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Assessing heritage preservation in post-apartheid urban landscapes: insights from the street names of Newtown

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Assessing heritage preservation in post-apartheid urban landscapes: Insights from the street names of Newtown.



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DECLARATION

I, **Shylet Nyamwanza** hereby declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the MSc degree in Development Planning to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.



…….. 31 October 2019

Signature Date

ABSTRACT

The use of heritage-led urban development to promote sustainable urban regeneration through place making, preservation of urban identity, promoting tourism and nurturing creative economic development is growing (Ebbe, 2009). One of the goals of street naming in South Africa is heritage preservation (Ndletyana, 2012). Ever since street renaming unfolded in South Africa some places are still dealing with tensions and debates regarding the goals of renaming (Chauke, 2015). Whilst most studies have investigated name origins, and driving forces behind street renaming, what is missing is an academic account of the citizens' narratives and interpretations behind these names. This study assessed how people interpret street names in Newtown, Johannesburg through face to face interviews, archival research as well as observations. The aim was to assess people's urban memory and investigate whether they share the same perceptions with the government of preserving heritage through street names. The study revealed that street renaming coupled with selective criteria for preserving heritage and limited awareness programs may not be the best way to preserve heritage. According to the respondents' concerns, the way the renaming was conducted, influenced its insignificant contribution to heritage preservation, specifically intangible heritage. Furthermore, channelling resources to street renaming frustrates citizens when a country has other challenges like high unemployment rates, inadequate housing and high poverty levels. The study suggested several recommendations to enhance heritage preservation through street naming.

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Above all, I thank God for strengthening me and granting me the power to overcome challenges.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
DA	Democratic Alliance
EAHTR	European Association of Historic Towns and Regions
GGNC	Gauteng Geographical Names Committee
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
JDA	Johannesburg Development Agency
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
NHT	Newtown Heritage Trail
NMD	Newtown Management District
NPNC	National Place Names Committee
PWHT	Parktown & Westcliff Heritage Trust
SAGNC	South African Geographical Names Council
SMRG	Social Media Research Group
TCA	Thematic Content Analysis
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNGEGN	United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO LOCALITY NAMING

1.1 Introduction and background

Place or locality naming or renaming foreground is gaining significant attention in contemporary urban development (Madden, 2017). Historically, place names were a subfield of linguistics, but emerging literature now examines place naming as part of spatial planning affairs (Rose-redwood et al., 2010). Some scholars emphasize that names only serve the purpose of locality or identification on earth and nothing else (Haggett,1979). However, I support that names carry a meaning with them, they are not just mere tags (Chauke 2015). The unrecorded history of an area can be gleaned through the study of place names (Smith,1971). Place names can be used in urban planning to chronicle the history and heritage of a place thereby reinforcing heritage-led urban development (Abramowicz and Dacewicz, 2010).

The toponyms (place names) and odonyms (street names) of some countries were customised by colonisers, where they would get rid of the indigenous names to replace them with names that represented their identities, culture and ideologies (Manatsha, 2014). This implies that the colonial names enabled colonisers to develop an aggregate settler memory and instilled a sense of collective identity. It presented a quest to shape geographic connectedness of the colonisers' missions, origins and philosophies. The demise of colonisation in some countries led to various socio-political changes and amongst these changes, has been the renaming of entities or toponymy adjustment (Alderman and Inwood, 2013). This suggests that political elites within states may use toponymic processes like commemorative street naming, to wipe away traces of previous political regimes and advance new notions of identity and memory. Thus, place and street renaming can be an affirmation of African political regime dominance and ownership of the newly liberated urban spaces (Raento and Watson, 2000). For instance the name 'Zimbabwe', replaced 'Southern Rhodesia' (Bopda, 2001) which symbolises the historical greatness of the Shona homeland and its archaeological site called 'Great Zimbabwe'. Other postcolonial societies outside Africa also changed names: In Vietnam Saigon changed to Ho Chi Minh City; n Indonesia Batavia changed to Jakarta; and in India Bombay changed to Mumbai (Guyot and Seethal, 2007).

In Johannesburg and in particular Newtown, a lot of places, organisations, businesses and spaces have been branded using African names (afro-branding) in order to attract customers (Sihlongonyane,2008). Places like Newtown and companies like Cell C have Afro-branded

themselves by using celebrities like Miriam Makeba, Ntemi Piliso, Kippies Moeketsi and artists in streets and adverts. It is also noted that in the post-1994 South Africa, Afro-branding is used as part of rhetoric to inform companies' brand identity while other entities use it "as part of their poignant illustration of their sympathies and association with the new political class" (Sihlongonyane,2008).

South Africa's names were influenced to some extent by the ruling parties of both the apartheid and post-apartheid governments (Guyot and Seethal, 2007). This also suggests that South Africa might have drawn its inspiration from other post-colonial states. One significant element of the apartheid era in South Africa was the use of colonial names on streets, towns, cities, dams, rivers, game reserves, roads and buildings (Chauke, 2015). For example, many roads, buildings, airports and dams were named after the Nationalist Party leaders such as J Smuts, B Schoeman, J Strijdom, D Malan, L Botha, P Sauer and H Verwoerd (Jenkins et al., 1996). After gaining independence in 1994 the South African government embarked on a program to rename places and streets in honour of its political activists and artists (Duminy, 2014). It followed the reconstitution of the National Place Names Committee (NPNC), in 1998 into the South Africa Geographical Names Council (SAGNC) (Department of Arts and Culture 1998) and the issuing of new guidelines: Handbook on Geographical Names (Department of Arts and Culture 2002). According to the Handbook the aims of renaming were to eliminate duplication; rectify orthographic errors; accord official recognition to place names commonly used by residents; and to sensitise toponyms to South Africa's democratic values and diverse history. Moreover international conventions, passed under the aegis of the United Nations, also imposed their own requirements on South African toponymy. They called for a reduction of oxynyms (names of international cities that are replicated in many other countries), compliance of names to the orthographic rules of the national language, and the recognition of indigenous names by which locals refer to their communities (Ndletyana, 2012). As part of a comprehensive strategy throughout South Africa, the City of Johannesburg changed various streets' names including Newtown streets. According to the Mayor of the City of Johannesburg in 2015, "The aim of street renaming in Johannesburg was to increase identification and historical significance through public place names……," (Areff, 2015). Furthermore, the city of Cape Town's renaming committee of 2012 shared the same sentiments when the chairperson emphasized that naming is a powerful instrument and city place markers should exhibit history (Herron, 2012).

Mushati (2013) articulates that post-independence urban landscapes form part of an important storehouse of memory that enables the authorship of nations' conceptions in relation to the past. Helleland, Ore and Wikstrøm (2012) also support that place names can incite feelings and shared identities attached to the name origins. In my own perception, this means that memories can be evoked, even if the person is not necessarily located on the exact place where the experience or incident occurred. These memories, reflections or evocations constituted by individuals' experiences within a place, because of its history and social environment form part of what is known as the urban memory (Ayatac and Araz, 2016). This urban memory forms part of intangible heritage which was given preservation precedence at the 2003 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Convention on Safeguarding Intangible Heritage (Blake, 2009). Therefore, the proposed study assesses whether the historical landscape that is embedded in the street names of Newtown, means anything to the street users by examining the urban memory of citizens.

1.2 Problem statement

Ever since place and street renaming was actively pursued in South Africa some cities are still dealing with tensions and debates regarding the goals of renaming (Forrest, 2018). According to Ndletyana (2012) street renaming opposition groups surfaced, opposing the renaming process through protests and legal contestations. From the ongoing dialogues, African National Congress (ANC) politicians always stress that the goal of commemorative renaming is to preserve history and maintain solidarity in the country (Ndletyana, 2012). Opposing parties suspect that the goal is to perpetuate the propaganda of ANC cadres, whilst some feel that the whole renaming process aims to discriminate and disregard certain races in South Africa (Areff, 2016). For instance, the proposal by the Minister of Arts and Culture, Nathi Mthethwa to rename South Africa to Azania was perceived with opposing perceptions and emotional dialogues (Hans, 2017). Koopman (2007) refers to the "toponymic warfare" in the case of place names of Durban, South Africa which resulted in a protracted renaming legal process (Supreme Court of Appeal, 2011). Koopman (2007) further argues that the coming to power of the ANC in 1994 spearheaded the radical renaming of streets throughout the country. He further iterates that the process has been engulfed by political controversy and conflict (Koopman, 2007). Furthermore, Areff (2016) examines the debates among government officials in 2012 regarding the renaming of Pretoria streets which ended up in court. Some officials agreed that the proposed names would enhance historical significance and heal citizens from the painful

apartheid memories (Areff, 2016). However, some officials felt that it was better to keep both the old and new names because both have historic and emotional connections to each group of the society.

