

Developing Critical Digital Literacies Through Digital Storytelling: Student Attempts at Re-Telling the District Six Story

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ABSTRACT

The South African Higher Education sector has undergone major transformation since the end of Apartheid more than 25 years ago. Critical digital literacies and critical (digital) citizenship, aligns with the most important aspects of the transformation agenda, ‘the production of socially conscious graduates that will become the thinkers and leaders of tomorrow’ (Soudien et al 2008). The ability to link the past and the present, the personal and the political is an important element of critical digital literacies. This paper reflects on projects introduced in a first year Extended Curriculum Programme course for Architectural Technology and Interior Design students at a University of Technology, in which students created a digital story after visiting historical sites in the Western Cape. Framed by Critical Race Theory concepts of master narratives and counter-storytelling, using multimodal analysis of the digital stories, this paper will highlight examples of students’ attempts to disrupt common narratives through their creative yet personal engagement with the past and the present.

KEYWORDS

apartheid, counter storytelling, critical digital literacies, critical storytelling, Digital storytelling, District 6, dominant narratives, Dompas, Extended Curriculum Programme

INTRODUCTION

2015 saw the start of the #rhodesmustfall and #feesmustfall student protests which erupted and unfolded between 2015 - 2017 on South African University campuses. The new students’ movement, diverse and across most South African universities, asked a large number of questions including how to decolonise the university and more broadly, society. In September 2017, protesters threw a petrol bomb into the Saint Mark’s Anglican Church on Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT)’s District Six (D6) campus during student protests. This destructive act seemingly stood out in contrast to the call for transformation by the same student movement¹. The church is one of the few remaining structures of the old D6, with its own remarkable history and role in the struggle against Apartheid in the late 60ies². CPUT’s implicit location, the campus, disconnected from the former fabric and its residents, does little to inform students of its history. The attack on the Church also demonstrated a disconnect between the protesting students and the buildings on campus with their own history in the South African struggle against apartheid.

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This paper reflects on an attempt to respond to this disconnect, through a series of experiential and experimental projects implemented within an Extended Curriculum Programme (ECP) in Architectural Technology (AT) and Interior Design (ID) in the first semester of the 2017 Academic Year. As part of this programme, students were encouraged to explore issues of identity, self and other in relation to the built environment³. In particular, we are interested in how students engaged with history through one of the projects in which they created digital stories as a reflection on field trips to historical sites in the Western Cape, such as their visit to the D6 Homecoming Centre, Museum and Site. Using examples of students' work we will show how students used their creativity and imagination to engage with D6's past and present, both recreating and challenging dominant narratives in interesting ways.

STORYTELLING FOR CRITICAL (DIGITAL) CITIZENSHIP WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

In a time of global anxiety about migration and its impacts, the notion of citizenship is highly contested. What does it mean to be a citizen? What rights and duties come with citizenship? What does it mean to be a critical citizen working within the built environment? If we accept that ethno-nationalistic forms of identity need to be challenged (Johnson & Morris 2010), what understanding of citizenship should frame our teaching? What shared values can we promote or negotiate? What would allow us to move away from models based on normative frameworks that reproduce hegemonic discourses and set up binaries, towards a model that allows us to challenge fixed notions of identity and embrace fluidity and social cohesion (Bozalek & Carolissen 2012)? What would it mean to, as Dejaeghere (2009, p.231) suggests, “allow teachers and students to bring their lived experiences and constructions of citizenship to engage with issues facing citizens in all strata of our societies”? This paper is an attempt to answer some of these questions we have been struggling with in our teaching practice.

Lister (1997, p. 3) defines citizenship simply as “the relationship between individuals and the state and between individual citizens within [the] community”. In South Africa the legacy of apartheid still complicates relationships between people from different racial and cultural backgrounds. Zinn and Rodgers (2017, p. 77) argue that:

“If [...] relationships have been fraught with and characterised by systemic injustice, as has been the case in South Africa, then this has necessarily damaged and distorted conceptions of citizenship. The pursuit of social justice becomes an imperative and driver, as citizens strive both to be fully recognised and to have their right to belong fully to that society restored”.

