

1. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

1.1 Introduction

During the course in *Public Culture*, I became interested in the memorial role of public art in South Africa, especially as it is a topic that is entangled with contested concepts such as ‘the public sphere’ and ‘collective memory’. My interest in memory in public art originated in an exam task on Fietas mural project, introduced by Professor Cynthia Kros.

The Fietas mural project is contextualized by members as a memorial to the Fietas community that was forcibly removed during the period from 1950 to the mid-1970s. The project officially aims at renewing the area between Fordsburg and Pageview though mural art applied to ‘the embankments of the underpass beneath the railway line forming a gateway between De La Rey Street in Pageview and Fordsburg, the Newtown Cultural Precinct and the CBD’¹.

My motivation to take Fietas mural project as a case study is because it is a site-specific project directly working with memory within a specific community. As a result, this project may represent a powerful means to examine the production of collective memory within public art for a number of reasons.

Firstly, it is associated with a traumatic memory of the forced removal history shared in the community. Fietas was a multi-cultural community with ‘Indian, Coloured, Malay, African, White and Chinese’ members. Regarding these group classifications, it is necessary to stress that these racially distinct terms are highly problematic and open to radical criticism. They are constructed and deployed within the Apartheid regime, and often self-contradictory in practice. From the 1950s to the 1970s, under the Group Areas Act, the community was gradually removed and placed in new racially defined townships, Lenasia for the Indian community, Soweto for the black community and Eldorado Park for the Coloured people (Carrim, 1990).

Secondly, the initial impetus for the project and the idea to use mural art emerged from the community. According to Eric Itzkin, Deputy Director of Immovable Heritage of Johannesburg, the project was initiated by a member of 26’10 South Architects and Feizel Mamdoo who is regarded by many members as a community representative and consultant. 26’10 South Architects, Trinity Session and Feizel Mamdoo were appointed as the commissioning agents by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and Department of Arts and Culture (DAC).

Thirdly, the Fordsburg, Pageview and Vrededorp communities were extensively consulted during the project. In an interview with the three chosen artists, it was said that artists from the community were preferred. Artists were initially required to hand in the mural design within two months to the JDA and DAC. However, because of the complexities of including neighborhood community and participants’ memory of past events in the mural project by means of interview,

¹T.Deckler Architect and Bobsta Productions, Fordsburg/Fietas Urban Gateway Project, p.1 in Appendix 2

workshop and story-collecting, the required time turned out to be more than six months.

The art work stretches under two railway bridges, running for 126 meters on each side of the road². It is a combination of flat steel images bolted onto the walls, smooth concrete pictures laid onto the walls and others painted on the brickwork. Meticulously selected symbols, such as people, buildings, pigeons and wall paper designs, were meant to capture poignant images of life in Fietas. It took two years (2009-2010) to complete the R800 000 project³.

1.2 Rationale

Over recent years, there has been an apparent convergence of interest in collective memory from across different disciplines. This praxis raises a number of questions. Do the various disciplines working on and around collective memory understand the concept in similar ways? Further, Radstone (2000) poses the question of the extent to which theories and methods construct their object of study within this field. So far collective memory remains a poorly delineated concept.

Within the discursive production of the field of public art, collective memory is also widely but loosely used, suggesting the importance of a critical interrogation of the term's deployment. Various public art projects have been created as a memorial practice based on 'collective memory' without adequate discussions of the ambiguity of its conceptualization and implications of the different definitions and their associated methods of production (Mitchell, 1992). Particularly, the idiosyncratic characteristic of memory is paid little attention in public art projects. This lack of attention may not be accidental, and may reflect the functional usage of the collective memories so involved in the memorialisation of the past: for instance, Sabine Marschall (2008), Eric Mosely (2007) and Dorothee Kreutzfeldt (2004) have researched public art as a means of memorialisation reflecting the changing socioeconomic and political visions of South Africa. However, questions remain: how do individuals recall their memories? How is collective memory constructed on the basis of reported individual memories? Can people remember as a group? Why do people remember things in certain ways? What is finally memorized as a result of memorial public art? The present research thus attempts to engage with some of these questions by taking Fietas mural project as a case study.

1.3 The Research Question

²Appendix 5: *The Subway Artwork Fietas and Fordsburg Souvenir Programme* by JDA, 2010

³ Appendix 5: *The Subway Artwork Fietas and Fordsburg Souvenir Programme* by JDA, 2010

This work will investigate how the collective memory of Fietas is constructed through its means of production as well as through the impact of the mural on the involved communities. By doing so, it attempts to offer some critiques of the concept of collective memory, as well as uncovering its means of production within this one context. As such, this leads us to state our research question as follows: How is the memory of Fietas constructed through the mural project present in the discourse of Fietas community members?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 An Overview on Memory in Public Art

Investigation into art as a memorial practice has been explored from various perspectives. Generally these perspectives can be classified into two categories. Firstly, it is studied in terms of time and space. In *The City of Collective Memory*, Christine Boyer describes the city as a collective expression of art, which carries a memory with traces of earlier architectural forms, paintings and public monuments. She also explores the way its representational form changes over time (Boyer, 1994). Dorothee Kreutzfeldt (2004) explores the way that public painting punctuates the city space of Johannesburg by comparing the public paintings of the Apartheid era to the post-Apartheid era.

The other type of perspective refers to those that examine art as a means of reflecting social-political changes in societies. In South Africa, this combined approach between art and politics in constructing a collective memory has been researched. Annette Pretorius (2006) did research on the function of public art in creating a public identity. Erin Mosely examined the role of contemporary art in reflecting a collective memory during South Africa's transitional democracy. Specifically in terms of mural art as a practice, Sabine Marschall points out that since the 1990s community murals and billboard murals have become more prevailing in South Africa's metropolitan centres. Both types of art have been parts of larger urban regeneration projects that speak to the changing socioeconomic and political visions of the country (Sabine, 2008). However, the concept of collective memory remains far from being comprehensively addressed in these few research projects.

2.2 Memory

Based on a detailed historiographical exposition of memory, Radstone (2000) concludes that 'memory' means different things at different times. It is beyond the scope of this paper to either reproduce or critically examine such a detailed analysis of the meanings of memory from antiquity to late modernity. Nevertheless, my research will, in part, attempt to explore memory's contemporary meanings, which require some historical comparison between meanings within modernity and late modernity.

2.2.1 Mapping Memory between Modernity and Late Modernity

Mapping memory's recent vicissitudes relies on works of Benjamin, Freud, Baudelaire and Proust, in which 'they formed an intellectual trajectory that articulated the classical modernist representations of memory as alternative to the discourses of objectifying and legitimizing history, and as a cure to the pathologies of modern life' (Huyssen 1995: 6). This leads memory to

be associated with some utopian space and time. In this account, the alternative utopian force of modernism's deployment of memory is counterposed to a legitimizing and objectifying history of modernity. However, Huyssen's account of memory as an alternative utopia to modernity's dominant discourses is open to challenge.

Richard Terdiman proposes, rather, that this alignment of modern memory with utopia must be tempered by 'an alternative view of modern memory as rooted in a century-long preoccupation with the malignancy of the mnemonic' (Radstone 2000: 5). For Terdiman, a profound sense of cultural and historical dislocation gave rise to the nineteenth century 'memory crisis'. In comparison to traditional societies where 'objects and people could be said to carry their past and their meanings openly', post-Revolutionary urban society demanded an 'effort of memory' and was preoccupied with the functioning of memory (Terdiman 1993: 5-7). When the multi-cultural groups and distinct architecture that used to carry the past of Fietas were destroyed, the sense of dislocations and disruptions prompted active engagement in the function of memory among post-forced removal residents; the mural project seems to exemplify such a memory crisis.

It was the perceived discontinuity between the past and the future which lies at the center of the nineteenth-century memory crisis (Radstone, 2000). The most significant legacy of this time was the view that memory could no longer be interpreted as reflection, as the transparent record of the past (Radstone, 2000). From that time, memory came to be understood as actively produced, as representation, and as open to struggle and dispute.

In any account of memory's vicissitudes, the two world wars and the holocaust, situated between the nineteenth-century crisis of memory and the late twentieth-century 'memory boom', bear profound significance (Radstone, 2000). Regarding this point, chapter three will provide a more detailed history of memorialisation in a global context to reveal the impact of the holocaust on the work of memory, while at the same time contextualizing the Fietas mural project in an international frame of reference.

The legacy of the holocaust has continued to influence the twentieth-century boom. Yet the late twentieth-century preoccupation with memory, attributed to 'the experiences of immediacy, instantaneity and simultaneity', is different from the nineteenth-century memory crisis (Radstone 2000: 7). Sobchack (1996: 5) understands this shift in relation to the development of new electronic technologies that reduce the distance that previously separated an event from its representation. Huyssen considers the contemporary memory boom as having a bearing on this elapsing of the boundaries between the past and the present as memory's attempt to "slow down information processing, to resist the dissolution of time in the synchronicity of archive..." (Huyssen, 1995: 7). Technological developments spare no effort to evoke experiences of un-lived-through events (Landsberg 1995). As Radstone (2000) argues perhaps the most typical example of this evoking of the un-lived through are the 'heritage' experiences which make use of technologies to evoke an experience of the past. The value of the heritage industry as well as the wider culture of nostalgia has been intensely debated. Raphael Samuel approves of these related

practices for popularizing historical imagination (Samuel 1994). Samuel's perception not only supports a positive view of conducting research on the heritage project of Fietas, but also indicates the importance of a reflection of the function of nostalgia within the analysis of this research.

In brief, at the beginning of the memory crisis, the production of memory was oriented towards tradition and the past; under the influence of the Holocaust, it turned to a 'terror-struck' preoccupation, focusing on the tension between tradition and invention, the past and the present, authenticity and fabrication (Radstone, 2000). In the contemporary memory boom, memory has been more and more aligned with subjectivity, invention, the present, representation and fabrication. In other words, our preoccupations remain equivocal in the contemporary, as it was in modernity and late modernity. This continued capacity to hold equivocation, as Radstone (2000) concludes, ensures the value of memory in different times and stimulates endless researches on memory.

2.2.2 Memory in the contemporary academy

Scholarly research on memory has always been characterized by its ambiguity and complexities, since 'memory begins when experience itself is definitively past' without recourse to metaphor. It is the use of metaphor in the mediation of memory that becomes the research focus, since memory always depends on cultural vehicles for its expression as it is recalled, externalized and objectified (Lambek&Antze, 1996). As Hacking (1995) observes, the discussion of memory must consider the institutional forms, the social relations and discursive spaces in which knowledge about memory is produced. He argues that research on memory usually comes to the same conclusion supporting Foucault's insight regarding the discursive production of subjects. Radstone echoes Hacking's view, pointing out that the understandings of memory may seem to bear out the 'anti-reflectionist and anti-essentialist insights of semiotics, structuralism and post-structuralism'. Many recent writings on memory appear to have been written in order to 'prove' structuralist or post-structuralist theories. What is opposed by each of them is a view of memory as the recording of the 'happened'. Memory is not a reflection of reality but a fabrication, a construction. In Psychoanalytic thought, memories are like dreams, continually being created by fantasies and defensive distortions in a series of successive acts of remembering (Freud, 1963). The hidden preoccupations of the fantasies and distortions may provide a framework for engaging with questions encountered in the research project, e.g. why do people remember things in certain ways?

Besides the works that prove the structuralist and post-structuralist theories, Radstone (2000) suggests that there is another trajectory within the academic memory boom, which avoids binaries between the 'happened' and the 'imagined', rather focusing on the interplay between the 'happened' and 'the imagined'. The representations of memory are understood in relation to both

cultural narratives and unconscious process. As King (1997: 62) points out, in his research memory is understood as ‘a text to be deciphered, not a lost reality to be rediscovered’. However, this trajectory is more or less inclined to regard memory as fabricated or constructed.

Both of the intellectual trajectories will assist the project with a certain order to the concepts and notions by grouping them according to the outlook of their core idea and thus helping to find a way though the difficult terrain and on the winding roads of memory-research. For instance, ‘restorative nostalgia’ leans more towards constructionist theories, manifesting itself in total reconstructions of monuments of the past; while ‘reflective nostalgia’ lingers between the happened and imagined: the past is open to multiple potentialities⁴.

2.3 Memory and Narrative

“Memory, like belief, like all psychological phenomena, is an action; essentially, it is the action of telling a story. Almost always we are concerned with a linguistic operation...The teller must not only know how to narrate the event, but must also know how to associate the happening with the other events of his life...”-Pierre Janet (1976 I: 661)

Two implications can be derived from Janet’s elaboration of memory. Firstly, it indicates the importance of textual analysis based on interview transcripts in memory research, which will be discussed in the methodology section of this report. Secondly, it emphasizes the connection between individual and social entities in memory-making. Even though memory investigates the link between individual or group memories and the wider domains of history, culture and society, its starting point is in the local, in the subjectivity of memory itself. From this point of view, the core issue of memory work lies in the relationship between remembering and transformation, the latter having become an increasingly prevailing concept. As Radstone (2000: 8) puts it, memory work’s impulse is directed towards ‘practices of collective and self-transformation’ in the present, so that memory can ‘vanquish repetition’. It works in concert with Ricoeur (1976) and Lambek’s (1993) notion, such that memory should be open for negotiation and renegotiation with the past. The meaning of any past event may change as the larger, continuing story grows in complexity. We are caught up in the ‘hermeneutic spiral of interpretation’ (Ricoeur, 1976: 45). However, stories require interlocutors; the need to establish authoritative versions never rests with the individual stories alone. It shifts from communal institutions and collective memory to the domain experts and beyond, to market forces and the power of the state (Lambek&Antze, 1996).

The propositions above lead us to ask questions as below: in Fietas mural project, how do individuals enrich their memories and understanding of the past in the process of the mural design? Has the project created a particular version of the past that is granted complete

⁴ The typology of nostalgia is a theory developed by Svetlana Boym. More detailed discussion regarding this issue could be found in her book- *The Future of Nostalgia*, 2001, New York: Basic Books.

authority?

2.4 A Dilemma

Discussions about memory are challenged by a dilemma: is memory primarily individual or collective (Ricoeur, 2004: 91)? Ricoeur gives his understanding of the dilemma on the basis of a historical analysis. Neither Plato nor Aristotle considered the question of who remembered. Instead, they were asking another question concerning the practical relation between individual and the city termed by Ricoeur as ‘the ancient tradition of reflexivity’ (2004: 9). The rival position between individual and collective memory begins with the emergence of a problematic opposition between subjectivity (methodological individualism) and methodological holism proposed by Halbwachs in *the Collective Memory* (Halbwachs, 1980). His contribution is to articulate clearly the elements of social life that contribute to the creation of collective memory. Much of the book contains good arguments against Bergson’s subjectivist theory of knowledge (Douglas, 1980). He points out that the most important part of mental organization is derived from social organization: memory is mainly a collective process.

This project seeks not to aggravate the theoretical polarity of collective memory and individual memory; instead, it attempts to expose the connection between them within the process of constructing a memory of Fietas.

2.5 Collective Memory

The reflection on the process of remembering and identity is ancient. The classical writers already contributed a substantial amount of work to the topic. Writers in modern times followed that line of thinking. However, so far there seems to be no unanimously accepted definition of collective memory, though the term has been widely used in different disciplines. Maurice Halbwachs could be regarded as the founder of the school of a ‘social construction of knowledge’ within collective memory, and his work could be considered a fitting starting point (Maier, 2007).

Maurice Halbwachs’s Collective Memory

Halbwachs’s two books are considered to be a fundamental work on collective memory, even inventing the term as such. He mainly focused on the social dependence of the memory of the individual. He insisted that there could be no memory outside the framework which the group makes available to the individual, within which to fix his memory. When the frames and pre-requisites of the reconstruction are changed or disappear, the memory goes through the same process (Halbwachs, 1980). One of the essential notions of Halbwachs was an understanding of memory as an entity which actively reconstructs the past. Hence he interpreted remembering as

not only a collective endeavor but also an act, which enables the individual to envision and think into the future. Moreover, for Halbwachs, an individual is a participant of many communities of communication of memory. Within this, the multitude of collective memories often engages in a competition about the allegiance of the individual which is determined by the social forces at work within the group (Halbwachs, 1980). Halbwachs could be said to be the first writer who so distinctly articulated the interaction and interdependence of memory and group, of memory and communication. However, as an analytical category, his concept can be criticized as being too vague. It gives a rather unified idea of the group memory not allowing for contested versions of the one memory within a given social group. Besides that, as Maier (2007) points out, his theory is also not suitable to explain the processes of the transformation of memories over time and their transmission through the generations, because he considered these aspects of memory to be history rather than being part of memory, which for him was a different phenomenon.

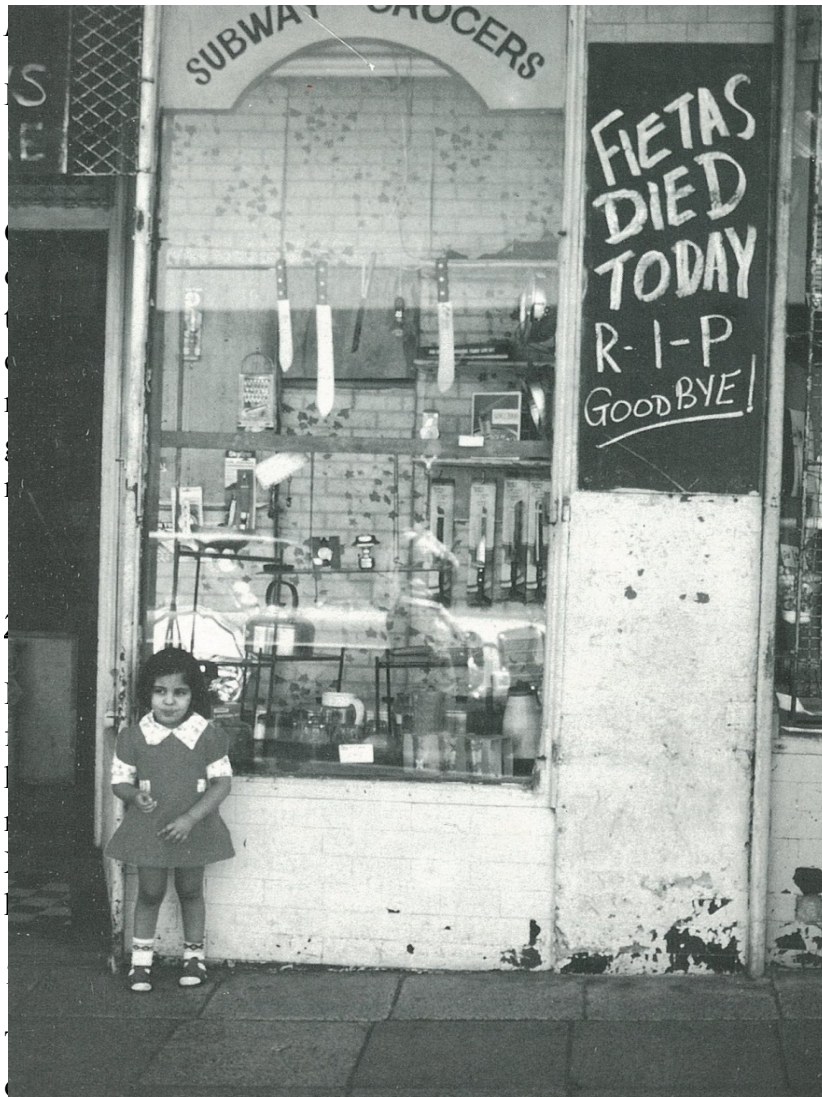
Nevertheless, the notion of a socially communicated memory is important for this project since the focus on the memorialisation connected to it does presuppose that memory can and has to be communicated in order to exist. As will be discussed later, with the primary group of ex-Fietas members getting old and vanishing, the memory of the Fietas forced removals as they had communicated it was put into crisis. But still, Halbwach's collective memory can hardly capture the complexity between the communication of an experience that takes place in the present and a cultural production of the same event as well as the institutionalization of the same. Jan and Aleida Assmann have developed a potential way out of that dilemma.

Cultural and Communicative Memory-Jan and Aleida Assmann

Jan Assmann (1995) argues that all recollections are derived from communication and interaction. Based on this idea of the collective or social dependence of memory, Assman came to the conclusion that it is impossible to distinguish between an individual and a social memory. The individual memory is as such impromptu social as is awareness. Therefore, he and his wife Aleida Assmann have introduced the term communicative memory for the social aspect of memory described by Halbwachs. The contents of communicative memory constitute all varieties of recollections that rely exclusively on daily communication, is unorganized and yet consolidated. It is closest to Halbwachs' notion of a collective memory and would be comparable to the field of oral history in the historical sciences (Assman, 1995: 2-4). If the bearers (or a generation) vanish, the communicative memory ceases as well. In other words, the communicative memory is the 'short term memory' of a society. The disappearance of a generation or bearers in a society evokes a wave of memoirs or the founding of archival collections (Assman, 1995: 5). After this 'boom', Jan and Aleida Assmann suggest almost every 80 years, there is a gap, the bridge of transformation of what is kept of the communicative memory into something termed as 'cultural memory'. Objectified culture and organized or ceremonial communication expresses itself with texts, rituals, and memorials. Assmann (1998: 5) calls these 'figures of remembrance'. Therefore Communicative memory and cultural memory

could be distinguished as 'daily memory' and 'festive memory' (Assmann, 1998: 5).

Assmann has opened a window for the understanding of the complex processes of societal remembering, yet his ideas seem to have some shortcomings: It may be that the distinction is too rigid. In the research at hand, it becomes very clear that the two memories are intertwined. The production of a cultural memory on a given event (in the case of this research: the forced removals), the transformation of memory embodied in the contemporaries into a memory administered by institutions begins immediately after the event has happened. The figures of cultural memory, such as texts and photos are immediately created, e.g. Fig1 was taken during the forced removals.



the but consensual interpretation
g interpretations but already to
for a certain time until it is
jection against collective
ity of immobility, of something
c, and that depends on a vast

ross various disciplines. It is
n. 'Nostalgia is to memory as
'an abdication of personal
hetic failure' (Boym, 2001:
aking it more seriously than it
m are explored next.

ard

philosophers, historians and
nostalgia depends in some way

on comparing a present situation with a past one. Many accounts claim that there must be a more specific difference between the past and the present. Howard's (2012) contribution is to be able

⁵Charles Maier, 'The End of longing? Notes Towards a History of Postwar German National Longing', paper presented at the Berkeley center for German and European Studies, December 1995, Berkely, CA.

to identify the operative difference in the respective attributes or qualities of two temporally distant states of affairs through notions of '*the naive requirement*' and '*the poverty of the present requirement*'.

He states that the *naive requirement* demands 'a particular discrepancy in knowledge between the past and the present' (Howard, 2012: 2). The past-directedness of nostalgia emphasizes the importance of hindsight. In this account, a necessary condition for nostalgic memories is that they must be directed at times when one was unaware of the impermanence of one's surroundings. This is echoed by Svetlana Boym, according to whom we are 'nostalgic for a time when we were not nostalgic' (2001: 255). The notion could help with the understanding of the knowledge of transience of the former world (Fietas before, and Fietas during the forced removals) which once was regarded as a poor and suffering life, for that time has gone, a fact much appreciated at present.

A more plausible time comparison account holds that nostalgia must be motivated by the deprivation felt by the current self. Nostalgia involves an evaluation that the past was better which is called the '*poverty of the present requirement*' by Howard (2012: 3). This idea enjoys broad interdisciplinary consensus. Linda Hutcheon writes:

The simple, pure, ordered, easy, beautiful, or harmonious past is constructed (and then experienced emotionally) in conjunction with the present-which, in turn is constructed as complicated, contaminated, anarchic, difficult, ugly, and confrontational...nostalgia distancing sanitizes as it selects, making the past feel complete, stable, coherent, safe... in other words, making it so very unlike the present(2000: 195).

From this view of nostalgia, Howard concludes that the desirable features of the past appear to be compromised or lacking in the present. He further assumes that nostalgia imaginatively projects desirable features onto the past, rather than represents qualities which the past possessed.

Howard's theories provide operative distinctions in the analysis of relations between the past and present in respect to nostalgia. The various qualities of the two different states of affairs can be applied to the later discussion of the connections between memories of Fietas and the present society. However, it is still strictly defined within the framework of structuralism. Nostalgia is essentially a mechanism of fabrication in the service of the requirements of the present. Svetlana Boym has attempted to step past this limitation, and described a new typology in her long study of nostalgia, guiding us through the ruins and construction sites of post-communist cities such as St.Peterburg, Moscow and Berlin.

A Typology of Nostalgia: *Restorative* and *Reflective Nostalgia*-Svetlana Boym

For Boym, nostalgia characterizes one's relationship to the past, to the imagined home, to one's own self-perception which is not only highly constructive, but it also displays the tension

between ‘the happened’ and the ‘imagined’, between individual and collective remembrance, which are the major concerns of her study. In her study, she classifies nostalgia into two categories, which are respectively ‘*restorative*’ and ‘*reflective*’ nostalgia.

Restorative nostalgia stresses ‘nostos’ - the return home, and attempts a trans-historical reconstruction of the lost home in order to patch the memory gap. It does not regard itself as nostalgic but rather as an exercise in truth (Boym, 2001: 41). She also argues that this kind of nostalgia characterizes national and nationalist revivals all over the world, which participate in anti-modern myth-making by means of a return to national symbols and myths. It manifests itself in total reconstruction of monuments of the past. This raises questions relevant to the present project. Is the Fietas mural project such an activity of myth-making? Could the mural be considered as a monument to Fietas?

In the discussion of restorative nostalgia it is worthwhile to distinguish the difference between the tradition, and the restored or invented tradition. Boym refers the restored tradition to ‘a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual of symbolic nature which seeks to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition which automatically implies continuity with the past’ (2001: 42). The new traditions are characterized by a higher degree of symbolic formalization and ritualization than the actual customs and conventions after which they were patterned. The mural was created through various workshop activities focusing on customs of the past, including a game day activity. In this activity, present-day children from Phutaditjhaba in Pageview played games that were played by children back-in-the-day in Fietas: kennetijie, skipping and three-tins⁶. Fietas Festivals is also an example of a newly restored tradition which will be discussed later. The Fietas Festival, like the mural project, serves as a remembrance and continuity with the historical past which emphasizes traditional values.

As Boym suggests, restorative nostalgia knows two main narrative plots – ‘the restoration of origins and the conspiracy theory, characteristic of the most extreme cases of contemporary nationalism fed on right-wing popular culture’ (2001: 42). The conspiratorial worldview is based on a single transhistorical plot, a battle of good and evil and the inevitable scapegoating of the mythical enemy (2001: 43). Therefore, ambivalence, the complexity of history and the specificity of modern circumstances is erased. In this account, to consider the mural project as a conspiracy based on a battle between the forcibly removed communities and the Apartheid regime is far too arbitrary and oversimplified, even though it might touch certain aspects of the conspiracy theories. The project offers more than that which will be presented in the later discussion of the interviews.

For restorative nostalgia, when ‘the ache of temporal distance is compensated by intimate experience and the availability of a desired object and displacement is cured’ by a return ‘home’, never mind if it is not your home, by the time you reach it, you will have already forgotten the

⁶Index 5: *The Subway Artwork Fietas and Fordsburg Souvenir Programme*, 20 February 2011, p.7.

difference (2001: 44). From this point of view, because the typical Fietas on the mural has not satisfied people's nostalgic desire for returning home, more memorialization, e.g. the Fietas museum (opened on Heritage day, 2013), is evidence of efforts to experience this return. However, Boym argues that what drives restorative nostalgia is not the desire of returning home derived from longing and distance but rather the anxiety about those who draw attention to 'historical incongruities' between past and present, and thus 'question the wholeness and continuity of the restored tradition' (2001: 45). No matter whether referring to the mural or the museum, it could be said that these projects are driven by people's wish for, or expectation for the continuity of traditional values, which manifest in the interviews.

Reflective nostalgia thrives in 'algia', the longing itself, and delays the homecoming – 'wistfully, ironically, desperately' (Boym, 2001: 48). Compared to restorative nostalgia which focuses on recovery of what is perceived to be an absolute truth, it is more concerned with historical and individual time, with the irrevocability of the past and human finitude (2001: 48). Reflection suggests new flexibility, not the reestablishment of stasis (Boym, 2001: 49). This type of nostalgia allows us to distinguish between *national memory* that is based on a single plot of *national identity*, and *social memory*, which consists of collective frameworks that mark but do not define the individual memory (2001: XVIII). She further elaborates that this type of nostalgia is aware of the gap between identity and remembrance; the home is in ruins or contrarily has been reconstructed beyond recognition (2001: 50). The discrepancy between the remembered and the represented, the defamiliarization and sense of distance drives them to tell the relationship between past, present and future. It echoes with the anxiety that drives restorative nostalgia in a sense that the past is being lost which encourages people to tell stories or unite for a commemorative festival in the case of the project.

For Boym, the reflective nostalgia reveals Assmann's concept of Cultural and Communicative Memory, in that it 'cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporaries space' (p.49) which is directed towards an individual narrative that 'savors details and memorial signs, perpetually deferring homecoming itself' (2001: 49). Henri Bergson suggested the metaphor of a cone that represents the totality of virtual pasts that spring from a moment in the present. He described the past 'might act and will act by inserting itself into a present sensation from which it borrows the vitality'⁷. On account of Bergson's perception, Boym (2001: 50) further argues that the past opens up a multitude of potentialities, non-teleological possibilities of historical development. The present project attempts to describe how Fietas is constructed through moments of daily life, how the past is opened up to a multitude of possibilities.

Both types of nostalgia are about the ways in which we make sense of our seemingly ineffable homesickness and how we view our relationship to a collective home, and the interrelationship between individual and collective remembrance. Boym suggests the two types of nostalgia might overlap in their frames of reference by using the same triggers of memory and symbols, however, they do not conform to each other in their narratives and plots of identity (2001: 49). In

⁷ Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, N.M. Paul and W.S. Palmer, trans. New York Zone Books, 1996, P.59-60

this account, the two types of nostalgia could have different suggestions and interpretations with regard to the mural project; nevertheless, they could be used at the same time. The concept of restorative nostalgia could be deployed to understand collective memory on the national level. The concept of reflective nostalgia could assist the research of collective memory on an individual level: to see how different individual participants could create a Fietas within a multitude of possibilities.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the Fietas mural project as well as an introduction to the terms and concepts which both legitimize the study and give a frame of reference to the results. These terms and concepts combine a description of the evolution of the concepts that surround the field of memory-studies. Since they often make reference to each other, several authors would agree on the parallel use of some of them, while others view them as being irreconcilable or even opposed. As we can see there is no such thing as a single term that satisfactorily covers the complex cobweb of connotations and concepts dealt with within this work. This work selects its focus on nostalgia; the main analytical categories will be around nostalgia theories. However, given the close relation between concepts, and their reciprocal development, the broader range of concepts will be drawn upon, and their entanglement further explored.

3. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

3.1 Introduction

This chapter mainly articulates a more detailed history of memorialisation in a global context. By contextualizing South African memorialisation within an international frame of reference, one can see the role it plays in the broad global memorial landscape. From the study of South Africa, the city of Johannesburg in particular, it is hoped that directions of interest in the practice of memory-making can highlight processes taking place within the people and the nation.

What is ‘heritage’ in the South African context? What is memorialized? What are the forms of memorialisation that have taken place in the landscape of South Africa? How does Fietas mural public art project come into this picture of memorialisation? Questions as above will be addressed in this chapter, though they are hugely complicated, and cannot be comprehensively settled here.

3.2 Postwar memory

The late twentieth-century ‘memory boom’ is often ascribed to the atrocities of two world wars. Abundant work by Jay Winter (1998), James Young (1993), Michael Rothberg (2009) and Susan Radstone (2000) have presented this point of view. The impact of two world wars, and especially the Holocaust, has been linked to the impossibility of unifying representation and remembrance. Radstone (2000: 6) argues that post-war remembrance is freighted with the irretrievable memories of the untold dead and with the unspeakable traumatic memories of those who lived on. The impact of the Holocaust has emphasized memory’s relation to fantasy, subjectivity, invention, the present, representation and fabrication, as opposed to history, community, tradition, the past, reflection and authenticity (2000: 7). Memory has ever since become problematic and ambivalent. However, it is this quality of ambivalence that gives memory vitality which I shall elaborate more in chapter six. In searching for the untold stories from the rich pool of resources of the past, memories are created through various forms of memorialisation. Since 1970, museums, memorials, monuments and public art have sprung up in many European countries; new or repressed questions flared up about a nation’s past and their citizen’s conduct. The two world wars have become a point of reference of memory-creation. Meanwhile, the ambivalence of memory has added complexity to the various forms of memorialisation.

3.3 Making memories in Germany

In post-war Germany, people’s response to the war was to ‘freeze it’; the focus was on a need to return to normality. Only after the second generation after Nazi rule, did they start to face the guilt of the past. Still there was an emphasis on the good days of the past. As Bowie (2006: 5) observes, the desire to construct a collective memory of overcoming adversity and building a new future left little room for the veteran to continue to relive the trauma of the war. This delaying response to the war was evident in this period of memorialisation. Only after the trial of Adolf Eichmann in 1961 did the Holocaust begin to be discussed and to re-enter the active collective memory. Lea Rosh began planning and fundraising for a Holocaust memorial in Berlin in 1989, yet it was only erected between 2003 and 2004 (Bowie 2006: 11). This indicates how difficult it has been for the collective German consciousness to deal with the atrocities committed under the Third Reich. As James Young (1993: 22) points out: ‘how does a state incorporate its crimes against others into its national memorial landscape? How does a nation justify itself in the face of the misdeeds and make them part of its reason for being?’ These are the hot potatoes that Germany has to handle in the practice of memorialisation.

The fashion of countermonument also shows Germany’s struggles in memory-making as well as the tangled internal world in handling the hot potatoes. Driven by the strong desire to draw a

line with regard to the 'generation of the killers', new generation artists like Jochen Gerz undertook a radical reform in the traditional forms of memorialisation. His vanishing monument, unveiled in 1986, *Monument against Fascism* embraces the public's interaction with the monument. It accommodates all memories and responses. Jochen Gerz found that even resentment is a form of memory (Young 1993: 34). As a social mirror, it becomes intriguingly interesting: on the one hand, it reminds the community of what happened; on the other, the community has to respond to the memory of the past, while at the same time making new memory of the past. Perhaps this double effect is what makes countermonument popular in the post-war German memory industry. Instead of pushing the people into a corner to confront the past, it gives them space and time to think and react to the past. The viewer seems to gain power in the situation; the image of the once powerful and assertive monument is to be transformed into a passive recorder, waiting for the viewer to make meanings of the past in light of the present.