In view of the issues highlighted above, Chauke (2015) remarks that such tensions suggest that the geographical names of South Africa constitute a sensitive and emotional subject in the history of South African urban settlements. Chauke's remark is consistent with the goal of this study to understand the thoughts evoked by these names. The study assesses how the general public interprets these street names. The assessment is conducted through the lenses of heritage preservation, specifically intangible heritage which encompasses folklore, urban memory, oral history, traditions, language, and indigenous knowledge (Nora, 1989). In this case, street names are the source of urban memory. The heritage preservation assessment was chosen because most of the renaming aims indicated earlier relate to heritage preservation. In addition the main aim of South African street renaming was heritage preservation according to the ANC government which spear headed the process (Duminy, 2014). Furthermore, heritage preservation has become one of the major forces of urban revitalisation in worldwide city planning (Lauder, 2017). The next sections also reveal how urban revitalisation through heritage preservation has played a part towards the establishment of Newtown cultural precinct. Through examining the thoughts evoked by street names, the study gauges whether the new street names are really serving their intended purpose. The study assesses how street naming captures heritage preservation in an area which was designated as a cultural precinct in early 2000, through the government's culture-led urban regeneration approach to turn around Johannesburg's inner-city degeneration (Shand, 2010).

1.3 Significance of the study

UNESCO has contributed immensely on how to define heritage and how it should be preserved (Lauder, 2017). To progressively conserve heritage towards a sustainable future, it is vital to recognise and retain both tangible and intangible socio-cultural values (Ardakani and Oloonabadi, 2011). The concept of passing on heritage through oral history suggests that heritage can be created and preserved in a multiplicity of ways besides the monumental and the spectacular (Roux, 2009). Furthermore Deacon (2004) acknowledges the existence of intangible heritage and its association with place meanings.

In light of the above, the proposed study fills the knowledge gap of evaluating intangible heritage preservation looking at the history behind the street names in the post-apartheid landscape of Newtown. Are the street names evoking anything to the citizens? Furthermore, some authors like Kemm (2014) and Shanahan (2018) have posed the same question, asking what constitutes a street name? Roux (2009) also argues that memory may contest official history as much as it shapes it thereby influencing the ways in which people remember and speak about the past. Locality names can be linked with a nation's heritage in three ways (Lauder, 2017). Firstly, names can provide information about cultural settings of the period when they were coined thereby embodying memories, and this can serve as historical documentation; secondly, names can be part of the local language which enhances local identity; thirdly, they represent a link between communities and their environment (Helleland, 2006). Out of these three links by Helleland (2006), the first one which ties locality names with memories is consistent with the current study, where memories behind street names are examined.

1.5 Aim of the study

The study examines the urban memory of citizens to assess whether street names preserve heritage in Newtown.

1.6 Objectives of the study

There were five objectives of this study that was conducted in Newtown. In short the study investigated the street naming process; determined citizens' knowledge on the history behind street names; explored memories incited by the street names; investigated citizens' perceptions on post-apartheid street renaming and lastly determined whether street naming contributes to heritage preservation. Heritage preservation is very important as it is being used to catalyse urban regeneration and place making globally (EAHTR, 2007). Urban memory was assessed because it is one form of intangible heritage, whilst street names were selected because they constitute sites of urban memory. Furthermore, the issue of geographical names is a sensitive subject to some people in the South African history of urban settlements (Chauke, 2015).

1.7 Research questions

The research answered the following questions:

- Does the urban memory of citizens reflect how street names are preserving heritage in Newtown?

In order to further explore how street naming is influencing the urban memory of citizens, the following supporting questions are answered:

- How is the street naming process conducted in Newtown?
- Which memories are elicited by the previous and current street names in Newtown?
- What do citizens know about the history behind street names?
- What is the perception of the citizens regarding post-apartheid street renaming by the government of South Africa?
- To what extent is street naming contributing to heritage preservation?

1.8 The study area

Newtown is located to the western side of Johannesburg inner city. The Newtown Cultural Precinct extends from the railway lines and Kazerne yards to the northern direction, towards Dolly Rathebe Street in the south, Quinn Street to the west and Ntemi Piliso Street to the eastern direction. The northbound M1 freeway is the division between Newtown and Fordsburg in the west, whilst the railway lines to the north divide Newtown and Braamfontein. Both Albertina Sisulu Street and the Johannesburg Central Police Station form the border with Ferreira's Town in the southern boundary (Shand, 2010). The Nelson Mandela Bridge is often referred to as the gateway to Newtown from the northern direction. Please refer to Figure 1.1 at the end of this section for the Newtown map.

Newtown is a mixed-use area. It houses tourist attractions, heritage landmarks, entertainment centres, restaurants, cultural organisations, residential areas and shopping malls (NMD, 2010). Newtown was often referred to by youths as the place where it all happens before Maboneng Precinct emerged (Sihlongonyane, 2018). Some of Newtown's infrastructure features on South Africa's prominent films, reality shows and soapies. There is evidence that suggests that Newtown's history influenced Johannesburg's culture-led urban regeneration strategies (NMD, 2011). There is also a high proportion of students who reside in Newtown, because of its proximity to University of Witwatersrand and University of Johannesburg. The upgrading of existing buildings and recreational spaces have transformed Newtown into an environment where you can live, study, work and entertain yourself. According to the 2011 Census, Newtown has a population of 2505 (StatsSA, 2011).

The Newtown Cultural Precinct was identified among Gauteng Provincial government's strategies to address Johannesburg inner city degeneration in 1997 (Shand, 2010). It was a

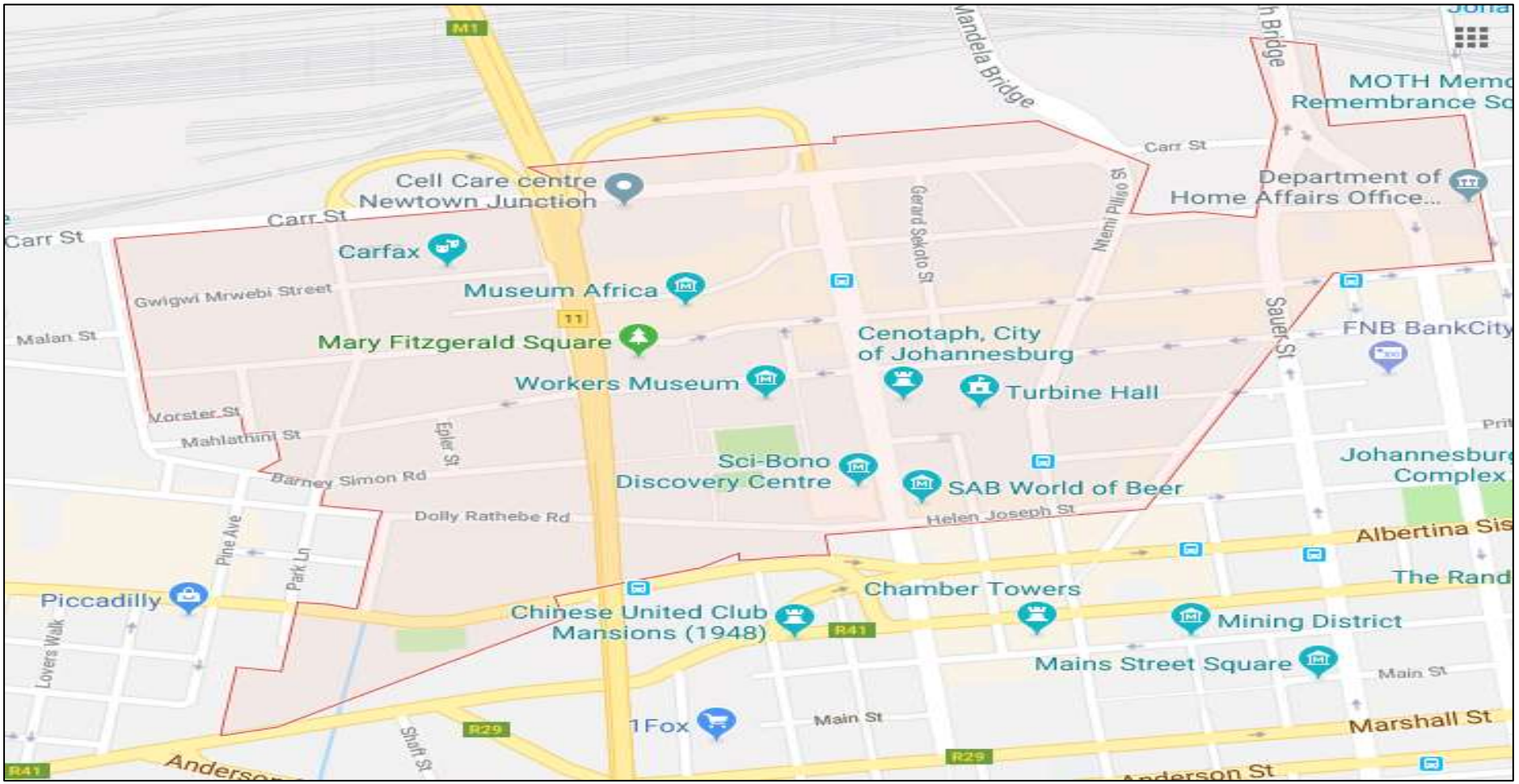
culture-led urban regeneration approach (Shand, 2010). “Equally for urban planners and policy makers, there is recognition that cultural heritage can become a focal point for regenerating derelict neighbourhoods or reinventing a whole city’s sense of place” (Bradford,2004). Spiropoulos (2010) believes Newtown was identified as a cultural precinct because at that time there was, firstly, a nominal clustering of arts and cultural enterprises and venues in Newtown, secondly, the inner city was a priority urban renewal area for the City and, thirdly, the development of cultural precincts was very fashionable as an urban renewal strategy, globally. Some of Newtown’s key attractions include the Market Theatre, SAB World of Beer, Dance Factory and the Bassline (Newtown Heritage Trail, 2018). Newtown cultural precinct also houses a number of activities for dance, music, art, photography and crafts. The renaming of Newtown’s streets supports the cultural precinct goals, although it still forms part of the broader strategy of the government to change toponyms towards embracing identity and historical significance. Some of the streets which were renamed in Newtown include Becker Street which was changed to Gerard Sekoto Street, Minaar Street to Mahlathini Street and Bezuidenhout Street to Miriam Makeba (Gaule, 2005).