This is even more important for the so-called ‘born-free’ generation, raised on a “rainbow discourse” (Ngoasheng & Gachago 2017), which in general discouraged an engagement with race, inequality and the legacies of apartheid in the name of nation building. Critical citizenship education, in our view, then needs to create spaces within which students can question their own notions of identity, and the identities of those they consider ‘other’, in order to allow a new engagement across difference. In the context of the built environment this translates into developing a recognition and critical understanding of one’s own position within and towards the built environment and within the spatial legacies of colonialism and apartheid.

This kind of teaching is done both in the classroom and in communities, to expose students “to other cultures and disciplines through travel and local community engagement” as “culture is an integral to the creation of good architecture” (UIA 2014, pp. 10-13).

We strongly believe that if architecture in South Africa is to become more responsive, we need to take the UIA Student Charter’s recommendations for “architecture as a catalyst for socio-economic development” (2014, p. 12) seriously. The Charter argues that architectural education and practice must become more sensitive of, and responsive towards, social issues by drawing from fields such

as sociology and history in order for students “to have an ethical responsibility to act with empathy and be mindful of the social context” (p. 13).

As an overarching theoretical framework we use *critical storytelling* as a tool towards a critical citizenship that is culturally and socially sensitive, empathetic and mindful of social context and as a potentially innovative and transformative pedagogical practice in architectural education (Ngoasheng, 2020). We see storytelling as a socio-cultural practice, with inherent power relations between storyteller and listener, that foregrounds individual agency, voices, emotions and creativity (Stein, 2008). It is also a meaning-making practice, in which storyteller and audience co-construct stories. We believe student voices, experiences and narratives should be central within a critical curriculum, so this project placed a strong emphasis on personal storytelling. The intervention is also introduced in the curriculum as a means to develop students’ social, historical, political and environmental awareness, as well as to foreground student knowledge through the lens of the built environment, design and architecture. On their field trips, students listen to a wide range of personal stories that link the past to the present, urban development to rural settlement and busy city life to a quiet rural life. But students are also encouraged to tell their own stories in various ways - orally, in writing and multimodally as digital stories (Lambert 2010; Reed & Hill 2012). By creating and sharing these stories we hope that students will not only begin to see themselves in new ways, but also to gain an understanding of how their identities are bound up with others around them. This then links our work to a notion of critical digital literacies that encompasses both a larger societal critique but also a participatory approach, focusing on producing content and positioning students thus as empowered and active contributors (Pangrazio 2016). As such the aim of this study is to explore through a multimodal narrative analysis of three digital stories, how individual students displayed critical citizenship by disrupting dominant narratives around the history and present of District 6, a highly contested area in Cape Town and consequently re-writing their own counterstories of self and society.

DIGITAL STORYTELLING

In order to facilitate students’ engagement with self, other and the built environment in relation to issues of identity, the curriculum includes projects in which students reflect on how their own identity and their relationship with their peers and the built environment are impacted by past and present. As an overarching framework we use *critical storytelling* to allow students to link the personal to the political and the past to present.

We see storytelling as a socio-cultural practice, with inherent power relations between storyteller and listener, foregrounding individual agency, voices, emotions and creativity (Stein 2008). Storytelling is a meaning-making practice, with storyteller and audience co-constructing stories. Storytelling in African contexts is shaped by political and social struggles (Barber, 1997). Student voices, experiences and narratives are central within critical storytelling, as this critical technologically-mediated pedagogical intervention can affect the development of students’ social, environmental and ethical conscientisation (Pangrazio 2016). The purpose of this study is to discover what useful insights in architectural learning experience could emerge from the process of framing storytelling with critical race theory towards transformative architectural education.