Countermonument could also be seen as an alternative solution to the old monuments that were built by the Nazis. Situated in the center of Hamburg, a countermonument by Alfred Hrdlicka attempts to neutralize the fascist charge in a Nazi-built monument standing nearby. The new countermonument aimed to create a dialogue with the old one nearby, an argument that could be won by neither side (Young 1993: 40). Hrdlicka's countermonument might be a failure in terms of its initial intention. Only half of the work has been installed with little prospect of its completion. However, as Young points out, it's the dialectic between a monument and its public, the tension between it and its surroundings that sustains memory. From this perspective, it is too simple to classify Hrdlicka's countermonument as merely a failure. On the contrary, it is a strong statement of memory's complexity as well as its ambivalence. The public is constantly being questioned about the crimes of the past and the embarrassing situation of the present. It raises a new round of memory-making individually and collectively.

Besides monuments, sites of destruction in the form of concentration camps are of great significance in German's memorial landscape. To some extent, memories of these sites have constituted the new Germany identity as victims of the war as well as victims of fascism. In the narrative of different memorials, the country defined victims of the Third Reich in the broadest possible terms, regardless of nationality, religion or political convictions. Heroes of resistance such as Stauffenberg are mythified and memorialized. Even the Jews who died in death camps are now honorary members of the group once committed to their destruction (Young 1993: 52). There were no big difference between the communists, the Jews and ordinary Nazi soldiers; everybody was 'united' as the victims of Hitler and the Reich. The ambivalent memory-making once again questions us about integrity. As Young (1993: 53) asks 'to what extent does a nation use memory of the past to unify itself at the expense of historical rectitude?' It is a question that is not just confronting Germany but all nations to different degrees. One might question further: how long can these forged memories and unity last before it is confronted or modified by other agents of memory?

A similar difficult situation is confronting people who identifying themselves as white Afrikaners in South Africa. Even though the majority of the Afrikaners didn't actively engage in Apartheid policy-making, they were part of the whole white population that benefited from the exclusively white-prioritized regime. Unlike Germany's reliance on a gradual cultivation of self-criticism and contrition in dealing with the atrocities in their memory-making, the new South African government has been actively condemning the atrocities of the Apartheid regime in its nation-building through various forms of memorialisation. It may take time for the collective Afrikaans consciousness to really acknowledge the shameful past. However, the once solid Afrikaners' identity has ever since 1994 become fragmented. *Who is an Afrikaner* is an exhibition right at the entrance of Voortrekker Monument exhibition hall which is an attempt to construct a new Afrikaans identity in post-Apartheid era. Besides that, narratives of the suffering of the Great Trek resonate with the 'victimhood' under the new government. There is no doubt that the Voortrekker Monument remains the most influential 'countermonument' against all the new memorial sites created by the new government.

When the South African government of national unity came to power in 1994, it followed a rather moderate and pragmatic approach, often refraining from removing monuments representative of the apartheid regime. Marschall (2010) suggested that the possibility of readdressing or re-contextualizing some existing monuments has been widely discussed and partially implemented as a compromise solution. She further elaborated that many new monuments were conceptualized as a critical response to a specific, existing monument, highlighting absences of representation and posing counter-narratives to biased or exclusive interpretations of the past. It might be observed that Freedom Park, to some extent, is the South African equivalent of Hrdlicka's countermonument to neutralize the Voortrekker monument charge in the memorial landscape of Pretoria, but a comparison illustrates how ambitious the extensive project is. It exceeds all other post-apartheid commemorative ventures in status and international visibility. It is noteworthy that practices in traditional African ways of commemoration have never involved the construction of solid, large-scale monumental structures. Comparing to other cultures' splendid historical monumental structures and sculptures, it is the first time new elites who are on behalf of the once suppressed African people in South Africa can create something that could express their pride through the form of massive physical structure. Thus, it is not a surprise that Freedom Park is oriented around African-Renaissance and nation-building. McClintock (1991:104) proves that Freedom Park management wants to 'decolonize the minds' by 'emancipating the African voice'. I had expected the exhibition to be condensed and focused, instead it juxtaposes many themes. It manages to convey the emotional pride of African identity to me, even as 'the other' outside the African knowledge system.

3.4 Making memories in Denmark and Norway

In the discussion of the impact of the Second World War on memory, Germany is certainly a country that can't be neglected. Among so many other European countries, one might question the selection of Denmark and Norway in this discussion. The reason is partly due to the resources that are available to me; however, the primary reason is that the forms of memorialisation in Denmark and Norway that I shall articulate in the chapter have provided valuable insights on the interpretation of the South African memorial landscape.

Like other occupied countries, the experience of the war, of the losses, of defeat, humiliation and persecution as well as the memory of hardship, left deep wounds on the collective soul in Denmark and Norway. The majority of the population was traumatized. The nations were in "urgent need of patriotic memories" to support the reconstruction of both souls and infrastructure. The main focus of the patriotic memory was on the resistance. The governments, as well as political movements 'nationalized' any resistance and glorified it, claiming the merits of the relatively small proportion of the population (Maier, 2007: 2). The resistance, as was the widespread belief, had defended the nation. Museums and celebrations as instruments of the wartime memory production belong to the sphere of state-sponsored public memory (Maier, 2007: 2). Through the symbols and signs these instruments supply, individuals participate in what could be called the collective memory. Taking two museums for example: the museum of the Norwegian Resistance and the museum of Danish Resistance. According to Maier, the museum of the Norwegian Resistance founded and furnished by and under the supervision of the leading figures of the resistance movement, could be described as the official shop-window to the Norwegian occupation-history. It stands as the way the influential postwar politicians wanted the war history to be interpreted and represented. Since its opening in 1970, the exhibition has not been revised, indicating the persistence of this interpretation (Maier, 2007: 17). A similar situation takes place at the museum of Danish Resistance. In 1957 veterans of the Danish resistance opened the museum as a gift to the Danish people. They also set up the exhibition by themselves. It turned out to be a great success with parents and grandparents visiting the exhibition with their children, explaining the original objects that are displayed in a corridor. The exhibition was revised in 1990s but still occupies a similar position in the topography of memory of the war in Denmark (Maier 2007: 18).

South African's patriotic memory is also heavily invested in the resistance theme. In my interview with Eric Itzkin, Deputy Director of Immovable Heritage at City Of Johannesburg, confirmed that the primary criterion for any new heritage project at present in their department, is the importance in the struggle history. The "Struggle" includes the anti-Apartheid struggle for liberation, and the historical struggle against all forms of colonial oppression and discrimination. Virtually all the museums and memorials and public art projects supported by the heritage department are related to this theme. Examples include Robben Island; the Apartheid Museum at Gold Reef; Freedom Park at Salvokop outside Pretoria; the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication in Kliptown; busts and statues of 'struggle heroes' [e.g., Nelson Mandela in Hammanskraal; Gandhi in Pietermaritzburg, Johannesburg, and Durban; Steve Biko in East London, or Oliver

Tambo in Bizana); heroes' acres (e.g., in the Port Elizabeth township of New Brighton); and 'massacre memorials' commemorating the victims of the township violence of the 1980s (e.g., the Sharpeville memorial, the Langa Massacre memorial near Uitenhage, or the Bisho Massacre memorial).

An evolving landscape of newly erected or modified memorials could be translated as a 'representational war', creating a new national myth against the old order, a myth set by the Afrikaners founded on the 'Great Trek'. However, the post-Apartheid South African government has chosen a very gentle transitional approach, which is completely different from any radical revolution such as that which happened in countries like China and the Soviet Union, where representations of the old system were destroyed. Confronted with the past, precipitated by the presence of the old monuments, and before dedicating commemorative energies to other issues, there is a sense of urgency in representing the heroes and events of the struggle. For this reason, it is understandable that almost all new heritage sites and public monuments are political in content (Marschall 2010).

Perfectly fitting the criterion set by the state, as a representative model of the struggle against the brutal Apartheid and forced removals, together with other suppressed groups, the once infamous slum area 'Fietas' is pushed to the forefront of the times. My research on Fietas mural public art project must also be conducted within the framework of this era's background. Marschall (2010) remarks on the prevailing struggle narrative of memorialisation as driven by the inevitably top-down political forces. Monument proposals in South Africa today, resonating with the situation in Denmark and Norway, are still very often driven not by the grassroots but by the political elite, most of whom were actively involved in the liberation struggle. Some of these former political activists and freedom fighters have strongly demanded adequate commemoration of the struggle history. During the visit in June 2013, it was said by our guide that they were pushing the completion of the museum in order to present it as tribute to Nelson Mandela. Under the supervision of the president as well as in consultation with veterans' organizations from both sides of the former political divide over a lengthy period, the museum could be described as the official shop-window to, and a nationalized commemoration of, the South African liberation history.

The museum is certainly not the only hermeneutic parameter for the understanding of memory. There are other forms of memory production such as memorials, monuments, rituals, festivals and anniversaries. They all fall under Nora's (1984) increasingly popular notion of the *lieu de mémoire*. Virtually everything could be a *lieu de mémoire* – topographical sites, typical food, buildings or famous people. The essence of the *lieu de mémoire* is that it is 'a focal point of shared emotional attachment' (Carrier, 2000: 45-46). They are 'fundamentally vestiges, ultimate embodiments of a commemorative consciousness' (Nora, 1984: 6). In this sense the museums as interpreted above as well as the conducting of celebrations of the liberation should be understood as *lieu de mémoire*. Notably commemorations made by the museums are mainly from the above

rather than by ordinary people. It is a top-down model of commemoration. In Norway and Denmark, the celebrations around the liberation days are part of the annual calendar of national events. They have been celebrated with more or less intensity throughout the postwar period (Maier, 2007: 19-23). Celebrations of memorial days are world rites that enable nations to reassure themselves of their identity (Maier, 2007: 20). Even anniversaries, according to Paul Connerton, mean to control the collective memory. The celebration of the day of liberation from German occupation has retained a very stable character and proved relatively immune to changes both in Norway and Denmark. The first extensive Norwegian liberation celebrations were founded in 1955 on the 10th anniversary and since then, every five years, celebrations have been bigger. In 1965 a committee was even appointed by the government to prepare for the celebration at the state level. The veterans at the museum of the Norwegian Resistance felt under-represented and managed to get two veterans into the committee, to “take care of our view on such a celebration”. Accompanied by the celebration, monuments, museums and exhibitions are created to support the grand narrative of the veterans.

Returning to the context of South Africa, a classical example of a celebration as a *lieu de mémoire* is the celebration of Youth Day. It commemorates the Soweto Uprising on June 16, 1976, when police opened fire on unarmed school children who were protesting against Bantu education. Since 1995 when it was declared as a public holiday, activities are meticulously planned every year; it is an extensive monthly celebration with musical concerts around the country, youth-oriented workshops, marches, erecting memorials, etc. The Hector Pieterse Memorial in Orlando West in Soweto, consisting of a memorial (unveiled on 16 June 2001) and a museum (opened 16 June 2002), is a key structure in the celebration⁸. Every year celebrities will join the Executive Mayor of Soweto for a ceremony. In the 2010 year’s celebration, another memorial was added to the June 16 Trail, with the unveiling of a statue of Tsietshi Mashinini at Morris Isaacson High School⁹. In 2013 the commemoration commenced in the early hours of the morning with a symbolic march in Alexandra Township¹⁰.

As Mayor Masondo commented on the meaning of Tsietshi Mashinini’s statue, “it will add to our national consciousness”, so celebrations of Youth day have certainly proved that commemoration serves not only to remember the past and honor the dead, but also to shape consciousness and create group identity among those in the present.

Myths boost political power and are intertwined with rituals and commemorations. In Norway

⁸ For more information about 1976 commemoration, see Ali Khangela Hlongwane’s *Commemoration, Memory and Monuments in the Contested Language of Black Liberation: The South African Experience* in *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol.2, no.4, June 2008.

⁹ Available from

http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=5349&Itemid=193#ixzz2dJC4QQHO.

Accessed August, 2013

¹⁰ http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=8670:14-06-2013-joburg-to-commemorate-the-37th-anniversary-of-youth-day-&catid=217:press-releases-2013&Itemid=114#ixzz2dMKKJq8X.

Accessed August, 2013

the role of the king has been bestowed with mythical power and a great uniting symbol in the practice of memorialisation. There was a famous picture of the king and the Crown Prince sanding near a birch tree in Glomstua during their flight to central Norway.

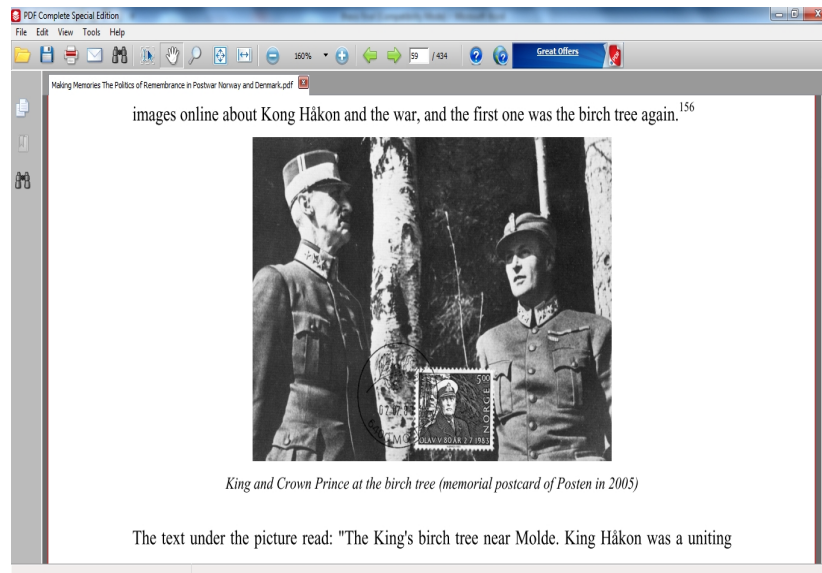


Fig 2: King and Crown Prince at the Birch Tree (Memorial Postcard of Posten in 2005)

Interestingly it became a symbol for the king's steadfastness during the attack and the war. His refusal to surrender the Norwegian forces is often referred to as the sign that gather the people around and against the Norwegian Nazis. According

to Maier (2007: 59-60) the tree itself became the 'royal birch' and was given symbolic meaning in itself. In the Encyclopedia of the War it is referred to as 'national symbol and monument'. One might be surprised at the fact that a tree has being honored as a national monument simply because of its lucky attachment to the King. However, this is not the end of the fortune of the 'royal tree'. After being accidentally destroyed in the 1980s, the tree later acquired a slightly different meaning. It was replanted in 1982 by King Olav and in 1992 a grove was created around it dedicated to freedom, peace and human dignity (Maier, 2007: 61). The tree is also an example of how a symbol, even after its destruction, can be revived and even updated by adjustment to the present values. The picture of the king became so popular that it became an icon of the king and the war. It was shown in the museum of the Norwegian Resistance where it is the antipode to the picture of the traitor Quisling. In 2003, when Aftenposten put a picture series of 17 images online about Kong Håkon and the war, the first one was the birch tree again¹¹.

Ironically there are trees in South Africa that are also with a mythical status. For instance the famous 'Champion Tree' in Sophiatown. Before the forced removals in Sophiatown between 1955 and 1963, gangs used to meet under this tree and political activists such as Father Trevor Huddleston and Beyers Naude used to hold political meetings here. During the forced removals, two people who did not want to leave Sophiatown committed suicide in protest, by hanging

¹¹ The picture series was published under the heading Etsamlende symbol (a uniting symbol) in 2003 but was updated in 2005 again. They can be found under <http://www.aftenposten.no/spesial/bildeserier/article489151.ece?start=1>.

themselves from the huge oak tree's branches¹².

Undoubtedly the most significant South African icon is Nelson Mandela. A slew of articles have fully explored this topic¹³. However, in this chapter I would rather focus on a famous photograph of Hector Pieterse taken by Sam Nzima.



Figure 3: Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum, Soweto. Enlargement of Sam Nzima's photograph of Hector Pieterse. (Photograph: S. Marschall.)

This photograph depicts the mortally wounded Hector Pieterse being carried by Mbuyisa Makhubo, with Hector's sister, Antoinette Sithole running alongside. It was quickly adopted by the liberation movements and made its way onto posters, T-shirts, into murals and a host of other media (Marschall, 2006: 157). Under the influence of the international media network, it simultaneously entered millions of households around the world via magazines and television (Marschall, 2006: 157). Marschall argues that Nzima's photograph reflects the entrenched Christian iconographic tradition of the Pieta, which in turn has informed the sculptural conventions of war memorial sculptures all over the Western world. It represents innocence and martyrdom, yet also implies the notion of ultimate triumph which is also central to the South African foundation myth. Because of its compelling character and high recognition value the photo has become the central visual of the Hector Pieterse Museum. Hector Pieterse was only one of many victims of the Soweto Uprising; however, because of the symbolic and emotionally charged photograph, the once anonymous, ordinary boy is mystified and constructed as a national hero, an icon of the liberation struggle.

3.5 Making memories in China and Japan

Any memorial practice is founded as much on forgetting as it is on remembering. The deliberate selection of forgetting and remembering modifies over time according to the political and economic development of the state. The vicissitudes of the memory of the Sino-Japanese War, in particular the Nanjing Massacre, shall illustrate the arguments presented above.

The memory of resistance and liberation that is central to the mythology of the communist

¹² Available from <http://treeco-treeco.blogspot.com/2012/07/sophiatown-heritage-tree.html>. Accessed February, 2014.

¹³Articles such as: Klerk, B, J. Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu: Living Icons of Reconciliation.

revolution in China has forgotten mostly obviously the role of the nationalists in the resistance and especially in Japanese atrocities, in light of new forms of memory that emerged in the post-Mao liberation. Ken Sekine has pointed out that Ah Long's *Nanjing*, probably the first novel to deal with the Nanjing Massacre in some detail, was suppressed simply because its narrative did not fit the heroic mode of literature being promoted in Chongqing during the war¹⁴. After 1949 when the New China was established, war and revolutionary martyrs were worshipped for their noble sacrifice to the nation, but victims of atrocities—the 'rape of Nanjing' or the medical experiments led by the infamous Unit 731 of the Japanese Imperial Army—did not fit this prevailing heroic memory-making. Memory of the Nanjing Massacre was consciously suppressed during the Maoist period. Ian Buruma (1999: 4-9) suggests that the reason for this Maoist silence about Japanese atrocities is that there were no Communists in the Nationalist capital Nanjing when the massacre occurred; almost all the soldiers who died in Nanjing were Nationalists.

Since 1978, Deng Xiaoping's economic reform and the liberalization in arts and culture have undermined the very ideology with which the mainland Chinese people had identified for three decades. Immediately after the Cultural Revolution, the Wounds (*shanghen*) trend in literature, film, and art initiated a general culture of victimhood in China. In more recent years, globalization and urbanization have forged a world that is radically at odds with the ideals embodied in the standard revolutionary narrative. The revolutionary values of self-sacrifice and national collective spirit are eroding. Besides this, Deton (2007: 2-3) argues further that in a market economy in which migrant workers are treated as second-class citizens, peasants live in abject poverty, and the division between rich and poor is gaping, the class struggle message of revolutionary history is potentially threatening to the new state ideology. Forms of memory that downplay class struggle and emphasize national unity through shared suffering serve the state well in a new consumer economy founded on class distinction. Therefore, recalling memories of Japanese atrocities direct divisive class resentments toward an external other. National unity and shared national sentiment have grown out of this 'othering' of Japan. Arif Dirlik (2001: 311) puts it this way: 'Where World War II is concerned, memories of the past serve to promote nationalism that, weakened in organization by developments in capitalism, finds in the realm of culture and past existence a means both to perpetuate and to preserve a contemporary status quo that is very much in jeopardy'.

Peter Gries (2004: 43-52) has suggested that in popular historiography and other forms of intellectual discourse in China, a shift from a 'victor narrative' to a 'victim narrative' took place from the 1980s to the 1990s. Museums and memorials have played an important role in this move toward a discourse of victimization. For example, four important museums and memorial

¹⁴See Ken Sekine, "Verbose Silence in 1939 Chongqing: Why Ah Long's *Nanjing* Could Not Be Published." MCLC Resource Center, 2004. The novel was first published as *Nanjing xueji* (The bloody sacrifice of Nanjing) (Beijing: Renminwenxue, 1987).

sites devoted to Japanese imperialism and to atrocities committed by the imperial army were established in the 1980s and 1990s: Memorial Hall of the People's War of Resistance Against Japan (*Zhongguorenmin kang Rihuan zheng jin guan*), Memorial to Victims of the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders (*Qin Hua Rijun Nanjing datu shayun antong bao jin guan*), Crime Evidence Exhibition Hall of Japanese Imperial Army Unit 731 (*Qin Hua Rijun di qisanya obuduizh zheng chen lie guan*), and September 18 History Museum (*Jiuyi balishi bowu guan*) (Denton: 23). In their emphasis on atrocity and horror, they present something that is new in the exhibitionary representation of Japanese imperialism in China and constitute an important dimension in the larger new remembering of World War II as well as the gradual shift away from the memory of class struggle. With their emphasis on atrocity, these museums fall under Gries's victim narrative, and they are at least partly the product of the rise of neo-nationalism in China and particularly of the anti-Japanese strain of nationalism.

'Not forgetting national humiliation' (*wu wang guo chi*) is a common theme shared throughout these museums. The historical overview section of the War of Resistance Museum, for example, ends with Zhou Enlai's famous phrase 'to not forget the past is to be master of the future' (*qian shi bu wang, hou shi zhi shi*). The phrase appears again at the very beginning of the Unit 731 Museum. Admonitions to 'not forget' history frame the September 18 History Museum. 'Not forgetting national humiliation' is a common theme in modern Chinese culture dating back at least to the Republican era, when intellectuals urged others to recall the memories of humiliation, particularly that inflicted by Japanese imperialism. In the 1990s, intellectuals and the state conspired in a similar fashion to urge average Chinese not to forget national humiliation because people were indeed forgetting.

South Africa's memorialisation is founded on forgetting the whites' role especially the Afrikaans' anti-Apartheid movement¹⁵. The city of Johannesburg is also founded on the forgetting of the mine workers who, for more than a hundred years have had shed sweat and blood for the birth of a world famous gold city. Even though some effort has been dedicated in marking their existence in the memorial landscape of the city, it can be said they are still not getting adequate attention and respect. Originally covered in the mine dumps, under the attack of rain and other dramatic weather, the skeletons of many mine workers, over time, are being exposed and eroding. Itzkin stated in an interview with me that the city is increasingly stressing the importance of mining history in heritage creation. However, due to the limited budget and the priority of commemorating struggle history, at least at this moment, the memorial landscape has witnessed little space for the mine workers in Johannesburg. As a Chinese person, I've been particularly paying attention to the struggle history of South African Chinese. As expected, they are seldom remembered in any memorialisation. During a couple of hours' visit to the Voortrekker monument in June, 2013, I have witnessed two buses of Chinese tourists flooding

¹⁵Albert Grundlingh has discussed extensively about anti-Apartheid Afrikaans activists, including novelist, journalists and musicians. His main focus is in rock musicians' protests in the 1980s, in 'Rocking the boat' in South Africa? Voelvrymusica and Afrikaans anti-Apartheid social protest in the 1980s', *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 37, 3 (2004)

into the monument, ironically misinterpreting the site as a holocaust memorial for Jews; perhaps it is worthwhile to think about a project that can attract Chinese tourists to the history of local Chinese immigrants' gold rush movement as well as their struggles in South African history.

Returning to the discussion of the memorialisation in Japan and China, memorialisation of war memory in Japan and China has been refurbished recently. Renovation of the Yûshûkan Museum, on the grounds of Yasukuni Shrine where Japan's war dead are venerated, was completed at the end of 2006 and renovation of the Nanjing Massacre Museum (NMM) was completed at the end of 2007. The Narrative of Nanjing in 1937-38 on display at the renovated Yûshûkan Museum on the grounds of Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo is a lesson in the politics of war memory. According to Kingston (2007: 296-300), there one can view a video of Japanese troops raising their arms while bellowing a collective "banzai" from atop Nanjing's city wall that abruptly cuts to a scene of a soldier ladling out soup for the elderly and young while the narrator explains that the Japanese troops entered the city and restored peace and harmony. Japan's invasion of China is portrayed as a campaign to quell Chinese terrorism, reminiscent of post-9/11 American war narratives, demonstrating just how much the present impinges on the past. At the Yûshûkan, there is no mention of invasion, aggression, massacres or atrocities committed by Japanese troops in China, or, for that matter, of Japan's defeat in the war. Indeed, Japanese suffering is the only suffering on display.

Perhaps responding to the Yûshûkan's post-9/11 narrative, the NMM portrays Japanese troops as terrorists. As Kingston (2008) observes, on the wall of the new Massacre memorial, the iconic number (300,000) of victims is emblazoned and incised in several languages. Inside there is a chamber where visitors can hear the amplified sound of a drop of water every twelve-seconds, said to be the frequency of death during Nanjing's six-week ordeal. Down the walkway visitors first confront a replica of the city walls with the sounds of bombardment, air raid sirens wailing, anti-aircraft guns blazing and a video of Japan's attacking bombers. A sign explains: "A human holocaust: An Exhibit of the Nanking Massacre Perpetrated by the Japanese Invaders." Here, Iris Chang's legacy resonates loudly as the NMM appropriates her central and controversial analogy; the subtitle of her book is: *The Forgotten Holocaust* (Kingston, 2008). The NMM ensures it is no longer forgotten.

The competing narrative of war memory, especially the memory of the Nanjing Massacre in China and Japan, has sufficiently displayed the ambivalence of memory and the way that memory is fabricated and distorted for different agents. Moreover, the tensions between China and Japan over memory-making may have to do more with the present or future than the past. Deton (2007: 5-6) argues that this attention to victimization serves more than just nationalist purposes; it has ethical and economic implications. China seeks a kind of moral upper hand in Asia in its economic and political competition with Japan; its history of Japanese imperialism, which it shares with many other Asian countries, helps legitimize its leadership. However, Crane (1997) argues that, a kind of distortion happens when personal experience or expectation is incongruous with the institutionalized representation. She contends that this incongruity between

historical consciousnesses often exceeds, complicates, or contradicts the normal historical practice, and calls this incongruity an ‘excess of memory.’ Because of the ‘excess of memory’, an unexpected dilemma could occur without an effective solution. In China over three decades of patriotic education and memorialisation focusing on Japan’s wartime misdeeds and the CCP’s crucial role in defeating the Japanese ensures that the emotions of younger generations with no firsthand experience of the invasion are aroused over this history. Although the political leadership in both nations has decided that contemporary relations should not be held hostage to history, and are in fence-mending overdrive, there is little popular support in their country for such efforts. The state has lost control of popular discourse over history and the emergence of history activists threatens the state monopoly over shaping and expressing war memory. These activists do not determine policy, but they do contest public debate about war memory and Japan. As Deans (2007: 288) argues, ‘While the Chinese leadership appears to want to pursue a pragmatic policy towards Japan, the mobilization of the historical legacy in the context of popular Chinese nationalism constantly limits the ability of the Chinese leadership to develop and maintain a rational relationship’.

It is notable to take the caution of the Chinese example in addressing historical racial issues in South Africa. South Africa has always stressed the miracle of its ‘soft revolution’ through which the nature of the negotiated transition is often expressed. Without a revolution or holocaust to wipe out the unwanted races, it is on a long term power transitional stage, if one can interpret high walls, electrical fences, killing on the farms, ‘the black Newtown’ and ‘the white Northern suburb’ as symptoms of ‘a soft war’, in which power-transition, economical imbalance and cultural difference caused struggles and conflicts which are happening in ordinary people’s everyday life. To avoid over-activating the mutual anger beyond the state’s control, patriotic education and memorialisation in South Africa also demand hands that are capable of delicate political manipulation.

3.6 Heritage, public art and the city of Johannesburg

The discussion above has involved a number of important aspects of memory-making in South Africa, nevertheless it does not include an adequate analysis of the South African heritage policies and regulations as well as the implementation of these policies by heritage authorities. However, the present section will be restricted to the City of Johannesburg. It is partly due to the complexity of cultural heritage in South Africa and the fact that the researcher is more familiar with Johannesburg.

For heritage authorities in Johannesburg, the Johannesburg heritage policy (JHP) (Appendix 3) is the primary guideline after the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) of 1999. The policy has stressed the critical role that heritage plays in the construction of a World Class African City, providing a unique sense of place and identity in an overall climate of globalization (JHP: 5). It has also emphasized heritage as a positive instrument of urban regeneration generally and inner

city revitalization in particular (JHP: 12). It is noteworthy to point out that it has specifically taken Fordsburg, ‘one of Johannesburg’s oldest suburbs, with traces of early mining communities and the 1922 Rand revolt’, as an example to illustrate the value of older residential districts in the Inner City ‘with a unique character and identity, supported by buildings of human scale. (JHP: 12). It indicates another important aspect of memorialisation which is the cultural value of physical structure itself. Preservation of the historical buildings and residential districts is also a way of memorialisation, refurbishing ‘memorials’ or ‘monuments’-if one perceives them as monuments or memorials. Fietas community with the distinctive architecture of its residential and business areas, as well its unique culture diversity has certainly offered Johannesburg a unique sense of identity.

Heritage production is always influenced by a variety of agents, for example the state, artists, the international model of representation and the heritage managers. As the JHP states, the role of local heritage authorities is crucial as they are responsible for the identification and management of heritage resources of local and metropolitan significance. The JHP is effectively just a written policy; its effect is entirely determined by the local authorities’ interpretation and implementation. As a principal figure in the heritage sector of Johannesburg, Itzkin’s personal influence is considerable. Drawing from experiences of many years active engagement with promoting heritage, in the interview, he expressed his understanding of heritage as a very flexible concept. Theoretically speaking, it could mean what people value from the past and what is useful, what interests different people at present. Practically speaking, particularly from the interest of the City, it is not easy to define.

He described ‘celebrating struggle history’ and ‘mining history’ as two examples of the definition of heritage in Johannesburg. Projects like the newly renovated Chancellor House (launched in 2011) and a “shadow boxing” sculpture of Nelson Mandela at the Westgate Precinct in the Johannesburg inner city are implementations of the definition of heritage. However, interestingly he also pointed out in the interview that, even though projects like the ‘Shadow figure’ of Mandela are inevitably political in content, within the very little space available within the constraints from the top, they are trying to experiment with new concepts and forms of representation. Based on a picture taken by renowned Drum magazine photographer Bob Gosani in the 1950s, the figure depicts Mandela exhibiting his boxing skills in his younger days. In this project they tried to humanize and commemorate Mandela from a more personal level. Itzkin further commented on the increasingly important role public art has played in the memorial landscape of Johannesburg. Over the past decade, hundreds of new public art works of various types and scales including sculptures, mosaics, and murals have been created (Joburg 2012) These have been driven primarily by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and funded by a mechanism, known as the Percent for Art Policy which provides that up to 1 percent of capital budgets for large City projects be devoted to public art (Itzkin, 2012).

The official awareness of applying public art projects to commemorate the past has validated

Kros's argument of 'new monumentalism' (2012). She argues that while public art may not have been traditionally considered as monuments, they are often given the same responsibilities, which includes repossessing urban spaces, even if not all public art may meet Carrier's (2005: 17) three defining characteristics of monuments: striving to provide 'focal points of collective identity'; are the bearers of putative 'historical tradition,' and mark a 'symbolic possession of urban spaces'. Among the hundreds of public art projects in Johannesburg's landscape, commemorative projects like the Fietas Mural certainly carries the same responsibilities as a monument does, which I shall discuss more in chapter Five. Marschall (2010: 77) confirms this point when she says '...public art in South Africa today often consists of commemorative art promoted as "heritage" and installed in pursuit of specific sociopolitical goals such as reconciliation and nation-building'.

To close, this chapter has conducted a broad critique of the memorialisation process at large. Viewing the postwar memorial landscape globally, many new monuments sprouted up, some old ones were remade and some were demolished. Each one of them was subjected to its particular historical time, political winds and economic environment. The two world wars and holocaust spelled not the end but the inauguration of new and even greater challenges in the field of memory. Nora's *lieu de mémoire* has inaugurated a shift through which national identity forms itself through 'places of memory' rather than through a concept of national identity understood in relation to the history of 'a politically determined group of citizens'. This startling methodological innovation has its limitations, yet it has enormous influence in the field memory. It is evident in James Young's (1993: xi) exploration of memorial sites of the Holocaust, in which he prefers to examine 'collected memory', that many discrete memories are produced in common memorial spaces and assigned common meaning. He argues that every site suggests its own definition; every 'memory text' generates a different meaning in memory. Perhaps this is a very important reason for undertaking this research report, as Fietas as a site of memory, could reveal a different layer of meaning in the understanding of national identity and collective memory in South Africa.

4. METHOD

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the discourse analysis methodology, and how it was applied as a method to this study. The theory and epistemological assumptions of this approach are presented together with the actual analysis. The chapter then clarifies the data source of the study as well as the data collection procedure.

4.2 The Discourse Analysis

This large section presents a *praxis* of discourse analytic research. The assumptions and underlying theory of the discourse approach are very briefly presented, together with the different aspects of the core theory as it has bearing on the present study. The authoritative text that is deployed to this section is Fairclough's text, '*Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*'; however, this work will be supplemented with other readings where necessary. Firstly, the reasons for using Fairclough's theory as the primary source will be addressed. Secondly, each aspect of Fairclough's discourse analysis method is explicated in a series of subsections, together with the relevant questions addressed at each level.

The specialty of Fairclough's Discourse Analysis

There are many types of discourse analysis. One major distinction drawn by Fairclough (2004: 2)

is between approaches inspired by social theory, which tend not to analyze texts in details, and approaches focused on the language of texts but tend not to engage with social theoretical issues. Fairclough's approach to discourse analysis not only focuses on a linguistic analysis of specific texts but also engages with social theoretical issues which are named by him as 'the order of discourse': the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices. The links between the two aspects is achieved through the way that texts are perceived in terms of the different discourses, genres and styles they draw upon and articulate together, a practice he has called 'interdiscursive analysis' (Fairclough, 2004: 5).