Furthermore, history outlines that during the apartheid period, Newtown was among the few places in the country where people from different races could share a stage and mixed audiences could watch plays in the same space due to a by-law stating that different races could mix because of the zoning of the original market (Shand, 2010). As a result, the Market Theatre was well known for producing plays with a strong anti-apartheid stance. This suggests why more cultural organisations mushroomed during that time with a similar goal of using culture and heritage to fight oppression. From 1976 to 1994, Newtown was a site of multi-culturalism, activism, struggle, hope and creative activity (Stedman, 2003). Therefore, Newtown is synonymous with South Africa’s fight for freedom and hence its symbolic value is strong. According to Stedman (2003) a sense of place is more than its physical features; it arises from the interaction of the individuals within a space to such an extent that eventually that place becomes imbued with meaning. The emotional investment made by anti-apartheid cultural activists and others for over nearly two decades, remains critical in Newtown (Shand, 2010). There is tremendous emotion and feeling towards Newtown by politicians, city officials, artists, and Johannesburg’s citizens which contributed to why Newtown was selected as a cultural precinct. The preservation of Newtown’s heritage is not only in the restoration and reuse of its beautiful buildings, heritage can be in the form of airbrushed history (Krige, 2010). Although

there has been an emphasis on preserving the old buildings that remain in Newtown there have also been efforts to tell the difficult stories (Shand, 2010). For instance, the Workers' Museum pays tribute to stories of migrant workers in southern Africa. This is in line with the South African National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 which emphasises a shift away from historic infrastructure being the only reflections of heritage.

Based on the above discussion, Newtown was deemed fit for the study to assess how its citizens perceive the history behind the icons which were used to name streets. The study brings in the lenses of oral history to feed into the existing supporting heritage structure. Figure 1.1 illustrates the Newtown precinct.

Figure 1.1: Newtown precinct



Source: Google maps (2018). Retrieved at https://www.google.co.za/maps/place/Newtown,+Johannesburg,+2001/@-26.2028757,28.0238572,15z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x1e950ea6f39bcf15:0xf256e7339cb3aa5b!8m2!3d-26.2025006!4d28.0317826

1.9 Structure of the report

This report is organised into five chapters outlined in the following manner:

Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter of the research report. It gives a brief background of the study, study area and what the research is about. It also highlights the significance of the study by outlining the existing situation around geographic names in South Africa and how this is related to heritage preservation.

Chapter 2 is a review of literature on concepts that tie up the study of assessing heritage preservation through street names. Concepts like heritage preservation, urban regeneration, intangible heritage, geographic names and street renaming are discussed. At the end of the section, the main concepts of the study are illustrated diagrammatically in the form of a conceptual framework.

Chapter 3 discusses the research methodology. This includes the data collection procedures, instruments used, sampling procedure, data analysis tools, ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

Chapter 4 is the presentation and discussion of the case study and findings. The first section contextualises the Newtown in terms of its historic background drawing from the Johannesburg urban regeneration projects. It also gives the character of Newtown and how the spaces are being currently used. The second section presents the findings to assess whether street naming contributes to heritage preservation in Newtown from the 38 interviews conducted, social media extracts and photographs captured during the data collection process. A thematic approach is used to present and discuss findings under four themes namely: Understanding the street renaming process conducted in Newtown; Respondents' knowledge on the icons behind the street names and Newtown as a cultural precinct; Respondents' memories incited by the previous and current street names; and Overall perceptions regarding the street renaming process in Newtown.

Chapter 5 provides an overview of the study, suggests recommendations, proposes areas for future research and concludes the report.

CHAPTER 2: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE LINKING STREET NAMING AND HERITAGE PRESERVATION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses literature on heritage preservation, urban regeneration, intangible heritage, geographic names and specifically narrows down to street renaming in South Africa. In this section I try to illustrate the link between heritage preservation and urban memory. I explain how urban memory fits into heritage in the form of intangible heritage. In addition, I describe how street names can be sites of urban memory. At the end of the section I present a conceptual framework which illustrates my concepts and how the study explores the link between heritage preservation and street names.

2.2 Heritage preservation and its importance in urban planning

Heritage preservation encompasses the protection of sites and structures that reflect components of local, national cultural, economic, social, political, archaeological and architectural history (Aurigi, 2006). Heritage preservation enhances sustainable development when generations are responsible for future generations by conserving physical and cultural heritage (Ardakania and Oloonabadia, 2011). The development of conservation principles in the second half of the 20th century has been regarded as significant internationally. The most significant guideline was the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, commonly known as the Venice Charter 1964, which set a remarkable benchmark for principles governing architectural conservation and restoration. Since its adoption internationally in 1964, the Venice Charter has been used as a reference point for the development of a number of other conservation documents around the world. Its guidelines were adopted mainly by international organisations, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization(UNESCO) with the main objective of protecting heritage.

UNESCO categorizes heritage into three categories namely tangible, intangible and natural heritage (UNESCO, 2003). Tangible heritage consists of immovable objects (e.g., traditional buildings, historic city centers, and archaeological sites); movable objects (e.g., paintings, sculpture, coins, and manuscripts); and underwater elements (e.g., shipwrecks); natural heritage encompasses natural sites with cultural aspects such as cultural landscapes and physical, biological, or geological formations; intangible heritage consists of oral traditions, performing arts, rituals, knowledge, and skills (UNESCO, 2003:13). UNESCO terminology

has remained unaltered. However, for the purpose of inscribing heritage on the World Heritage List the terminology was shifted from ‘Cultural Heritage’ to ‘Cultural Properties’ and ‘Natural Heritage’ to ‘Natural Properties’.

Since the adoption of the Venice Charter in 1964, there have been many conservation guidelines in the form of charters, recommendations and resolutions that have been introduced and adopted by international organisations such as UNESCO to define heritage. Although the scope of heritage, in general, is now agreed internationally to include ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’ as well as ‘environments’, the finer terminology of ‘heritage’ has not been streamlined or standardised, and thus no uniformity exists amongst countries. There exists differences of interpretation of defining heritage and as yet no generally agreed definition exists. While both UNESCO and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS agreed in principle that the scope of heritage should cover both cultural and natural heritage, the term ‘cultural heritage’, which includes monuments, groups of buildings and sites, has not been followed at national levels. Australia refers to its heritage as ‘place, cultural significance and fabric’, Canada refers to ‘material culture, geographic environments and human environments’, New Zealand to ‘place’, and China to ‘immovable physical remains’, to name a few (Ahmad, 2006). The increasing global importance of cultural heritage instruments and the ever-expanding scope of the term and the areas in which it is used require a workable definition of the nature of the cultural heritage. Each such expansion introduces more complex issues concerning the nature of cultural heritage and the construction of cultural identity than were apparent in earlier developments in this field (Blake, 2000). The danger therefore exists of creating future international instruments which extend the range of the term without having settled on a clear understanding of its meaning as employed in existing texts.

Heritage preservation protects a community's history and makes it available to future generations (Mushati, 2013). As a result, the maintenance of historic resources fosters civic beauty and strengthens community pride (Eskeland, 2001). The process of shaping heritage is undertaken consciously or unconsciously by many different agencies, including urban planners, managers and political decision makers (European Association of Historic Towns and Regions, 2007).

Heritage can be conserved for several purposes as well as policy goals (Pendlebury and Porfyriou, 2017). One of the most frequent overt mobilizations of heritage that has developed

over recent decades is its use as a catalyst in urban regeneration (EAHTR, 2007:) The instrumental use of heritage in urban regeneration is becoming a global phenomenon which is often linked to the process of 'place-making' (Ebbe, 2009). Place making encompasses establishing attractive physical locales as part of the backdrop of successful social space and, more critically, to be synonymous with place-branding (Porfyriou and Sepe, 2017).

Investing in heritage preservation provides an important link between sustainable development and some traditional notions of urban regeneration (EAHTR, 2007). The investment in a city's historic fabric, its buildings and spaces help to secure physical, cultural and economic regeneration in that city (Pendlebury and Porfyriou, 2017). According to Ebbe (2009:8) such development should be characterised by the place's own unique culture and character to:

- Initiate lasting improvements in cities which will benefit not only existing but future generations;
- Integrate economic, social and physical development to improve quality of life;
- Achieve the highest standards of design both aesthetically and in terms of energy efficiency;
- Focus on strong civic leadership processes, including those of creative partnerships, vision, management and community participation.