In the projects introduced in this course a strong emphasis is placed on *personal* storytelling. Students listen to personal stories by former residents on their field trips to D6, former prisoners on Robben Island and living residents of Genadendal; linking the past to the present, urban development to rural settlements, busy city to a quiet rural life, allowing alternative stories to emerge. But they are also being encouraged to tell their own stories during and in reflection to their projects. These stories are performed in various ways - orally, in writing and multimodally as digital stories (Lambert 2010; Reed & Hill 2012).

Digital stories are short (usually 2-3 minutes long) first person digital narratives, consisting of images, voice-over and a soundtrack. Digital stories are not done by professionals but by lay persons using free, off the shelf software and accessible technology, such as mobile phones or university PCs, within the context of digital storytelling workshops and supported by trained facilitators.

Digital storytelling has been used widely in higher education to support students' development of digital literacies, reflection, or as an alternative, more authentic form of assessment (Robin, It has not been applied as prominently yet in architectural design, although there are some examples of how digital storytelling supports reflection on self, identity and community in related disciplines, such as industrial design (see for example Barnes, Gachago & Ivala, 2015 or Gachago et al, 2014).

STOCK STORIES AND (DIGITAL) COUNTERSTORYTELLING

Critical Race Theory (CRT) distinguishes between two types of stories: stock stories and counterstories. Stock stories, also called master-narratives or majoritarian stories, “carry layers of assumptions that persons in positions of racialized privilege bring with them to discussions of racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of subordinations” (Solorzano & Yosso 2002, p. 28). Examples of these master-narratives are public discourses around meritocracy, objectivism or colour-blindness. These stories are generated from a legacy of raced, gendered, classed privilege. They are stories in which this privilege seems normal. Master-narratives reinforce white, male, middle class privilege, while at the same time keeping this privilege invisible – it, therefore, is and stays the norm (McIntosh 1992). It is important to say that not only people in positions of privilege tell master-narratives. These stories are to a point internalised by people of colour, that they too may unconsciously tell stories reinforcing white privilege.

Counterstories, on the other hand, “challenge social and racial injustice by listening to and learning from experiences of racism and resistance, despair and hope at the margins of society” (Yosso 2006, p. 171). Counterstories are stories of resistance. Resistance theories emphasize students' agency to “negotiate and struggle with structures and create meanings of their own from these conversations” (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal 2001, p. 315). Racial and class-based isolation often prevents the hearing of diverse stories and counterstories, which makes conscious interventions allowing for an engagement across differences, such as the one planned in this study, so important.

Digital counterstories then are digital stories that in some way or the other challenge dominant narratives, through text, but also images or sound (see for example Rolon-Dow 2011; Vasudevan 2006; Alexander 2008). From our experience with other digital storytelling projects, the particular format of digital stories, the shortness, the personal links, the choice of images and sound, the emphasis on happy endings, can sometimes lead to the development of sentimental or dominant narratives (Condy, Green & Gachago 2019; Gachago 2015; McWilliam & Bickel 2017). What we will argue in this paper is that the ability to tell digital counterstories is linked to the development of critical digital literacies (Noble & Gachago 2019).

DIGITAL STORYTELLING AS A RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Digital storytelling has also carved a niche for itself as a qualitative (participatory) research methodology, mostly in health sciences / health education (Haigh, 2017; Gubrium, Hill & Flicker, 2014; Hill 2014; Hardy 2017). Increasingly other disciplines are adopting DST research methodologies as well, such as teacher education (Thomson Long & Hall, 2017; Livingston, 2014; Stewart & Ivala, 2017), but also disciplines which are using digital stories to engage with and understand issues of identity and positionality, which speaks to the focus of this study (Gachago et al., 2013; 2015). In general, research using digital storytelling will involve interviews or focus groups collecting data from participants around the experience of the digital storytelling process. However, the digital stories themselves can be used as data and provide rich insights into participants' experiences and perceptions on the topics under investigation. The approach we are following sees stories as socially constructed and performative and foreground the discursive constructedness of our subjectivities, our interconnectedness and relationality but also explore stories as social practices, focusing on what stories do or what happens when stories are told (Squire, Andrews & Tamboukou, 2008).