The sort of detailed textual analysis introduced by Fairclough is a form of 'qualitative' social analysis, which can be analyzed depending on the level of detail: it could select a few features of texts or many features simultaneously. He also articulates that this form of qualitative analysis can be supplemented by 'quantitative analysis' which allows one, for instance, to identify the 'keywords' in a corpus of texts, and investigate distinctive patterns of co-occurrence or collocation between keywords and other words (Fairclough, 2004: 6).

4.2.1 Texts as Social Events

One of the fundamental points Fairclough has made regarding texts, is that 'texts are elements of social events, and have causal effects upon and contribute to changes in people, actions, social relations, and the material world, such as changes in urban design' (Fairclough, 2004: 7). However, it is not a simple mechanical causality, which means that we cannot claim that particular features of texts automatically bring about particular changes in knowledge or particular social effects. There are many other factors in the context determine whether particular texts actually have such effects (Fairclough, 2004: 8). In other words a particular text may have a variety of effects on different interpreters. He criticizes the theories of social constructivism, suggesting they are idealist rather than realist. We may textually construct the social world in particular ways but whether our representations have the effect of changing its construction depends upon various contextual factors - especially the way the social reality already is. Therefore he proposes to accept a moderate version of the claim that the world is textually constructed, not an extreme version (Fairclough, 2004: 8-9).

In the project, regarding this concept we need to think about the following questions (2004: 190):

What social event and chain of social events does the text belong to? What social practice or network of social practice can the events be referred to? What are the changes caused by the text in people, action and social relations?

4.2.2 Genre

Genres are described as the specifically discursive aspect of ways of acting and interacting in the

course of social events (Fairclough, 2004: 65). So when we analyze a text or interaction in terms of genre, we are asking how it figures within and contributes to social action and interaction in social events. A chain of events may involve a chain or network of different, interconnected texts which manifests a 'chain' of different genres. Besides that, a particular text or interaction is more likely to involve a combination of different genres rather than in a particular genre. What can be derived from this is that genre analysis proceeds as follow: (1) analysis of 'genre chain'; (2) analysis of genre mixtures in a particular text; (3) analysis of individual genres in a particular text' (2004: 66).

Questions associated with genre could be directed in the project at hand as follows (2004: 192):

Is the text situated within a genre chain?

Is the text characterized by a mix of genres?

4.2.3 Difference and Universality

Difference and universality are addressed as two themes in social research. Fairclough (2004:40) suggests a broad framework for dealing with different orientations to difference in texts which may be used as a resource for researching ways in which "difference is accentuated, negotiated, bracketed or suppressed". The concept of the universal is focused on the way particulars come to be represented as universals. Fairclough (2004: 41) elaborates the inquiry further: how particular identities, interests, representations fall under certain conditions to be claimed as universal. These concepts inform questions in the analysis as following (2004: 192):

Is the text open to, or does it recognize, the difference, such as different voices and viewpoints on the mural?

Is there an attempt to resolve or overcome difference?

Is there an emphasis of difference, conflict, a struggle over meaning, norm and power?

What are relevant other texts/voices, which are included and are significantly excluded?

4.2.4. Assumptions and Ideology

Fairclough has distinguished three main types of assumptions which are existential, propositional and value assumptions. Each of these assumptions may be 'triggered' (Levinson, 1983) by linguistic features of a text. Existential assumptions are assumptions about what exists, and are triggered by markers of definite reference such as definite articles and demonstratives (this, the, that, these, those). Propositional assumptions are about what is or can be or will be, which can be

triggered by certain factive verbs, for example, ‘I realized (forgot, remember)...’. Value assumptions are about what is good or desirable, and can also be triggered by certain verbs: for instance, ‘help’ (2004: 56). Linguistic pragmatics has produced valuable insights about assumptions, speech acts and so forth which have been drawn upon in critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1993). However, as Fairclough (2001b) suggests it is sometimes problematic and tends to work with isolated (often invented) utterances.

In the discussion of assumptions, Fairclough (2004: 58) specially emphasizes that assumptions are of particular significance in terms of the ideological work of texts. The ideological work of texts is connected to hegemony which seeks to universalize particular meanings in service of achieving and maintaining dominance. Texts can be perceived as doing ideological work in assuming, taking as unquestioned, and as unavoidable reality, such as assuming the existence of ‘a global heritage industry’.

In applying these concepts in an analysis, one needs to find out what existential, propositional or value assumptions are made by the text. Moreover, one needs to find out if there is a case for seeing any assumptions as ideological (2004: 192)?

4.2.5. Semantic relations between sentences and clauses

Fairclough has summarized six main semantic relations between sentences and clauses which are: causal (reason, consequence and purpose), conditional, temporal, additive and elaborative (including exemplification, rewording) and contrastive (2004:89). These relations are regarded as the ‘local’ level of semantic relations. They could help with the analysis of the causal and logical relations between sentences and clauses. He also has identified ‘higher-level’ semantic relations over long stretches of text, or even whole texts. The most common example is the ‘problem-solution’ relation.

These theories will be helpful to analyze the interviews in detailed. Questions could be asked, for instance: are there higher-level semantic relations over larger stretches of the text (e.g. problem-solution)?

4.2.6 Exchanges, speech functions and Grammatical Mood

This section is focused on the analysis of dialogues rather than sentences of a text. Fairclough draws a distinction between two primary types of exchange in dialogue: ‘knowledge exchange’, where the focus is on exchange of information, eliciting and giving information, making claims, stating facts; and ‘activity exchange’, where the focus is on activity, on people doing things or getting others to do things (Fairclough, 2004: 105). Based on this distinction, Fairclough divides speech function into four primary categories: demand, offer, question and statement (2004: 108). These categories could be elaborated and differentiated in terms of many different ‘speech acts’.

Offer, for instance, would include promising, threatening, apologizing, and thinking; and demand could include ordering, requesting, and begging; and statement may be fact, prediction or evaluation (2004:108). These concepts inform questions for the project as follows (2004: 193):

What are the predominant types of exchange and speech functions appearing in the text in this project?

What types of statement are there? Statements of fact, prediction or evaluation?

Are there 'metaphorical' relations between exchanges, speech functions or types of statement (demand appears as statement, evaluations appears as factual statement)?

4.2.7. Representation of social events

Social events bring together various elements which include forms of activity, persons (with beliefs/desires/values/histories), social relations, institutional forms, objects, means (technologies), time and places, and language (and other types of semiosis) (Fairclough, 2004: 135-136). They can also be represented at different levels of abstraction and generalization. Mostly they are three levels of abstraction: most concrete, directing to representation of specific social events; more abstract, pointing to abstraction over series and sets of social events; and most abstract: representation at the level of social practices or social structures. When representations are generalized or abstract, we need to look particularly closely at how things are being classified (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Just as there are choices in the representation of events, so also there choices in the representation of the social actors. Social actors are usually participants in clauses, not all social actors are people, and they could also be objects. We also need to be aware of, firstly, if the social actors are realized as a pronoun (I, he, we, you, etc) or as a noun; secondly if the social actor is the actor in process (the one who does things and makes things happen), or the affected or beneficiary (the one affected by process); thirdly, if social actors are represented by name or in terms of class or category; and lastly, whether social actors are referred to as a specific group (Fairclough, 2004: 145-147).

4.3 Data

As part of my coursework of *Public Culture*, I have already collected data on the origins of the project, funding and the mechanisms used to trawl 'collective memory' - particular those used by the artists. The interviews with artists, Erick Itzkin and artists' interviews with the communities before the mural design was conducted will be included in the research report but primarily as background material. This data is not the focus of my analysis.

My focus here is on the data collected through interviews. Semi-structured interviews with five residents who lived in Fietas before the forced removals, who have also seen the mural, were conducted. Due to the limited scale of a research report, the number of selected residents was very restricted. However, the research attempted to draw residents of different positions. It included an artist who was involved in the mural production, a shop-keeper in Oriental Plaza, a museum director, a housewife and a business man. The method of interviewing followed the guidelines set out by Millward (1995) and Morgan (1995), that is, targeted around gathering data on a particular focus topic (in this case 'the collective memory'). Constructions of the memory of Fietas were examined within interviews of five members who lived in Fietas before the forced removals. Analysis was then performed on all five interview transcripts as one 'text'.

The interview questions were, following Millward (1995), intentionally open-ended, so as to best facilitate discussion and debate, and so as not to prove overly prescriptive in relation to the content emerging from the respondents. The questions focused on eliciting content, e.g. descriptions, understandings, 'knowledge' - and also opinions, positions, and attitudes as described below.

- (1) What do you remember about the Fietas community before the forced removals?
- (2) What do you remember about life during the forced removals?
- (3) Have you seen the mural? What does it make you think and feel?
- (4) Do you think the mural affects the way that future generations will remember Fietas?

Additional questions arise on an ad hoc basis, depending on the nature of the content that emerged in the interviews.

5. ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the first part of the findings of the discourse analysis of the research material (the transcripts of interviews with five ex-Fietas residents). Norman Fairclough's discourse analysis theories are applied to interpret the kind of language and patterns that appear in the interviews. The information has been collated in such a way that it highlights those elements of the texts most closely connected with the research question.

Following this brief introduction, the chapter is broadly divided in two main parts. Each part describes a particular object as it is constructed by the text. They are 5.1) Fietas and 5.2) Mural. Each part presents the various representations of the object concerned, grouped into themes that emerged. A detailed analysis of the text with the analytical resources presented in Chapter Four will be presented in each part. This is then followed by a brief conclusion.

This chapter attempts to stay close to the textual material, limiting itself to descriptions of the themes of objects that are mentioned in the interview material. It will approach the language of the participants with the 'suspicious eye' described by Parker (1992); exploding the apparent simplicity of the texts, presenting them as a complex maze of multiple descriptions, contradictions and tactics. A final note must be made here regarding coding. Where reference is made to a respondent's verbalization, it is typically represented in the following way: "R1: I was

born in Fietas at home.” Where ‘R’ means respondent and the number ‘1’ refers to a particular respondent, 1,2,3,4, or 5 in this case. Further italics have been used to indicate key terms in relevant sentences in the material. (e.g.: “when you see any of your Fietas family or friends, it feels like you are going *home*”). We now begin with the analysis of our first object, ‘Fietas’.

5. 2 Fietas

This section briefly details the construction of the object of Fietas in terms of Fairclough’s three major analytical aspects: Difference, Assumption and Evaluation. The other aspects such as intertextuality and Modality, etc, are intertwined with the three major aspects in the analysis.

5.2.1 *Difference and Sameness*

5.2.1.1 Fietas experienced as sameness

Firstly, Fietas is described as being made up of similar components. The similar components are variously referred to in the text as ‘houses’, ‘street’, and ‘shop’:

“R1: The house looked like the other...every house had a *stoep*... there when you enter it, there was little sitting room” (p.73, 75).

“R4: Most of the houses were double story, shops at the bottom, houses on top, or houses in the backyard, people stayed around the corner” (p.94).

“R5: These homes, this entire street, looked like this particular building: so you had shops downstairs and people living upstairs” (p.98).

Respondent 1, 4 and 5 recalled Fietas had similar architecture. Other than that, some respondents had recalled the 14th street as an important business district:

“R2: You know 14th street was the main shopping center of Vrededorp” (p.85)

“R4: 14th street was very famous for business” (p.93).



Fig 4: An image of children, policeman and ‘Avalon’ (bioscope) on the mural, taken by Binjun in 2014.06

Secondly, Fietas experienced as sameness is also referred to as shared activities and rituals.

A couple of respondents recalled going shopping with adults as a common activity which was very common to them during that time.

“R1: the memory is also about having to go shopping for my mum, and walking up the streets as a little girl..going to the Indian spice shops which was a particular part of Fietas”(p.75).

“R2: I just knew that the family wanted to go shopping. And my elder sisters, maybe I just walked with them to the shopping center... And you look up, you were small and the man was selling material and I see them buying, buying, women never stop buying” (p.85).

Besides that, playing certain games and sports were mentioned in the texts.

“R1: all these children, myself included; you know I remember days of lucky charms... And we used to draw a ring and two people would play with the charms and if you won the game...” (p.73, 74).

“R3: we used to have a soccer ground in Vrededorp. Then every Sunday in the winter, it was like a big event for us, because we were going to the soccer ground because this team is playing that team. It was like a big thing” (p.91)

Celebrating all the different festivities and sharing rituals were reported as the sameness by a couple of respondents. For instance:

“R1: All the men [who were more religious] went to mosque five times a day...Ramadan, was the most glorious time..they were all waiting on the stoeps to listen and mostly children waited outside to listen, the minute that the alarm went, they would go screaming into houses...Adam, Adam, we can eat”(p.84).

“R3: Everybody celebrated, eat together, everybody celebrated Christmas together, and everybody celebrated Diwali. My function is your function” (p.90).

5.2.1.2 Fietas experienced as difference

Firstly, the difference is referred to in the texts as a variety of races, culture, religions as well as different class distinctions.

Most of the respondents described Fietas as racially defined groups with a multi-culture and multi-religion identity.

“R1: predominantly Indian ...among and between us were black people, on the outskirts, we have the white areas... but when I say Indian, there were people who were Malay, Coloureds, Tamil, Hindu and Muslims ”(p.73)

“R2: look I am Indian and I knew there were Malay but I am beginning to hear that there were some blacks and coloureds also. But I knew it was 90% Indian. And I was too small, don't have a car and I was a very sick child and a very introvert child, so I just knew it was Indian from my side, now I am beginning to see”(p.87).

“R3: it was a very happy multi-race community... There were Muslims, Hindus, Christians all mixed religions living in harmony, respected everyone without colour distinctions... The majority of our street was all Indians. But like I said Hindus, Muslims and Tamils were all living together. There were two Chinese families, and very closely lived with us” (p.89).

“R4: I heard it was a very vibrant place, full of energy, very colorful racial group there, it was a rainbow nation. Everybody lived happily together, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Indians, the coloreds, the Africans, the Bin laden, and the Jorge Bushes (sic). Everybody was there” (p.94).

As we can see from the quotes above that to classify people who lived in Fietas is highly challenging. Respondent 1 undermined her own definition of 'Indian' by including 'Malay' and 'Coloureds' as Indian people. Respondent 2's description undermines other respondents' descriptions by suggesting that he only discovered other races from the discourse of the present. Respondent 3 emphasized the distinction among different religions and acknowledged racial difference with an obscured racial classification. Respondent 4's classification of people is also very problematic.

Regarding class distinctions, all the respondents more or less have involved in this issue.

“R1: It was in the Apartheid era, [before the forced removals] my first experience (with a white person) was when I matriculated and went for my first job interview and I was offered some cake and tea in the interview and I couldn’t hand a fork, because we ate with fingers...white people would be seen in 14th street shopping, and they were not seen in our homes unless they were special guests. Black people were usually domestic workers...so I grew up in a complete Apartheid system where my mind was trained to think white people were...almost like god,...highly intelligent and knowing everything” (p.74).

“R4: There were people from different classes; you get the rich and very poor” (p.94).

“R5: That is I grew up without colour distinction and material distinction” (p.96).

Three points could be derived from the description above. Firstly, class distinction and racial distinction are intertwined concepts in this case. Respondent 4 associated class distinction with material distinction. Respondent 1 associated class distinction with racial distinction. Respondent 5 subverted respondent 1 and 4’s descriptions by objecting the two distinctions. Therefore, one might ask what were the class and racial distinctions. Why would respondent 5 deny them? Secondly, it is clearly that Fietas has multicultural identities, yet it did not seem to reach cultural integration in the true sense. There were clear boundaries between different cultural or racial groups; for instance, respondent 1 felt odd and couldn’t handle a fork when she was facing a white person. The connections between white group and other groups (mainly Indian) seem to be restricted to business contact with very little private communication. Thirdly, this situation already existed before the forced removals era.

Fietas experienced as difference is also embodied in two different times: the time before and the time since the forced removals.

The texts mainly refers the time before the forced removals as a ‘happy’, ‘good’ or ‘wonderful’ time; whiles the time during and after the forced removals is normally regarded as a ‘difficult’, ‘sad’ or ‘terrible’ time.

“R1: Playing in the street was a *wonderful* memory ... a *wonderful* thing about those days was that my family lived in a big town together. So it was a *wonderful* ... it was like ...living in a dirty *fairy land* ... you playing there all the time. It was *beautiful* ... Before that [the Forced removals] everyone was living together and they had their troubles, fights, but they lived very *happily*, everyone ate on one enormous table. Imagine twenty one children ate on one table ...The forced removals was a big time for everyone...displaced us in a way which destroyed our education ...affected my father’s house. It also split the entire family... We remember how *traumatic* it was... it was very *upsetting* to see ...people *struggled* because they couldn’t pay for trucks ... So I remember the *tears* and conversations that were going among all the sister-in-laws ...” (p.74, 75, 77).

“R2: [Before the Forced removals] I think the poorer the families were, the *better* the people were. ... It’s money that changes people’s values. And people would sit outside talk... [Since the Forced removals] because we were not allowed to go to school in this area, we have to travel 30 miles, 20 miles every day. So it was *not easy* those days” (p.86).

“R3: before the removals? All the *good* days. All the *good* days of life were in Fietas ... we could live among all the nationalities which were *very good* ... Yes, where the children are so *happy*...yes, I can see that. That represents the *happy* days. And it’s *nice*. It’s done very well Money was small, but everyone was *contented* and very very *happy* ... [Since the Forced removals] It was very *sad*. We were forced to take the shops in the Plaza ... They wouldn’t know where to look for you. Initially it was a *struggle*” (p.91, 92).

“R4: [Before the Forced removals] everybody lived *happily* together ...” (p.94).

“R5: [Before the Forced removals] my childhood was *amazing*, it was *wonderful* in the sense that I grew up with two things that today I am so thankful for ... [Since the Forced removals] It was expropriation of land ... That’s how *crazy* and *bizarre* apartheid was ... You know when I think about it, I don’t know how we managed to survive in this *madness*” (p.96, 99).

From all the respondents’ communications above, we find that the time before the forced removals is described alternately as ‘wonderful’, ‘beautiful’, ‘good’, ‘happy’ and ‘amazing’; whereas the time during and after the forced removals is closely associated with words like ‘traumatic’, ‘struggle’, ‘tears’, ‘sad’, ‘crazy’ and ‘bizarre’. They are instances of completely opposite descriptions of experiences of Fietas. However, the research also shows that the difference between the two times is not as rigid as it seems to be. To prove this point, it is worthwhile to bring up two instances as below:

“R3: [Since the Forced removals] we were forced to take the train ... travel far away as Lenasia for our high school schooling ... But it was so good; when you came home you felt you are coming home to your family. And that is what was good” (p.90).

“R5: [Before the Forced removals] while my childhood memories were very pleasant because you were a child, just had this wonderful sense of going to school and a sense of belonging, and you just think it is so nice, and like I said I just thought white people were mean because they wouldn’t allow you to walk on the side of the street despite what conditions were, they were mean ...” (p.96).

Both of two instances have undermined the above proposition of the difference between the two different times. Respondent 3 suggested that not all the experiences were bad during the time of the forced removals; the representation of the past is highly subjective. While respondent 4 indicated that the time before the forced removals was not always beautiful, we should take into account of the possibilities of filtering out some of the unpleasant experiences in doing memory work.

5.2.2 Assumption

This section will present five assumptions about Fietas that derived from the text. Each assumption will be supplemented with supportive instances accordingly.

5.2.2.1 Fietas as a sense of home

Fietas occurs alternately as ‘home’, ‘homes’ or ‘hometown’ in the text.

“R1: I was born in Fietas at *home* ..., people’s life built in Fietas; they never thought they would have to go away from their *homes*. Some of the houses were so shabby, really deteriorated, but those were their homes. That’s where they lived” (p.73, 77).

“R3: Although we had smaller *homes* we had a lot of love in those *homes* ... I said even today, when you see any of your Fietas family or friends, it feels like you are *going home*. It’s like people are from your *hometown*” (p.93).

“Me: When I mention “Fietas” this word, what comes up in your mind? There is so much you can talk about, you know. R5: “*home*”! ‘*home*’! Because that’s where I live, I lived there my whole life” (p.96).

5.2.2.2 Fietas as a community

Firstly, Fietas is described as a community with its distinctive tradition. This aspect has been discussed in the representation of Fietas experienced as sameness in relation to shared activities and rituals. As we have argued at the beginning of the chapter, all analytical aspects are interrelated in the analysis, in this case, we shall move onto the next point: Fietas is a strongly bonded community.

“R4: It was multi-culture, multi-religion, we had churches there, we had temples there, *and* we had mosques there ... they told *us* not to move out ... This we remember very well. The corrupt games, you know we know who they are, but we don’t want to mention their names. *We* keep the peace” (p.95).

Respondent 4’s speech is just one of many examples where ‘we’ and ‘us’ have been used in the text repeatedly to represent a group of people as a whole. And this collective body also strongly commits itself to the existence of Fietas as a community in terms of the ‘makers of modalization’ -modal verbs and adverbs, e.g. ‘had’, ‘remember’, ‘know’ and ‘don’t’(Fairclough, 2004).

“R3: everybody’s parents looked after the next person’s child ... people visited one another, everybody gets together If this family had a function, the whole street would have had participated” (p.89).

“R1: it was a very *tight community* ... If you happen to be in the street at a particular point, and you were very thirsty, you could just go to the first house; tell them you want some water. The friendness and warmness of the community were something that you can get today” (p.74).

Respondent 3 and 4 represent Fietas as a well integrated and caring community.

5.2.2.3 Fietas as related to youth

Of all the texts, Fietas is described as a time associated with youth or childhood memories.

“R1: I was born in Fietas at home and so my experience was there from childhood, from babyhood right until I was a teenager” (p.73).

“R2: I wasn’t a professionally normal child And you look up, you were small and the man was selling material and I see them buying ... But in the very early days, I was young so don’t know much of it” (p.85).

“R4: ...I was 6 years old. I was very small” (p.94).

“R5: my childhood was amazing, it was wonderful in the sense that I grew up with two things that today I am so thankful for” (p.96).

5.2.2.4 Fietas as something that is lost

Firstly, the text considers Fietas as being lost referring to the loss of intimacy and friendly relationships.

“R1: The friendliness and warmness of the community were something that you can get today. I haven’t seen it anywhere actually. I’ve travelled a lot all over the world I haven’t seen that kind of strong community” (p.74).

Secondly, ‘the lost’ depicted by the text also includes tradition (R1) or a certain lifestyle (R3).

“R1: Some houses are still doing it in Lenasia. So do us. But very much has lost” (p.84)

“R3: Because when we talk to people about how beautiful Fietas was. They find it strange: are sure you lived like that? Are you sure you played games like that? We used to play freely in the street; today’s children don’t have it” (p.93).

Thirdly, the text also suggests the lost as ‘finality’, the disappearing of the generations who carries the memory of Fietas.

“R5: the young generations don’t have the sentiment as *we* have towards this area. So for me this is *the last thing* I am doing on this house. Because then it is going to be *over*. And I think it is like *finality*. And it’s a strange kind of thing I know its *finality*” (p.105).

Respondent 5 deployed ‘the last thing’, ‘over’ and ‘finality’ to describe the end of Fietas, indicating that the end of her generation will be the end of Fietas.

5.2.2.5 Fietas as experiences of sensations

Fietas is also constructed as experiences of sensations. It was smelt of curry, full of colour and

sounds of daily life. For instances:

“R1: Coal stove was always burning, smell coming out the houses, always. If somebody was cooking, the other one was baking, so there was always *smell* coming out to the street. You would *smell* *curry*, absolutely wonderful... So the memories are of smell, great smells, wonderful smells and the *colour* of the food, also the vibrancy of the colours in the material shops...” (p.76).

“R1: You just find twenty children running down the passage and all mothers *creaming* ...haha, very happy memory” (p.74).

“R3: One morning we just *heard* this huge big “*bang*”, and when we all got up, what happened. The first place is being demolished on this street was a church” (p.91).

5.1.4 Evaluation

This section will discern two important evaluations on Fietas from the text. Each evaluation will be presented with supportive instances.

5.2.3.1 Fietas was inferior

Fietas is constructed as inferior, which is widely evident in all the texts. For example:

“R1: they were like *match boxes*. Match boxes stacked next to each other ... it was very *dirty* ...Some of the houses were so *shabby*, really *deteriorated*” (p.73).

“R2: there were *narrow* streets; there were *too many* families in *small* areas. And there was a bit *gangster*, some people were involved” (p.88)

“R5: most people could only afford two rooms and a kitchen. So despite your economic standing, you could find this *little place*, essentially which is like a *ghetto*, and because there weren't many areas for Indians to live in, you lived in *cramped quarters*” (p. 96).

The examples above describe all the inferior characteristics of Fietas as being ‘dirty’, ‘small’, ‘deteriorated’ with narrow streets, which is essentially like a ‘ghetto’.

However, these inferior qualities do not stop people from considering it to be ‘beautiful’ or ‘sweet’.

“R1: we had a saying in Gujarati said “Fietas my mistas, gatas, my katas” which means Fietas is *sweet* but “katas”are sour” (p.75).

In respondent 1’s speech, the saying in Gujarati is intertextually incorporated in the text. Another example could be found in the definition of a common architectural structure -‘stoep’ which is an Afrikaans word. Notably to be aware that Fietas is also intertextually constructed by language.

5.2.3.2 Fietas was safe

This theme refers to a construction of Fietas in the text as a safe and secured space. This evaluation manifests in a number of quotations in the text, this report list two examples that directly mentioned the issue of safety as below:

“R1: The whole point of Fietas was nobody locked the doors. There was so much *safety* that nobody locked the doors” (p.75).

“R3: As children we were very very *safe*, and we could play in the street until 10’oclock 11’oclock” (p.89).

5.3 The Mural

As the second object constructed within the data, the mural immediately appears as a receptacle or container of a number of different desires, and the satisfactions, or frustrations, disappointment or resentments that result with the failures of these desires. The following section explores the assumptions and evaluations of the mural, the conflicts and ambivalence within these evaluations, as well as the various relations that are established with memory within the data. As such, these analyses are summarized within a number of ‘themes’ which are listed here:

- 1) The mural as an artistic and aesthetic achievement
- 2) The mural as resurrecting, revitalizing and immortalizing the past
- 3) The mural as initiating a process of social change (including empowerment, and harmony)
- 4) The mural as a nexus for social connections and relationship (or excluding and isolating)

Each of these themes is explored in turn, including the assumptions they expose, the evaluations of the mural that they entail, as well as the anxiety or ambivalence reflected in conflicts or frustrations evident in the data. Specifically, the relations with memory implied (or stated) within these sections are discussed.

5.3.1 The Mural as an artistic and aesthetic achievement

This theme refers to the construction of the mural as a work of art, having the function of aesthetic pleasure, and the result of the efforts of artists. This perception, including its assumptions and implications, are explored next.

First, the mural is described by Respondent 1 as “...an artwork...” (p.78) composed of visible ‘images’ and ‘colors’ that occupy a particular place “...on the wall...” (p.79), and that is

‘designed’ and is the creation of ‘artists’. Further, this art work is perceived as an achievement, a result of ‘hard work’, of specialist ‘knowledge’ and ‘expertise’, and creative vision.

An assumed function of the artwork is aesthetic pleasure, a thing to be seen, and defined in time as an ‘experience’ of the mural, and causing emotion. Respondent 1 (one of artists who created the mural) states, “...you want to evoke feeling...” (p.78). This experience is evaluated positively by at least one respondent (R3) who states:

“I think it’s very beautifully done ... this is nice” (p.91).



Fig 5: A picture of one part of the mural, taken by Binjun Hu in 2014.06.

However, an unequivocal aesthetic criticism is made within an interview with one the contributing artists:

“R1: They are faded colors, they dull and they are not vibrant” (p.78).

Besides the aesthetic evaluation within the data, the construction of the mural as a work of art has implications for the meanings it constructs. The first of these is a form of exclusivity found in the data: the assumption of the mural as artwork, constructs it as an object made or created by artists (or commissioning agents or other workers), which equates to a form of ownership that excludes others, such as members of the community:

“R2: I am not an artist, I don’t criticize it, neither do I praise it” (p.86).

This sense of not owning the mural manifests in a clear attachment of the mural to its makers, evidenced in the quotes below as an anxiety in ‘offending’ the makers with dissatisfaction with the mural:

“R1: ... I become deeply disappointed. This is not to deny the hard work and expertise and all the knowledge and you know, the strength of the people involved” (p.78).

“R5: I know I sound disgusting but it means squat to me” (p.99).

The present study benefits from interview material with artists involved in the production of the mural, allowing for analysis to reveal this apparent sense of ownership in the expression of the artists who make it, but also paradoxically a sense of a lack of ownership, and even alienation from the work, and a frustrating passivity. First the artist is limited by the physical space of the work:

“R1: I think I need kilometers kilometers of mural ... So for me, you know this wall was too short. Actually it’s quite a big work, half kilometer if you add it up long both ways. And for me it’s not enough space” (p.78).

Secondly, the artist is constrained by funding,

“R1: And also the funding stopped us from doing a lot. So the lack of funding stopped us from putting the colors I would have loved, for example” (p.79),

and the requirements of the commissioning authority, and in the present case, the necessity of collaborating with other artists, who also face the same limitations:

“R1: But I kept saying can you put this a little more, a little more. And it became annoying for the other artists. You know because how much it fit them as well ... so the art mural came from each of us was very different” (p.78, 79),

“R1: You know I thought it was for the people. What happened was there were so many people involved which make it very difficult. It is very difficult from my perspective, I was just a person who was part of the design, but I wasn’t the only one who designed it, I wasn’t the only one who had a saying in it, if it was my own personal artwork, obviously it would have been completely different” (p.79).

This latter quote clarifies the sense of disownership experienced by this artist as well.

5.3.2 The Mural as resurrecting, revitalizing and immortalizing the past

5.3.2.1 Resurrecting and Revitalizing

This theme refers to a construction of the mural in the text as having the purpose of resurrecting a past that is gone (or memory thereof), or revitalizing characteristics, forms or activities that were stronger in that past time. This is clearly connected to the assumption that this past is lost, wholly or partly, and there is a desire for its recovery.

This assumed function of the mural manifests in a number of quotations in the text, first in terms of a ‘resurrection’ of memory:

“R1: So if you see a work in front of you, it should bring back to life some memories” (p.78),

“R1: ...when I spoken to the community, the meeting that I had, people expected to see something that they could remember” (p.79),

“R1: I feel like my memory, it’s not like a memory, it’s experiences of real life, kind of stuck in those images which are so static and only become alive on the wall” (p.82).

“R1: ...it was a dead thing inside the body. Although it’s always be in the body, it hasn’t been waken up this much...Now it’s been waken up. I think it has wakened up these memories for lot of people now” (p.82).

These latter descriptions exemplify a semantic quality often found in descriptions of this function, which refers to descriptions of energy, utilizing descriptive verbs and adjectives that have a dynamic quality, and indicating a wish that the mural can generate energy, in the individual, in the society.

This wish involves more than just a representation of memory, but a wish to recreate experience and imbue it with vividness.

“R1: If you create a work, you want to evoke feeling” (p.78);

“R1: ...certain images just strike them immediately” (p.81).

As one artist states: “R1: I would love to splash on vibrant colors according to my aim” (p.81), also expressing a pleasurable intensity in his response: “R1: So there was tremendous pleasure as well in reliving these memories of things that ... came up again” (p.82), as well as indicating a negative expression of this intensity: “R1: It has been an emotional storm in a sense that I have to relive my memories” (p.82).

These ‘energetic’ descriptions are linked to a wish for the mural to initiate a social process, which is presented later. However, within the present discussion, a construction of a failure of this energy to be generated from within the mural can be found.

“R1: If you think of Fietas, you don’t think of the colors on the wall at the moment. They are faded colors, they are dull and they are not vibrant ... Fietas was full of women of the most vibrant color on their bodies, and smells and sounds, the food colors, so ... a lot of shining vibrant ... slippers. What we have on the wall isn’t that” (p.79).

Despite being represented, an image of the forced removals appears devoid of intense emotion:

“R1: ...there is a wall which depicts broken house, and it’s difficult to pick up. You know, ok this is representing a broken house of the forced removals.” (p.81).

Another respondent who passes the mural regularly expresses his inability to be energized by the mural in this way: “R2: ... I don’t identify myself with it. I am so tired when I go to there ..., you know beauty is in the eyes of the beholder, when you want to identify ... you see you see. I never thought so far” (p.87).

5.3.2.2 Recording and Immortalizing

Besides this dynamic function of the mural, there is a related assumption that the function of the mural is to stop time in a sense, by an act of recording, and thereby immortalization of experience and memory through its symbolic inhabitation of the mural. This assumed function is embodied in some quotations in the text:

“R1: ... to be record, and permanently put in place the smell of the place, the images of the houses, the images of the dresses, and total memory of that time” (p.78);

“R1: ... they are experiences of real life, kind of stuck in those images” (p.82).

Here the artist describes their personal experience so recorded in the mural:

“R1: ... for example I have my daughter on the wall images of my daughter on the wall with her friends ... something ... for the future generation. She is playing in Fordsburg, Fietas with pigeons” (p.80).

However, alongside this assumption, there is a clear construction in the text of the impossibility of this act of recording, in terms of the question of which memories, and significantly whose memories are recorded - the contestation of the recording. In this regard, the recording of experience appears to be claimed by or exclude a variety of different groups, indicating zones of difference and contestation

The interviews reveal a variety of privileges and exclusivities of the recording of experience along various zones, including the artist vs others, older people vs youth, community members vs strangers, members of different races, collective vs personal memories, and finally the government.

First, the quotation above (about the artist's daughter) clearly expresses a claim by the artist to the recording process, stating her privileged position in the means of the mural's production. However, this same interview with the artist reveals an ambivalence and frustration with the limitations of expression and ownership by the artist, which refers to an obscured 'administrative' form of power within the mural's production. These limitations include the limitations of physical space, of funding, of time:

“R1: ...in the time we were given” (p.80),

Limitations due to the fact that it forms part of a collaborative project:

“R1: I was just a person, who was part of the design, but I wasn't the only one who designed it, I wasn't the only one who had a saying in it” (p.79),

and it was limited by the consultative process required:

“R1: The images on the wall are fragmented images ...they are just images had been picked up from real people, from Fietas but who had their own story to tell.” (p.79).