2.2.1 Heritage preservation and place branding

Improving the heritage conservation is not only important for preserving its historic significance, but also important towards increasing income-earning opportunities, city competitiveness and city liveability through heritage conservative public spaces (Ebbe, 2009). By preserving their heritage, cities can create a unique sense of place and singular urban landscapes, developing strong branding and conditions to attract investors. In addition, improving a city's self-image and identity through recognition of heritage assets has been shown to increase civic pride and energize communities to actively address a wide range of development and livelihood issues (Scheffler et al., 2007:2).

Heritage preservation is very important in today's rapidly urbanizing cities, with uncontrolled growth posing a significant risk for irreplaceable heritage resources (Guzman, Roders and Colenbrander, 2014). For instance, developers can exert pressure to demolish heritage buildings in favour of compact developments which are efficient (Pendlebury and Porfyriou, 2017). This means that development can occur in a manner that has negative impacts on

traditional cityscapes. This is common because municipalities prioritise basic service delivery which makes investment in heritage conservation a low priority (Cedernil, 2013).

Therefore, it is increasingly important to explore interventions that include heritage conservation elements because of the potential contributions to urban regeneration and economic development. One of the most highly visible links between heritage conservation and local economic development lies in the potential for heritage assets to attract tourism investment (Cedernil, 2013). In short this means that conservation of heritage supports urban revitalization by preserving city liveability, increasing city competitiveness, and creating income-earning opportunities. It is important to retain both tangible and intangible heritage (Ardakani and Oloonabadi, 2011).

2.3 Intangible Heritage

The Venice Charter of 1964 provided a significant guideline focusing more on heritage preservation. The Charter helped to broaden the concept of historic buildings, the application of modern technology in conservation works, international cooperation and has provided a set of principles for the protection of architectural heritage and sites. The affirmation of the Western-rooted idea of cultural heritage was conceived as embodied in the material products of arts and architecture thereby preventing the immaterial portion of culture from emerging . However, over time, the scope of heritage has now broadened from a concern for physical heritage such as historic monuments and buildings to non-physical heritage known as intangible heritage.

On 15 November 1989 the UNESCO General Conference adopted an international legal instrument on intangible heritage, which was the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore (RSTCF). The RSTCF was restrictive in scope because ‘folklore’ is just a section of intangible heritage. In 1994 UNESCO launched the *Living Human Treasures.* Its aim was to encourage member states to officially recognise talented tradition bearers and craftspeople who possess high degrees of indigenous knowledge and skills to promote the transmission of their knowledge. The importance of intangible heritage was reemphasised by UNESCO when it adopted a convention in 2003 that helped to protect intangible cultural heritage, which it defined as: practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills, instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated with communities, groups and individuals. However, there is evidence that suggests that even before

UNESCO intervened, some countries had already set laws for the preservation of their intangible culture. The first state to introduce legislation for the conservation of intangible culture was Japan with its 1950s Cultural Properties Protection Law. The law identified important cultural properties which were called the living national treasures. After that, other nations including United States, Thailand, South Korea, Poland, and the Philippines also created their programs.

The current study focuses on intangible heritage which encompasses folklore, urban memory, oral history, traditions, language, and indigenous knowledge (Nora, 1989). Recognising intangible heritage is acknowledging the importance of immateriality and orality in preserving heritage (Vecco, 2010). Intangible heritage consists of narratives, rituals, knowledge and skills with the following characteristics:

- It is transmitted from generation to generation; It is constantly recreated by communities and groups, in response to their environment, their interaction with nature, and their history;
- Provides communities and groups with a sense of identity and continuity;
- Promotes respect for cultural diversity and human creativity;
- complies with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, and of sustainable development (UNESCO, 2003).

According to Munjeri (2004), there is a point of convergence occurs whereby the existence of intangible heritage enables a better interpretation of tangible heritage. The current study concentrates on the preservation of intangible heritage, in the form of narratives behind the icons between the old street names and the new street names of Newtown by assessing whether street names influence the memory of citizens. Deacon (2004) also acknowledges that intangible heritage contains meanings that are associated with places and objects. The South African National Heritage Resources Act (1999) acknowledges that intangible heritage needs to be identified and protected. Therefore, exploring the memories behind the street names in Newtown feeds into the goals of the South African National Heritage Act, as well as reinforcing the goal broader goal of South Africa's street renaming process.

2.4 Urban memory as a form of intangible heritage

Urban memory is one form of intangible heritage which encompasses the reminiscence that is constituted by individuals' experiences within a place through its historic and social

environment (Postalci, Ada and Eren, 2006). It encompasses reflections and evocations constituted in individuals through sites or realms of memory. The realms or sites of urban memory include street names, monuments, symbols, commemorative sites, architectural order, street names, civic spaces, and historic conservation (Eskeland, 2001). Factors which influence urban memory include changes in socio-economic and political environments amongst others (Alderman, 2002). Furthermore, Postalci,Ada and Eren (2006) coined the term "new urban memory" referring to memories that are detached from their places of occurrence. This means that an object can elicit a memory which occurred far away from where the object is currently located. This "new urban memory" concept is very important to this study because not all the icons behind street names in Newtown lived and made history in Newtown. Therefore, it is possible that the study might reveal the memories outside Newtown, although they would have been elicited through Newtown street names. Other factors include personal life stages, city's past, education and neighbourhood context (Alba, 2012). Additionally Belanger (2002) and Mowla (2004) remark that products of urban memory usually favour a certain population. Normally, privileged groups are typically in a better position than others to propose their memory as the predominant urban memory.

The current study examines how some of these factors influence the urban memory of Newtown citizens. For instance, looking at how personal life stages, education, the city's history and neighbourhoods influence how citizens remember the history behind street names, especially considering that Newtown is a mixture of races, students, pensioners, born-frees (generation born after a country's transition to democracy) and those who experienced the apartheid regime. Therefore, they might have different and interesting perceptions regarding the history behind street names based on their experiences. Ardakania and Oloonabadia (2011) divide urban memory into two forms i.e. individual and collective. Individual memory becomes collective memory if a series of events is collectively remembered by a group of people (Lewicka, 2008). In short, both individual and collective urban memory are sources of intangible heritage. This is because urban memory becomes a means of linking generations through heritage by revealing places where events unfolded, the present and the future mental dimensions of places (Ardakania and Oloonabadia, 2011).

2.5 Meanings of street names

The French historian, Pierre Nora's work on sites of memories is very influential on asserting how street names form part sites of urban memory (Denis, 2016). Social interpretations of the

past are constituted through the construction of 'lieux de memoire' (sites of memory: physical and non-material) (Nora, 1989). Furthermore, there is a relationship between memory and space. For instance, a street name can indicate how the public wishes to remember a certain personality or event thereby giving the street an element of intangible heritage with regards to urban memory (Hebbert, 2005).

Street naming is an important and contentious commemorative practice that used to be previously ignored by spatial planners (Azaryhau, 1997). The naming of streets after historical figures and events is an important part of modern culture because it not only provides spatial orientation to cities but also participates in the naturalization or legitimatization of a selective vision of the past (Azaryhau,1997). These street names do not only celebrate and commemorate great figures but they also provoke the active participation of those icons in history (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000). The seemingly ordinary and practical nature of street names makes the past "tangible and intimately familiar" (Alderman, 2002:101). This means that named streets can be powerful memorial spaces which inscribe a commemorative message in several facets of daily life through road signs, phone-book listings, road maps, giving of directions and advertising billboards.

A report from United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) stipulated that it is important that street names refer to the history of the country or the city, its memories, the flora and fauna in its environment (Gammeltoft, Frani, and Blake, 2015). This means that the attribution of names can be an act of homage or recognition for the great personalities that have marked the history of a place as well as of persons with a global impact through their work (Gammeltoft, Frani, and Blake, 2015). This means that street names can aid as historical archives of landscape dynamics.

Although traditional onomastics treats place names as units that denote a specific spatial entity, recent studies proved that that they are also used for accomplishing social tasks (Vuolteenaho and Ainiala, 2009). Azaryahu (1997) contends that the study of street names draws attention to both power relations and ideological considerations that perpetuate street naming as a contested spatial practice. To support his argument, Azaryahu (1997:481) further claims that the French Revolution was a major political development which "set an example for the use of streets and squares for purposes of political representation."

Most African countries share a history of resistance to colonialism's oppression (Machaba, 2004). Pan-Africanism is an anti-imperialist utopia that sought to rally African nations to confront imperialism by propagating a shared African identity (Mushati, 2013). Toponymy further gave African countries a Pan-Africanist appearance (Pieterse, 2008). Post-apartheid street naming is therefore a fundamental aspect of rebranding cityscapes within a broader nationalist discourse that encompasses a Pan-Africanist agenda (Chung, 2007). This means that street names can act as sites of memories for the restitution of justice for reputational politics, spatial scales of memory, symbols of ethnic diversity and unity (Wanjiru and Matsubara, 2016).

