I knew and its depiction on the postcard are extremely different, and the conflicting images graphically reveal Cape Town’s heterotopic nature. South African citizens, visitors, and interested individuals must stop living their lives through one-dimensional postcards and realize that multiple perspectives of Cape Town exist and that all of them are valid and real. The realization of multiple landscapes draws attention to the subtle, dark underpinnings of a growing amnesia in Cape Town. If people only rely on a postcard glimpse of the city, they allow the wealthy and powerful to continue exploiting the majority of South Africans, a reinstatement of apartheid under a different set of rules. Without recognition of heterotopias, more Khayelitsha’s or “New Homes” will be built near Cape Town, re-

creating the same racial discriminations of apartheid under the guise of freedom.

Notes

¹ The capitalized version of “Coloured” was used as one of the four racial categories (the other three being White, Black, and Indian) during the apartheid era in South Africa. Biologically, Coloured people are of mixed descent, often a heterogeneous mixture of Khosa (or other indigenous South African groups) and Whites of European descent. The majority of Coloureds speak Afrikaans.

² Khayelitsha was built in the 1980’s in an effort to move people from the Cape Flats. It is about 25 km from the city bowl and, like other townships such as Guguletu and the Cape Flats, Khayelitsha was built near the airport. Interestingly, when leaving the airport the first sight of Cape Town is of the dilapidated townships. Airports are usually built in remote areas, but Cape Town has dispersed and the landscape has changed so much that now the airport is surrounded by townships. By seeing the townships while entering or leaving the airport reminds visitors that due to differences of class and color, one static view of Cape Town, be it cultural, social, or aesthetic, does not exist.

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