The end result is a situation where the artist suggests that the work of art was not a vehicle to express or represent experiences, but was in fact what limited meaning and that recording in a tangible way:

“R1: I couldn’t say everything that I wanted to say. I couldn’t put down everything I knew and felt. I couldn’t put down the colors; I couldn’t put down the vibrancy. I couldn’t put down the atmosphere of that space” (p.78).

This limitation suggests a set of parameters shaped by a process defined on a level not captured in the interviews. These limitations to process appear to serve the function of requirements such as consultativeness, collaborativeness, transparency, legitimacy, inclusiveness and others. These surely represent the influence of discursive practices that intersect with authority in the project in a way that is nonetheless somewhat obscured in the present data. The artist’s statement captures this clearly: “R1: ... I had the right ideas for doing that. But I don’t have the authority anymore” (p.81), as well as a legitimizing discourse: “R1: ...I also appreciated the fact that people from outside came to do it and there was a whole lot of value in that. It kinda authenticated in a way” (p.81).

A response to this discursive practice appears to inform the following quotation from one of the community members interviewed in the current project, where he seems to point towards a process which excludes the community it is intended to serve:

“R2: But heritage also can be abused ... At least there are some heritage ... But people often don’t seem to have much control on their heritage also. They dedicated and people in between so on” (p.86).

The contributing artists themselves refer to the excluding effect of this ‘administrated’ process:

“R1: ... you know, I thought it was for the people. What happened was there were so many people involved in the mural which make it very difficult” (p.79).

Returning to the interview with the second respondent, when asked if he thought that the mural was good for the community, he responded:

“R2: It’s good for the government that anything they do” (p.86).

The structured activity of producing the mural, of necessity excludes the free participation of other members of the community, and is perhaps implied in the above quotes, and found in the interview data of the contributing artist who expresses an experience of interpersonal pressure:

“R1: ... when I spoke to the community, the meeting that I had, people expected to see something that they could remember” (p.79);

“R1: ... a lot of people from the community had criticized me you could have done this, you could have done that” (p.81);

“R1: .But they want more on the wall ... they want their particular memories on the wall” (p.82);

“R1: So it’s a recording of some memory, some of the memories, a few of the memories. It’s not a recording of the entire Fietas, collective memory” (p.79).

This latter quotation raises the question of collective memory not just as a central aim of this research but as a textual object itself, and is explored in the following section, which further elaborates zones of difference in the discourse.

5.3.3 The mural as constructing a collective memory and a unified community

This category refers to the construction in the text of a collective memory within the project of the mural, and the drive towards a unified community embodied within that project, as well as documenting instances of failure and ambivalence over those aims. The section is separated into three parts, firstly collective vs personal memory, collective memory as unfamiliar, and the community unified and divided.

5.3.3.1 Collective vs personal memory

In the text a tension is constructed between collective and personal memory. The method of the mural’s construction required artists to select images from interview material with community members, in an apparent effort to link personal and collective memory:

“R1: It’s about individual memories that are picked up but those memories are quite important” (p.79).

This is taken further later, expressed as shared statements or language:

“R1: I think collective memory exists when people start to say the same things, if you meet different type of people, they tell you similar things” (p.83).

Here, collective memory is constructed around people, and events, using Chinese heritage of Mao Zedong as an example (interestingly using no local equivalent in the example, exposing an absence):

“R2: You know Chairman Mao Zedong, you want this heritage. You want to know what he had done. Where he walked. How he had the country” (p.86).

Here collective memory is around remembered places and activities there:

“R1: We are trying to put on a wall of memory that the community would quickly relate to. So, for example Avalon, it was a cinema and everybody knows Avalon” (p.79).

However, a tension is created between collective and personal memory:

“R1: So, for example, everybody knew Fourteenth Street. Everyone went to Fourteenth Street shopping

in Fietas. So that's a collective memory of Fourteenth Street. You know then the personal memory are more about personal issues about personal life stories. What happened at home between husband and wife. But even there, you know fights, love stories are shared. It was shared with neighbors" (p.11).

The above quote appears to reflect a desire to broaden the category of collective memory to be inclusive of experience known to many if not all, or of events that while collectively known, are not necessarily symbolic of Fietas, or part of its identity.

There are a number of instances in the text of how the necessity to find shared symbols excludes so much information, such as personal life history:

"R1: But to put that on the wall, we have to choose one image from the whole experience of his life there" (p.80);

"R1: ... in four meters I can't tell my entire life story ... I can't tell the community my life story" (p.80).

The construction of collective memory is also constructed as excluding uniqueness, and a wish for it to be contained within the collective representation:

"R4: You know people tell you Fietas had a lot of lovely characters. Everybody was a character of his own. You know everybody living had had his own special character. I mean these things cannot really bring that out, I mean you can never bring that out." (p.94).

In this way the construction of the mural involves another form of loss, of unique or personal experience, that must of necessity be excluded, constructing an ambivalence about the project to create a collective memory.

On the other pole of this ambivalence, the desire for the integrity of the collective memory is clear. The interview texts clearly construct a desire for the integrity and wholeness of a collective identity, framed within a construction as a 'story'. However, this desired collectivity is defined precisely in terms of its absence in the construction of the mural:

"R1: A few images that are there ... [are] ... kind of scattered in a way that they are isolated from each other. They are not a narrative... we couldn't do a narrative on the wall" (p.79);

"R1: The images on the wall are fragmented images. They are not like a story; they ... had been picked up from real people ... who had their own personal stories to tell" (p.79).

Here the information of difference of individuality and personal experience are precisely what 'fragment' the wished-for unity of the narrative.

5.3.3.2 Collective memory as unfamiliar

The constructive nature of representation is foregrounded in the text, as something entirely new, unfamiliar or alien, even to those who lived in Fietas originally. Whether an artifact of the

procedure or medium used, or for other reasons, the mural is unintelligible or strange. It begins with an assumption that the mural should evoke a feeling of familiarity:

“R1: ... when I spoke to the community, the meeting that I had, people expected to see something that they could remember” (p.79). A later quote suggests that this expectation has been disappointed:

“R1: Most of them are disappointed” (p.61).

A description here suggests that familiar images are too fragmented:

“R1: A few images that are there can evoke memory, but they kind of scattered in a way that they are isolated from each other” (p.79);

Others seem unintelligible:

“R1: ... and why is it looking so strange? A lot of the images are difficult to understand what it is” (p.81);

“R1: There are some images which are very abstract, ... for example the outline of the houses, you know, it just becomes outlines in some areas. Often I am being asked now, what are those lines there for some of them haven’t been completed ... and other areas the lines just run into ... people will wonder about those kinds of things. I mean it was a work that, ... I think it will be troubles; there will be criticisms from the community” (p.81);

“R1: There is a wall which depicts broken house, and it’s difficult to pick up” (p.81).

One respondent ascribes an unfamiliarity of the medium:

“R4: Those who’s seen the old pictures in there, I mean they can relate to it. What it used to look like, but the stuff there is basically more graphic” (p.94).

Another evaluative construction of the unfamiliarity of the mural appears as its ‘unreality’. This appears based on an assumption that the mural should have a quality of reality in its reproduction of experience and of Fietas, an aim expressed here as failed:

“R1: But I think this project can be something, can be taken on and other artists to make it more real for people when they see it” (p.79).

5.3.3.3 The community unified and divided

In this subsection, instances are traced of differences constructed in the textual production of the mural, of a tension in unity of a community, the unity of which is expressly assumed and desired in the construction of the mural. These divisions are between old and young, community members vs strangers (or even disenfranchised ‘land invaders’), and different races and cultural groups.

A division is constructed in the present community through the production of the collective memory, establishing an intentional privileging of those who lived in Fietas and remember life there, from those in the present community who have no shared memory.

The interview texts construct a kind of ownership of the mural by older residents who remember Fietas through a series of images only intelligible to them:

“R1: ... when I spoken to the community, the meeting that I had, people expected to see something that they could remember” (p.79);

“R1: Avalon it was a cinema, and everybody know Avalon. So if they see Avalon, a lot of old people lived there would immediately know Avalon, that was a cinema” (p.79);

“R1: I think people who know about Fietas especially the old people lived there, for example, they will find certain images just strike them immediately” (p.79);

“R2: People will remember, I think it will only be a few. People remember, they will remember the family had each, they remember one or two generations” (p.89).

One respondent describes a sub-community of old residents of Fietas who enjoy a special relationship:

“R3: ... when you go there you see a lot of old members, they are so happy about it. And you feel good, like I said even today, when you see any of your Fietas family or friends, it feels like you are going home. It's like people are from your hometown” (p.91)

Within this construction, younger people of the community who have no memory of the Fietas community are positioned as outside the sphere of influence of the mural, in a sense excluded from its production of meaning:

“R1: I think the future generation will see the mural won't exactly know what it went on. Because they don't have images in their mind” (p.79);

Here the mural is positioned as failing in an educative role with young people:

“R1: For the younger generation wouldn't know what Avalon means, strange word, where are the words coming from. So they really want to know something, the images are not going to tell them anything. They would actually have to go and read books about Fietas” (p.79).

This respondent describes the exclusion resulting from a discontinuity in the generational relationship:

“R2: I don't think people will recall ... because the parents are so busy. There is no heritage really ... I don't think children are interested” (p.87).

Another respondent positions the mural as a form of evidence, addressing the disbelief of children at the life lived by the older generation of Fietas, describing a relative state of

deprivation experienced by youth today in some ways:

“R3: Because when we talk to people about how beautiful Fietas was. They find it strange: are you sure you live like that? Are you sure you played games like that? We used to play freely in the street; today’s children don’t have it. Today all children are [indecipherable] to cultures, all is TV, games, playstation” (p.91).

Besides the younger generation, strangers to the community of Fietas or even to the communities currently occupying that area are positioned in a similarly excluded manner. In the following instance the mural is constructed as provoking curiosity in the excluded viewer; the construction adopts the term ‘advert’, in a sense marketing knowledge of Fietas to the viewer:

“R1: I think it in a sense you wondering what is this about. You know, why is there a dancing couple there? If you drive past, you see the dancing couple just wondering who put the dancing couple there for. And in a way not like an advert but it could be an advert, what is Avalon? And the children some of the children are playing you can’t quite make it out, if you don’t know what kennetjie is, and then it will lead a person to wondering what is it trying to do. You don’t know, so it will create questions in people’s mind for sure what’s going on here. And why it is looking so strange. A lot of the images are difficult to understand what it is. So for a person who doesn’t know about Fietas forced removals all the history of Fietas and what was it before, it will be something strange to them to read and to active” (p.80-81).

In this regard, of in a sense marketing Fietas, some respondents positively evaluate the position of the mural:

“R1: They felt very pleased for the perfect place, the wall ... ‘cause everyone knows the subway, everyone in Fietas knows the subway” (p.82);

“R5: The subway is a inter-leading from Fordsburg to Vrededorp ... it is worthwhile to put a mural there” (p.100).

A further tension is created in the text in terms of the racial unity and differences with regard to the mural. The desire for communal unity manifesting in the mural intentionally extends to racial difference as well. Constructions of the mural as a project of racial unification are evident in a few instances in the text. Describing an interview with a community member, the contributing artist constructs this unifying intention in the mural:

“R1: For example a person, a black person who was working in an Indian building, he related his childhood in Fietas and I understood perfectly how his life was in Fietas. I understood him perfectly and those images he was talking about were in my head as if I could see the same picture” (p.79).

Later, the same respondent describes his experience of memories reawakened by the project:

“R1: Afrikaans mixed with Zulu and ... for example, my mum speaks to the domestic workers in Zulu and you know, switch to Gujarati and then we would come from school teaches me English. All those are very evocative, of what I have to do” (p.82).

At the same time, there is a current of doubt about the possibility of this racial unity, evident in a few instances, such as the following:

“R1: Also remember that a lot I am talking about is from an Indian perspective, it’s not from the white perspective, it’s not from the Tamili’s perspective, so it’s not from the entire community. It’s from my personal perspective. Even then we went to different type of people, different people who lived there. And we spoke to different people and they gave different memories” (p.80).

Other instances express an ambivalence about the intention of racial inclusiveness, expressing a desire to express or experience the person’s own reference group more coherently:

“R1: ...if I had it alone, if had other Indian artists who lived there with me, I think the work would have been very different” (p.81);

“R1: ..and I often ask them if more Indian artists can be brought in to complete the work” (p.82).

Another respondent also expresses doubt suggesting a division of memorialisation:

“R2: Look I am Indian and I knew there were Malay but I am beginning to hear that there were some blacks and coloureds also. But I knew it was 90% Indian. And I was too small, don’t have a car and I was a very sick child and a [invalid] child, so I just knew it was Indian from my side, now I am beginning to see ... I knew there were Malay cause on 20th street, the Mosque is Malay Mosque and Malay controlled. But of course Malay don’t have much money, there were Indian people running it. I would keep it a heritage site you know” (p.89).

Another respondent is emphatic in the failure of the mural to address a racially (and economically) divided present, one which suggests that the possibilities of romanticism and nostalgia related to the mural is segregated along such lines (note that ‘Emmarentia’ here is positioned as an affluent historically white suburb):

“R5: So he lives in [Emmarentia], so people who have drawn that mural and participant, some of the people, it will remind them to remember something, and you have a romantic notion about something. Because you are [indecipherable] in the wonderful things that post-Apartheid South Africa has given you of, you can go to live in any white area you want to. So you know you can walk down memory lane, and you can walk into, in the corridor of your mind you actually walking this wonderful mural, but the reality of the corridor is very different, and my corridor and their romanticize corridor is really at odds” (p.100).

This last construction is related to an assumed function of the mural, as an inciting agent of social change, which is addressed in the final brief section below.

5.3.4 The mural as initiating a process of social change (including empowerment, relationship,

and harmony)

Some instances in the text reflect an assumption that the mural must effect some form of social change in the present communities. The desired change may be obscure, but may refer to social or economic empowerment, or a generation of relationships, and the mural as becoming a nexus of communicating and relating.

The first assumption of the mural as an agent of social or economic change is constructed solely within a position of its failure to do so:

“R5: I just look at it as a failure. So know mural means squat to me. I know I sound disgusting but it means squat to me, because it has changed nothing” (p.99);

After enquiring about the dates of the mural’s conceptualization and building, the respondent goes on:

“R5: Since then what has happened? So is the proof not in the [pudding]? Shouldn’t the actions have a knock-on effect for development? Or should we see towards development ... you got this mural, after you’ve achieved a mural, so what?” (p.99).

In this regard, the mural (together with others of its kind) is constructed as meaningless, an effectively vulnerable physical object, at the mercy of society’s most disenfranchised:

“R5: ...it is dirty ... did you see people cooking in the street, it’s like Middle Ages. You can’t even get a simple thing city by law enforcement to ask people to fence off the area. Why can’t you do that? That is in this agreement, entitled deeds. So you got ineffectual council how can you be optimistic about this new democracy? ... Do you think these trash collectors that walk through the suburb, do you think they care? By [indecipherable] of living, do you think that mural means a thing to them?” (p.99).

This vulnerability is echoed by another respondent:

“R2: And this mural could be good, but they don’t believe in security ... so I just hope it lasts” (p.86).

Beyond the hope for empowerment, there lies a more social hope that the mural can become a nexus for greater communication, and for generating or renewing relationships. There is a desire constructed that the mural can ignite a greater level of expression from people, that it just represents a beginning:

“R1: ... they were also happy that it’s started ... and I said ‘what is complete, you can’t complete a wall like this’. But they want more on the wall. It means they excited about it. They want their particular memories on the wall” (p.82).

Further, the hope for the project as initiating a greater relating within the community is

constructed as well:

“R1: When I talked about this project my mum remembered her old friends, said ‘you know I forgot about Sofia, too far. We used to go everyday shopping and would you take me to see her?’ So that’s the kind of thing the work has potential to do. Of course when we did take my mum, her friend has already passed away. But her husband was there, he met us. The work has great potential for the people in the future, for the community” (p.82).

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has reported the findings of the thematic analysis performed on the instances of construction of two ‘objects’ within the text: ‘Fietas’ and ‘mural’. The various thematic groupings of constructions of the objects were presented, along with examples of such constructions throughout. Some preliminary elements of ‘discussion’ were presented to begin to make sense of the discourse in the text: however, we now have to begin to integrate this analysis into a more coherent argument and discussion.

6. DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the various findings of the previous results chapter. Firstly, it synthesizes the various analyses of the two objects in a way that attempts to generate some coherent arguments that respond to the initial research question. Secondly, the theoretical typology of nostalgia (as it was presented in chapter two) is recalled, and the question of the typology of the collective memory of Fietas is presented. The findings of the results chapter are then integrated within a core argument regarding the nature of collective memory. Lastly, the discussion addresses the ongoing process of production of collective memory of Fietas.

The research question attempted to discover the construction of the collective memory of Fietas through the mural project present in the discourse of Fietas community members.

This chapter will argue that within the textual construction of the two objects: Fietas and the Mural, we can find that the collective memory of Fietas constructed through the mural is only one version of the memory of Fietas, which excludes certain aspects of the memory of Fietas, as well as revealing some characteristics of the nature of collective memory.

6.2 Restorative nostalgia and the mural

As we have discussed in chapter two, restorative nostalgia stresses ‘returning home’ in an attempt to reconstruct the lost home by means of a return to national symbols and myths. It manifests itself in ways of memorialisation of myth-making. The analysis has suggested that the

mural was a myth-making of racial unification which appears to be an excluding effect of an 'administrated' institutional process. The collective memory of Fietas constructed by the mural is based on a single plot of a utopian view of Fietas, a restoration of what is perceived to have been a happy home. It could be considered as a collaborative conspiracy of the privileged groups (the participants, artists, and administrative authorities) which intentionally create a typical, romanticized version of Fietas.

Boym argues that, the stronger the rhetoric of continuity with the historical past, and emphasis on traditional values, the more selectively the past is presented. The novelty of invented tradition is 'no less novel for being able to dress up easily as antiquity' (2001: 42). In the case of the mural project, icons and symbols such as the Newtown Mosque, the wallpaper that was popular with Fietas residents in the 1950s-1970s, a hugely popular bioscope called Avalon, and the Cape Dutch gables, were painstakingly selected as graphic representations in order to dress up the mural properly as a representation of Fietas. The past for restorative nostalgia is 'not duration but a perfect snapshot' (Boym, 2001: 49). The mural is a snapshot of the past, a 'typical Fietas' that was selectively produced.

This typical version of Fietas shares the same plot with Sophiatown and District Six similarly affected by forced removals and could be crudely simplified as follows: we were poor but happy, we could play in the streets and people of all races lived together happily and without race consciousness.

It leads to the question present in the second chapter: why do people remember things in certain ways?

Firstly, this romanticized perception is often inextricable from childhood memories when everything seemed simpler, friendlier and so on. As Amal Treacher (2000) argues childhood memories are over determined by childhood fantasy and childhood perceptions of social and cultural narratives and discourses. Fietas appears as closely related to youth in the text: there are substantial examples indicating childhood perceptions in the remembrance of Fietas. Specifically, the games they used to play not only occur in the text repeatedly but also were included in the mural image.

Secondly, this way of remembrance is motivated by the felt deprivation of the older self which involves a judgment that the past was better. Usually the desirable features of the past appear to be compromised or lacking in the present. It is exemplified in the text that a variety of desirable characteristics of Fietas are claimed to have been lost. As a result of the *poverty of the present requirement*, a selectively reconstructed defensive distortion of Fietas is created. That is why the contradictory instances, such as the racial distinctions which were so prominent in the text could be deliberately left out of the generic narrative of Fietas created by the mural.

The deliberate exclusion of some of the memories involve not only the ones that undermine the romanticized version of Fietas, but also those specific, individual memories that seem to have

very little connection with the fabrication of Fietas as a utopian space. The analysis of the mural in the previous chapter has pointed out that the construction of the mural involves a form of loss, of unique or personal experience, that is not necessarily symbolic of Fietas, or part of its identity. In Fietas, 14th street is recalled in a couple of places in the text, but one will find no detailed descriptions. There is no remembrance of the kind of fabric that was sold there, or for instance, the personalities of some of the shop-keepers. So the collective memory of Fietas constructed by the mural somehow has passed into a generic collective memory of Fietas, which might even have had the effect of obliterating some of the specific memories. As Halbwachs (1980) argues, the multitude of collective memories often engage in a competition about the allegiance of the individual which is determined by the social forces at work within the group. The collective memory of Fietas constructed by the mural is a result of a competition between the memories of the symbolic necessity and non-necessity which is determined by the dominant social power of the new democratic South Africa in constructing an image of the rainbow nation.

6.2.1 Distance and the mural

In a high-rise tower of the city, there is an obscure corner. From far away, you can see many beautiful houses of different colors; when you zoom in a little bit, you see heavy traffic condensed in the street, busy crowds in bright colors and children happily playing in the streets, a beautiful harmony. But when you then zoom in much closer, you find that someone is in a quarrel, a policeman is conducting an identity check. You find that the colorful houses are actually old and shabby. You begin to see pits and hear a child crying...this is Fietas.

Fietas is singular only when you look at it from a far distance; it becomes a nostalgic illusion, a sweet dream with beautiful colours. This is where the mural is standing. Boym argues that nostalgia is ‘a sentiment of loss and displacement’, but is also ‘a romance with one’s own fantasy’. Nostalgic love can only survive in ‘a long-distance relationship’ (2001: xiii). The collective memory of Fietas created in the mural is a romance with a group of people’s fantasy. As respondent 5 criticized in the interview, they are distant viewers who live in the northern suburbs and drive past the mural once a month. The romanticized version of Fietas constructed by the mural can only survive in a long distance. When the distance is eliminated by experiencing Fietas in fragmented moments of the present life, the mural turns out to be what respondent 5 regarded as a failure in addressing a racially and economically divided present.

The analysis suggests that the collective memory of Fietas created by the mural is a very limited version of the memory of Fietas. It is a contested fabrication of Fietas which fails to reveal experiences known to many if not all, or of events that while collectively known, are not necessarily symbolic of Fietas, or part of its identity. There is a discrepancy between the remembered and the represented in the construction of the collective memory of Fietas through the mural.

The collective memory of Fietas created by the mural is a limited version also due to the

confusion between identity and remembrance. It attempts to evoke a feeling of familiarity and a sense of identity through remembrance of fragmented symbolic images of Fietas. The constructive nature of remembrance is foregrounded in text about the mural, as something familiar or shared symbols. It excludes so much information, such as personal life stories. It also excludes people who have not experienced Fietas, such as the younger generation, strangers or communities only currently occupying that area. As a result of this limitation, the mural turns out to be unintelligible or strange to the general public who cannot find identity in this version of remembrance of Fietas.

6.3 Reflective nostalgia and the mural

The analysis in the previous chapter reported two failures of desire in the construction of the collective memory of Fietas through the mural project. This subsection attempts to explore these failures and limitations of the version of collective memory created by the mural project in the deployment of theories of reflective nostalgia. As a result, it suggests the possibilities of multiple versions of collective memory of Fietas.

Firstly, the analysis suggested a desire to stop time by an act of recording, and thereby immortalizing experience and memory through its symbolic inhabitation of the mural. It echoes with the concept of nostalgia as ‘a yearning for a different time, the time of our childhood, the slower rhythms of our dreams, the feelings of being secure in the familiar environment’ (Boym, 2001: XV). Essentially desire refuses to surrender to the ‘irreversibility of time that plagues the human condition’ (Boym, 2001: XV)). Some instances reflect respondents’ confusion and uncertainty of the future as well as disappointment for the present condition intensifying the nostalgic love for Fietas.

“R5: I am not optimistic; I’ve been living in this area the whole time ... So you know you can take a walk down memory lane, and you can walk in the corridor in your mind you actually walking this wonderful mural, but the reality of the corridor is very different, and my corridor and their romanticized corridor is really at odds” (p.32).

In an imagined space, the respondent finds her identity and a sense of belonging and meaning for her present life:

“So while my childhood memories were very pleasant because you were a child, just had this wonderful sense of going to school and a sense of belonging ... my forebears life was very tough for them, we only had very limited amount of space, this little area to live. We looked out for each other, you cared about people. And I think those qualities we so inherited in my upbringing, and it’s part of my cultural make-up, I just feel that it is important for me to do something worthwhile” (p.24, 32).

As Boym describes by refusing to surrender to the irreversibility of time, Fietas is turned into a private and collective mythology by the community.

Secondly, the mural is constructed as meaningless, an effectively vulnerable physical object, which fails to be considered as a vehicle to represent experience. The collective memory of Fietas constructed by the mural reveals a way of homecoming. Nostalgia is a longing for a home that no longer exists. For reflective nostalgia, the home is 'not one; it is either one and a half or less than one' (Boym, 2001: xiv). It is always an incomplete measure which signifies the impossibility of returning home. As presented in the text by one artist, that the wall is not big enough for the memories. She suggested that surely all those years, all that substance, and life and vitality that made the forced removals such a travesty must take up more space - must mean something more. There is a desire constructed that the mural can ignite a greater level of expression from people, that it just represents a beginning. Homecoming of Fietas created by the mural does not signify a recovery of identity; it does not end the journey in the virtual space of imagination. The construction of the collective memory of Fietas will be forever a journey in the virtual space of imagination with oneself. This concept indicates that Fietas is also multiple. The shared everyday frameworks of collective memory can offer us multiple narratives which have certain syntax as well as a common intonation, but no single plot. The mural of Fietas is merely about the memory of Fietas, nothing more. In this regard, collective memory can be seen as a playground, not a graveyard of multiple individual recollections (Boym, 2001: 51). On this playground, the memories are shattered fragments of moments of the past and temporary spaces which could be activated by a present experience. In this regard, the collective memory of Fietas should be understood as 'common landmarks in everyday life' (Boym, 2001: 52).

British psychologist D.W. Winnicott suggested the concept of a 'potential space' between individual and environment that is formed in early childhood (1971: 100). Collective memory could be located in this space providing a context where relationship does not always develop by continuity but by contiguity. Specifically, experiences of Fietas, the closeness and ammoniums that is recalled and mourning by all the participants of their childhood may be classified as the cultural space of Fietas. Perhaps, what is missed most by them is not the past and the home, but rather this potential space of cultural experience that one has shared with friends, families and compatriots that is based neither on nation or religion but on elective affinities.

6.4 The nature of collective memory

No matter what kind of version of the collective memory of Fietas, what lies in the centre of these memories is a memory crisis caused by historical incongruities between the present and the past. Boym supports this idea by connecting collective memory with mourning. Members of a community become aware of the collective frameworks of memories when that community itself enters its twilight moments (2001: 55). Mourning is associated with the loss of a loved one or the loss of some abstraction, such as a homeland or liberty (2001: 55). With the primary group of ex-Fietas members getting old and vanishing, the collective memory of Fietas is put into crisis. Halbwachs's (1980) notion of a socially communicated memory suggests that memory can and

has to be communicated in order to exist. Mourning is certainly one form of communication. Boym (2001: 55) describes mourning as a labor of grief both through pondering pain and through play that points to the future. While the lost past is never completely recalled, the labor of grief could take a lifetime to complete.

The communicated collective memory that takes a lifetime to recall suggests the nature of collective memory as a series of transformation of collective and private practices within the act of remembrance. It is also a re-enactment of a certain period in time which refers to the lifetime of individuals of a collective body. The collective memory of Fietas is constituted through a shared social and cultural framework of individual recollections. The mural manifests the transformation of a collective memory within a collaborative practice constructed out of individual recollections. It represents the result of a consensual transformation. The transformation of collective memory suggests certain degree of mobility. In De Certeau's words, 'memory is a sort of anti-museum; it is not localizable' (1984: 108). Collective memory resides in 'moving, traversing, cutting through place, taking detours' (Boym, 2001: 52). However, collective memory also implies a degree of immobility attaching to a consensual construction for a certain period of time. Collective memory dwells between mobility and immobility and ceases when the group who carries it disappears.

6.5 Play urban and the mural

This subsection attempts to present an analysis of the dialogue between a social event called 'play urban' and the mural.

6.5.1 Play urban

Play Urban was a collaborative project initiated by two art schools. It involved collaborations between students, teachers, artists, researchers and cultural activists, who aimed to explore urban spaces in the Johannesburg CBD¹⁶. One of the projects by three art students was a two days intervention with the mural. Their interaction took forms of drawing on top of the mural with a representation of their experimentation to the public of this area¹⁷. Their motivation was to explore De Certeau's insight that people use cities to construct who they are, producing a narrative of identity (Nuttal, 2008). They wrote a sentence on the mural arguing that the city is experienced as it is walked. That it cannot be experienced in overview (Nuttal, 2008).

¹⁶ Available from: <http://esad-stg.net/playurban/>, Accessed in January, 2014.

¹⁷ Available from : <http://esad-stg.net/playurban/category/actions-urbaines-2/johannesburg-2011/>, Accessed in January 2014



Fig 6: (<http://esad-stg.net/playurban/category/actions-urbaines-2/johannesburg-2011/>, 2011)

6.5.2 Interaction

Fairclough argues that ‘one should articulate discourse (hence language) together with other non-discoursal social elements’ (2001: 25). We might see any social practice as an articulation of elements such as: ‘action and interaction, social relations, persons (with beliefs, attitudes, histories etc)’ (2001: 26). This point also corresponds with his discussion of analysis of the external relations of the text which is analysis of their relations with other elements of social events and more abstractly social practices (Fairclough, 2001: 45). It includes analysis of how the voices of others are incorporated and dialogued with the discourse.

In the case of the mural project, it is worthwhile to mention the interaction of art students with the mural, and different beliefs and attitudes between the heritage authorities and the art students regarding to the mural.

In the interview with Eric Itzkin, he criticized students’ drawing on the mural as vandalism. He pointed out that the mural was an expensive project and what the students had done did not fit into the narrative of the mural, and also appeared to be an aesthetic failure. He also pointed out that the city encourages people’s interaction with public art; however, they have to obtain permission. The students did not get any permission from the heritage department. In other words, any intervention with public art should be under a level of control. The students, however, considered their intervention as a comment on being deprived of ownership of the urban space. They believed they had the right to claim their space in the city of Johannesburg.

The conflict of different approaches between the heritage section and the play urban students displays the distinction between intentional and unintentional memorials. In Alois Riegl’s term, unintentional monument is about ‘age value which manifests the urban nature itself, the life of man-made artifacts in the natural and historical cycles of time’ (1982: 21). The traces of disintegration and decay are the source of monument’s effect (1982: 23). It preserves neither a

clear didactic nor necessarily an artistic value, but the space of remembrance¹⁸. While intentional monument is made explicitly for commemorative and didactic purpose or imbued with artistic value (1982: 23). Before the mural was completed, there were old involuntary mural decaying on the aged wall of the subway. The subway itself was an unintentional memorial without a clear didactic or artistic value. The mural project was specifically made to commemorate Fietas with artistic values and skills that were promoted by the city¹⁹. The distinction Riegl proposed roughly corresponds to the distinctions between restorative and reflective nostalgia. Boym (2001: 79) argues that what is involved in the restoration of an 'intentional monument' is a recuperation of a single moment in history, made exemplary for the purpose of the present. Intentional monument is about victory over time itself, is a claim to immortality and eternal youth (Boym, 2001: 79). On the other hand, she further argues that, unintentional monuments or urban environments, 'porous courtyard ruins, transitional spaces, multilayered buildings with conflicting and disharmonious imprints of history are inimical to the idea of commemoration' (2001: 80). They are about the unpredictability of change.

The mural is about the identity of one group. Revelation of modality is of no use for any other group identity. The students' unpredictable juxtaposition of different historical epochs threatens any attempt at selective and embellished reconstruction of history. They reveal something about those other dimensions of existence. They have turned this mural into an unintentional memorial which carries its physical imprints, making this a space for reflective nostalgia. Therefore, essentially this is a conflict between a single plot and multiple narratives, between restorative nostalgia and reflective nostalgia.

To close, memorial places in the city have to be seen in the process of continuous transformation. Sometimes the discussion about the renovated site and the work in progress has more cultural resonance than the built monument that put an end to the debate.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter attempted to answer the research question based on a discussion of the results chapter. It argued that the collective memory of Fietas constructed by the mural reflects the conspiracy of a single plot proposed by restorative nostalgia. It further argued that the limitation of this romanticized version of collective memory of Fietas requires the function of reflective nostalgia. This will open up the possibilities of multiple versions of collective memory of Fietas, which is realized through communications of fragmented recollections of everyday life. Based on the discussion of the typology of nostalgia and associated arguments of collective memory,

¹⁸Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origins," Kurt Forster and Diane Ghirardo, trans., *Oppositions*, 25(Fall 1982):21-50.

¹⁹ Mural has becoming an increasingly popular artistic practice which can be seen in various corners of Johannesburg and Cape Town. Every year there are competitions organized by the two cities, such as a graffiti festival called Grey Scale Gallery.

this chapter suggests two characteristics of collective memory which are respectively mobility and immobility. Lastly, the chapter emphasized the characteristic of mobility of collective memory through a discussion placing the mural in the context of continuous transformation.

7. LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This short chapter will briefly offer two key limitations. Firstly, the critical nature of the discourse analysis method needs to be distinguished from a critical perspective of the mural project (and the ex-Fietas residents) itself. Secondly, the nature of the findings of the research is discussed, particularly with regards to how such findings could be used. The limitations will be discussed together with recommendations accordingly. Lastly, the chapter ends with a brief conclusion to the research report.

7.2 Limitations of the research

7.2.1 The ‘critical’ nature of discourse analysis

As is evident throughout the analyses and discussions, discourse analysis is an inherently critical method, at least in the case of the methodological injunctions provided by Foucault (1978). Where it is the texts of people’s speech that is being analyzed, the approach has the effect of appearing to criticize *people*; in this case the ex-Fietas residents who were interviewed. As was stated, we need to turn a ‘suspicious eye’ to the language of the research participants. We need to examine carefully what they *say* and look within their language for evidence of broader discursive practices. In other words, we are critical of what people *say*, rather than being critical of the people *themselves*. In this way, the reader is encouraged not conflate a critical ‘eye’ upon language and power with a criticism of people, and rather to understand that critical eye as producing the possibility of a form of liberation for those people, the validation of their critical emotions, their suspicious, anger and frustration with their role in their community. In discourse

analysis we are interested in the efficacy of texts above and beyond the people who utter them. However, this concern does point to a limitation of discourse analysis as a method, especially when one is sympathetic to the interests of the speaker's whole speech one is analyzing.