Chabata (2012) conducted a study on feature names and identity using Zimbabwe as a case study. He focuses on the role played by place names in defining Zimbabwe, both as a physical entity and as a community with its own history. The author discusses how the bestowal of commemorative names on Zimbabwean features has been used to concretise the Zimbabwean people's links with their country's history. The study showed that most names express the name-givers' desire to create group consciousness through using semantically and symbolically loaded names (Chabata, 2012). This group consciousness is necessary for the achievement of a common objective that may be religious, cultural, historical or picturesque (Chabata, 2012). Furthermore, the study suggested a possibility of exploring how people express their emotional attachment to their surroundings. The section of Chabata's study that is of importance to the current study, is where he explores the concept of commemorative locality naming in remembrance of prominent people in society. For instance, Chabata (2012) articulates how most colonial street names which were symbols of colonisation were replaced by names of legendary figures who had distinguished themselves during the two liberation wars of Zimbabwe. For example, he refers to the streets of Harare where street names such as Livingstone, Charter and Rhodes have been replaced with those of Zimbabwe's celebrated war heroes and heroines like Robert Mugabe, Herbert Chitepo, Mbuya Nehanda and Josiah Tongogara. However, his study did not investigate how citizens interpret these street names. The current study is different from Chabata's study because it assesses the citizens interpretations of street names.

From previous studies one can safely conclude that the power of naming places great value on the messages communicated through names. The current study focuses on street names, specifically commemorative street naming in Newtown.

2.6 Street naming in South Africa

The promulgation of the South African Geographical Names Council Act No. 118 of 1998 initiated the street renaming process (Kumalo, 2014). According to the Act, the South African Geographical Names Council (SAGNC) is an advisory body appointed by the Minister of Arts and Culture to deal with naming entities. Therefore, this means SAGNC is the supreme authority and jurisdiction on the geographical names of South Africa. One of the Act's goals when it was established was to re-write the history of the South Africa from apartheid to a democratic society. The country embarked upon the geographical renaming strategy because it was convinced that this would bring healing and reconciliation in a country that was emerging from a painful and divided past (Kumalo, 2014). It might also have drawn its inspiration from other post-colonial states highlighted in section 1.1 which were renaming entities.

The SAGNC replaced the National Place Names Committee (NPNC), which was appointed in 1940 by the then Minister of Education, Arts and Science (Chauke, 2015). The SAGNC is also responsible for facilitating the establishment of provincial geographical names committees such as the Gauteng Geographical Names Committee (GGNC) which advises local authorities and works with them to ensure they apply the principles of the SAGNC. According to the South African Geographical Names Council Act No. 118 of 1998, the following renaming guidelines inform SAGNC:

- The renaming process and principles governing and justifying the types of names to be renamed should be clear;
- The whole process should be managed and implemented by local municipalities and names should be submitted to a/ the committee appointed by the council;
- Some geographical names in South Africa have to change;
- Proposed names must be drawn from across political, cultural and religious lines;
- Proposals for name changes must be community driven, in a bottom-up approach.

The South African National Heritage Resources Act (1999) acknowledges that intangible heritage needs to be identified and protected. This falls in line with the South African Geographical Names Council which recognises political, cultural and religious lines on street names. The preamble of Johannesburg's street and public places naming policy of 2001 outlines that names of streets and public places fulfil a dual function i.e. a cultural role in terms of the meanings and associations they convey; and a practical role in terms of their locational

function. The policy further stresses that place names in Johannesburg should reflect rich histories, diverse heritage, cultural identities and natural resources of areas. Furthermore, it postulates that the place names touch people's lives on many levels, building community/neighbourhood identity, and contributing to the creation of places that residents and users can relate to and take pride in. Are the street names touching the lives of people in any way as the policy stipulates or people just view the street names as locality markers?

2.7 Previous studies on citizens' responses towards locality renaming process in South Africa

There is limited literature which specifically focuses on citizens' responses towards street renaming in South Africa. Most studies focus on investigating the place renaming processes as well as the political forces behind the renaming process. For instance, Ndletyana (2012) investigated the unevenness of renaming in South Africa since 1994. He was making comparisons on how geographic names were changed across different cities based on progress up to now and the quantity of renamed places. He concluded that the renaming process in South Africa is uneven, such that other parts of the country lack reminders or carriers of indigenous memory.

A section of Ndletyana's study which is of importance to this study is when he briefly reviews newspaper articles' public responses towards locality renaming. He outlines that locality renaming responses vary based on how people's memories are incited. He further articulates that these variations stem from different policies pursued by those in authority which exert different influences on the population. His evidence was based on cursory print media surveys in newspaper articles which reported protests by citizens emanating from locality renaming. For instance, Ndletyana (2012) refers to a newspaper article during the period when Pretoria was renamed to Tshwane. Pretoria's white residents protested: One group even hoisted a placard purportedly deciphering the meaning of each letter in the new name Tshwane as follows:

"T aking
S tealing
H ijacking
W hite's
A ssets
N ames
E quities" (Sunday Times Metro 2005, p. 1)

Ndletyana (2012) believes that the aforementioned placard, objecting to Pretoria being renamed Tshwane, reaffirms the essence of thoughts and meanings incited by geographic names, i.e. that they embody one's history. After the protests, debates and court orders the government eventually declared that the city would remain Pretoria, while the metropolitan area would be known as Tshwane (Ndletyana, 2012). I feel that the study did not adequately address all the responses towards the renaming of Pretoria. This is because he only articulated how the white citizens responded to the renaming process. Furthermore, it was just based on the newspaper reports only. I think it would have been more comprehensive if newspaper articles were substantiated with empirical data collection methods among all races to clearly understand how all races felt about the renaming process. The current study addresses that through conducting surveys and hear first-hand information from a diverse population on the ground using Newtown streets as a case study. Ndletyana (2012) further highlights that geographic name changes in Gauteng province have mostly been directed at streets, especially in Johannesburg's cultural precinct of Newtown. He believes that an overt association with the unpleasant memory of apartheid pushed for street renaming in Johannesburg. However, his study did not discuss how citizens responded to these street name changes, and the current study addresses that.

Another study by Kumalo (2014) examines the monumentalizing and the renaming of street names in the city of Durban as a contested terrain between politics and religion. The study showed that the implementation process was dominated by political organizations with minimal participation by other civil society groups. For instance the DA was opposed to some of the names that the ANC used. The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) felt that their own history was being undermined by the ANC which was removing names of IFP leaders and replacing them with names of ANC activists. Furthermore there was no evidence of rigorous attempts to bring on board civil society groups like religious groups and others.

A section of Kumalo's study which is very important to the current study, is where he articulates how some members of society felt alienated from the renaming process thereby responding through protests. The alienated groups wrote in protest in papers against the renaming process and accused the ruling party of dominating the process (Kumalo, 2014). A coalition of opposition parties held marches in the city protesting against this domination and alienation. There were intense disagreements on the fairness of the process and the ANC was accused of taking advantage of the process to preserve its own history and to distribute party favours to its members (Kumalo, 2014). The image below illustrates some of the new street names which were being rejected.

Figure 2.1. An image showing Durban residents' objections through defacing the new street signs in 2008.

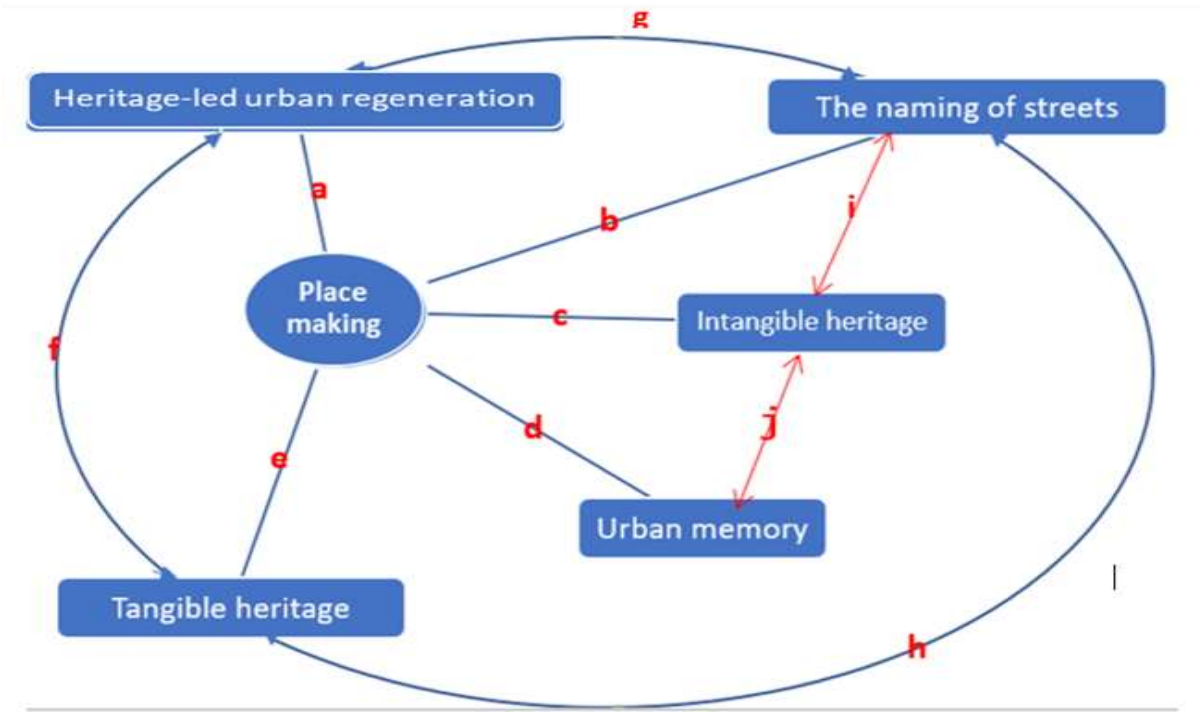


Source: Stuijt (2008).