Mostly, digital stories are analysed thematically framed by narrative inquiry approaches (Kohler-Riessman 2008), although they can also be analysed multimodally (i.e. Gachago et al 2014). Hull and Nelson (2005, p. 234) emphasise that when choosing and analysing a multimodal text it is important to identify which modes will be the focus of the analysis: In an ideal world, one would take into account all of the modes - spoken words, images, music, written text, and movement and transitions - but such complexity quickly overwhelms. We have chosen to focus primarily on images and narrative, although we refer to voice and soundtrack as well. For this study we analysed three student stories. We chose these three examples as they disrupt dominant narratives in interesting ways and most importantly emphasise the legacy of apartheid still wrecking students' lives. These are stories that stood out for us - 'data beginning to glow' (Maclure 2013, p.661) which showed the diversity and ingenuity of students' creative approaches to engage with and disrupt both the past and the present of D6.

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

This course is part of the extended curriculum programme (ECP) at CPUT, aimed at increasing access into the disciplines to students whose secondary schooling did not prepare them sufficiently for university. As a means to improve their academic performance, the students undergo an extra year to complete their first year to bring them up to speed with the mainstream program.

Since 2015 the programme has introduced 'out of the studio projects' by taking the students on field trips such as the D6 Homecoming Centre and Museum and more further afield, such as the Moravian village of Genadendal, as a means to enrich this programme. These field trips took place in the first semester resulting in three individual but interlinked projects.

Project 1: Linking self and the built environment - the Identity Project

The first project began as a collaborative group 'vertical' project with students from ECP up to BTech (4th year) in AT and ID exploring the notion of identity. Students were tasked to come up with ideas on identity and build a concept cardboard model of self which had to link to their group identity collective model. After that, the ECP students did a second project on identity, relating the student's personal identity to buildings, spaces and furniture. Students explored their own identity in relation to their culture, their traditions, their peers and their personal ideas of themselves, investigating who they felt they are while researching buildings and spaces that link to their ideas of self.

Figure 1. ECP student identity models



Project 2: Linking past and present, self and society – D6, Robben Island and the Privilege Walk

The second project began with a historical lecture of the development of Cape Town (CT) as settlement from the arrival of Dutch in the 1600s, the encounter with the Khoisan, the occupation of the English, the Apartheid era, the Group Areas Act and the Apartheid laws which affected the landscape of CT socially and spatially over the past 350 years. District Six became the focus, an urban settlement identified within the notion of ‘de-settlement’ and forced removals, where the students partook in a two-day workshop at the D6 Homecoming Centre. Through a series of activities, the students got to learn about South African history and in particular about the forced removals and the Apartheid laws which led up to them. Students also worked with former residents, who shared their stories and memories of D6, taking them around the museum and to the site, to former landmark roads and sites of buildings. From these activities, the students were asked to develop short personal narratives of their D6 experience and the stories told by the former residents, collecting imagery and taking notes. The students had to document their findings and produce written narratives of their encounter from a personal perspective with an emphasis on thinking critically and empathetically.

To allow a more balanced view of South African history the students then visited Robben Island, to broaden the historical knowledge around the time of Apartheid.

During this time students also took part in an activity called the Privilege Walk (PW). The PW is a series of statements around living conditions and lived experience developed to help students recognise their own - often invisible - privilege (McIntosh 1992). Framed by critical pedagogy (hooks 1994; Freire 1970/2005) and a focus on intersectionalities, this activity forced students to acknowledge their position in a privilege grid that poignantly represented the current state of our society. The activity forced students to think about their own social positioning in relation to their peers within the larger South African society (see Ngoasheng & Gachago 2017 for a reflection on this activity). Students unpack these experiences in the form of short reflective narratives.