In the light of this, we can say that this research study has demonstrated that hidden agendas of the privileged groups operating through the discourse performed within the speech of the 'ex-Fietas residents'. We may even suggest that such agendas operate through their subject position as 'Fietas members'. However, it is not the intention of this study to criticize the members of the ex-Fietas residents themselves. In fact, ideally, the research method should be able to effectively support the 'subjects' it seeks to understand. The participatory action research model offers a good overarching strategy within which a discourse analytic study might be employed. Ideally, discourse analysis operates as an 'action research' model. In other words, the research should ideally form part of a broader project of working with ex-Fietas residents who are challenging the boundaries of their subject positions. This approach is adopted in the present research to some extent. All participants will be sent some feedback concerning results, which can be queried and discussed further if necessary. This way, there is some small element of 'participation' and 'action' within the present research. The role of the research as part of 'action' should be core the research. In this way, its supportive rather than critical role would be made more obvious.

7.2.2 The nature of the findings of discourse analytic research

We need at this stage to examine what the relationship is between the nature of discourse analysis itself, and the nature of the recommendations it produces. The typical findings of discourse analysis, the critical interrogations it makes, scrutinizing how discourses work, and how discursive strategies and techniques operate, lend itself to theorizing about strategic kinds of interventions at the level of the discursive. For example, it enables us to open up certain social contradictions within these discourses, make them apparent, and experiment with how things could be said to be different and how things might be understood differently, known differently. An orientation towards changing the discursive which would hopefully follow through to change in discursive practices.

In other words, we need to state what the nature of the information is that discourse analysis produces. The results yielded by this discourse analysis exist as a kind of critical clarification of what forms of Fietas and the mural characterize the understanding of collective memory and memorial practices of the community. The results show how certain subjects (or kinds of people in the discourse) occupy more privileged positions. This 'information' then has the implicit goal of shifting those very relations to some degree. One important choice that the researcher must make (in order to formulate recommendations), is to decide which 'subjects' or which kinds of people in the discourse to support, or privilege. The points of resistance, defiance, or lines of

escape accorded to these more ‘constrained’ subjects in the text are then highlighted and suggested as important necessary practices by the researcher.

In the present research, practices of memorialization that represent some possibility for including the youth and the community members who have not experienced Fietas are supported in the recommendations, whereas those practices that only aggravate exclusion and segregation of the community are offered as topic for critical discussion for ex-Fietas residents and others.

7.3 Conclusion

This chapter thus brings us, in effect, the end of this research report. This conclusion now briefly summarizes how we have attempted to answer our research question. We began with chapter one, which merely gave a brief introduction to the research report as well as the background of Fietas.

Chapter two traced the terms and concepts which both legitimize the study and give a frame of reference to the results. These terms and concepts combined a description of the evolution of the concepts that surround the field of memory-studies.

Chapter three articulated a more detailed history of memorialisation in a global context. By contextualizing South Africa memorialisation within an international frame of reference, it attempted to explore the role that memorialisation plays in the global memorial landscape.

Chapter Four presented the manner in which discourse analysis would be applied to answer this question, as well as detailing the choices made, and actions taken to perform this research study.

Chapter Five presented the findings of the discourse analysis, demonstrating how the discourse of the collective memory of Fietas was built out of a complex interrelation of the two objects: Fietas and the mural. It also began to trace the building blocks of an argument to answer our research question.

Chapter Six attempted to integrate these traces, and to sketch an answer to the research question. An argument was presented indicating the two characteristics of collective memory. It then included another voice in the discourse from the Play Urban project to validate the argument.

This final chapter (Seven) briefly offered some recommendations in addressing the limitations of this research study.

Lastly, this paper has hopefully demonstrated the formulation of the collective memory of Fietas constructed by the mural as well as offering a platform to understand the concept of collective memory.

REFERENCES

Arif, Dirlik. 2001. "Trapped in History' on the Way to Utopia: East Asia's Great War Fifty Years Later", in Perilous Memories, in *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*, ed. T. Fujitana, Geoffrey White, and Lisa Yoneyama. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Annette, Pretorius. 2006. The Function of Public Art in Post-Apartheid South Africa. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand Press.

Assmann, Jan. 1995. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity" in *New German Critique*, No.65, spring–summer edition, Cultural History/Cultural Studies, pp.125-133

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. 1992. *An Invitation to reflexive Sociology*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Boyer, Christine. 1994. *The City of Collective Memory*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Carrim, Nazir, 2000. Fietas: A Social History of Pageview: 1948-1988, Johannesburg: Save Pageview Association.

Carrier, Peter, 2000. Monument and National Memory Culture in France and Germany since 1989, Berlin: Freie University, pp.45-46.

Crane, Susan A. 1997. "Memory, Distortion, and History in the Museum." *History and Theory*. Vol. 4.no. 36: Producing the Past: Making Histories Inside and Outside the Academy. Blackwell Publishing for Wesleyan University, pp.44-63.

Denton, Kirk A. 2007. "Heroic Resistance and Victims of Atrocity: Negotiating the Memory of Japanese Imperialism in Chinese Museums." *Japan Focus*. October 17.

Deans, Phil. 2007. "Diminishing Returns": Prime Minister Koizumi's Visits to the Yasukuni Shrine in the Context of East Asian Nationalisms", *East Asia* 24, pp.269-294.

D.W. Winnicott, 1971. *Playing and Reality*. London: Routledge.

Dorthea Kreutzfeldt, 2004. *Painting in public: Interventions into the city of Johannesburg*. Johannesburg: University of Witswatersrand Press.

Gries, Peter. 2004. *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp.43–52.

Fairclough, N. 2001b. *Language and Power*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. 1993. 'Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketisation of Public Discourse: the Universities', *Discourse and Society* 4, pp.133-68.

Foucault, M. 1978. "Politics and the Study of Discourse". *Ideology and Consciousness*, 3, pp. 7-26.

Hedges, Chris. 2003. *War is a Force That Gives Us Meaning*. New York: Anchor Books.

Huyssen, Andreas. 1995. *Twilight Memories: Making Time in a Culture of Amnesia*, London: Verso.

Howard, Scott Alexander. 2012. *Nostalgia in Analysis*, Vol.72, No.4 (October 2012), pp.641-650.

Jay Winter, 1998. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ian Buruma. 1999. "The Joys and Perils of Victimhood," in *New York Review of Books*. April 8, 4-9.

Itzkin, E. 2012. *Artistic Streets of Jo'burg*. Available:
<http://www.joburgculture.co.za/builtheritage/public-art/artistic-streets-of-joburg>. Accessed January 2014.

James E. Young. 1993. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press

Kros, C. 2012. 'A New Monumentalism? From Public Art to Freedom Park', in *Image and Text*,

19, 2012. Accessed via <http://www.imageandtext.up.ac.za/index.php/issues/number-19-2012>
14/5/2013

Kingston, Jeff. 2007. "Awkward Talisman: War Memory, Reconciliation and Yasukuni", In *East Asia*. Vol. 24.no. 3. Springer Netherlands, October, pp.295-318.

Kreutzfeldt, Dorothee. 2004. *Painting in Public: Interventions into the City of Johannesburg*. Thesis (M.A.). Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press.

Kingston, Jeff. 2008. "Nanjing's Massacre Memorial: Renovating War Memory in Nanjing and Tokyo", In *Japan Focus*. Tokyo, August 22.

Lambek, Michael. 1993. *Knowledge and Practice in Mayotte*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Levinson, S. 1983. *Pragmatics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maier, Clemens. 2007. *Making Memories: The Politics of Remembrance in Postwar Norway and Denmark*. European University Institute, Doctoral Dissertation: DOI: 10.2870/37104.

Marschall, Sabine. 2006. Transforming the Landscape of Memory: The South African Commemorative Effort in International Perspective, in *South African Historical Journal*, 55:1, pp.165-185.

Marschall, Sabine. 2006. "Visualizing Memories: The Hector Pieterse Memorial in Soweto", in *Visual Anthropology*, 19, pp.145–169.

Marchall, Sabine. 2008. Transforming Symbolic Identity: Wall Art And The South African City in *African Arts*, Summer 2008, Vol.41 Issue 2, pp.12-23.

McClintock, A. 1991. 'No longer in a future heaven': Women and nationalism in South Africa, in *Transition* 51, pp.104-123.

Millward, L.J. 1995. 'Focus Group'. In Breakwell, G. M, Hammond, S. & Fifeschaw, c. (eds.). *research Method in Psychology*. London: Sage.

Michael Rothberg. 2009. *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*. Sanford: Stanford University Press.

Michel de Certeau, 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mosely, Erin. 2007. "Visualizing" Apartheid Contemporary Art and Collective Memory during South Africa's Transition Democracy. Fecha de recepción: Abril de.

Morgan, Erin. 2007. *Successful Focus Groups: Advancing the State of the Art*. London: Sage.

- Nora, P. 1984. *Between Memory and History*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp.6
- Nuttall, S. and Mbembe, A. 2008. *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Parker, L. 1992. *Discourse Analysis Research: Repertoires and Readings of Texts in Action*. London: Routledge.
- Radstone, Susan. 2000. *Memory and Methodology*. Oxford and New York: Berg.
- Ricoeur, Paul. 1976. *Interpretation Theory*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press.
- Sobchack, Vivian. 1996. *The Persistence of History: Cinema, Television and the Modern Event*, New York and London: Routledge.
- Terdiman, Richard. 1993. *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Winter, J. & E. Sivan. 1999. 'Setting the Framework' in J. Winter & E. Sivan (eds) *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.6-39.
- www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=5349&Itemid=193#ixzz2dJC4QQHO
Accessed January, 2014.
- www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=8670:14-06-2013-joburg-to-commemorate-the-37th-anniversary-of-youth-day-&catid=217:press-releases-2013&Itemid=114#ixzz2dMKKJq8X
Accessed January, 2014.

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

Respondent 1

Binjun: I know you have experienced Fietas, so my first question is that what do you remember about Fietas community before the removals? What was the life like there?

R1: oh, yes...I was born in Fietas at home and so my experience was there from childhood, from babyhood right until I was a teenager. And my memory of Fietas was that all I knew were Indian people. Because the area I was in was predominately Indian. And on the outskirts we have the white areas, so called white areas, and in between and among us were living black people. But when I say Indian, there were people who were Malay, Coloreds, Tamil, Hindu and Muslims. It was a very tight community and what I remember about growing up was that the houses were so close to one another, they were like match box. Match boxes stacked next to each other...and they were much similar to one another as well. So one house look like the other. And the only way to make a difference was the paint. And it was a .. a very ..It wasn't a ..it was very dirty, unpainted walls, some houses stood out, a lot of homes were nicely painted and beautiful and other homes, the majority homes were hardly maintained from outside. You know every house had a stoep.

B: what is a stoep?

R1: it's a little patio; we used to call it 'stoep', coming from an Afrikaans word. And these stoeps were famous because people were always leaning over the edge and talking to one another from the other stoep. And streets were very narrow, they still are and you could always have a wonderful conversation across the road, from one person to the other across the road. In between

...all these children, myself included, you know I remember days of lucky charms. I don't know if you know lucky charms.

B: I don't know about it.

R1: You can't buy them today, and they don't even exist in South African anymore in shops. They were just little plastic, plastic little images like a piano; they would call it lucky charms.

B: bring you luck?

R1: They would have little hole on them, then you could put string through that. That's not what we children use them for. We used to collect them, buy them from the shop, you used to get them in a packet, very cheap in those days. But for a little child, it was when I can get the money to buy so many lucky charms. And we would put them in a tin, what I remember the tins were mostly cigarettes boxes. In those days you got cigarettes boxes, like PeterStuyvesants, they were actually little tins. These tins we used to collect them and put our lucky charms in them. And we used to draw a ring and two people would play with the charms.

B: oh, it's like poker...

R1: yes, do you know pull the charm and push it with your foot, eventually you pick it up and put it on your tin, and try flick it into the ring. They person who won would win the other person's charms. So you get more charms. So that's like a very dear memory.

Playing in the street was a wonderful memory, you know it's a memory that I remember so well because of the friends I had, School friends, neighbors, and we used to just come out, being in the streets, the moment the school was over, I was in a religious school, used to be on the street. In the street used to be so full of children, and cars would go down knew that there were children. So nobody would get knock down, everyone knew children would be on the streets and children would know how to behave with the cars, give way. So there were like all these games being played. And the other I remember was that how easy it was just go to anybody's house and chat. You were just accepted. You could be very thirsty, If you happen to be in the street at a particular point, and you were very thirsty, you could just go to the first house, tell them you want some water. The friendness and warmness of the community were something that you can get today. I haven't seen it anywhere actually. I've travelled a lot all over the world I haven't seen that kind of strong community. Yeah, I don't know what else you would like to know. I could just go on forever.

B: no matter what kind of race in the house, you would go to whatever houses randomly?

R1: yes, predominately it was Indian people. For example as I grew up, my memory of that street were Indian people. It was in the Apartheid era, and to see a white person for me, was.. My first experience was when I was matriculated and went for my first job interview and I was offered some cake and tea in the interview and I couldn't handle a fork, knife and fork. Because we ate

with

B: fingers.

R1: yes. And it was white people, and I was in such an odd of a white person, because white people would be seen in 14th street, coming to do shopping, and they were not seen in our homes unless they were guests, special guests. And black people were usually domestic workers and people who worked in shops. So I grew up in a complete Apartheid system where my mind was trained to think of white people as inferior to, not inferior, the black people, white people were almost like gods, they were highly intelligent and knowing everything and we should rebel them and at the same time we should hate that. So as a child it was the most confusing thing to be growing up with. And I often thought about these things and didn't know how to think about it and then left it., it was too difficult, I should not even bother to think about it. ...i was a happy , lucky girl. I had my lucky charms and three tins and my friends and school and neighbors.

And a wonderful thing about those days was that my family lived in a big town together. So there were sister-in-laws, brother-in-laws, grandmothers, aunties and uncles all lived together. So my family had twenty children. The house was a massive building. It was a one story house and it was a big building which was all the corridors were opened up. You just find twenty children running down the passage and all the mothers screaming. Haha ... very happy memory. And then very much living in the Apartheid era was a lot of pain, and also as a child to see something that is not right. But you didn't know why and what it meant and how, and you have no right to do that. So it was a wonderful ... it was like ...living in a dirty fairy land. The streets were always dirty, because the kids were always playing there. So you know we had a saying in Gujarati said "Fieats my mistas, gatas , my katas" which means Fietas is sweet but 'katas' are sour. The streets the place is sweet you know but it's a lovely place to be in
And the memory is also about having to go shopping for my mum, and walking up the streets as a little girl ...going to the Indian spice shops which was a particular part of Fietas. And there were a couple of spice shops and they were quite famous which that's where everyone got their groceries. And there were couple of shoe shops, well-known people. You know you want groceries, you know how to go here, go there, and you know people.

B: when you think about memory, you located memory in space, like houses, and people and events, like how you went to get groceries for your mother. I am just trying to study how memory works. When you think about what Fietas was like, is there any image in your mind?

R1: Yes. There are definitely images. Childhood images which I don't think can ever be erased you know. Images of events, for example, the thing comes up was I walked to school. My house was right at the bottom of the streets, and the school was right at the top of the streets, as a child it was a long street, but as an adult now, my words, what I was thinking at that time, But as a little child I remember having to carry my heavy bag and counting the houses as I went. Each time, of course, every time I counted, they never correlated. 'Cause when I came back down, they were always shorted or too many, I never counted right. So I have a lot of memory of how I went to school, because often I went to school alone. I don't know how that happens although I

had so many cousins. I don't know how that happens you know I was often alone. According to the elders, it was just up the road. And for me it was a very long road.

B: Can you describe some of the images of the street, houses?

R1: Yes. Images of the houses, you know I remember particular my aunt's house, my father's sister's house. That was about half street away from our house, and I'd like going there. Because my cousin was a great baker. I enjoyed watching her baking. I would fly into the door. The whole point of Fietas was nobody locked the doors. There was so much safety that nobody locked the doors. There were very small compacted home. When you enter it, there was a little sitting room, tiny sitting room. Many house inside not very beautiful but well kept ...you know nice couches clean couches, small little home, and then from there you going to the kitchen directly. In the kitchen there is a coal stove, in these days we used coal stove. Coal stove was always burning, smell coming out the houses, always. If somebody was cooking, the other one was baking, so there is always smell coming out to the street. You would smell curry, absolutely wonderful. I would sit for hours and lean over the table there watching my cousin's hands beating the cake ... so I also learned a lot during that time. And then go to the backyard, backyard was also lovely ... and usually it would have a little room for the domestic servants. There were domestic servants in most houses in the backyard; they would be black People as well. And in the backyard some people had chicken, dog and cats of course. So the memories are of smell, great smells wonderful smells and the color of the food, great colors, you know the vibrancy of the colors. So for example, I would go shopping with my mother, she would go down to 14th street with her sister –in laws, or maybe with three or four sister-in-laws. Sometimes she would go alone, sometimes with a group of sister-in-laws. And we would be little, so they would hang onto us, there by the material stores. The idea was to go and buy materials like bottoms. There was about the ... the size the colors, the stacking fabric, and the shops was so tiny. And outside the table, mounts mounts of goods. And there was a shop in the plaza. In those days to find something you have to pull something else and my mother if finds some material she would pull the roll, and the second to hers would falling down. But the shopkeeper wasn't augury they would be so happy to serve and friendly and also they knew their customers. They knew them by name which was a very close thing to have. So for example, my mum went to Dakala, they knew this costumers they would call them by name, 'hello, Staie, what would you like today?' you know, "what can I help you". So there was a familiarity among the people, of course you don't know everyone. But you would know certain shops to go to; you would know particular houses ...you playing there all the time. It was beautiful.

The forced removal was a big time for everyone at that time. For example my family, as I told you it was an extended family. It involved grandfather, grandmother, just about 8 uncles and aunties and all their children. So it was very upsetting because my dad for example didn't have a job outside, he worked for his dad. And then it came for us to have a house, we didn't have a house to go to, because just previously my grandfather had passed away. He was the hero of the

dynasty of our family. After he died my father didn't have a job and we didn't know where to go to. I remember tears in my mum's eyes, and I remember my mother and father whispering to each other. And I didn't know what they were saying but I knew something terrible was happening. And then when I did finally realize that we had to move, I tried to find out why, and who was doing this to us. Why we would have to go, and what I was told didn't make sense to me. Because I couldn't believe anybody could be cruel like this. So then there were a lot of meetings. My grandfather was a politician, so he attended a lot of meetings, and he went against people at that time. And he suggested to them that the government wasn't going to give in. They would pull down the houses in any case we better leave and find plots and houses beforehand. And he went and bought plots in Lenasia, but he then passed away, and these plots were taken away. So it was a very difficult time, we didn't have home to go to, and we landed up in going to my grandfather in Natal, in KwaZulu Natal for about two years. So my schooling was disrupted and you know all the goods were strapped in the room, my father went job-hunting from town to town. And my grandfather was a very poor man can't help us, so it was a very very difficult time. Displaced us in a way which destroyed our education, my education and my sister brothers' education. It affected my father's house; my mum had to start to make samosa, and sell samosa. And prior to that my grandfather was a multi-millionaire. Until today we still talk about it and it also splits the entire family. Because during that time everyone had to decide where to go. And I had an uncle who was very very foresighted, they didn't like apartheid, so my dad's brother went to Brazil took a very big step went to Brazil. My second uncle went to London and the other brothers who left here were much struggled.

B: the whole were split

R1: Because of the forced removals. And before that everyone was living together, and they had their troubles, they had their fights, but they lived very happily, everyone sat on one enormous table. Imagining twenty one children ate on one table. So it was a very happy family. But ever since that time, now I have cousins in Brazil, London and Australia. And they stayed they never came back.

B: you have talked about your family. What about any memory of any other family during that time? What happened to them? Do you remember?

R1: yes. I do. For example my younger sister's husband, by that time of course, we didn't know they would get married. He lived in many streets away from us. We didn't know him at that time. Just before he proposed to my sister, by the time removal came about, he was one of the few people refused to move out. We remember how traumatic it was... I can remember the dogs and policeman. And you know that was different experience from ours. It wasn't the same experience. I can't recall if they had a house to go to. Unlike us, my dad didn't know where to go to. So with him, I remember newspaper, new houses came down... Interviewed him about why he didn't want to move. I also remember a lot of slogans put out on houses, on balconies, on the stoeps that we won't move, we won't move and those kinds of things, and also people gathering

in groups in the streets, everywhere, you know like women talking to each other discussing what we going to do. Remember they were not given money to buy new homes. So they have to use their savings to now go and find another place.

B: it was quite long, how could they struggle about twenty years? It lasted about twenty year.

R1: yes, exactly, people's life built in Fietas; they never thought they would have to go away from their homes. Some of the houses were so shabby, really deteriorated, but those were their homes. That's where they lived.

B: any other thing you can remember during that time? People around you?

R1: yes, I remember lots of trucks all over the place, people's furniture were being taken out from their homes. Lots of furniture in the streets waiting to be loaded onto trucks which was, as a child, which was very difficult for me to see. I wasn't a child then, I was quite grown up already, it was very upsetting to see people's furniture. Also you know, people struggled because they couldn't pay for their ...for trucks to hire trucks. You know a lot of people had to leave some pieces of furniture behind.

B: what about people's relationship? Are there any events you can remember?

R1: you mean during the removals?

B: yes.

R1: yes. I relate most from personal issues. You know one of my aunts living up the road and I remember she also had to move, her husband had decided to take her to London. And you know you used to come to her dad's house which was our house with her five sisters. She used to come with her children everyday to our house. And spend the day there, cooking everything. So I remember the tears and conversations that were going among all the sister-in-laws and what they were going to do, and how far they were going to be. I remember my cousin went for Brazil, when we said goodbye, very sad time. People were segregated in a very violent way, it's almost like being torn apart, and physically being torn apart where there was a lot of loving and a lot of closeness. And we never got those things back, because people went overseas for example, had lived on their own separate life.

B: it is very difficult to start all over in a new country.

R1: yes. To cope with the situation and phone calls then to keep up, it was wonderful but you couldn't do that often, it was too expensive. My youngest uncle now lives in Canada, he has the greatest memory of Fietas, he is much older than me, when he comes here, and we talked about those old days all over again, so yeah lots of images.

B: what does the mural make you think and feel?

R1: en ...when I see the artwork of the mural I become deeply disappointed. And this is not to deny the hard work and expertise and all the knowledge and you know, the strength the people involved. It's not to deny that but for me, I think I need kilometers kilometers of mural to be able record and permanently put in place the smell of the place the images of the houses, the images of the dresses, and total memory of that time ...which was so unique which today people are not wearing those kind of clothes anymore. Especially the women used to wear a specific style, Indian women used to wear a specific style at that time. So for me, you know this wall was too short. Actually it's quite a big work, half kilometer if you add it up long both ways. And for me it's not enough space, in that way, I feel disappointed that I couldn't say everything that I wanted to say. I couldn't put down everything I knew and felt. I couldn't put down the colors; I couldn't put down the vibrancy. I couldn't put down the atmosphere of that space. As artists... that is essential. If you create a work, you want to evoke feeling and memory; you want it to be evocative of what memories held for you. So if you see an image in front you, it should bring back to life some memories. And what happened is that we could only do so much, the work was.. it was too much wall in any case. But I kept saying can you put this a little more, a little more. And it became annoying for the other artists. You know because how much it fit them as well.

B: Other artist, any one has experienced Fietas?

R1: yes, well. I think both Bronwyn and Regi had experiences of Fietas in the working experience.

B: The Fietas today they have experienced. But they are not like you that have experienced the forced removals and lived there.

R1: yes, that's right. So the art .mural came from each of us was very different. So for me the images are there, are good enough, but as I said I wish it was kilometers long so that I can ... for me it's about the community , when I spoken to the community , the meeting that I had, people expected to see something that they could remember. And also the funding stopped us from doing a lot. So the lack of funding stopped us from putting the colors I would have loved, for example. If you think of Fietas, you don't think of the colors on the wall at the moment. They are faded colors, they dull and they are not vibrant... Fietas was the full of women of the most vibrant colors on their bodies, and smells and sounds, the food colors, so ... a lot of shining vibrant ...slippers. What we have on the wall isn't that. So In a way, there were certain things because of the lack of funding have disappointed me hugely. But I think this project can be something, can be taken on and other artists to make it more real for people when they see it. You know. A few images that are there can evoke memory, but they kind of scattered in a way that they are isolated from each other. They are not a narrative. Obviously we couldn't do a narrative on the wall, we could have had, but it was very complicated because of the scale of the

wall, some areas are very low others areas are very high, Images in between, all kind of thing that stood in the way, very difficult space to work with.

B: who is the mural for?

R1: exactly, you know I thought it was for the people. What happened was there were so many people involved in the mural which make it very difficult. It is very difficult from my perspective, I was just a person who was part of the design, but I wasn't the only one who designed it, I wasn't the only one who had a saying in it, if it was my own personal artwork, obviously it would have been completely different.

B: what do you think of the mural that affects the way that the future generations remember Fietas community and the removals?

R1: I think the future generation will see the mural won't exactly know what it went on. Because they don't have images in their mind. The images on the wall are fragmented images. They are not like a story, they are just images had been picked up from real people, from Fietas but who had their own personal stories to tell. So the images are not... but it's a beginning for something for the future. So it's a recording of some memory, some of the memories, a few of the memories. It's not a recording of the entire Fietas, collective memory. It's about individual memories that are picked up but those memories are quite important. We are trying to put on a wall of a memory that the community would quickly relate to. So for example, Avalon, it was a cinema, and everybody knows Avalon. So if they see Avalon, a lot of old people lived there would immediately know Avalon, that was a cinema. For the younger generation wouldn't know what Avalon means, strange word, where are the words coming from. So they really want to know something, the images are not going to tell them anything. They would actually have to go and read books about Fietas.

B: you mentioned something very interesting. Is there anything like collective memory of one story of Fietas? Fietas is so fragmented with different individual stories. How do you construct one collective memory?

R1: I don't think it's possible in a work like this. I think I can be possible, a project with artists for many years, but in the time we were given and the funding we were given. It can be done, for example in an exhibition of photography. That would be able to be more collective. 'Cause they are so many images that can be put up on the particular ...in one space. And in this instance, it's gonna to be very difficult to do. And also remember that a lot i am talking about is from an Indian perspective, it's not from the white perspective it's not from the tamales perspective, so it's not from the entire community. It's from my personal perspective. Even then, we went to different type of people, different people who lived there. And we spoke to different people and they gave different memories. .similar to what I had experienced which was in a way collective. For example, a person, a black person who was working in an Indian building, he related his childhood in Fietas and I understood perfectly how his life was in Fietas. I understood him

perfectly and those images he was talking about were in my head as if I could see the same picture. But to put that on the wall, we have to choose one image from the whole experience of his life there. You said to me, put that down represents my life on Fietas the amount of space I was given maybe four meters, in four meters I can't tell my entire life story... I can tell the community my life story. So the wall is incomplete in that sense. As I said it was a stepping stone to have more years, for example I have my daughter on the wall images of my daughter on the wall with her friends ...something ...for the future generation. She is playing in Fordsburg, Fietas with pigeons; she doesn't know my memory of Fietas, even if I tell her, she looked ... she said oh, that's nice, that's nice. She can't understand the actual feelings were ... and those feeling I think you need to be a tremendous artist, you would be able to bring that out, I think that when you work with many other artists, each artist has to collaborate with other artists, at some point you have to give up, you have to say I can't say more than this. Because they also have the right to say what they want to say, they also have the right the put what they want to put down. And that changes the work. And that's for was very challenging, because it wasn't for me. ...

B: do you think narrative can make a big difference, because this image can be interoperated in different ways.

R1: I think, I generally don't like text work, but in this case, because the historical piece, I think of... text, and history, yes to contextualized in such a way that people can relate to each other then I think even a running pattern along the wall would have be different.

B: what do you think this mural will affect other people?

R1: are you talking about all kinds of people walked past by or are you talking about the Fietas or Fordsburg residence?

B: I mean normal people who pass by don't know about Fietas

R1: I think it in a sense wondering what this is about. You know, why there is a dancing couple there? If you drive passed, you see the dancing couple just wondering who put the dancing couple there for. And in a way not like an advert but it could be an advert, what is Avalon? And the children some of the children are playing you can't quite make it out, if you don't know what Kenntjie is, and then it will lead a person to wondering what it is trying to do. You don't know, so it will create questions in people mind for sure that what's going on here. And why it is looking so strange. A lot of the images are difficult to understand what it is. So for a person who doesn't know about Fietas forced removals all the history of Fietas and what was it before, it will be something strange to them to read and to active...

B: what about the people who know about Fietas?

R1: yes, I think people who know about Fietas especially the old people lived there, for example , they will find certain images just strike them immediately, it will all evoke some memory, there

are some images which are very abstract, ... for example, the outline of the houses, you know, it just become outlines in some areas. Often I am being asked now, what are those lines there for some of them haven't been completed, so you know I took pictures of the old houses, and we try to do the outline of the houses, and certain areas, you can see the outline of the old houses, and other areas the lines just run into...people will wonder about those kind of things. I mean it was a work that, ... I think it will be troubles; there will be criticisms from the community, a lot of criticisms even when we just put up the initial design which was a beautiful design because it was on paper. Colors and everything were looking very nice. The community complained about the colors. They complained about a lot of things.

You know my thing Is that you would had very different look from the trinity session, to the architecture , you know the people who implemented the work itself to the being with the organizer, to the people who do the paintings on the wall, to the three designers , the one was a digital artist. So for to sit behind the edge, to say shut that move that , it was totally, it was very difficult for me to do that. I would love to splash on vibrant colors according to my aim. And that was normal; you couldn't just do that in collaboration.

B: do you think the mural can tell people something about the removal?

R1: there is a wall which depicts broken house, and it's difficult to pick up. You know, ok this is representing a broken house of the forced removals,

R1: although I am artist, I've been doing the work, I love being critical of it, because otherwise it will be complete from me. I criticize so it can be made better. Of course I had to stop at a certain time unfortunately . So you know I could be improved tremendously. And I had the right ideas for doing that. But I don't have the authority any more. As I said, if I had it alone, if had other Indian artists who lived there with me, I think the work would have being very different. Then I also appreciate the fact that people from outside came to do it and there was a whole a lot of value in that. It kinda authenticated in a way so it didn't became one-sided form my point of view. Otherwise it could just being too emotional, could just being me saying my story. That is a danger.

B: but isn't a very emotional thing that shared by the community?

R1: yes, a lot of people from the community had criticized me you could have done this, you could have done that ...and I said to them you know this is just a beginning.

B: what has it meant to you to be involved in this project?

R: it has been an emotional storm in a sense that I have to relive my memories. But at the same time it's also something of my inheritance, something that I inherited. The land, the people , the houses ,the sky above, the birds, the smells the sounds , the cars going by, the dressing of people and the language. Africans mixed with Zulu and ... for example, my mum speaks to the domestic

workers in Zulu and you know switch to Gujarati and then we would come from school and teaches me English. All those are very evocative, of what I have to do. So there was tremendous pleasure as well in reliving these memories of things that I had completely forgotten...came up again, so it was a historical journey into the past which has lead me back to where I am now. Just like the subway is between Fordsburg and Fietas, I was born in Fietas and married in Fordsburg. And the subway is between the two, so felt I am stuck between the two on the wall there. Personally, I felt that I am in those images. I feel like my memory, it's not like a memory , it's experiences of real life, kind of stuck in those images which are so static and only become alive on the wall.. It's been wonderful actually to be able to say.

B: have a chance to say something

R1: yes. Before I just cried about it, it was a dead thing inside the body. Although it's always be in the body, it hasn't been waken up this much.. Now it's been waken up. I think it has wakened up these memories for a lot of people now. And it's going to make them think again ... Other kinds of actions from here, not only to do with art but with other kind of activities. Maybe going to visit friends who they've forgotten for the last 50 years or maybe making something that they stopped making in the kitchen from those years, anything. Maybe it will make people wake up to that time. When I talked about this project, my mum remembered her old friends, said 'you know, I forgot about Sofia, too far. We used to go everyday shopping and would you take me to see her?' So that's the kind of thing the work has potential to do. Of course, when I did take my mum, her friend has already passed away. But her husband was there, he met us. The work has great potential for the people in the future, for the community.

B: so at the moment have heard of any feedback from the community?

R1: yes, lots. Most of them are disappointed. But they were also happy that it's started. And somebody remembered and the wall has been used. They felt very pleased for the perfect place, the wall ... 'because everyone knows the subway, everyone in Fietas knows the subway. Everyone has used it in their life time. So they were very happy that the wall has been awakened to the past. And I often ask them whether more Indian artists can be brought in to complete the work, and I said to them 'what is complete, you can't complete a wall like this '. But they want more on the wall. It means they excited about it. They want their particular memories on the wall.

B: individual stories are different, but when you talk about Fietas, in people's mind they know it as one thing? Do you think collective memory exist?

R1: yes, it exists.

B: there are similarities in their stories. But there is no one fixed stories of Fietas.

R1: I think collective memory exists when people start to say the same things, if you meet

different type of people they tell you similar stories. So for example, everybody knew Fourteenth Street. Everyone went to Fourteenth Street shopping in Fietas. So that's a collective memory of Fourteenth Street. You know, then the personal memory are more about personal issues about personal life stories. What happened at home between husband and wife. But even there, you know fights, love stories are shared. It was shared with neighbors.

B: there are must be some experience of the collective memory that is interesting. Can you tell me something about it?

R1: yes. Like the mosque. , and all the man went to mask five times a day, not everyone went there five times a day. But those who were more religious went five times a day

B: what about the festivities?

R1: Oh, yes.

B: Ramadaan, things like that.

R1: oh, yes, that was the most glorious time. You know. Ramadan means fasting, the best moment in the evenings, it was just the time to breakfast, we would listen out for the Adam which is the call from the mosque and everyone would have prepared their food already. They were all waiting on the stoeps to listen and mostly the children waited outside to listen, the minute that the alarm went, they would go screaming into the houses," Adam, Adam, we can eat." The whole street would be like that, everyone's home would have the most delicious food that I can't tell you about. The deserts and the best part is after you eat you pray, then what happens is exchange ... so you find all the kids every mother would compete of making the best of everything. And she used to be so proud of what she just made, she took out the best. For example, the samosas, the prettiest samosas for the neighbor ... and the neighbor would take out what she made the best and send it to you. The kids would be running around bringing the most gorgeous food to each other. So that was something I can remember. Some houses are still doing it in Lenasia. So do us. But very much has lost.