The resistance on some of the new names above was seen through defacing using green paint. In the picture above, the new names of struggle heroes such as Gladys Mazibuko and Felix Dlamini which replaced Marriot and Essenwood Stree t names, were defaced by people who disagreed with the process and the names. One of the goals of the process was to promote reconciliation, healing and re-writing history (Kumalo, 2014). However, the end result exposed rifts and divisions among members of society through alleged display of one-sided history, that is biased towards a particular political organization in Durban (Kumalo, 2014). The current

study gets more details on the citizens' perceptions and interpretation on street names. The figure below summarises the main concepts of the literature review in a conceptual framework diagram.

Figure 2.2: Conceptual framework for assessing heritage preservation through street names



This diagram summarizes the concepts of the study. At the center is place making, which is connecting to five concepts, i.e. heritage-led urban regeneration; naming of streets; intangible heritage; urban memory and tangible heritage. Place making is a process of creating quality places that people want to live, work and play in through the use of the physical, cultural and social identities (Nelson,2016). Normally place making should strengthen or build connections between people and the spaces they use. The process of placemaking can be regulated but the outcome cannot, because it is determined by how people connect to the place. Urban regeneration through heritage can contribute to place making as explained in section 2.2. The use of heritage-led urban regeneration is becoming a global phenomenon contributing to the process of 'place-making' (Ebbe, 2009). Link (b) connects street renaming with heritage which may contribute to place making. This is because streets can be named after historic events or icons thereby forming part of heritage. One of the research questions was to assess

how citizens perceive street renaming by investigating whether the intended meanings of the street names are being conveyed to citizens. From the findings of the study, street names were intended to create place and to brand Newtown as a cultural precinct but this meaning was not evoked from the participants. Both intangible and tangible heritage can contribute to place making normally through heritage-led urban regeneration as explained in section 2.2. Urban memory may contribute to place making because it is a form of intangible heritage as explained in section 2.4 of this report. The red connection arrows are the ones which the study was directly trying to investigate using citizens' perceptions. The study investigates whether street renaming contributes to urban memory and also investigates whether street names commemorate intangible heritage. The study focuses on intangible heritage, partly motivated by the fact that previously urban regeneration strategies were most often focusing on tangible heritage as depicted by connection (f). The naming of streets can form part of urban regeneration strategies, but this study examines this connection from citizens views. In addition, street names can also contribute to tangible heritage preservation. Although tangible heritage was not the focus of the study, but there is a point of convergence occurs whereby the existence of intangible heritage enables a better interpretation of tangible heritage (Munjeri,2004).

2.8 Chapter summary

The literature reviewed in this section, shows that urban memory is a driver of intangible heritage. Furthermore, it also clear that intangible heritage is a key element for sustainable urban regeneration, which includes cultural identity, creativity, heritage, and diversity of cultural expressions. Heritage-led urban development is a key tool for promoting sustainable urban regeneration, by preserving urban, environmental and cultural identity, attracting activities and visitors, fostering the development of the creative economy and place making. A study by (Duminy, 2014) articulated that one of the main goals of street naming in South Africa is heritage preservation. However, there are a lot of unresolved tensions and questions around the whole process. Although citizens have raised concerns on social media and newspaper platforms, not much academic attention has been paid through interviewing citizens to hear how they interpret these geographic names. Whilst most studies have investigated street name origins, what is missing is an academic account of the citizens' narratives and interpretations behind these geographic names. This study is an attempt to fill in this gap, with a specific focus on street names.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The research design is a qualitative case study methodology conducted in Newtown Cultural precinct through the use of face to face interviews, observations and archival extracts. Case studies concentrate on a specific topic in detail as opposed to looking at a wide range of topics superficially (Rule and John, 2011). Bogdan and Biklen (1992) argue that qualitative research allows greater spontaneity and adaptation of the interaction between the participants and the researcher. Yin (1994) also supports that the use of a case study is suitable for exploratory purposes. According to Yin (2003) a case study design should be considered when you want to cover contextual conditions because you believe they are relevant to the phenomenon under study. In this case I chose this qualitative case study approach because I wanted to assess whether there is a link between heritage preservation and street renaming, making use of the context of a cultural precinct.

3.2 Case study

Newtown is the case study. A case study area is normally chosen because the case to be assessed cannot be assessed without its context (Baxter and Jack, 2008). In this case study of Newtown, more specifically the existing cultural and recent street r enaming settings are very important elements of the context. It is in these settings that such a study can be conducted. It would have been impossible for me to have a true image of street naming and heritage preservation without considering the context within which it exists. Context is very important because for instance you cannot conduct a study of nurses' decision making in class without considering a nursing school context (Baxter ,2000). In my case, the historical background of Newtown, the establishment of Newtown cultural precinct and street renaming are very important settings for my study.

In terms of data sources for case study research design, one characteristic of case study research design is the use of multiple data sources (Yin, 2003). Some of the multiple data sources for case study research design may include archival records, interviews, physical artefacts, direct observations, and participant-observation (Baxter and Jack, 2008). In the case of Newtown, I used interviews, observations and archives (social media and newspaper articles) as sources of data. This raw data from the multiple sources' feeds into the research questions with each

source contributing to my understanding of the whole phenomenon under study. In this case a discussion of how each data source feeds into the research questions and themes is provided.

3.3 Data Collection procedure

Data collection was conducted through face to face interviews, observations and archival research (social media and newspaper archives). The importance of each data collection method and how it answers the research questions is explained in detail in the following sections.

3.3.1 Interviews

Thirty-eight face to face interviews were conducted in Newtown at intervals of one week. Creswell (1998) recommends at least 5-25 respondents for phenomenological studies. The people who participated in the interviews can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of a purposively sampled group of respondents who participated in the "Naming Jozi" walking tour on the 25th of August 2018 in which I participated too. The walking tour was hosted by PAST Experiences walking tour company. "Naming Jozi" tour was a walk around Johannesburg CBD that focused on walking and discussing the names that surround the Johannesburg Inner City, from buildings, public spaces and streets. I collected data by posing interview questions and noting down responses as the tour was proceeding.

The second group consists of people who were in Newtown streets at that specific time whether vending, walking, relaxing and any other activities. Convenience sampling was employed to select this second group of respondents. Convenience sampling is normally used when members of the targeted population are supposed to meet certain criteria, such as geographical proximity, easy accessibility, willingness to participate and availability to participate at any given time (Dornyei, 2007). Therefore, in this case I made use of volunteers who were willing to participate. Persons in Newtown at that specific moment and time had a chance of being picked for the survey. Their presence in Newtown and the use of streets was enough to be picked for the survey. The third group consisted of business owners in Newtown. I made use of those who voluntarily agreed to be part of my study. I made use of open ended and closed questions. The surveys with respondents obtained information on how the street names influence the way they perceive and narrate the history behind the street names of Newtown. For instance, when a citizen reflects on the icon behind the old Becker Street and the new Gerard Sekoto street in Newtown: Do they know the history behind the icons? Does this

knowledge elicit any memory, experience, story, reflection in their minds? How did they learn about this knowledge? I assumed that I could get interesting responses from people who experienced apartheid and those who did not. The survey questionnaire also examined the overall perception from the citizens regarding the street renaming process. At the end of the study, the aim was to ascertain whether the street naming process is really serving its purpose of heritage preservation as outlined by the City of Johannesburg in 2015.

Most respondents were between the age range of 20 to 44 years. Only 3 respondents were over the age of 60 years. Although the main focus of the data collection process was to compare how responses differ between people who experienced the apartheid regime and those who did not, respondents were not discriminated based on other factors like gender and race. For instance there were 13 white respondents and 17 black respondents, 19 females and 11 males. For the purposes of this study only, the term 'Newtown citizens' is used to refer to all these respondents of my study.

The responses from the interviews answered the research questions on the memories elicited by street names; perceptions towards street naming and the knowledge about icons behind street names.

3.3.2 Observations

Observations were conducted before, during and after conducting the interviews. During the walks, I would observe and take pictures of any streets, buildings and public places which might be of interest. The streets that I used were part of a ground truthing exercise based on some responses that I had received from the respondents. Furthermore, some streets were excluded due to the safety concerns that I discuss further in section 3.5 on limitations of the study. The observations helped to triangulate data from both the interviews and secondary data. For instance if a respondent refers to a street or place, I would visit there just to see what happens there and take photographs. Some of the photographs taken are presented in Chapter 5 under the existing heritage resources in Newtown.