Figure 2. Workshop with students at the D6 Homecoming Centre



Project 3: Linking the urban and the rural - field trip in Genadendal

The third project was of a four-day field trip to the Moravian village Genadendal, a rural settlement, in contrast to the urban settlement visited before (D6). Set up by Moravian priests from Germany in the mid-1700s alongside an existing Khoisan settlement. Genadendal is unique in a SA context as it's inhabited by a mixed race community who can trace their Khoisan, Indonesian and German heritage back to the late 1700s, early 1800s. The idea was for students to experience what a formal early settlement would look like at the same time learning the tactile skills of the profession by measuring up street thresholds and doing observational sketch drawings. The students got to meet local historians who took them around the village and into the museums sharing stories about the historical development and settlement over the past 270 years.

Figure 3. Student outside the Moravian church in Genadendal



AN ANALYSIS OF THREE DIGITAL STORIES OF DISTRICT 6

The following section describes different ways students have engaged with and reflected on their experiences at the D6 Homecoming Centre and Museum in the form of digital stories. These three examples are taken with students' permission from the 2017 student cohort.

Analysis of Athule's story: Dompas

Athule is a young black man. In his story he addresses the *dompas*⁴ system, which students engage with in the D6 workshop directly, accusing it of destroying families, communities and lives.

*You Dompas - you have hurt a lot of people.
You have crippled a lot of people.
You have killed a lot of people.*

*You have wounded a lot of families.
You have wounded a lot of friends⁵.*

Although he does not refer directly to the impact of the dompas system on the present, he accuses ‘Dompas’ of having colonised African minds - leaving them with nothing, ‘with no knowledge - only eyes with fog’. He uses a mix of historical pictures taken at the D6 museum of a dompas, police controls and protests and pictures taken from the internet. These - at first - don’t always seem to fit, such as a woman sitting on a window or two small children walking into the forest. However, when linking the text with the words, one can see the relevance of brokenness, separation and absence by forcing people into exile. His last scene is a picture of himself, looking away from the viewer, refusing to engage. He employs a consistent visual concept, having selected a black/white theme, which supports the movie’s sobriety. Contrary to many of the digital stories produced in this class, there is no hope at the end of this movie, no happy ending, leaving the viewer feeling stuck in a somber post-apartheid reality.

Figure 4. Dompas pass books



Figure 5. Dompas pass books



Figure 6. Stills from Athule's story



Figure 7. Stills from Athule's story



Analysis of Alex's story: District Six

Alex's story is interesting as he makes poignant connections from the violence of apartheid to the present prevalence of crime and racial hatred. Speaking in a soft voice, he recounts the history of D6, the forced removals, the violence of breaking up communities, 'ripping them from their homes' and separating them by skin colour or hair texture, moving them to faraway places, such as Beunteheuwel⁶ or Khayelitsha⁷: 'These places are often the ones with the highest crime rate. Especially theft, which makes sense, since something was taken from their lives.' He tells a story about how he and a friend(both coloured⁸ males), were held up by black man who stole their belongings and stabbed his friend. Alex remembers him telling them that even if they reported him to the police it wouldn't matter as he 'would get a black judge', implying that a black judge would not condemn a

black criminal. Alex uses this vignette to draw attention to the violence and crime, racial division, the intersecting and layered nature of privilege and hatred that exist still in today's townships and links his personal experiences directly to the past. He blames apartheid and white supremacy - systemic ongoing oppression - for these brutal crimes rather than the person himself: 'This has grown to an everlasting hatred from one racial group to another as it scarred our country in more ways than one.'

Although he doesn't include any pictures of himself in the movie, using predominantly images from the internet and taken during the D6 visit, he urges the youth of today to take on responsibility and change society: "we might not have lived in the time of apartheid but this is now post apartheid; us as the younger generation should come together and make it our duty to change that." The mostly black and white images, often in small mosaic repeated image collages, his deadpan narration and sombre music chosen add to the darkness of his story.