B: After the forced removal, did you go to Lenasia?

R1: we did go there.

B: so what was the life there?

R1: It was very bad there was no transport system. Nothing was set up. Again for the entire population of Fietas, Indian population that went there, there were about three or four buses. And there was no proper transport system. So you know, it became very difficult to go to work. and it was undeveloped land. So the streets were raw with very little paving. And it was so far from, there wasn't any shop.

Respondent 2

B: What do you remember about Fietas community before the Forced Removal?

R2: You know I was ... I don't know what to say. I wasn't a professionally normal child; I just knew that the family wanted to go shopping. And my elder sisters, maybe I just walked with them to the shopping center. You know 14th street was the main shopping center of Vrededorp . And you look up, you were small and the man was selling material and I see them buying, buying, women never stop buying. But I don't know how often they went. And on Saturday it was like an auction place, there was an auction here. But I was very young myself, although I am sixty two now. But in the very early days, I was young so don't know much of it. I didn't know there were a lot of Indian families were living there. But very kind of business and they were displayed in the Oriental Plaza. And I don't know. I didn't live in Vrededorp. We had a house across where the Plaza is. Then there were narrow streets, there were too many families in small areas. And there was a bit gangster, some people were involved. But there were also.. I think the poorer the families were, the better the people were. It's money that changes people's values. And people would sit outside talk and just like now ... but I don't remember too much about that time.

B: do you remember any people of that time?

R2: My sister was married in Vrededorp, changed to Fordsburg in 1960, off course troubles were already there from 1948. The group area was there from 1948. the national party came into power. So I think they wanted to do separated development for every community and move out. But it was troubles looming from 1948. My cousin was living there, a few friends living there. It was ... I don't know what to say any more.

B: what is your feeling when you think about Fietas, of that space?

R2: I like it because it was near, we were all taught, you know because of group area act, Indians were not allowed to buy and sell properties. So we always thought to be near Johannesburg is good and people used to measure, it was a very stupid concept, because they never knew stupid agency as such ... like white families used to seen buy properties in every 7 years. And so it was a very sad time to be displaced for the people to be lived there. Because they were taken out of their homes, and they were given a number somewhere to live, a plot number. So my feelings was, I don't know, maybe I wasn't a very intelligent child to have enough feelings. You know the group area did not stop and finally affect all of us. Because we had a big house where the Plaza is, they took it away for sell. Although you call Fietas but Fordsburg was actually Fietas also, because we were so close to each other in this area.

B: so you were removed for the Plaza to be built?

R2: yeah,

B: so the forced removal is not limited to Fietas but also include where the Plaza is.

R2: The man who came to value the property, the whole block, it had three streets, the whole block was offered at 36,000 Rand which was nothing in terms of value. My father had a ten bedrooms house double story. And there some shops and many cottages next to it. For 36,000 Rand, my father took the man to Pretoria and took him to Durban for holiday, all of that he got 36,000 Rand. The group area was very bad we were affected a lot. Because we Indians, we were not allowed to buy properties anywhere in South Africa. So especially in areas we lost a lot of money. Yeah, we lost a lot of money.

B: I think it was quite a long time that the removal happened. It lasted like for twenty years.

R2: no, it's more. Because the republic was in 1961- 62, from 1940 directing towards that. It was always on the counts. And it never stopped, you know in the 50s Lenasia is already chosen for people in Vrededorp. So it lasts more than twenty years.

B: I didn't mean exactly twenty years, actually a lot people grew up during this period. Do you remember any friends in that moment that they were displaced somewhere else?

R2: I just remember my own, typically human being, how we were displaced. And I was not so sensitive you know that time, I was very small, and you know had a very hard life. Because we were not allowed to go to school in this area, we have to travel 30 miles, 20 miles every day. Group area no Indian can attend school in Johannesburg. So I had to take three buses in the morning to attend school. I have to go to take a train from North Street, from North Street I have to take a bus to Alexandra, from Alexandra I have to take a bus to Midrand. I went to Midrand, my sister went to Beloni. Every morning 6'olcok. So it was not easy those days.

B: have you seen the mural on the wall?

R2: yes I drive pass it.

B: what does it make you think and feel?

R2: I am not an artist, I don't criticise it neither do I praise it. But I do praise it in a way that my people looking at a heritage. But heritage also can be abused, but our heritages I am fine. At least there is some heritage. But people often don't seem to have much control on their heritage also. They dedicated and people in between so on. You hear these things anyway ...But I like heritage yeah, I think one must have heritage. You know Chairman Mao Zedong, you want this heritage. You want to know what he had done; where he walked. How he had the country. You know heritage is all that you have. It's the same thing.

B: Do you think the mural actually is good for the community?

R2: it's good for the government that anything they do. Like in terms of, you know there are lot of parks but they don't have security. And this mural could be good, but they don't believe in security...so I just hope it lasts.

B: you believe it could be abandoned?

R2: yes, off course. You know there are such beautiful parts but in observatory. And many many parts.. But nobody wants to walk pass, so they don't have a backup system. So it's good yes, off course if they have the money is fine. You have to have spare money on heritage, but off course. It must be in control. I don't think it is under control.

B: do you think that site is particularly in a commemoration of the Indian people rather than of the whole mixed community?

R2: Look I am Indian and I knew there were Malay but I am beginning to hear that there were some blacks and coloureds also. But I knew it was 90% Indian. And I was too small, don't have a car and I was a very sick child and a very introvert child, so I just knew it was Indian from my side, now I am beginning to see.. I knew there were Malay because on 20th street, the mosque is Malay mosque and Malay controlled. But off curse Malay don't have much money, there were Indian people running it. I would keep it a heritage site you know.

B: can you identify yourself with the mural of what are on the wall?

For example, like there are patterns that were on the wall paper in the old days.

R2: I believe it was a Dakara family or something, I heard about it. No, I don't identify myself with it. I am so tired when I go to there.., you know beauty is in the eyes' of the beholder, when you want to identify ... You see you see. I never thought so far.

B: how do you think the mural will affect the way that the future generation remember about Fietas?

R2: well, heritage is wonderful. And I am sure ... en ... you know heritage is taught at school. You know get martin Luther king, Mao Zedong ... You know heritage is good and bad in a way since our children don't speak Gujarati. Yes, it is also a lost heritage. Our people could grow up with it. I am very much doubt it. I don't think the mural on the wall could make much difference. I don't think people will recall. Because the parents are so busy. There is no heritage really ... yeah, people will remember it. People will remember, I think it will only be a few. People remember, they will remember the family had each, they remember one or two generations, I don't think children are interested.

B: I think maybe that is the mural there for. It may not have a big effect on people, but at least it will remind some people.

R2: yes, it is heritage. It is good. I am not saying it is bad. I think we all got a problem; we don't pass it on well.

B: can you tell me more about Fietas that you remember?

R2: yeah, very narrow streets, some are one way, maybe many of them are two-ways, there were two cinemas. One was on 17th; the other was on 21th or something. And they were cheap, they were five cents. You know and you go visit friends in little homes. I think it is more for people who lived there, but as I said I had a very difficult childhood, and everything was too tight, so I don't know too much.

Respondent 3:

B: You are actually from Fietas?

R3: from Fietas.

B: so what do you remember about Fietas before the removal?

R3: before the removal? All the good days. All the good days of life were in Fietas. Children were free; we could live among all the nationalities which were very good. Although there was Apartheid, before the Apartheid regime came, there was a Chinese lady on the right side, and on the other side was a colored girl. There were Muslims, Hindus, Christians all mixed religions living in harmony, respected everyone without colour distinctions. Not knowing the difference. And we grew up as a family. Everyone in the street respected everyone as family, never looked at nationalities, and never looked at religion. And we were brought up like that. Up till today, if you meet them, you feel so happy, contented. That's the old family back again. That's how you feel.

B: anything more when you think about that space, that place?

R3: Although we had smaller homes we had a lot of love in those homes. People cherish human nature for human beings. Money was small, but everyone was contented and very very happy. Cause everybody shared and cared among the neighborhood. If you knew your neighbor didn't have, if you made something make sure you submit to that neighbor's house first. You knew your child is eating; his friends are also going to eat from you.

B: so it was a very happy multi-race community.

R3: yes, very very happy, very good.

B: who were the majority people?

R3: we Indian people were the majority. The majority of our street was all Indians. But like I said Hindus, Muslims and Tamils were all living together. There were two Chinese families, and very closely lived with us. The one their son was married to an Indian and nobody thought anything about it. They were married for love, and that was it.

B: so the race was never a thing, you just see the people, you don't see the race?

R3: they were very happy it was never mentioned you were different races, different religions, it didn't work in that way. As children we were very very safe, and we could play in the street until 10'o'clock 11'o'clock. It wasn't a problem, because everybody's parents looked after the next person's child. And the good thing was there was no TV in those days. So people visited one another, everybody get together. If this family had a function, the whole street participated. It's her daughter's wedding, it's our daughter's wedding. We have to participant in; we have to make it good for the daughter.

B: what about the schooling?

R3: yes, we went to the All Girls' School, Johannesburg All Girls' School, and it was nice, we had white teachers, colored teachers and one African lady. Things were good in a way, medication were free to us. We were connected to the Johannesburg dentists. They came around every week, the sister would come look at you see what you need for the week, if there was anybody need medication whatever, it was very good.

B: I heard somebody said that the Indians were not allowed to attend school in Johannesburg; they had to travel far to places like Midrand? Is that true?

R3: yes, when we got to high school, there was no high school in that area, only primary school. So then, the Fordsburg School here was then changed to a teacher training college. So we were forced to take the train when there is a storm whatever get to the train and travel far away as Lenasia for our high school schooling, every day without a failure. But it was so good; when you came home you felt you are coming home to your family. And that is what was good.

Everybody celebrated, eat together, everybody celebrated Christmas together, everybody celebrated Diwali. My function is your function.

B: they even celebrate the same festivals?

R3: yes, we Muslims, celebrate Eid. All the neighborhood that was not Muslims would know today is Eid. We celebrate e, ok children all get cakes everything. And my friend mother also buys her a dress. And for Charismas I would also get a dress for her sake. Because she was Christian, she was a Roman Catholic. But we all got dress together. And her mother would say, no, when you get a chocolate your friend would also get a chocolate. It was like that, for us we

all grew up in that way.

B: is there anything else you can remember besides all of this?

R3: there were two shebeens. One was in the 18th; the other was in the lower street, as children we were always told you don't get near the shebeens.

B: what is a shebeen?

R3: A shebeens is like; you know a place they make local beer.

B: oh, it was like a pub.

R3: yes, it was like a pub but in a private home, but it was always raided by the police. But for us, it was like a joke when the police came up this street, because we've never seen a police in a rush, end of the day the shebeens were overflowing of people, holding the drinks ... as children grew up like that we all thought that was very funny. But we didn't know the essence being in a pub as such. Only after I grew up I realized what the shebeen was all about.

B: any event you can remember, people going somewhere together?

R3: yes, we used to have a soccer ground in Vrededorp. Then every Sunday in the winter it was like a big event for us, because we were going to the soccer ground because this team was playing that team. It was like a big thing. You know young girls don't have to go to soccer ground ...like today somebody would say what can girls do in a soccer ground? As children we used to go the soccer ground. We used to have Johannesburg ladies from Netboard Club, and we were all mixed nationalities played in Netboard Club. We even have a group come all the way from Russia. They played against us. Then we also played for the inner city Netboard club which was very good, a different experience. Because in those days it was not a norm in the Indian families to allow their daughter to say ok, you can play sports. But we had it. And people didn't look up and say how you can allow it. Because time is changing and I think people start to look at life from a different way, and which was nice.

Ok then, one morning on our street, we had a church, we just heard a huge "bang". Before that we were all told that everybody had to be moved to Lenasia. We all said no, we would never going to move to that place. And one morning we just heard this huge big "bang", and when we all got up, what happened. The first place is being demolished on this street was a church.

B: they demolished a church?

R3: They demolished the first church that was on our street.

B: my understanding was they demolished the houses where people refused to move out.

R3: The church was taken over by a group of people using it as a store room. Originally it was

like a church then people used it as a store room. And then one day, we just heard this Bang then we said the church was the first place that started to be demolished. It was a church and a warehouse. That was the first demolishing place that started in Vrededorp. From 11th street to 19th street, it was the first place being demolished. And then everybody understood, no, these people really mean they are going to throw us out of Vrededorp. It was then the Apartheid region. Like even the fun day of Apartheid was very good, because across one area was a white section and their children would sometimes run across the way. Then all our boys would run to them and chase them 'get out, get out'. 'We are going to hit you'. Because if we ran to the other side, you would always have to watch your back. Because they were going to hit you. As we grew up we think it was funny. But within the Apartheid days also we all managed.

B: what do you remember about the life during the forced removals?

It was sad because people we have grown up with suddenly have to move. The Chinese lady suddenly have to go away now they were declared as whites which means she couldn't stay in Vrededorp any longer. The colored lady was also reclassified the Malay lady was also reclassified. It was very far away from us, and we may never see each other again. Those days people were not all having cars. They have to come back by bus. It was a sad time for all of us because people that we all knew and grew up with suddenly had being pushed away and moved far away from us. And that was when people realized what Apartheid really meant.

B: It went on for years, over twenty years; do you remember anything more during this time?

R3: as I said the church was the first thing demolished in this area. That was somewhere about 1972 and slowly slowly by 78-9, they had pushed most of the people away. But in 1974 the Plaza started opening stuff like that. And they said ok, Apartheid closed our shops, who ever had shops in the Plaza were forced to close the shops in 14th street. Initially they allowed us for 6 months to trade in both shops. And then they said ok, all people that had shops in the Plaza could no longer have shops in the 14th street. It was very sad. We were forced to take the shops in the Plaza. In Vrededorp most people had their own properties. And now suddenly you have to come into a place you have to pay rentals. Before everybody knew 14th street was the place for shopping. They wouldn't know where to look for you. Initially it was a struggle.

B: Do you remember anybody protested?

R3: a lot. You know they were standing up in the 14th street, saying we refuse to move. Who needs to move us? There were a lot of them going for days and days. Eventually, they said we were forced and still a lot of people that would still open the shops, trade half day or something. Then they would suddenly see a big police car coming. What was the good day? Business was disrupted on 14th street. People didn't know where the 14th is. or have to come to the 1 suddenly found your shop has been closed. Where are you? It was a long query. And it was a sad time.

B: you said you've seen the mural. What do you think of it?

R3: I think it's a very nice one, especially the one on the right hand side when you going down towards Vrededorp. I think it's very beautifully done. I know they came around, we also gave them some nails, screws, things from the boards that were taken out, said to them that they can have that. And this is nice.

B: they said it's about the memory of Fietas, can you see any images on the wall that remind you of the old days?

R3: the old days. Yes, where the children are so happy ... yes, I can see that. That represents the happy days. And it's nice. It's done very well.

B: do you think the mural will affect the way that the future generation remembers about Fietas?

R3: I hope so. Because when we talk to people about how beautiful Fietas was. They find it strange: are sure you lived like that? Are you sure you played games like that? We used to play freely in the street; today's children don't have it. All is TV, games, play station. It wasn't like this. Every year they have a Fietas Festival. It's very good, because it revive memories. And when you go there you see a lot of old members, they are so happy about it. And you feel good, like I said even today, when you see any of your Fietas family or friends, it feels like you are going home. It's like people are from your hometown.

Respondent 4

B: what do you know about Fietas?

R4: I know where it is, I know who used to live there. My parents come from there. My father made a business there. The Apartheid government relocated them from there, kicked them out of there, under the Group Area Act.

B: Before the Forced Removals, could you please tell me more about what happened there?

R4: I heard it was a very vibrant place, full of energy, very colorful racial group there, it was a rainbow nation. Everybody lived happily together, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Indians, the coloreds, the Africans, the Bin Laden, and the Jorge Bushes. Everybody was there.

B: Anything else you know?

R4: you know it was the business harbor of Johannesburg. 14th street was very famous for business. It was a famous business district. There were a lot of shops there; most of the shops are now in Oriental Plaza. It was multi-culture, multi-religion, we had churches there, we had temples there, we had mosques there. We still go there today.

B: do you know about anything that happened in Fietas during the Forced Removals?

R4: no violence really. There wasn't violence really. But I think significantly to talk about the forced removals was I was 6 years old. I was very small. I just remember the police chasing us with dogs. There were protesting on 14th street. They were refusing to move. They were chasing us with dogs.

B: You actually lived there.

R4: Yes, I lived there. Most of the houses were double story, shops at the bottom, houses on top,

or houses in the backyard, people stayed around the corner.

B: yes, the houses had a similar architecture style. Anything else you can remember? It lasted for a long time, more than twenty years.

R4: yes, thirty years ago.

B: Do you remember what happened to the people around you during this long period of time?

R4: there were some sellers who had the best shops in the Plaza, they told us not to move out, but they were the first to take the shops in Oriental Plaza. This we remember very well. The corrupt games, you know we know who they are, but we don't want to mention their names. We keep the peace.

What else I was going to mention? There were people from different classes; you get the rich and very poor. You move toward the end of Vrededorp, 24th, 25th and 26th, there were a lot of homeless people living there; In fact, you can find bottles, drugs, and glue. But what refer to glue boys all living in that area. The northern section of Fietas, the 2nd, the 3rd, mostly white people living in that area. But from 11th upwards towards 18th -23rd were mostly Indians.

But those whites that were living there were subsidized by the government, there weren't there because they wanted to be there, they were there because they were put there, they were placed there. Not that they could afford the houses, those houses were provided by the government.

B: do you remember anything about schooling?

R4: Oh, yeah, the schooling. We had a all Girls' School on 17th street. A lot of girls from this area moved to that school, it was an Indian school, Indian Girls' School. There is school in Fordsburg, Fordsburg Primary School; there was a preschool in the opposite of the plaza. And for high school we had to travel the way to Lenasia, either by train or by bus.

B: somebody mentioned that Indians at that time were not allowed to own properties.

R4: yes, we have nominate these names in this area.(4:59) and Indians do have most of these houses we Indians do have properties there, but on the other side across Vrededorp, where is Pageview, they were nominated as white area, white normally or Chinese groups by there but not Indians. It's true.

B: my third question is, you said you've seen the mural, what does it make you think and feel?

R4: yeah, I do see they were busying doing something on the wall under the subway. It's nice; it takes you back in time.

B: does it actually capture the time in Fietas?

R4: that I don't think really. You know people tell you Fietas had a lot of lovely characters.

Everybody was a character of his own. You know, everybody living had his own special character. I mean these things cannot really bring that out, I mean you can never bring that out.

B: what do you think of the colours on the wall?

R4: yes, it's quite nice.

B: do you think the mural will actually affect the way that the future generations remember about Fietas?

R4: Probably. I think so. Those who's seen the old pictures in there, I mean they can relate to it. What it used to look like, but the stuff there is basically more graphic.

Respondent 5

B: My first question is quite broad, what do you remember about Fietas? Please relax, and talk freely.

R5: what do I remember about Fietas? Look, having spent my entire life, that's all, 56 years; I have a long long memory of Fietas. And yes, my childhood was amazing, it was wonderful in the sense that I grew up with two things that today I am so thankful for. That is I grew up without colour distinction and material distinction. Because what it was when you grew up, no matter how wealthy you were, because you only had this little designated area from which to you could live, most people could only afford two rooms and a kitchen. So despite your economic standing, you could find this little place, essentially which is like a ghetto, and because there weren't many areas for Indians to live in, you lived in cramped quarters. So, yes, that was one advantage for me that I grew up without those two distinctions. And secondly, I had this amazing sense of identity. And today, in present day in South Africa, my identity is so deeply entrenched; it's so much part of me that I am very happy about it.

B: so you are very happy about this identity, and this is an identity of being a person who has grown up in Fietas?

R5: yes, and I think it was a multicultural identity, because I grew up in a multicultural environment. So I never thought of black, white, Chinese, colored with great respect. I did know my white counterpart wasn't very nice; I actually think they were quite mean.

B: When I mention "Fietas" this word, what comes up in your mind? There is so much you can talk about, you know.

R5: "home"! 'home"! Because that's where I live, I lived there my whole life. It's an awful awful long time.

B: well, you have talked about remembering Fietas as a whole collectively, a sense of home, of belonging, a kind of multicultural identity. Can you describe it in more details?

R5: the day you grew up, you become politically aware, you actually realize that how Apartheid social engineering policies shaped and destroyed black people. And economically what they did to this particular street which is where I live now, 14th street, how badly economics which was the destruction of an Indian person in this area. So while my childhood memories were very pleasant because you were a child, just had this wonderful sense of going to school and a sense of belonging, and you just think it is so nice, and like I said I just thought white people were mean because they wouldn't allow you to walk on the side of the street despite what conditions were, they were mean, old-fashion, mean. By way of example, if it rained, you wouldn't allow to stand in the doorway. There are a couple of incidents like that I can remember very clearly about my white counterpart exercising his authority on just basically human behavior.

B: it happened before the forced removals?

R5: yes, well I don't know how much you know this area. Do you know what the demarcation of this area is?

B: no, you can tell me.

R5: the demarcation is from 11th street, which is from the north, to 25th street, to the south. And then you have the area ofto the west, you have Kosair Street, and to the east, you have De Le Ray street. So De Le Ray Street was inhabited by white people, so you can't walk on that side of the road. Because if you did, you would have law enforcement agencies, it was white privileged be insured. So what would happened is firstly of all, you would get beaten up; to give you a classical example, I used to go to school in Lenz, which is Lenasia, and you have to travel by train.

B: that must be in the 1970s.

R5: yes, from 1970-74

B: because before there were local schools here for Indians.

R5: only a primary school. Not a high school. High school was in Lenz. Because we had segregated education systems as well. So what would happen is Braamfontein station from where I lived, at that stage I lived in 15th street, was closer to walk in comparison to walk to Mayfair station. But we all walked to Mayfair station.

B: because Braamfontein was white area?

R5: Mayfair was also white. But at least they were less hostile; they didn't assault you if you walk on their side. So you know, I have some awful experiences, you know, my white

counterpart wouldn't allow you to walk on their side of the road, or, like I just said earlier, wouldn't allow you to stand on the doorway when it was raining. So there was nothing romanticized about that, social engineering policies; and a White person knowing that he is in power, the beneficiary of the privileged. So, you know, but that is only when you become older you become politically aware. To account my part about 14th street, for me which is very sad is the economic destruction of Indian people in 14th street, even till today, what have you got. My house, which is the only house that is still under its original condition; and just opposite to me, to add an insult to me, is what... what apartheid did and that was to expropriate land taken from Indian people to give to white beneficiaries, and I stare at it every day of all my life. And what is offensive is that the apartheid regime couldn't even actually be original in the design of the home, they actually copied the homes they destroyed. Actually that was the point by David Goldblatt, who gave me a very interesting lesson on the national vernacular of architecture, you know, because he photographed the destruction of Vrededorp, of Fietas. He pointed out the similarities in what's been copied. Yes, that is offensive to my senses.

B: why do they copy what they've destroyed?

R5: exactly.

B: it doesn't make a sense.

R5: you know, Apartheid never made a sense. It was stupid. The only person that actually benefited from it was my white counterpart. And till today, a lot of them are still reluctant to admit to the beneficiary of the unjust system. So you know, I am not very proud of having these ugly houses, I come out to my balcony, I see what was destroyed and replaced by these ugly houses, which is not even nice. It's painful.

B: I can see the houses opposite to the street can't compare with this house we are sitting in. I still don't get the point of why they wanted to copy the original houses after destruction. What do you think about this?

R5: Well, that's the madness of Apartheid. Because it defines the racial policies of the apartheid regime, because in Vrededorp or Fietas, please, I always call it Vrededorp, where I was grown up that's what it was called Vrededorp. These homes, this entire street, looked like this particular building: so you had shops downstairs and people living upstairs, which is the very thing (various things) today you are trying to emulate, the Johannesburg city council trying to emulate the freedom of corridor. What's it called? The corridor of freedom, because you are trying to have multiple uses, because then you actually have sustainable development. Now they are trying to copy, I mean, in Post Apartheid South Africa we are doing that- what the Apartheid regime destroyed which was a thriving success.

B: it seems to be very difficult to regain the same success.

R5: you know sometimes I sit back and I laugh about how mad apartheid was in practice. It is crazy. And that we as a society, actually survived it. And my white counterpart maintained it for forty years. Yes, it was crazy.

B: do you remember something more specific during the forced removals? I think it started from 1950s until 1980s.

R5: No. Officially from the book [*Fietas: A social History of Pageview: 1948-1988*] it was in 1950s, ok? You know it thinks in 1956 or so it was when it really started, but [I think] in 1970s in Vrededorp that was when it really started, 60s, and 70s. But In 14th street, it was rather by the 70s, 73, 74, and slowly people started to move out. Now I give you an example, the shopping street was from 1974 till 1976. Do you know how the Oriental Plaza came about?

B: yes. It was established for removing all the shopper keepers from this area.

R5: yes, that's why that's the only shopping center that wholly Indian- owned. It was expropriation of land hereto they move. That's how crazy and bizarre apartheid was. You wouldn't allow to hop? skip away from this. You know when I think about it, I don't know how we managed to survive in this madness.

B: you said you are one of the few people that actually stayed in Fietas during the whole removal time.

R5: they were 67 families that joined together to form the Save Pageview Association. What it was there were only 67 families left, and we were so determined to stick to our goals, because you know it was now the mid 80s.

B: 1981 I think.

R5: yes, you know the gray area came about. You know what was the first gray area? Mayfair. So what it was, Indian people who had businesses in Fordsburg got actually tired of travelling. Because you know how far it is from this area?

B: yes, they have to go to Lenasia, and then come back the next day. So they moved from Lenasia back to Mayfair?

R5: yes, it was one of the first gray area. And what happened was you saw this illogical behavior of this madness.

B: yes, it is not worthwhile economically.

R5: so what they did was the 67 families formed the Save Pageview Association. It cost a lot of money, because you all have to contribute on a monthly basis towards legal fees. But eventually we did win the battle. And we were allowed to stay on. Because by then, off course, things with the Apartheid government now are disintegrating, things were longer, I mean there were just

upraises,

B: yes, they had enormous troubles.

R5: and you just realized that you can't really maintain this, form a gray area and try to remove this. I mean that was the madness of it. So we were just allowed to stay. But off course now, today this is the problem. National government has failed to settle land claims.

B: that big piece of vacuum land in front of the mosque? Is it part of it?

R5: yes.

B: were there buildings there before but destroyed by bulldozer during the removals?

R5: well, that is not a building. [A stone plague] That is a heritage park.

B: that is a heritage park?

R5: yes. Hahaha,

B: I didn't realize that is a heritage park. It is a bit....

R5: yes, certainly more work needed to be done. Please tell the heritage authorities what was your perception. Did you see the heritage plague?

B: yes, I saw it has a short description of Fietas history. And there is another one on the 14th street.

R5: tell him, Eric Itzkin, [Deputy Director of Immovable Heritage at City Of Johannesburg] that is the heritage plague. Please tell him about your sense, because I've been grabbing him about upgrading that. It's used as a public urinal. You know you've got a number of issues here. You got national government that has failed to settle the land claims issue. In addition, you've got vacuum land which is owned by province. Ok now they have gone fenced it or build a wall. And you've got land that is owned privately that they are not allowed to develop yet, and you get people like me who have lived in that area and who have to continue with these things. Now there are problems with this, because to illustrate to you my point I am going to show you the knock on effect of this. Ok? Because national government has failed to settle land claims, we are very susceptible to land invasion. You have public defecation, urination, fornication, masturbation all taking place in public. We certainly don't expect them to exhibit in public domain, and as a resident, I found that is objectionable. So because of the land claim issue we have, vacuum land, which against us to susceptible land invasion, so have that; then you have land that city council has fenced off, you know now what you have done is now you just create an environment that is for the land invaders to go and conduct toilet business on an area that has just covered so can use it as a bathroom facilities, but nothing else is done, and they don't maintain that. In addition that you've got land that is owned by the mosque. Because as a fellow

Muslim, and as a gender person, I am very very disappointed in the manner they do. Because they go against Islamic teachings, and tenants' behavior in a way that they have conducted what it is, it is not difficult for you to fence off the land, and look the 15th street mosque has fenced off the land, and like on 12th street, they've got properties but they have not fenced off the land. And their argument is they are waiting for the land to be resolved. That should not prevent you from fencing the land and maintain it. Because very simply, the area I am talking about has a knock-on effect on two female headed household whose whole income is home industry. And health issue in this particular area not maintained by the religious body. It's a sad indictment of the executives of the religious body and it goes against Islamic teachings. And that is I am grubby about.

B: so the core issue is the land issue.

R5: look, if the national government hasn't finalized the land, but you are now this religious body that holds up the title deed, that should not prevent you from fencing off the land and maintain it. And the argument they have is that they don't have finances. I am very sorry, as a Muslim organization, I will make a situation to them, y

The city council is so ineffectually just not even a joke any more. So can you see where I come from? So I don't have any romanticized of living in Vrededorp. In fact, I sometimes wonder I've gone through this long war I am just so exhausted. And we have a government and an ineffective council just doesn't pull fingers.

B: what did the heritage authorities mention about the financial problems?

R5: look, Eric is a very very cooperative with council officials, I treat him with great respect, he really does work hard to actually accommodate. But you know, it's like whistling against thunder, I mean the poor he can't be doing so much, his colleagues are pulling his figure. By way of example, I am going to tell you what happened. With the museum, [a museum co commemorate Fietas] I have my own initiative, you know for museums you need a lot of funding, and of course it is not in desirable street, so you know no matter what I say in this, you just not happening ... say I am not the right color. And in Apartheid South Africa, I am just not white enough, and in Democratic South Africa I am just really not black enough. You know that is the reality of it. So you know I've got no illusions of being in the new South Africa. Because twenty years down the line, post democracy, what's changed here?

B: what do you think of the mural? I think it is at least a good start in some sense

R5: so tell me something. I am going to invite you to the museum. And the reason I am doing this museum is very simply I just need to close the circle. In this sense that I was born in this area, I have a personal sentiment towards this building where my mother and father had got married, I would have this long hall of shame, because we were part of the 67, and my siblings and I had in this area for close to 6 decades, and I just need to close the circle. But I am not

optimistic that anything going to happen here.

B: why? Because of this area?

R5: this is because there is no political will! As long as we have political will, we can do many things. It is dirty, false ... did you see people cooking in the street, and it's like Middle Ages. You can't even get a simple thing city by law enforcement to ask people to fence off the area. Why can't you do that? That is in this agreement, entitled deeds. So you got ineffectual council how can you be optimistic about this new democracy? I am not. I just look at it as a failure. So know mural means squat to me. I know I sound disgusting but it means squirt to me, because it has changed nothing. Do you think these trash collectors that walk through the suburb, do you think they care? By in cult of living, do you think that mural means a thing to them?

B: it can't change their life economically. Creating a Bmorial, a mural, a museum is a social process, it can create a platform for people to communicate and tell the stories of Fietas. For instance, the mural, various workshops and interviews were conducted to encourage people's engagement. People found their old friends who lost contact for years. As you said, the scale of public engagement is always limited, and for people like trash collectors, the mural is invisible or nothing to their life. However, some of the public at least had a chance to say something.

R5: well how many years ago were these engagements with the public?

B: it started from 2009, the mural finished in 2011.

R5□ since then what has happen? Shouldn't the actions have a knock-on effect for development. Or should we see towards development.

B: it takes time I suppose.

R5: you got this mural, after you've achieved a mural, so what?

B: I suppose it at least has drawn a little attention for Fietas from the city level. If the mural is a success by the city's standard, it may help you with the setting up a museum. It should make it easier for you to approach them, or in a broader sense, for the possibility of supporting more and more projects of commemorating of Fietas in the future.

R5: the museum is my community initiative. City council doesn't have money other things. Like I just said to you earlier, you know they have money for other things but they don't have money for the museum. You know there is no sign of development. The subway is inter-leading from Fordsburg to Vrededorp, and that's it. It is worthwhile to put a mural there. Beyond that what happens? Do you want to come to see people squatting in the middle of the street? Do you?

B: no.

R5□ you know I said I am doing this is because I need to close a circle. I've tried. If I fail you

know it's one of these things. But I've tried it. I'd like to do that. But I don't know I am very disappointed about this area. Its 20 years after democracy, for a small piece of land, like area like this; they can't finalize the land, because they can't get election odder.

B □ Not enough attention from the government, it's not so important for them?

R5: there is no political will.

B: so in the end, it is still a highly racial society. For Fietas, it is still the same in some sense , because as you said it has never been white enough in post Apartheid and never been black in democracy. Particularly when you compare to the development and the amount attention Sowoto has got from the state.

R5: thank you. I am not optimistic; I've been living in this area the whole time. Yes, maybe Fezeo Mando can be optimistic, because he lives in Amaranthia. So he lives in Amaranthia, so people who have drawn that mural and participant, some of the people, it will remind them to remember something, and you have a romantic notion about something. Because you are trapped in the wonderful things that post-Apartheid South Africa has given you, you can go to live in any white area you want to. So you know you can take a walk down memory lane, and you can walk into, in the corridor in your mind you actually walking this wonderful mural, but the reality of the corridor is very different, and my corridor and their romanticized corridor is really at odds.

B: you mean it is more realistic to spend money on other issues. For example, fencing off the land.

R5: I am not saying ...you know I love arts, that's why I am going into doing the museum, I love arts, but you've got to create the context to promote the development.

B: so it is like an old Chinese saying placing a beautiful flower on top of an ox pool

R5: thanks you. Ok the subway, it was there. It is not like you have created. But you have done subsequently? And that is my grab. Come, let me show you something. Please tell me this person that owns this properties and right around including these two properties that I showed you, why the city council can't make sure that this person fence off the area. So you are saying to me that they are ineffectual or they are ... or what.

B: so there is not much happening.

R5: can you understand why I feel why I am doing this?

B: so you are feeling yourself is walking into a wall, fighting against this whole area alone, protecting yourself from being invaded.

R5: exactly.

B: it is a very difficult reality. But what has kept you going on? Where does this kind of passion for the museum come from?