3.3.3 Archival data sources (Social Media extracts and Newspaper extracts)

Social media was also used to collect data, through retrieving online Facebook responses that speak to street renaming. Although there is scepticism surrounding the use of social media in research, the use of social media use is growing (Lunnay et al., 2015) and (Compaine, 2001).

Huang and Xiao (2015) outline that there is a paucity of academic studies that explore data emerging from social media. Reports of worldwide social networking activity suggest that Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube are among the most popular heavily visited sites on the web (Alexa, 2015). The rate of utilising social media has been increasing in South Africa with Facebook having over 13-million users and Twitter users increasing from 6,6-million to 7,4-million in 2016 (Goldstuck and Wronski, 2016). Although the study was largely based on the interviews, I added social media platforms because these are platforms where people are allowed to express their opinions and perceptions publicly, and I was looking for perceptions and opinions for the study. I preferred Facebook because from the statistics indicated above, it is the mostly used social media platform in South Africa. The extracts were very important specifically to add more answers to the fourth research question, i.e What is the perception of the citizens regarding post-apartheid street renaming by the government of South Africa? I used Volume Analysis to analyse my Facebook extracts. Volume analysis is one way of assessing volumes of data, either associated with certain groups or with mentions of particular keywords (SMRG, 2016). In this case I used certain keywords. I used the phrase "street renaming Joburg/Jozi CBD," on the Facebook search engine to find my Facebook extracts. I then extracted and discussed two of the threads that came up. I chose the phrase "street renaming Joburg/Jozi CBD," to select my extracts because when I tried "street renaming in Newtown," there were no results in the search engine. However, I realised that some streets that cover Newtown, also extend through the Johannesburg CBD. For instance, Lilian Ngoyi Street and Rahima Mosah Street. Therefore the phrase "street renaming Joburg/Jozi CBD," would still speak to some streets in my study area.

Newspaper articles sought from the Johannesburg Heritage Foundation, Parktown were consulted during data collection. I consulted all the articles about Newtown street renaming that I found there. They were very helpful specifically to answer the research question on how the street renaming process was conducted. They served as evidence presenting newspaper notices from City of Johannesburg and concerns raised by some citizens during the renaming process.

3.4 Data analysis

Data analysis and presentation involves bringing order, structure and meaning to the collected data (De Vos et al., 2015). Responses from the interviews were recorded using a tape recorder and taking down notes. Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) was used to analyse data. TCA helps

to cluster and distil raw data into a list of common themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The and the same for all the respondents. I went through data from the interview transcripts, observations and archives closely to categorize data into meaningful themes. A summary of how the themes were generated is summarized in the table below:

Step	Process
1. Familiarising myself with data	Studying the responses or collected data to pick any patterns.
2. Searching for themes	Grouping emerging and matching patterns into potential themes
3. Reviewing themes	Reviewing and sharpening theme names.
5. Defining and naming themes	Generating the 4 themes
6. Reporting	Presenting and analysing the data under the 4 themes.

Table 4.1: Summary of how the themes were generated

In this case TCA was used to cluster and distil data from the transcribed survey questionnaires into a list of common themes on the urban memories incited by street names. Using TCA, I identified patterns across the responses to group it into a list of common themes. The main focus of the data analysis process was to compare how responses differ between people who experienced the apartheid regime and those who did not. This is because the transition from apartheid to democracy influenced street naming in South Africa (Guyot and Seethal, 2007), which in turn might have resulted in urban memory shifts and differences. Therefore, the study assumed that these two groups of people possess different perceptions and knowledge regarding the history behind the icons used for street names. I also made sure that I got responses from different races and gender to cater for any interesting perspectives that might arise based on differences in gender and race.

In addition to the interview data analysis I also analysed some Facebook extracts. During the data analysis, related literature was reviewed and added to provide analytical insights to the discussion of findings. The data produced after the analysis provided explanations on whether street names are really capturing historic preservation in Newtown. The data analysis influenced the recommendations and areas for future research suggested in chapter five of this report.

3.2.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are important if a study involves interactions that include in-depth interviews, focus groups, surveys and observing people's behaviour (Polonski, 2004). It was assumed that some questions might evoke emotional memories to the respondents. I addressed this issue by explaining the possible questions which might evoke some emotional memories before conducting the survey and respondents were given a chance to confirm whether they were still willing to participate. Furthermore, respondents were informed that participation is voluntary, and they can withdraw at any point. Permission from the citizens to participate in the study was sought based on the University of Witwatersrand protocols. Respondents were informed about the aims of the study, the protection of their identities as well as the anonymity of their responses. The data I accessed on Facebook was on public data platforms. Data accessed from open or public online locations present less ethical issues than data found on private online spaces which require passwords and membership approval (Townsend and Wallace, 2016). I also anonymised the identities of the Facebook posts. Prior to conducting the interviews, I received the Ethical Clearance Certificate from the School of Architecture and Planning Human Research Ethics Committee. I attached the certificate in the appendices section of this report.

3.5 Limitations of the study

The study focused on Newtown in Gauteng province South Africa to assess whether street renaming contributes to heritage preservation. The size of the sample of the study is too small to be generalised to the rest of South Africa. Newtown is adjacent to Johannesburg CBD which is dangerous and prone to criminal activities. I was limited from moving around all areas I wanted to because there are some dangerous spaces which cannot be accessed safely. I also struggled to interview business owners in Newtown especially foreigners, because I conducted the interviews soon after the civil unrest that happened in Johannesburg Central Business District early September 2019. Some of them were not willing to participate and feared for their lives because they thought I was a spy.

The other challenge during data collection was getting hold of respondents who had experienced the apartheid period at an age where they were old enough to reason and relate to what was happening. I had to specifically sample respondents at least 45 years and above. I found three. If I had more time I could have searched for more elderly people. My conclusions, especially on elderly people's responses, may not really be generalised to all of them due to

their small number. Furthermore, I only extracted two samples of Facebook extracts. I feel if I had more time I would add more extracts even from different forms of social media like Twitter to reinforce my data.

3.6 Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the data collection procedures, instruments used, sampling procedures, data analysis tools, ethical considerations and limitations of the study. The qualitative case study research method was used to collect data on assessing heritage preservation in street renaming. Data was collected using interviews, observations and archival research (Facebook and newspaper articles). Some participants were purposively sampled targeting people interested in street names, whilst some were conveniently sampled based on their availability in Newtown. The next chapter is the presentation and discussion of the case study and findings from data collection. A thematic approach is used to present and discuss findings under four themes.

CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY AND FINDINGS: DOES STREET NAMING CONTRIBUTE TO HERITAGE PRESERVATION IN NEWTOWN?

4.1 Introduction

The first sections (4.2 to 4.4) of this chapter contextualise the case study (Newtown) in terms of its historic background drawing from the Johannesburg urban regeneration projects. The emergence of Newtown as a cultural precinct is described from a heritage preservation perspective which gives the context to the background of Newtown street naming. Section 4.5 presents the findings from the 38 interviews conducted to assess whether street naming contributes to heritage preservation in Newtown.

4.2 Case study: Contextualising Newtown cultural precinct as one of the urban regeneration projects in the City of Johannesburg

Since South Africa gained democracy in 1994, the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) has been working on urban regeneration strategies to revitalise the declining condition of the inner city (Ntshona, 2013). The CoJ has been positioning and branding Johannesburg with 'straplines' such as 'world class African city' (2000), 'world class city' (2002), 'world class African city for all' (2006) and more recently, a vision for Johannesburg in the year 2040 as a 'World Class African city of the future' (Olawale, 2016). Since 2004, Urban Development Zones were implemented to stimulate urban renewal in specific areas that had declined (Huchzermeyer, 2014). A 'Regeneration Charter' went into effect in 2007 (Ntshona, 2013). The Regeneration Charter had a vision for Johannesburg to be "liveable, safe, people-centred, celebrates cultural diversity, respects heritage and social differences, accessible, vibrant, dynamic, well managed, welcoming to all, a globally competitive city that can capitalise on its position in both South Africa and Africa, a trading hub, which embraces the spirit of Ubuntu" (COJ Inner City Regeneration Charter, 2007). Some of the developments which contributed to the urban regeneration projects specifically in the CBD include the Gandhi Square bus terminal development; the construction of Nelson Mandela bridge and the development of Maboneng precinct amongst others (Joburg Development Agency, 2015). Furthermore, the emergence of the Newtown cultural precinct was also part of the urban regeneration projects, in the form of a culture-led urban regeneration project (Meek, 2017). Culture-led urban regeneration is the idea that culture can be employed as a driver for place making and urban economic growth, (Miles & Paddison, 2005). Culture includes the arts, architecture, museums, libraries, archives,

heritage, food and cultural tourism (Zukin, 1982). The city of Johannesburg acknowledges heritage as an important catalyst for development (Olawale, 2016). The city of Johannesburg's heritage includes public buildings like the buildings of Johannesburg's mining and financial giants, commercial buildings, residential buildings of historic icons, religious buildings, mansions of former randlords as well as hostels of apartheid employees (Olawale, 2016). Furthermore, some of the heritage resources in Johannesburg include Constitution Hill, Apartheid Museum, Gold Reef City, the Origins Centre museum and the Newtown Cultural Precinct (Olawale, 2016). This study is focusing on heritage, specifically looking at the interpretation and representation of the past using Newtown streets as a case study.