Figure 8. Still from Alex's story



Analysis of Isaac's story: 'Cape Town'

Isaac is a coloured male in his early 20ies. He takes an unusual approach to the digital story. While he reflects as many others do on his experience at the D6 museum, evoking the history of D6, mourning the loss of community and culture, he again relates this history directly to the present - showing how the legacies of the past still impact youth of today. He speaks about the challenges of the Cape Flat youth to imagine a life beyond gangs and violence; of culture and tradition dying with the fading memories of the elders. However, he also urges the youth to take responsibility over their futures and the future of the next generation. His story is hopeful, 'There is a change coming from all the corners of Cape Flats', as he shows that there is agency and potential in himself and his peers as long as - he reflects in his assignment - '[we use] our freedom and mak[e] it our responsibility by using our social influence to bring life back to our culture as well as creating awareness'. He sees himself as a leader, 'taking a lead in uniting our voices', knowing his history, as painful as it is, to build on it and 'telling my brothers on the Cape Flats you have got other choices'.

Also, the multimodal approach he takes in his story is unusual. While he uses similar images as his peers, many taken from the D6 workshop and museum visit, inserting himself and his friends into the history and the present of D6, he develops the narrative as a poetic spoken word piece, that as he reflects, was written and recorded 'to bring in a personal touch'. He accompanies himself on the guitar - with a tune that lingers long after one finishes listening to his story.

As such he not only manages to connect the past and the present critically but also inserts himself into the collective D6 story in multiple ways, as written text, through his narration, his images, his music and vocal performance. As such he 'crafts an agentive self' (Hull and Katz 2006), telling a counterstory in direct response to past and present oppressive systems. He takes charge on multiple levels. Recognising the pain and shame of the past generation, he takes on the fight for a better life for himself and his peers:

*My people are running holding hands
Helping one another
Working together to make our culture relevant
We as the youth we know the whole truth
I have to unlearn the lies made to burn
Take a stand - now it's our turn.*

CONCLUSION

There is a growing number of research globally that recognises the need for young people to challenge dominant narratives and tell their own counterstories (Vasudevan 2006; Rolon-Dow 2011; Scott Nixon 2009; Pangrazio 2017) as part of developing critical digital literacies and critical digital citizenship.

The purpose of the projects we reflect on in this chapter, was to encourage students to unpack and engage with the history of Cape Town and South Africa and relate their own identity to the built environment framed by an enhanced understanding of how history connects to the present. At the same time, learning the use of digital storytelling and associated digital programs to produce digital stories is also an opportunity for students to learn how to communicate their ideas more critically.

The examples brought here are some of the stories students created that started to challenge dominant narratives and created connections between the past and the present, (re)telling the D6 stories in their own words and as such creating new memories and stories, relevant to students' lives. Using the D6 experience as a starting point to unpack on-going racial division between communities, moving from an individualised view of crime to a systemic understanding of how individuals are marred by the legacies of apartheid, they manage to creatively step beyond the dominant narratives portrayed in the media, creating as Vasudevan argues "... new selves that challenged what they asserted as negative assumptions from other adults in their lives" (2006, p. 209).

Similarly to Scott Nixon (2009, p.74) we see the potential of digital stories to help students "... develop agentive identities as social activists who can affect change through their future participation as leaders in their communities ... the beginnings of a developing sociocritical consciousness." Rather than allocating blame towards others, such as the government, politicians, society, they take responsibility and show accountability for their own and their communities' growth and progress. By encouraging our students to create stories in their own style, mixing languages, drawing from their culture, their music, their visual concepts, we followed Scott Nixon's (2009, p. 74) approach to allow the establishment of authentic and equitable spaces for learning, countering "the hegemonic, English-only mandates" often found in institutional and societal discourses.

Counterstorytelling is not something that comes automatically or easily to students. We are so embedded in dominant narratives - such as the stories we tell each other and are being told around the D6 - that stepping out of those is difficult and might have to be carefully facilitated. Rolon-Dow (2011) suggests to use "digital storytelling in combination with a CRT framework, [to] provide a window into understanding the ways race operates in the lives of youth and the microaggressions that students of color face in today's educational contexts" (p. 170). However, she also warns that the premise of CRT must be "explicitly communicated so that students may learn tools for racial critique and so that they may feel free to break silences and share their personal stories on the ways race matters in their personal experiences" (p. 171).