R5: I have the most wonderful childhood, and I had a happy childhood and my despair today when I look at the young children, played on the street, and I despair today that our education has turned to be a failure. I give you a classical example, Anama, is a very interesting man, our deputy minister of education's grandfather. Because school was never a priority for Indian women, he and probably other people made it a priority for us to go to school. So he built the girls' school which is by the Gauteng train, which was the girls' school. He had a vision like that who actually thought to uplift his people education is very important. I am so privileged to have been living in a home that his funeral taken place and that was attended by 13,000 people. Can you believe in this house? 13,000 people. And he was such an iconic character. He built the girls' school and today I am so privileged that I went to school especially in terms of ...developing goals. I mean just take Pakistan the girls for example, they can't go to school. So you know, in these days the man was such a visionary, actually initiated and facilitated it for us to go to school. I am privileged. My forebears' life was very tough for them, we only had very limited amount of space, this little area to live, and being of a collective culture we came from, we looked out for each other, you cared about people. And I think those qualities we so inherited in my upbringing, and they are part of my cultural make-up, I just feel that it is important for me to do something worthwhile. And if I am so privileged, and believe in me when I say without a lie of vanity, but purely with enormous sense of pride, pride for the human spirit. I am so privileged to live in this house that is declared a provincial heritage site; and that for future generation that they can actually see how Indian people contributed to the economy of this country and how Apartheid regime destroyed the economic power of the Indian community unity. That's the only reason I am doing this, because you can't just go through the long hall and just leave it.

B: that beautiful memory of the past has driven you to recall them, to do something with them.

R5: but there has to be a supporting environment, a supporting environment is not there. But the dream is there.

B: so difficult when you see your dream is crashing with the reality.

R5: yes. That's for me is so difficult. So what I will do I will burial myself here then I don't go outside. Hahaha ...and I hopefully I am going to do the same with the museum.

B: you need supporters if not the government, but the ordinary people on the street. When they come they may get a sense of the stories of the past in this area.

R5: exactly. So that's why I am doing this by throw it open, people can tell their stories and you can view differently. But surrounding environment, particularly no political will, and our political masters, I don't know. I mean I just showed you the lack of by law enforcement.

B: there have been efforts in regenerating the city, in the past 10 years; hundreds of public art projects have been taken place by JDA. They are the statement and proof of what they city have done in improving the environment. However, it is a bit like running in a circle. You don't know what the context and the content are. Projects like the mural are challenged by the surrounding environment yet are also part of the environment.

R5: ok. Tell me something, if you have started in a government, where will you start, I've outlined the problems we have, as a resident of this area, what would you do? Don't you think one of the fundamental investments is to just insure by- law enforcement. And to deal with ... Issue is to finalize the land claims. It's been there for 20 years now and now that they extended the dateline to 2015 to accommodate the traditional leaders in rural areas. But this is in the center of Johannesburg. What is the difficulty to finalize this? So see you that is why I am not optimistic.

This is such a historical area. You know Dr Dadoo, you know he was the founding member of the communist party , originally came from England, he opened his first practice in 11th street. A lot influential people lived here. Because where else could Indian people live? It's shocking what's going on here. And our politicians do not care. So you know I don't know, I appreciate art, I appreciate mural, I just think they have to be supported.

B: you mean also supported constantly. It can't just be taking as it is project and nothing follows.

R5: yes. And my forebears have progress... and I have a social and moral to live the situation what I've founded it, and that's what the only reason I am doing it. The young generations don't have the sentiment as we have towards this area. So for me this is the last thing I am doing on this house. Because then it is going to be over. And I think it is like finality. And it's a strange kind of thing I know its finality. You know like I said my parents got married in this house, and I am going to do this museum. And I hope it will work out well. But there are no other generations to come. So I am just closing the circle.

B: it's sad when you think that Fietas, the memory and sentiment is dying in the younger generation. But isn't there any way of attracting them. There is a school near here, a muslin school, I think, can't you contact them once the museum is there, they should come visit often.

R5: Muslims have to give "sakairt", it is a kind of obligation you give to other people. But you only give to poverty not towards the arts. Ok? So if I was building a mosque, I could get lots of support. But for arts they won't. Then I have another dilemma because I won this building, it is perceived as- why would we give her money for her business? And sure, it is an opportunity we not getting rental. I am putting this up on my own initiative. The repair of this building is done by me. It's not done by other people. So I manage to get a small funding from the Johannesburg heritage trust towards the exhibition. And I am hoping that once I've done that it opens up further good news for me. Then if this happens I can go to the schools, Indians school to say that this is part of our Indian heritage. I got to create an income. I call the museum-the Fietas living

museum. Retelling the story of Fietas is very important. Now I am starting from the 14th street, because of the structure of the shopping zone. So that's what I have done, also about the historical people came from this area, and its steep in history so I think that these are the elements that interest me and I am trying to incorporate to this. So this is purely a labor of love. And I am hoping that this labor of love will translate something that will interest people, I can generate great interest in it. I don't know I am just trying something. And this is how it works.

R5: I am very privileged today to live in a house like this, because a family lived here.

B: so that side of the building will be another family living there.

R5: yes, this was another family. But I mean this is a probably an example of what's be told. Because we've broken down wall things like that interiorly, but it's generally nothing been changed.

B: was it clean and neat?

R5: look I have spoken to a lot of people, you must also understand something, I think squator and cramped condition is very difficult. You must know families lived here. I am living here alone and my brother lives in his apartment. When we were growing up, we were four children and some families there were nine, ten children maybe one or two just had extra bedrooms or something. So you know Indians did not have a lot of space to live. So that is why today when you have no group area act, they all move to suburbs and they love that lifestyle. Yes, I can understand.

B: but the closeness between each other is no longer there.

R5: yes, there were lots going on. Like I've got friends I've known all my life and I still maintain contact with them. To give you a classic example, for a number of reasons I would have absolute strangers I've never set eyes on them, and knock on our door. And say please tell me your house is so different and why it is so different, that's number one, or I had, but this is the most amazing story for me. There was a woman who got married very young about maybe 17. She used to live on 11th street in a flat that was similar to this, and after she got married she went to live in England. One day a young girl stood at the door downstairs and said to me- 'my grandmother, she lived in this area. And because where they lived is no longer there, there is nothing that stands there. I was just wondering and we took a drive around this area and she point at this house, she just wanted know- will you be kind enough to let her come into your house to have a look? Because It would mean so much to her.' I cannot tell you what an amazing moment it was for this old lady. Because she recounted her childhood and she ..., for her she remembered the kind of pressed ceilings in this kind of house, and the set up of two rooms and a kitchen. And she tried to explain to her grandchildren and her daughter and she was just so emotional, I was so upset, I don't know, she was ... I didn't know how to deal with this. First of all I've never met this woman in my life, and secondly the way she was so emotional. I must tell you she did the most

amazing thing she left, she was going to Durban; and when she came back from Durban, she phoned me, she was a Hindu woman. Hindu celebrates Diwali, and what she has done, she said 'look, I don't have a home in South Africa and we live in a hotel, and today is Diwali, please, I am with my family would you come and have a cup of tea or a meal with us?' and when I arrived at the hotel, she had a little gift for me, it's a very traditional thing that we do among Indians; like it's Diwali or Eid, we will send a tray of sweet mean and biscuits we made to neighbors, she brought this all the way from Durban. I was so touched by this expression.

B: so that was a tradition in Fietas.

R5: yes, so she actually remembered I and she actually still did this. And she brought it all te way from Durban. I was so touched by this gesture; it was really very nice of her. So you know, memory is just amazing and I think as you get old you know ...details of things are going to go away, but somehow some of the nice feelings that memory carries for you is a feeling that nobody can take away, it's just make you feel nice and secure. So you know for me that is probably one of the reasons I do all of this. This memory is just so powerful.

B: you can see it is meaningful to have a museum or a mural as you can see from this old lady.

R5: you know I don't know, you got to have an environment. It's very very important.

B: a finish cannot live without water.

R5: exactly. And you got to have a supporting structure. And unfortunately there isn't a political will for that. And you know this where my reservation comes about. Because I think in the Apartheid South Africa we have to put up with the nationalist government, and in democratic South Africa now we have to deal with inefficiency that you can't believe. So you know, yeah what can you say.

After the war Japan and Germany has the appreciation of value there is a sense of pride for work and preservation to do things. And that is for me what I am thinking is very lacking in this country.

B: there wasn't a revolution.

R5: yes, you saw the aggressive white monitory literately handed over the power to the black majority. While the black majority has just taken over, sure it's a learning curve for them, but there isn't a sense of appreciation because you didn't have to come up from the ashes. You've gone into a system and you implement a system and you change systems whereas I think Japan and Germany, I think because of the war experiences, I have tremendous respect for a strong work ethics. And I do I always wondered about these two countries. And the tenacity to work and to be so productive, I think it's part of their cultural make-up and for me that is sad that we just don't have this.

B: well it's sad that even though there wasn't a war to destroy the infrastructures, but over the years there are decaying, but there are certain things are improving, at least the black majority's situation is changing. Well let's hope things will get better. Thanks you very much for the interview!

APPENDIX 2:

FIETAS URBAN GATEWAYPROJECT

The Fietas/Fordsburg Gateway centers around an extended mural/mosaic to be applied on the embankments of the underpass beneath the railway line, forming a gateway between De La Rey in Pageview and Fordsburg, the Newtown Cultural Precinct and CBD. By the same token, the subway will act as a landmark gateway for people travelling in the opposite direction, as they enter Pageview and Vrededorp from the CBD, Newtown and Fordsburg.

The Fietas Gateway Project will enhance the urban environment; raise the image of the western edge of the apartheid in the 1970s. Artwork will run under two rail-over-road bridges and extend along the length of the surrounding embankments, creating a powerful impression on motorists and pedestrians who pass through this heavily-used entry point to the inner city.

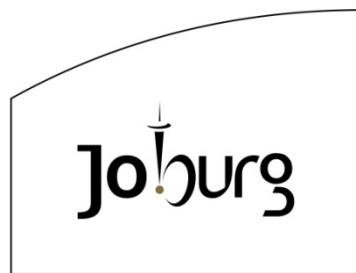
The Fietas Gateway project addresses key city commitments on inner city public spaces:

1. Improving the visual city space
2. Inventing iconic public spaces
3. Activating space through public art
4. Supporting arts and culture production

The project provides for a quality public space which is attractive, interesting and memorable. The site offers an ideal location for developing public space with cultural and heritage

significance linked to the history of the area. It will improve the visual appearance of the inner city, while removing the clutter of inappropriate advertising.

APPENDIX 3:



a world class african city

City of Johannesburg

Arts, Culture & Heritage Services

Contents

1. Introduction	p. 2
2. Legislative Framework	p. 5
3. Why Protect Johannesburg's Heritage?	p. 7
3.1 World Class Heritage	
3.2 Heritage Tourism	
3.3 Adding Value	
4. Heritage in a Changing Urban landscape	p. 11
4.1 Change Management	

4.2 Inner City Revitalisation

5. Heritage Identification, Listing and Research p. 15

5.1 Heritage Research

5.2 Johannesburg Heritage Register

5.3 Assessing cultural significance

6. City-Owned Heritage Resources p. 19

7. Policy Guidelines p. 20

7.1 Heritage Principles

7.2 On Inclusivity and Public Participation

7.3 Sustainable Heritage Management

7.4 Roles and Functions of the Heritage

Management Unit

7.5 Permit Application procedures

7.6 On the demolition of Heritage Structures

7.7 On salvaging Heritage Resources

1. INTRODUCTION

The city of Johannesburg is young by historical standards, having grown from mining camp to metropolis in the space of only a few generations. Johannesburg's recorded history, although short, is full of drama and incident. This history, together with the city's physical stock of heritage buildings and places of significance, represents a rich and varied legacy which is all the more remarkable for such a relative newcomer.

Different themes, stories and traditions contribute to a diverse store of heritage. A pre-colonial history reaching back into the distant past; the world's greatest gold rush; diverse architectural forms which took root on the African veld; and historic struggles against apartheid – all of these contribute to Johannesburg's unique sense of place.

Pre-colonial relics left by Tswana-speaking people from long before the emergence of the modern metropolis have been found scattered across the city, from Klipriviersburg in the south

to Melville Koppies and Lonehill in the north. Later the discovery of the Main Reef attracted people from across the sub-continent and around the globe, giving rise to a fast-growing urban center rooted in its mining legacy.

Buildings in Johannesburg's historic core represent a variety of architectural styles illustrating the city's development over a period of more than 100 years. Johannesburg's progression of architectural ages was highly telescoped, and some sites have been built over many times.

The city's heritage includes impressive public buildings; the signature buildings of Johannesburg's mining and financial giants, and a host of other commercial buildings; churches, mosques, synagogues and temples which served the spiritual needs of a burgeoning population; and a great variety of residential buildings, from the mansions of the Randlords and captains of industry to the modest township houses, shanties and hostels of the working people.

The lure of gold attracted a diverse population, but the law kept people apart, entrenching inequality and dividing black from white. Johannesburg became a crucible of 20th Century oppression and resistance, and the scene of momentous battles against discrimination and racism. M.K. Gandhi, Nelson Mandela and other outstanding figures rose to prominence in course of these upheavals; today, historic buildings and places in Johannesburg still map their journeys towards liberation.

Johannesburg has however been quick to throw off its past, and has been known for the rapidity with which it demolished buildings. The history of Johannesburg has been marked by constant cycles of destruction and rebuilding. Although young for a city of its size and importance, Johannesburg has been rebuilt many times over, with buildings of no great age being demolished to make way for new development.

Oppressive racial policies have also taken their toll on the historic environment. Apartheid destroyed the unique character of multi-racial settlements such as Fietas and Sophiatown in order to clear these areas for exclusive white occupation. Heritage sites in the black townships were also denied official protection, recognition and support.

The cogent remark has been made that while Europe's cultural heritage was destroyed by bombs in the Second World War, Johannesburg has destroyed its own heritage assets through sheer ignorance.

Johannesburg's heritage resources are precious, non-renewable, finite and irreplaceable and must therefore be protected to ensure their survival. To ensure that they are preserved for current and future generations, these assets should be carefully managed in line with best international practice and in compliance with applicable legislation.

The historic environment contributes to an understanding of the impact of the past, and the need to plan critically and creatively for the future. In planning for its future, Johannesburg will need to capitalize on the legacy of its history.

2. Legislative Framework

Local and Provincial governments have a vital role to play in heritage management and has been included as major role players in the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) of 1999. The management of heritage resources is a statutory core function at local government level, with duties deriving from the NHRA.

The Act provides for a three-tier system for heritage resources management:

- The South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) is responsible for heritage resources of special national significance, i.e. Grade 1 heritage resources. SAHRA is required to manage resources on an agency basis when provinces and local government do not have the capacity to look after their own.
- The Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (PHRA) is responsible for heritage resources of significance within the context of a province or region, i.e. Grade 2 heritage resources.
- Local Authorities will be responsible for the identification and management of heritage resources which are of local significance, and other heritage assets worthy of conservation, i.e. Grade 3 heritage resources.

As local authorities will become responsible for the identification and management of heritage resources of local and metropolitan significance, their role in heritage conservation will be crucial. Special local authority consent is also required for any alteration or development affecting sites listed in the provincial heritage register.

Further, a local authority may, by notice in a Provincial Gazette, designate any place as a heritage area on the grounds of its cultural or environmental interest. The NHRA places responsibility for ensuring the effective implementation of this protection mechanism with local authorities. The local authority must provide for a protection of a heritage area through the provisions of its planning scheme, or by- laws under this Act (Section 31(7)). Special local authority consent is required for proposed alterations to or development of a heritage area.

One of the most important provisions of the National Heritage Resources Act is the so-called 60 Year Rule, i.e. Section 34(1) of the Act. This calls for the authorization of any proposed alteration or demolition of structures older than 60 years by the responsible heritage resources authority. The function pertaining to the 60 Year Rule falls within the sphere of provincial competence and is performed in the Gauteng Province by the Provincial Heritage Resources Authority (PHRAG).

The City of Johannesburg's Building Control and Planning functions need to be coordinated with provincial functions with respect to permit applications for these structures which have general protection under the Act and for rezoning applications and erf sub-divisions applications. In practice, this means that, to avoid confusion and a conflict of interests, the processing by the City of applications for properties in this category must be subject to the issuing first of the required permit by the PHRAG.

The NHRA excludes local authorities from becoming heritage resources authorities in Section 2 of the Act. Powers and functions under the Act can however be devolved to the City once it has been declared competent to carry out these responsibilities by the PHRAG. The Provincial Heritage Resources Authority would have to assess the City's capacity in terms of available staff, expertise, experience and administrative systems.

Once the City's competence is established, the PHRAG is required to monitor and coordinate the performance of the local authority in implementing its responsibilities and assist the City to manage heritage resources in its area of jurisdiction. The City of Johannesburg will thus have to establish a heritage management structure not only to execute the powers and functions that are due to be assigned and/or delegated by province, but also to act in the spirit of co-operative government as entrenched in the Constitution.

3. Why Protect Johannesburg's Heritage?

3.1 World Class Heritage

In an increasingly globalised world, only cities with a strong sense of place will stand out and

succeed. Our cultural heritage and physical heritage create a sense of place, promoting local identity in an overall climate of globalisation, and ensuring that a place has historic depth, interest, image and meaning.

World class cities are those which provide high quality and desirable environments which are locally distinct yet globally acceptable. In other words, a sense of place becomes a distinguishing factor for world class status.

Johannesburg's heritage creates a unique sense of place and has a critical role to play in the construction of a World Class African City as envisioned by Council. Key assets from Johannesburg's past provide the makings, in cultural terms, of a world class African City which is at the same time both cosmopolitan and distinctively African. Preservation of these resources becomes imperative if Johannesburg is to have significance of place.

3.2 Heritage Tourism

Cultural tourism is the fastest growing segment of the tourism industry worldwide, offering a valuable source of income and employment. For urban conservation, the value of tourism is both financial and as an impetus for awakening interest and attracting support. Tourism, managed with clear objectives, is a source of finance, both in the promotion of historic places and in encouraging and enabling conservation work.

The re-use of heritage buildings for tourist functions can ensure that historic structures are restored and given a living function. Heritage tourism should thus be welcomed as a means of enabling appreciation of heritage and its safeguarding and continuity for future generations.

Heritage resources could however face the danger of being permanently lost or ruined if tourism is not managed sensitively. International experience shows that irreversible damage can be caused to historic fabric through the capitalisation of heritage for quick profits, heavy foot-traffic through sensitive areas, and hasty or insensitive restoration schemes. While reasonable accommodation should be made for the needs of visitors, the dignity of historic places must be upheld against interventions that may compromise or trivialise the significance of sites.

The interests of local communities including memories and values as well as material needs, is also of prime concern. To avoid raising false expectations, the economic benefits of heritage tourism for local communities should be placed in perspective.

Internationally, heritage tourists tend to visit more places, stay longer and spend more money than other visitors. Such patterns have raised expectations that tourism can deliver economic benefits to historically disadvantaged areas.

This has led to a proliferation of heritage tourism projects in South Africa, and particularly in Johannesburg. If tourists get off the buses and walk the streets of an area, it is argued, they are more likely to spend money that benefits local small business.

Recent experience in Soweto, however, indicates that this is usually only applicable in areas that have a long tradition of tourism and offer a wide range of products and services from which tourists can choose. Despite the successful establishment of a tourism route, in general only a relatively small number of economic activities result directly to the area. The more real economic benefit is through the overall development of the area as a result of renewed interest, confidence and investment.

Heritage tourism projects have been identified in various places including Kliptown, Alexandra, Sophiatown and the Inner City, giving rise to a range of tourism proposals. If these projects are to be sustainable, they will need to be carefully co-ordinated and backed by a business feasibility approach.

3.3 Adding Value

Whereas cultural tourism is not appropriate for all heritage sites (or even most sites), caring for the historical environment offers a range of other economic benefits by encouraging investment, regenerating depressed neighbourhoods and creating jobs.

Heritage is widely acknowledged to have an important potential as a catalyst for development. Johannesburg's heritage resources should therefore be marshalled in support of the City's long-term development goals and 2030 strategy. The challenge is not only to preserve historic resources, but also to use them as positive instruments for growth and change. The overriding mission of the CoJ Heritage Conservation Unit will therefore be to harness and develop Johannesburg's heritage assets in shaping the city's cultural growth and development.

Historic preservation is important in terms of a range of cultural, social and educational benefits. Preservation of the historic environment supports the social and cultural well-being of residents and contributes to civic pride.

But equally, preservation should wherever appropriate also become a vehicle for achieving economic objectives such as growth and development, inner city revitalisation, small business development and provision of housing.

Viewed in purely economic terms, the benefits of historic preservation are considerable, offering

an effective city strategy for addressing development challenges facing Johannesburg on a number of fronts. Preservation strategies can have impact positively in such areas as job creation, housing provision, small business incubation and urban renewal.

Reuse is generally more economical than demolition and redevelopment.

Building rehabilitation is labour-intensive, setting off higher economic multipliers for jobs and investment than new construction or manufacturing. The rehabilitation of historic structures creates a capital asset (the rehabilitated building), which will have an ongoing economic impact through long-term use. This typically leads to a knock-on effect in the area around the rehabilitated building, restoring overall social and business confidence, creating investment opportunities and facilitating sustainable regeneration.

Small business incubation is another major benefit, also important for job creation. Many SMMEs cannot afford to pay the high rents charged in new buildings and office parks. A rehabilitated historic building is often the answer for small businesses, offering quality accommodation at an affordable rent.

The historic environment supports viable communities by creating good quality environments where people prefer to live and work. Many historic properties are suitable for residential accommodation, often located close to jobs and amenities.

For lower income communities, these buildings can offer quality of life combined with affordability and convenience. This growing market has begun to attract private investment to the city centre, as seen in the refurbishment of historical buildings to provide accommodation for lower to middle income earners.

For more affluent homeowners, refurbished heritage buildings near the city centre are also an increasingly attractive option, offering exclusive accommodation with the style and elegance of

a bygone age. This promises to breathe new life into ailing buildings and boost Inner City regeneration.

These conversions are however not without attendant risks. An increase in illegal conversions is of serious concern, with developers by-passing both the City's Building Control and the Provincial Heritage Resources Authority. Inappropriate and shoddy alterations driven by quick profits can cause irreparable damage, detracting from the heritage value of the buildings. Unless controls are exercised, buildings will increasingly be placed at risk.

4. Heritage in a Changing Urban Landscape

4.1 Change Management

Change and adaptation have always been central to Johannesburg's history. To meet development challenges and give vent to its own creative spirit, Johannesburg's post-apartheid urban landscape must continue to change.

The acceptance of change is an essential parameter in heritage management.

Urban management of the historic environment requires:

- Collaborative decision-making involving planning, development and heritage functions at local government level
- Balancing the needs of preservation and development (while recognizing that these are not mutually exclusive)
- Taking up opportunities to leverage development through creative re-use and adaptation of heritage structures and sites

Retaining cultural significance remains a primary objective. When change is being considered, a range of options should be explored in order to seek a course of action which minimizes the reduction of cultural significance. This should be the subject of a consultative process which

affords reasonable consideration to other factors affecting the future of a place, such as the physical condition of the site, environmental constraints and the owner's resources.

A healthy, dynamic city welcomes development including good new buildings, while at the same time drawing from the best elements of its past. The challenge is to strike the right balance between the old and the new, between creation and destruction. This calls for selective, insightful preservation, based on a clear understanding of what must be preserved and why, without trying to claim that all physical remnants matter equally or that everything should be kept and protected.

4.2 Inner City Revitalisation

Development often depends on reinventing existing structures, adapting them to new uses and extending their life expectancy beyond the function for which they were created. This process of adaptive re-use provides is a key to urban renewal generally and downtown revitalisation in particular.

In considering examples of downtown revitalisation from around the world, heritage preservation almost always plays a significant role. So too in Johannesburg, heritage has been at the heart of major projects like Gandhi Square, Constitution Hill, the Main Street Mining Mall and the redevelopment of Drill Hall.

A positive start has been made, but in order to meet challenges still facing the city, renewal efforts will need to be continuously refocused. The rehabilitation of city's building stock, in particular, calls for special attention.

The central areas where Johannesburg was originally established have a unique concentration of historic assets which lie at the core of the city's heritage resource base. The identity of this core area is inseparable from its architectural heritage. Properly managed, this legacy of historic buildings will continue to contribute to the overall image of the city and to the economic

potential of the Inner City.

The greatest single concentration of heritage buildings is in the CBD, with soaring and elaborate structures which survived the mushrooming of the city centre. But older residential districts in the Inner City have a rich heritage which is all their own, with a unique character and identity, supported by buildings of human scale.

To take some examples:

- Fordsburg is one of Johannesburg's oldest suburbs, with traces of early mining communities and the 1922 Rand revolt
- Brixton has a well preserved heritage, with fine examples of the Edwardian style, and also harks back to early working-class life
- Jeppestown, one of the first villages of the original mining town, has some of Johannesburg's oldest surviving buildings dating from the 1890s
- Yeoville is distinguished by outstanding examples of small apartment blocks from the 1930s and 1940s in the Art Deco and Modern Movement styles.

Heritage resources offer dynamic reference points for the renewal of these inner city neighbourhoods:

- By increasing the desirability and value of older neighbourhoods, they hold a key for unlocking the economic potential of these areas
- Local landmarks provide focal points for community development and pride

The Inner City has seen widespread decay, with buildings coming under stress associated with economic decline, poverty, slumlords and squatters. These problems remain very visible in the downtown area, where prominent buildings like the Barbican, Shakespeare House and the Second Trades Hall have been bricked up for many years.

There are however positive signs for reviving the city centre:

- A number of heritage buildings have been identified as problematic, but few if any are beyond redemption.
- Many historic buildings are in a satisfactory state of preservation

- Property values and investor confidence are on the rise.

Problems of stagnation and decay are being addressed on a range of fronts through the Inner City Regeneration Programme, and heritage will need to add value to this.

The conservation of poorly-used and decaying buildings depends on finding compatible new uses. The Better Buildings Programme (BBP), managed by the Johannesburg Property Company, plays a role in reclaiming and rehabilitating run-down buildings. The BBP provides a framework for securing and repairing economically marginal blocks of flats. The programme also provides for ongoing building management, upkeep and maintenance.

JPC is currently identifying “bad buildings” that should be transformed under this process. These include abandoned and derelict buildings, properties where large arrears are owed, and those that are in deplorable state.

Historic buildings have thus far not been singled out for special attention under the Better Buildings Programme. But in order to safeguard their continuity, the BBP should include a focus on buildings of heritage significance which have reached a very poor state. Such buildings should, as befits their value to the city, be identified for priority treatment as “Better Buildings”. JPC should ensure that experts in the field of heritage conservation inform the process.

The City needs to develop a system whereby signs of decay in city buildings are identified timeously before it is too late to save them. This applies to all buildings but in particular to those that may have cultural significance and are protected by the National Heritage Resources Act.

5. Heritage Identification, Listing and Research

5.1 Heritage Research

Research forms the foundation for sound heritage management. It provides the information needed to assess cultural significance, to make sound conservation decisions and to raise awareness of heritage. Researching and understanding the heritage value of a place comes first, then development of policy and finally management of the place in accordance with policy.

There is a need for further research:

- To identify heritage buildings, places and objects for listing
- To prepare conservation plans for listed heritage resources
- To prepare explanatory panels, plaques, publications and promotional material about Johannesburg's heritage

5.2 Johannesburg Heritage Register

Hundreds of potential heritage sites have been identified in Johannesburg, but there is currently no comprehensive and authoritative listing of Johannesburg's heritage. The resulting problems are considerable:

- There is no consistent definition of what constitutes heritage or what is considered significant
- This leads to uncertainty and confusion in the development process, as the city and the owner do not necessarily know if a site should be considered significant.

In an effort to ensure that heritage resources are not lost without an opportunity for further study and negotiation, permits are required from the PHRAG in respect of alterations or demolitions to all structures older than 60 years. The resulting volumes have overstretched the PHRAG's limited resources, leading to bottlenecks and delays and raising questions as to whether the 60 year policy is workable on the current basis.

One way of reducing the load of the PHRAG in having to administer this “safety net” function is through the development of a Johannesburg City Heritage Register, i.e. an official listing of properties identified by Council as having significant heritage value.

The Johannesburg City Heritage Register will provide for greater certainty within the heritage and development communities about what resources constitute the heritage of the city. The register will:

- Identify Johannesburg’s most important heritage resources
- Call attention to properties of historical and architectural merit
- Form the basis for the city’s ongoing heritage programme
- Flag heritage sites on the city’s property information system.
- Inform physical planning and development processes

It is important that owners understand that the city heritage register is not a legal designation under the National Heritage Resources Act, but rather a management tool that offers long-term benefits for heritage conservation. There could however, be implications when the owner is considering re-development. For a register-listed site a building or demolition permit may be delayed or withheld by the city while a heritage impact assessment is prepared for approval by the relevant heritage authorities.

The City Heritage Register will not in itself offer legal protection, but over time legal protection should be sought for all sites listed in the register. These sites will be recommended to the Provincial Heritage Resources Authority: Gauteng (PHRAG), for inclusion in the provincial heritage roll. This will meet the city’s obligation under the NHRA to supply inventories of Johannesburg’s heritage resources to the PRAHG.

The PHRAG is in turn required to compile inventories of all known heritage resources in Gauteng which are considered conservation-worthy, and should involve local authorities in this exercise. Such inventories should ultimately be developed into a comprehensive register of protected heritage resources in the province.

The city heritage register should be regularly monitored and updated, as the identification of heritage buildings and places is an ongoing process. At any particular time the register will reflect the current state of knowledge of Johannesburg's heritage; as that knowledge increases, so too the number of sites on the register may grow.

As a long-term goal, all sites listed on the city heritage register should be documented, as time and resources permit. The first priority should be given to any buildings and structures identified on the heritage register which are threatened with demolition, alteration or neglect, in which case adequate documentation should be undertaken as quickly as possible.

5.3 Assessing Cultural Significance

The Johannesburg City Heritage Register will reflect the wide range of reasons for which heritage buildings and places are valued by communities, including historical and social significance, cultural and spiritual significance, as well as architectural merit.

The assessment of cultural significance should be aligned with Section 3 (3) of the National Heritage resources Act. The chief criteria for listing a building or space in the Johannesburg City Heritage Register comprise:

i). ***Social and Cultural Significance***

For its association with an important social pattern or belief system, and/or the esteem in which it is held by a particular group or community.

ii). ***Historical Significance***

For its historic value in terms of a notable figure, organisation, event or period

iii). ***Archaeological Significance***

For contributing to an understanding of prehistoric remains and early human settlement in Johannesburg

vi). ***Architectural Significance***

For its significance in terms of a particular building type, style, period or architect.

v). ***Aesthetic Significance***

For beauty or use of methods and materials which demonstrate a high degree of creative achievement

vi). ***Scientific and technological Significance***

For scientific, industrial and technical innovations which were remarkable for a particular period, or which inspire and support skills development

vii). ***Group and Relationship Significance***

For its degree of unity in terms of scale, form, materials and other elements in relation to its setting and/or surrounding buildings. This includes streetscapes and heritage areas where the value of the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

viii). ***Landmark Significance***

For its landmark significance in the community consciousness

6. City-Owned Heritage Resources

A large part of Johannesburg's immovable heritage resources are City-owned. These cover a wide range of assets including not only buildings and monuments but also other resources on city lands, such as historic cemeteries, parks and landscape features.

This provides an opportunity for Council to promote Johannesburg's heritage legacy by establishing a stewardship role in the management of cultural resources under the City's direct control. This would also set standards for other owners of heritage properties to follow.

In order to ensure that the value of city-owned heritage resources is appreciated, all City departments require an awareness of and sensitivity to, heritage issues. Heritage awareness should thus be promoted within all city departments, regions and agencies.

As a first step towards sound management of Council's heritage assets, a comprehensive audit should be undertaken. There is as yet no reliable inventory of monuments, statues, buildings, parks and other heritage resources owned by Council, but it is imperative that these be properly recorded for planning, security, insurance and other purposes.

Further, a five point plan should be adopted for dealing with Heritage resources under Council's control and ownership:

1. An ongoing maintenance programme should be instituted for these sites and resources
2. There should be an internal monitoring process for these heritage resources
3. City-owned heritage resources should be restored according to internationally recognised conservation standards
4. The City should erect interpretive plaques and signs at city-owned heritage sites
5. All City-owned sites included on the City Heritage Register should receive, over time, legal protection

7. Policy Guidelines

7.1 Heritage Principles

- i). Johannesburg's heritage resources are unique, finite and irreplaceable and must be conserved for future generations.
- ii). Heritage resources add value to the life and economy of the city and must be integrated into the economic, environmental and spatial planning of the city.

iii). The Council shall promote the role of the historic environment in shaping future economic and cultural development development, and in reinforcing a sense of place.

iv). The Council shall adopt and promote nationally and internationally accepted principles for the conservation of places of cultural significance as set out in the Burra Charter of 1999.

v).The Burra Charter requires a cautious approach to the management of cultural sites: do as much as necessary to care for the place and to make it usable, but otherwise change it as little as possible so that its cultural significance is retained. The charter sets out the need to:

- Understand the significance of heritage places
- Ensure that an understanding of their significance guides decisions
- Retain the cultural significance of the place by doing as much as necessary to preserve their fabric but as little as possible to alter it.
- Keep records of what we do.

vi). Conservation principles must be applied with insight and vision, bearing in mind that not all cultural resources matter equally and not everything that is merely old can be retained. A clear distinction should be drawn between those heritage resources which must be preserved because of their special significance, and those of more limited cultural value which may be changed and developed.

7.2 On Inclusivity and Public Participation

i). Council will ensure that the definition of heritage is inclusive, multi-faceted and open. Respect will be shown for the memories and heritage of all those who live in Johannesburg and participate in the life of the city.

ii). Communities will be encouraged to participate in identifying and managing heritage resources. To this end, Council shall promote greater awareness and appreciation of the historic environment.

7.3 Sustainable Heritage Management

- i). Heritage management shall be in accordance with sound financial principles and good governance. Council has a duty to provide adequate funding for sustainable conservation, and such provision for heritage will be managed within the reality of available resources, finance and capacity within Council.
- ii). Economics and use shall be included as important parameters in decision-making around heritage resources
- iii). Sound maintenance principles, when applied to heritage, provides the most cost-effective form of conservation
- iv). The best conservation often involves the least work and can be inexpensive.