While the three stories discussed above are great examples of how students demonstrated critical digital literacies, i.e. the ability to link the past and the present but also the personal to the political, not all students' stories are equally powerful (for a detailed account of students' lack of critical engagement with the legacies of apartheid, see Noble and Gachago 2019). In order to promote such critical digital literacies in the classroom, we made the following changes to these projects:

Students engage in critical readings before creating their digital stories, such as literature around the group areas act and other apartheid compounding laws. These readings prepare them for a deeper engagement of where the built environment comes from and the potential as to how it can be improved, extending historical narratives into today's contexts.

Furthermore, we moved beyond 'the beaten path' of the D6 museum and Robben Island, to include less familiar, but equally important sites, closer to students' homes. Examples are some of the areas on the Cape Flats where D6 residents moved and other historical sites where CT citizens were relocated to. These areas are much closer to many of the students' lives and as such have the potential to create a stronger emotional response.

Finally, model stories are powerful tools in shaping stories. Using stories such as the above ones and facilitating a critical analysis of these stories, based on a discussion on what makes these stories different and how they counter dominant narratives, encourages other students to develop more critical stories.

We see it as our task as facilitators of these difficult conversations and engagements with our past and present to unearth and amplify the counterstories our students tell and work with them in and outside the classroom. These stories are useful starting points to unpack and disrupt some of the dominant narratives we encounter in the media, told by students for students. As such, these stories become important catalysts for facilitated discussions around the continued legacies of apartheid, the systemic oppressions students are still exposed to in their lives in and beyond our campus. It may also raise awareness of our responsibilities towards the (built) environment in both preserving the past and shaping the future.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors of this publication declare there is no conflict of interest.

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END NOTES

- ¹ <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2017-09-28-cput-student-arrested-for-arson-attack-on-historic-church/>
- ² See Siddique Motala's history of D6 for more information on D6: <https://youtu.be/iEzydbcVWV4>
- ³ The term the Built Environment is used in architecture, engineering and the social sciences and refers to the human-made environments where people live and work, ranging in scale from buildings to cities, to infrastructure, waterworks, energy networks and roads etc.
- ⁴ A disdainful name for a pass. An Afrikaans word meaning dumb or stupid pass. The dompas system, was a system of controlling the rights of black people in South Africa, during apartheid, through the use of the dompas *pass system*.
- ⁵ See full transcripts of stories in the Appendix.
- ⁶ Beunteheuvel was a 'coloured' township created during apartheid in the 1960s as a repository for coloured people who had been forced to move out of Cape Town as a result of the Group Areas Act. Located on the Cape Flats it is now a predominantly 'coloured' neighbourhood with a small percentage of 'black' and 'indian' inhabitants.
- ⁷ Khayelitsha was a 'black' township set up during apartheid to accommodate informal settlement dwellers on the Cape Flats, the majority coming from Old Crossroads to escape the violence by the 'Witdoeke' (a notorious violent vigilante group). The settlement began with a tented town and now is a large settlement of formal and informal housing
- ⁸ The term coloured is an ethnic descriptor historically used in the USA and other European settlements and former colonies. Defined by the South African government from 1950 to 1991 the term 'Coloured', formerly Cape Coloured, described a person of mixed race from European ("white") and African ("black") or Malayan, Madagascan, Sri Lankan ancestry

APPENDIX: STUDENT STORIES

Athule's Story: 'Dompas'

Dompas - it was meant only for indigenous Africans.

You Dompas - you have hurt a lot of people.

You have crippled a lot of people.

You have killed a lot of people.

You have wounded a lot of families.

You have wounded a lot of friends.