7.4 Roles and functions of the Heritage Management Unit

The City's Heritage Management Unit shall:

- i). Carry out an ongoing programme for identifying, listing and researching heritage resources throughout the Johannesburg metropolitan area.
- ii). Coordinate an integrated approach to heritage resources across city departments.
- iii). Manage the integration of heritage management in the economic, environmental and spatial planning of the city.
- iv). Cooperate and liaise with South African Heritage resources Agency (SAHRA) and the Provincial Heritage Resources Authority: Gauteng (PHRAG) regarding the protection of the city's heritage resources
- v). Perform functions arising from the NHRA to support the protection of heritage areas, sites, buildings and other elements which reflect the city's history

vi). Promote awareness of the value of heritage resources and the economic virtues of preservation and re-use

7.5 Permit Application Procedures

- i) The city shall adopt a clear, consistent, unprejudiced and uniform approach to permit applications involving potential heritage sites.
- ii) When a building, listed as a heritage structure, and which is owned by the City of Johannesburg or in which the City has a vested interest, is the subject of an application to demolish or alter it, the officials of the Council shall refer the application to the PHRAG for consideration.
- iii) Procedures for applications shall support the requirements of the National Heritage Resources Act and ensure certainty on the part of City and the applicant.

7.6 On the Demolition of Heritage Structures

- i). Demolitions of heritage buildings and structures can only be justified where the loss or damage to cultural property is unavoidable, minor or otherwise acceptable in the light of expected project benefits, and only subject to approval by the relevant heritage authority.
- ii). Documentation shall be undertaken prior to the demolition of any building listed on the Johannesburg City Heritage Register.

7.7 On Salvaging of Heritage Resources

- i). Where demolition cannot be prevented, or where a catastrophic event has occurred, salvage

procedures should be undertaken. In such cases, architectural and other artefacts may be incorporated in the City's museum collections, be relocated to an appropriate site or recycled for use in other projects.

ii). Salvage of significant artefacts may be negotiated as a condition of development.

APPENDIX 4: CONSENT FORMS FOR AUDIO TAPING OF PROCEEDING OF FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

This research is seeking to understand how the collective memory of Fietas is constructed through the mural project present in the discourse of Fietas community members. This research will be conducted by Binjun Hu, who is Masters student of heritage studies at the University of Witwatersrand in 2013. Binjun Hu is conducting this research as part of the requirements to obtain her degree.

By signing on the dotted line below, you are agreeing to the following:

-to allow the researcher to make a recording these proceedings onto an audio tape

The researcher promises to keep the identities of all participants confidential should they so wish. The purpose of audio tape is to allow the researcher more detailed analysis and explanation of the information gained during the focus group interviews.

Name: _____

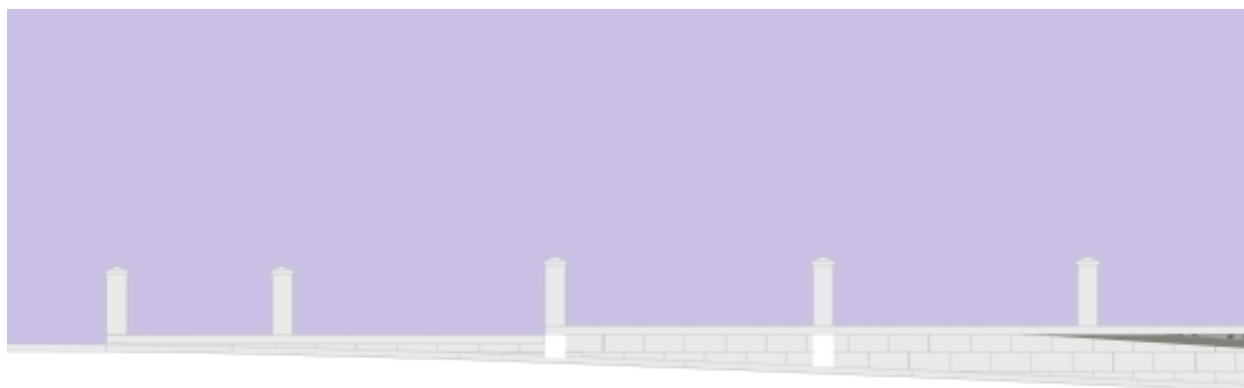
Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX 5:

The Subway Artwork Fietas and Fordsburg Links Souvenir Programme



Public Art Launch
20 February 2011

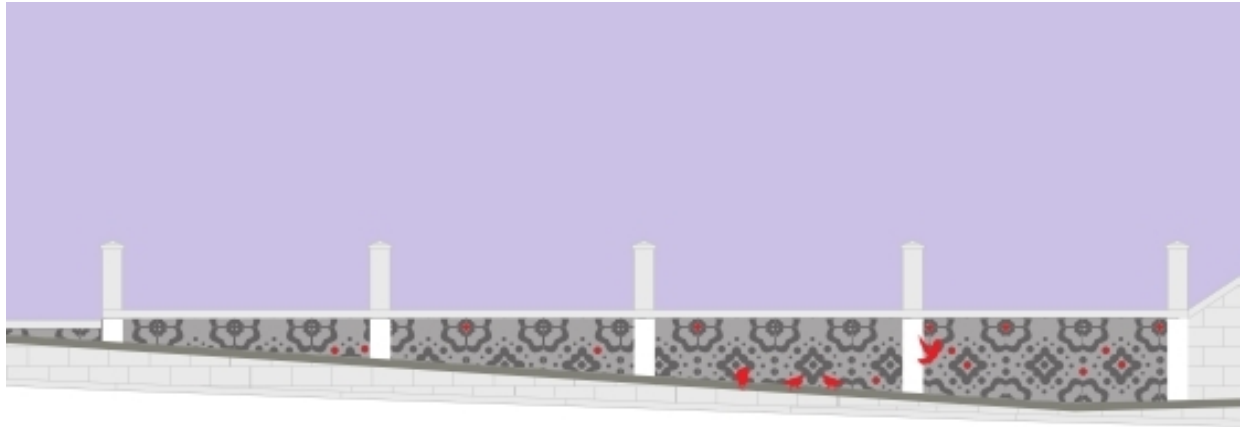


Programme

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. Subway celebration | Joburg Carnival Troupe |
| 2. Welcome | Clr. Boeta Rajah
Chairperson: Inner City Committee |
| 3. Fietas Voices | Junior Jacobs
Zulekha Mamdoo
Ntate Modimokwane
Dr Abdulla Nana |
| 4. Mzansi Africa Delight | Moving Into Dance Mophatong |
| 5. Keynote Address | Clr. Bafana Sithole
MMC: Community Development |
| 6. Vote of Thanks | Mr. M.H. Patel |
| 7. Unveiling of Plaque | Clr. Bafana Sithole |
| 8. Artists' walkabout | Rookeya Gardee
Bronwyn Lace
Reg Pakari |
| 9. Refreshments | |

Program Director: Steven Sack, Director: Arts Culture and Heritage





Project Overview & Introduction

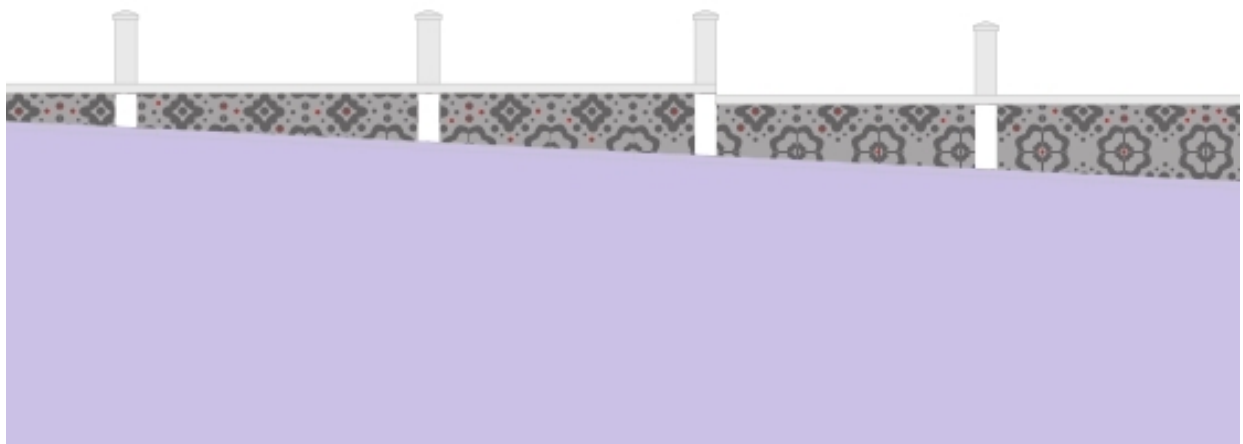
Legend has it that some time in the late 1800s, a truck laden with mining explosives accidentally blew up, causing a depression. This prompted the development of the subway which linked Fordsburg and Fietas and generations of their peoples.

For the people of Fietas, the subway led to schools, clinics, bioscopes, eating houses, dance halls and places of work in Fordsburg. Similarly for the people of Fordsburg, the subway was the passage to mosques, churches, bioscopes, shebeens, sports at Queenspark grounds and shopping on De la Rey and 14th Streets.

Children who walked the subway with their mothers, came to walk it in hand with their children, who walked it in hand with their children. A space that passaged lives within its frame, telling stories of pranks, fights, fears, rivalry, spirits and romance.

Then Fietas was destroyed and Fordsburg forced into decline. No more lives to passage, but a rich store of memory.

In 2003, as part of The Fietas Festival, graphic artist Reg Pakari led a team of young people, the children of Fietas and Fordsburg forebears, in painting a large mural on one of the walls of the subway. This was a brave initiative under conditions of scant resources. It was time for the subway to begin to speak, releasing its store of memory.



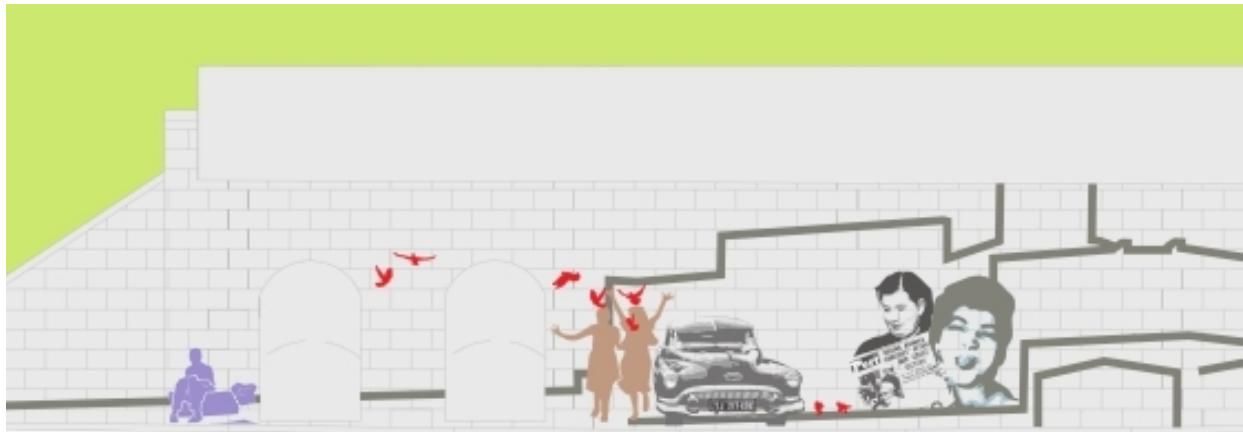
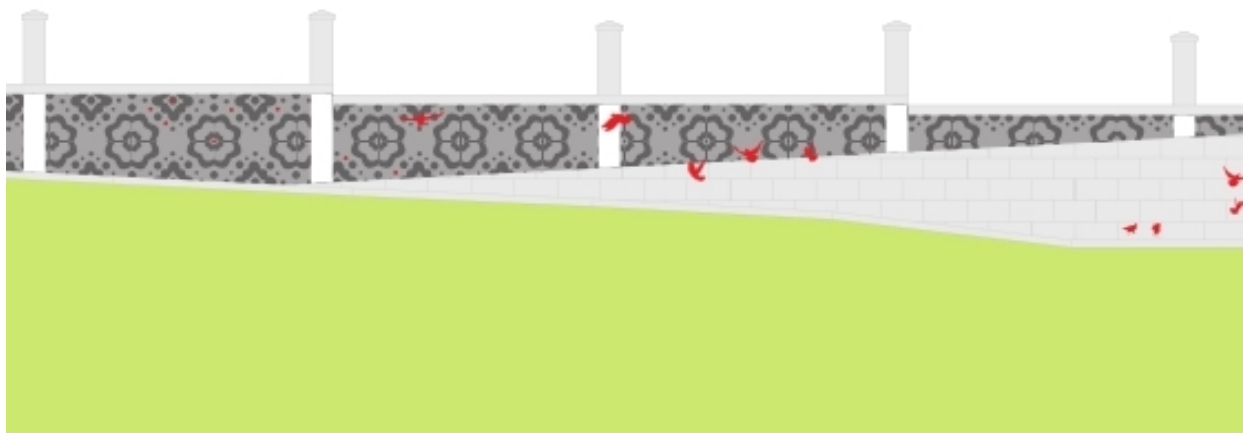
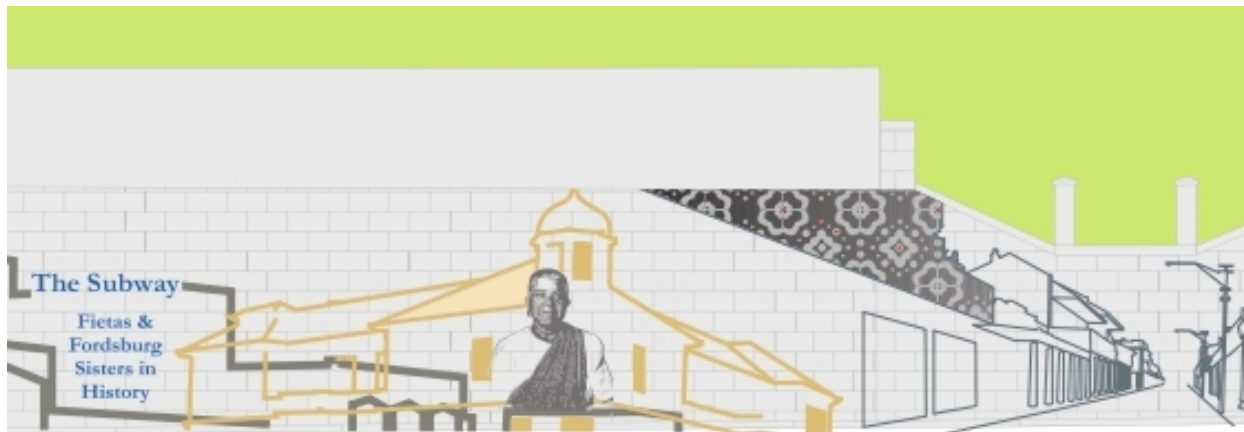


Image courtesy of Rodanya Gardie

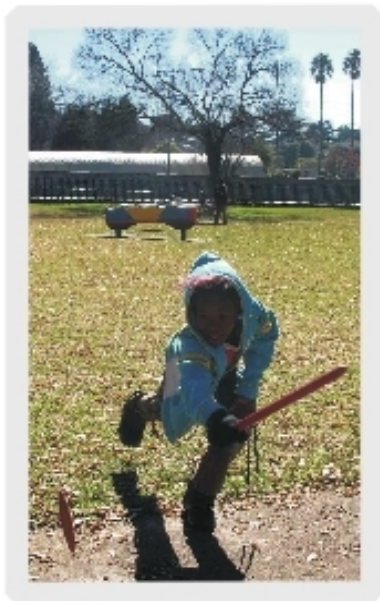
More recently, in affirmation of the meaning of the space, the City of Johannesburg through the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) commissioned a public artwork in the subway. And now the subway sings - of trams, Fat Harry, Dolly Rathebe, Avalon Bioscope, Kennetjie, 3 tins, 18th Street, lang-arm and, in the motif of the wallpaper that graced the living room of the Dokrat family, disembodied from the ruin of the home that still stands on 20th Street, the beauty of lives lived and now reconnected.

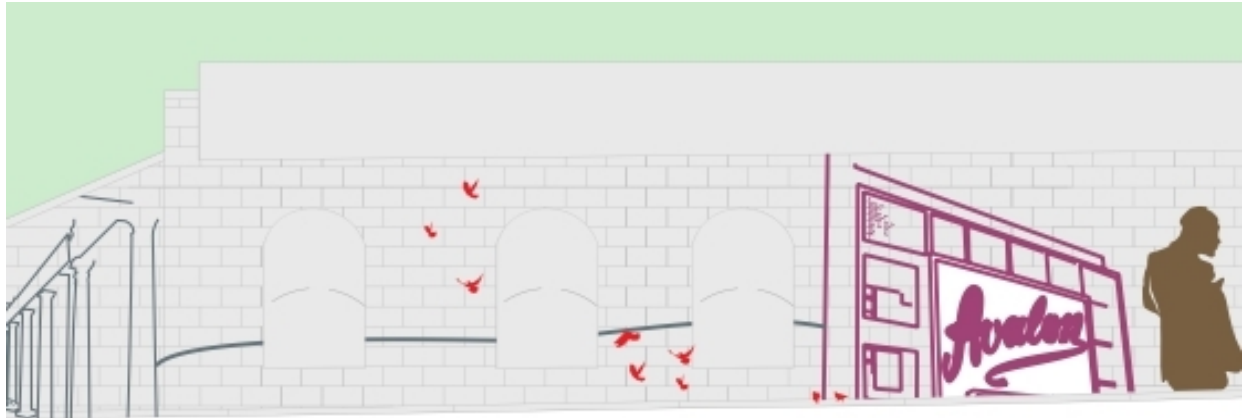
The consortium of The Trinity Session and 26'10 South Architects, in consultation with Feizel Mamdoo, were awarded the tender of the public art commissioning agent for the subway artwork as part of the Pageview / Vrededorp / Fordsburg urban upgrade by the JDA. The process of commissioning an artwork began with a community consultation programme, during which artists living or working in the areas were publicly invited to participate. A strong collaborative approach developed between artists and community members during this process, resulting in the framework





for conceptualising a suitable design for the artwork. Following approval by the Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage, the Johannesburg Development Agency and the commissioning agents, three artists who came forward out of the consultation process were awarded the commission. The design, which continued to be shaped by input from the community throughout all stages of development, was publicly exhibited and commented on by people from the area.





Community Engagement

In gathering stories and information about the subway, the commissioning agents and the artists hosted several discussions with people living and working in Fordsburg, Vrededorp, Pageview, Lenasia, Eldorado Park and Soweto. Through children's games days and kite flying, a specifically designed exhibition, questionnaires, The Fordsburg newspaper, East Wave community radio station and door-to-door visits, the research allowed people to tell stories of their memories of Fietas and the subway, show photos and make suggestions towards some of the design ideas.





Artwork Detail – comments by the artists

✂ We arranged to have a games day where present-day children from Phutaditjhaba in Pageview played games that were played by children back-in-the-day in Fietas; kennetjie, skipping and three-tins. It was a kind of deliberate cross-wiring of time and space. Rookeya, who was once one of the children from back-in-the-day had a kennetjie set made and brought three tins and a ball. We bought some rope from a hardware store that would be used for skipping and with the help of Baba Zulu, the oldest resident at Phutaditjhaba, we walked to the park. Traced silhouettes of photos taken on the day have been used as part of the design - *Reg Pakari*

✂ One of our community meetings invited current shop owners from the Oriental Plaza to share their stories with us.



Image courtesy of Rookeya Gurdar



Image courtesy of Mr Samjee



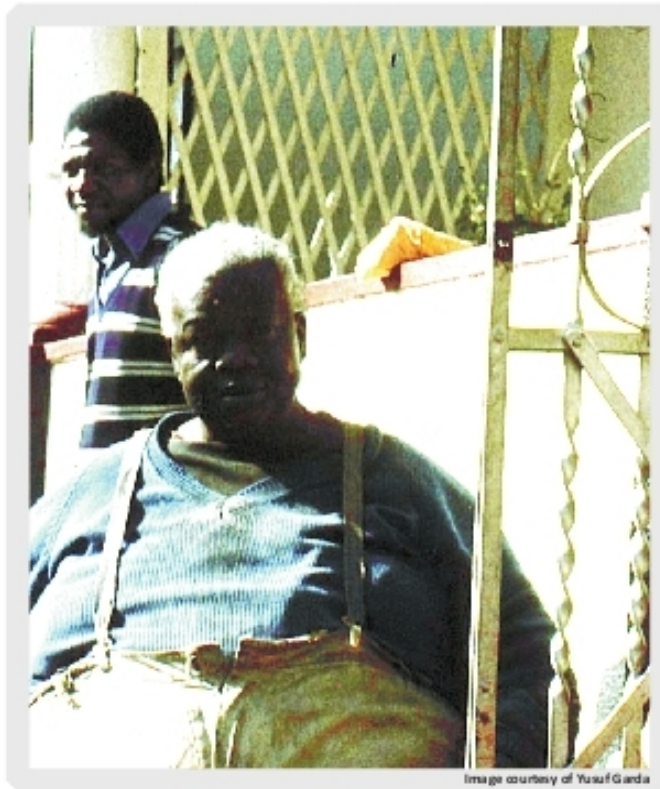
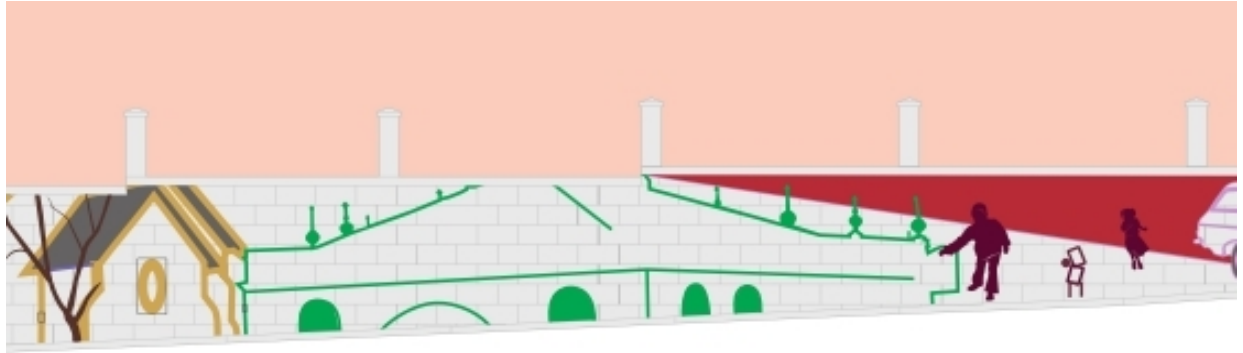
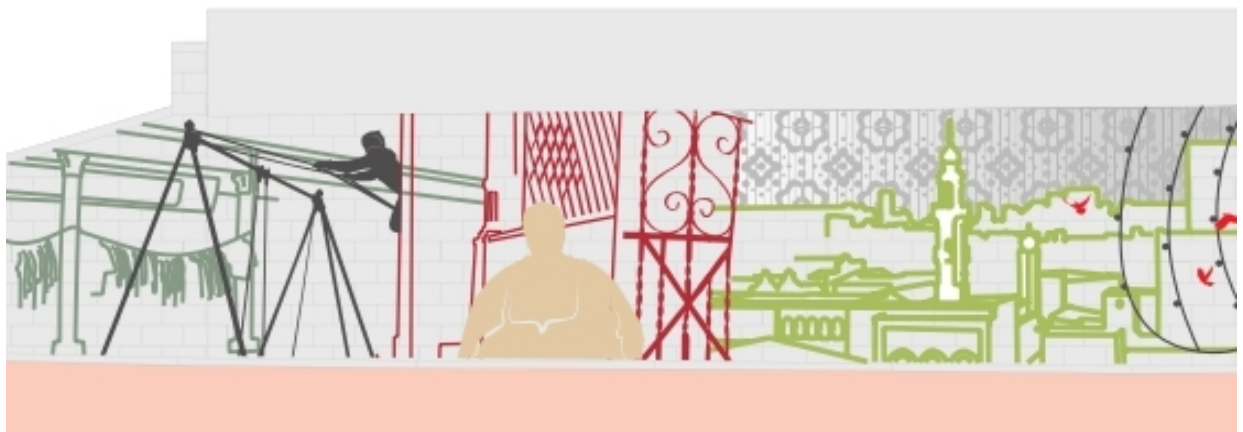
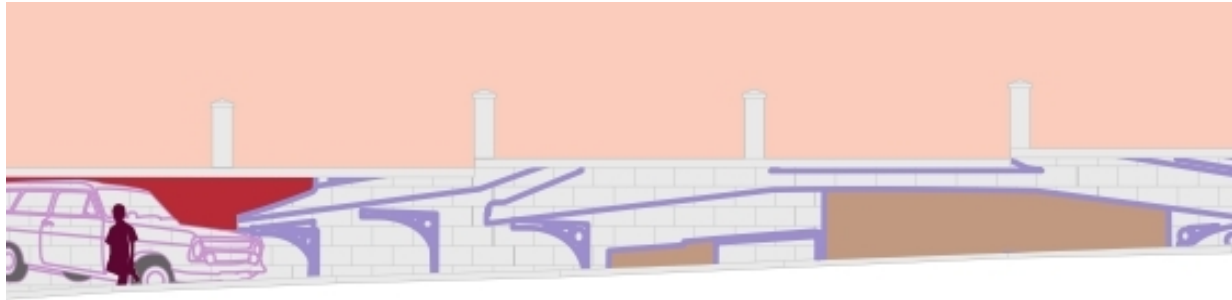


Image courtesy of Yusuf Garda

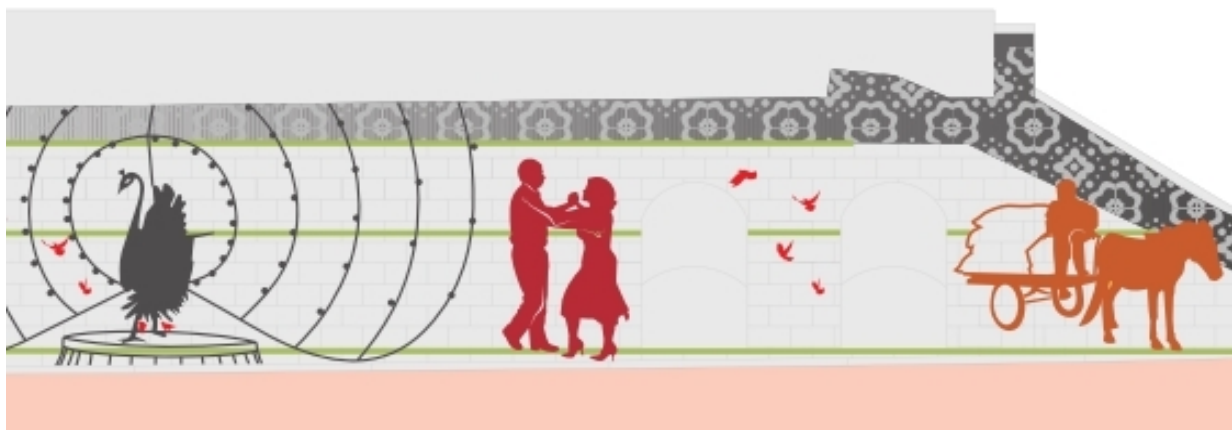
When asked about his memories of Fietas, Yusuf Garda responded by reciting the first stanza of 'A Tale of Two Cities'. We found this to be a beautifully profound and accurate way of describing the area we were getting to know. We discovered shortly after this that in 1975 Yusuf had used a 35mm camera to document much of what was happening around him, both the destruction of Fietas as well as the wonder of the everyday. We used a number of Yusuf's images to inform our design, one in particular is that of Harry the Fat Man, a character well known to Fietas; behind Harry is a typically ornate security gate from that time and place -
Bronwyn Lace

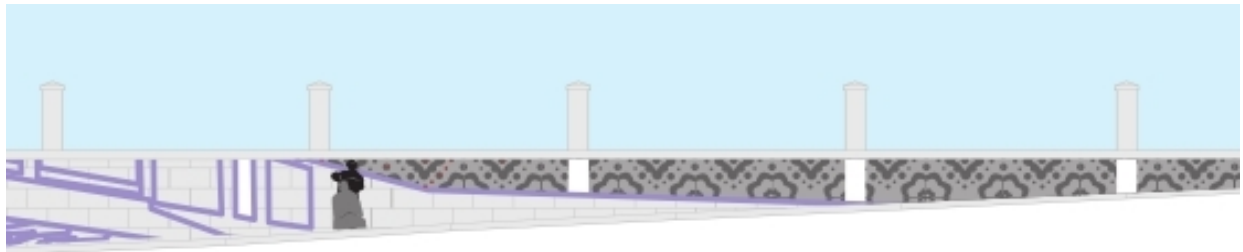




📌 Top 10 wall features by Rookeya Gardee

1. The Newtown Mosque: Gandhi visited the mosque, where he burnt passes in protest against the Pass Law.
2. The 15th Street Mosque: The Mosque on 15th Street was the first mosque in the area, and was built by the Malay community.
3. Two girls with pigeons: Based on an old family photograph taken by Rookeya. One of the girls is her daughter, who is now a grown woman living in Fordsburg with her own family.
4. The pigeons: Flocks of pigeons have always been a feature in Fordsburg.
5. The wallpaper: Wallpaper was popular with Fietas residents in the 1950s and 1970s.
6. The architecture: Rookeya took pictures of a number of significant buildings and houses in the area. The resulting designs are silhouette, abstract versions of the structures, emphasising the most distinctive outlines of these buildings.
7. The police officer: The subway was a hotspot for run-ins with the police, as it linked a number of different areas and therefore had great volumes of pedestrian traffic as people walked to and from work each day.
8. Avalon: Avalon was a hugely popular "bioscope", as it provided a form of entertainment (besides dancing and social gatherings) accessible to non-whites from this area.
9. The Cape Dutch gables: This architectural feature pays tribute to the Malay immigrants who first settled in Fietas.
10. The dancing couple: People frequented The Springbok Hall in Fordsburg which was a popular venue for lang-arm, ball room dancing and special occasions.





Production and Final Installation

Production on site started in 2009, and was completed in November 2010. The treatment includes sandblasting of concrete surfaces, plastering, painting, sign-writing and laser-cut steel elements mounted onto the walls.

Interesting facts:

With a total surface area covering 1,538m/sq, this is one of the biggest artworks in Johannesburg to date.

Each of the walls is 126m long

A 100m-long hosepipe was used to get water on site.

The total weight of the laser-cut steel elements comes to two tons

Steel elements were painted 16 different colours.

Seventeen different colours were used to paint the walls

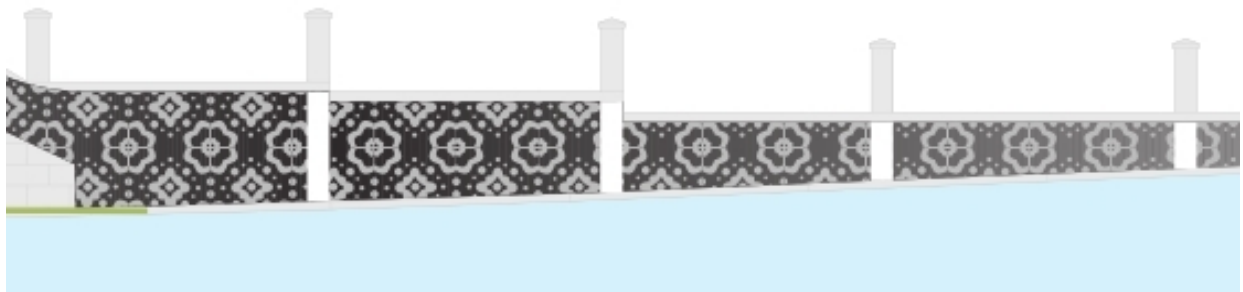
The sign-writing elements cover a total area of 378m/sq.

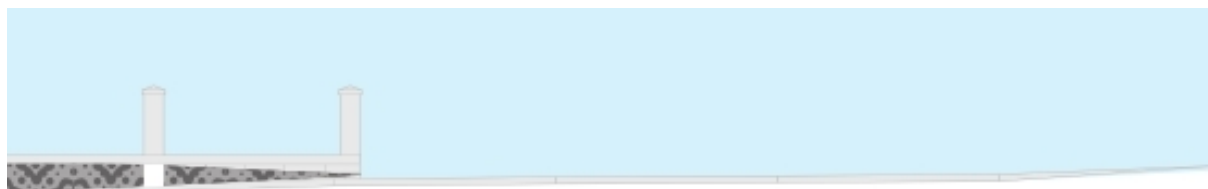
Stencilled areas cover 250m/sq of wall surface

Sandblasted areas cover a total of 982m/sq.

A total of 48 reflectors are embedded at various points in the artwork

Nearly 1000 drill-bits were used to drill the hundreds of holes needed to mount the steel elements and reflectors.





Acknowledgements

Rookeya Gardee was born in Fietas on 22nd street and has spent most of her life there. She has an incredible network of family and friends from the area and from the areas to which people were removed. Her knowledge and stories are invaluable, as is her unique and culturally informed artistic ability and aesthetic.

As a young graphic designer living in Lenasia, **Reg Pakari** was involved in the first Fietas Festival where he helped organise a community 'paint by numbers' mural on the subway wall. Reg's design capabilities along with his interest in the community and his history with the site made him an obvious choice.

Bronwyn Lace is a practicing installation and performance artist often working in community engaged processes. Much of her work is informed by engagement with communities across South Africa. Bronwyn had also been working with an artist's studio situated in Fordsburg for 5 years, and over that time become more and more interested and involved in connecting with the community of Fordsburg, Pageview and Vrededorp.

A special thank you to the Fietas and Fordsburg community members for their open generosity and stories, The Trinity Session, 26'10 South Architects, The Fietas Festival, Bié CC and Whack Design, without whom this artwork would not have been realised.

During the event David Tlakhanye of Imperial Toyota Fordsburg provided parking for guests.

The authors have attempted to be as accurate as possible and are sincerely apologetic for any omissions and inaccuracies.

26'10
SOUTH
ARCHITECTS



the trinity session