Your absence in the African child.

and as a result you put them in jail

You have destroyed our families

You have caused our families to separate and some of them to move into exile.

You have colonised our mind.

You killed the dream of the African mind.

And you have left

us with nothing, with no knowledge

Only eyes with fog.

Alex's Story: District Six

At home - back then In Apartheid era, families were broken up, marriages ended and households ripped apart.

Laws were drawn up to benefit the whites supremacy.

Laws that were unjust, unequal and unfair.

The Group Areas act, set up after the forced removals of the residents of D6

They were then sent to Bonteheuwel, Mitchells Plain, Khayelitsha, Mannenberg, Hannover Park and Heideveldt.

All depending on their skin colour. Or something impractical as their hair type.

They were stuck in their areas. They were roughly placed and forced to live in the circumstances presented.

These places are often the ones with the highest crime rate.

Especially theft, which makes sense, since something was taken from their lives.

They would find the need to take them from others.

Death during apartheid caused by white police officers were unexplained and if caught minor repercussions were set up against them as supposed so if the inverse were to happen.

After the fall of Apartheid it was not eradicated but set in reverse.

What personal application to me. Here it goes:

A friend of mine got robbed by an African male. He demanded we hand over our possessions.

We did exactly as he said. But he stabbed my friend anyway.

His exact words to me were: This won't matter because I will get a black judge.

This has grown to an everlasting hatred from one racial group to another as it scarred our country in more ways than one.

Maybe this remaining material objects that carry sentimental value

Ex-resident M.B and others have decided or already come back to D6.

To once again be in the area they grew up in as children.

Although much has changed, its only logical that these people be drawn back to the place, where they were once ripped from

we might not have lived in the time of Apartheid but this is now Post Apartheid

us as the younger generation should come together and make it our duty to change that.

Isaac's story: Cape Town

My lost culture, my lost culture, my lost culture, slowly dying, my lost culture, slowly dying, picked apart from hungry vultures...

The vibrant mix of colours, diverse mix of skin pigments,
Pigments of the old folks imagination
Pixels worked so closely together
To form a happy family portrait,
A close knit community
tighter than a corset.
It's pure torture going through the history books
kids playing in the street,
Ma and Pa on the stoop
Until the ground shook.
Then came the bulldozers..
the white man came and he took
He came and he saw and he conquered
We need to break the cycle we need to be more conscious
But the cape Flats struggle k
Keeping my brothers and sisters unconscious
Gangs on the streets
Instagram eyebrows on fleek
Pretending you are something you not
Looking back what have you got
no family tree
no sense of we
Only us and them
a divided people
the Group areas - a successful blockbuster..
we are living in the sequel: divide and conquer
learn their language learn their customs forget your culture
forget your true identity
being told: you are not good enough
kept at the bottom: separate amenities
and you have built up a complex
because being who you are are? the real you...causes conflict
My lost culture, my lost culture...(chorus)
Diverse mix of skin pigments, no figment of my imagination
I am well versed on the history books, I know my people's struggle
I know what they took
I also know my responsibility
Taking yhe lead in uniting our voices
the many silenced voices, silenced voices
telling my brothers on the Cape Flats you have got other choices
a life in hustle
a future in crime
isn't your only option
unlock your mind, stuck in your location
my sisters get your education
for out of you comes the next generation
respect your body, respect your temple

lead little girls by example, African goddess,
know your power
you have every fiber knit together
stand stronger, than the tallest tower
23 years since apartheid ended
living in a classist society
with non-racist pretenders
living unchecked in suburbia
the great defenders
keeping their bubble untopped
when a reality check, is what they need to get
Living at the bottom, it's easy to forget
It's easy to feel like you have made your bed
lying in the ruins, get that out of your head
there is a change coming from all the corners of the Cape Flats
My people are running holding hands
Helping one another
Working together to make our culture relevant
We as the youth we know the whole truth
I have to unlearn all the lies
made to burn
Take a stand - now its our turn
My lost culture, my lost culture...

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