The next section gives a brief history and background of the Newtown Cultural Precinct and later on describes some of the heritage resources that currently exist in Newtown. After describing the current heritage resources in Newtown, the research findings are discussed with the aim of determining whether street naming is also contributing to heritage preservation.

4.3 The history and background of Newtown

In the late 1800s when gold was discovered in Johannesburg there was an influx of people (Beavon, 2004). The land to the east of Newtown was rich in clay deposits hence brick making became a popular form of generating income (Van Onselen, 1982). People of different race groups worked there and lived together making bricks, hence the former name Brickfields. By 1896, about 7 000 people lived in the area and it was later named Burghersdorp. By 1892 Brickfields had degenerated into a slum (Van Onselen, 1982). In 1904, the fire brigade set the area alight destroying everything; a measure allegedly to combat the bubonic plague that had broken out (Mayat, 2013). The area was surveyed, re-planned and renamed in October 1904 to Newtown (Itzkin, 2000). From 1906 the first power stations located there served Johannesburg and in 1913 the fresh produce market moved to its new building in Newtown adjacent to the railway (Krige and Beswick, 2008). By 1936 Newtown had grown to further contain three power stations, an incinerator, tram sheds, three cooling towers, maintenance workshops, residential quarters and canteens.

As the town grew, the existing fresh produce market could no longer sustain the needs of the population (Krige and Beswick, 2008). In the mid-seventies Newtown stood abandoned as newer, modern and more efficient spaces took over from the old industrial buildings (NMD, 2010). Newtown was affected by the decline of the Johannesburg inner city from the late 1970s

and many buildings were neglected as business owners started moving to the leafy suburbs of Johannesburg (Sihlongonyane, 2008). As a result, most Newtown buildings were adapted for new uses (NMD, 2010). In 1990 the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) decided to develop Newtown into a cultural centre (Mbhiza, 2013). It was a joint venture between the CoJ, through the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), who appointed Blue IQ, in a public private partnership, to work on specific infrastructure projects within the Newtown area. The JDA was established in 2001 to stimulate area-based economic development initiatives in support of the Joburg 2030 document issued by the city's Corporate Planning Unit (Matsipa,2014). Eventually the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) stepped in and put in place the necessary steps to protect some buildings, for instance preserving the original fresh produce market due to its unique roof structure and converting it to a market theatre (NHT, 2018). "From *a Marketplace of Fruits & Vegetables to a Marketplace of Ideas and creativity*' is how Ismael Mahomed (the former CEO of the market theatre) described it in 2016. It was revamped partially because it is a protected heritage site, with some parts being retained which still brings some memorabilia of the Fruit Market (Mahomed, 2016).

From 1976 to 1994, Newtown was a site of multi-culturalism, activism, struggle, hope and creative activity (Stedman, 2003). Newtown became one of the few places in South Africa during apartheid where people of all races could share the stage and mixed audiences could watch plays in the same space due to a by-law stating that different races could mix because of the zoning of the original market (Shand, 2010). As a result, the Market Theatre was well known for producing plays with a strong anti-apartheid stance. According to Stedman (2003) a sense of place is more than its physical features; it arises from the interaction of the individuals within a space to such an extent that eventually that place becomes imbued with meaning. The emotional investment made by anti-apartheid cultural activists remains critical in Newtown. Moreover, cultural heritage can become a focal point for regenerating derelict neighbourhoods or reinventing a whole city's sense of place (Bradford, 2004). Stedman (2003) alludes that a sense of place is not only limited to its physical features, it also encompasses the interaction of people within a space such that the place is instilled with meaning. In light of the above, a study conducted by Shand (2010) concluded that there might be a tremendous emotion and feeling towards Newtown by politicians, city officials, artists, and Johannesburg's citizens which contributed to why Newtown was selected as a cultural precinct.

Soon after the apartheid rule, from 1995 to 2000 the City of Johannesburg was run by the Transitional Johannesburg Metropolitan Council. The development of Newtown was part of the core goals of inner-city development highlighted in the Joburg 2030 Document issued by the CoJ's Corporate Planning Unit (Rogerson and Kaplan, 2005). In addition to that the Newtown Cultural Precinct development falls under the Gauteng Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) interventions to revitalise Johannesburg's Inner-City degeneration (Shand, 2010). This was part of the Johannesburg Inner-city Regeneration Strategy Business Plan of 2004-2007 to develop Johannesburg into a "World Class African City" (CoJ, 2007). One of CoJ's key development strategy was to attract local and regional tourists in selected areas through building on the wealth of historical and cultural assets within the city (Rogerson, 2004). Therefore Newtown became a culture-led urban regeneration approach based on its history of formal and informal urban processes (Debnam, 2007).

I also discovered that most of Newtown's significant heritage resources are located along the female icons' street names. For instance the Market Theatre is located at 56 Margaret Mcingana street. Museum Africa and Mary Fitzgerald square along Lilian Ngoyi street. The Sci-Bono discovery Centre, Workers Museum and the Dance Factory along Helen Joseph Street. This maybe a coincidence. However, considering that issues about gender imbalance on street renaming had been flagged by the public it might not be a coincidence. This study was more focused on getting responses from the general public but given more time I would also interview municipal officials and hear their side of the story on this issue.

This study explores users' interpretations and perceptions towards street renaming to determine whether there is a link between street renaming and heritage preservation. The next section presents the findings from the surveys that I conducted in Newtown.

4.4 Findings and Analysis

This section presents the findings and analysis from the data collection process conducted in Newtown to address the research objectives.

4.4.1 A brief description of respondents who participated in the study

A total of 38 respondents were interviewed at intervals of one week. I made use of volunteers who were willing to participate. Persons in Newtown at that specific moment and time had a chance of being picked for the survey. Their presence in Newtown and the use of streets were

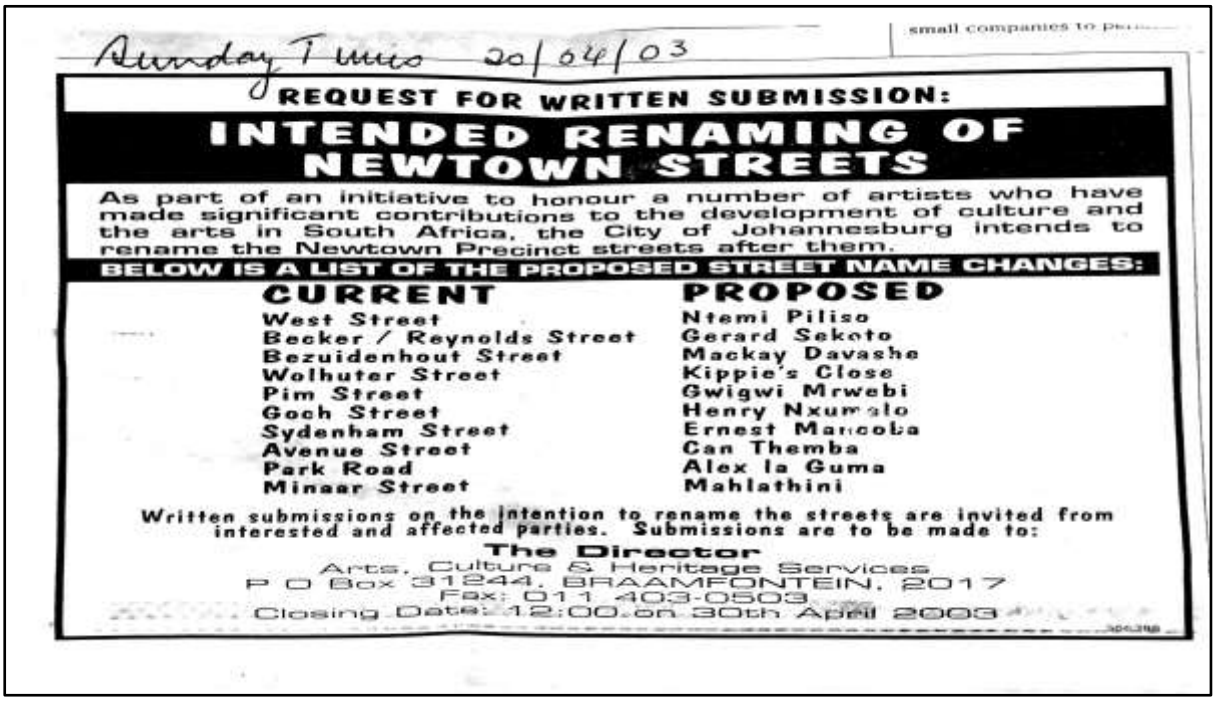
satisfying requirements to be picked for the survey. Each theme under data analysis is presented as follows:

4.4.2 Understanding the street renaming process conducted in Newtown

To address this theme, I reviewed some articles which discussed how the street naming process was conducted in Newtown. In addition, I interviewed respondents on streets on how they were engaged in the street renaming process.

From my newspaper archival research, I discovered that there were 2 phases of renaming streets in Newtown. The first phase started in 2003 (Gaule, 2005). The second one started in 2013 a period where South Africa was preparing to celebrate its 20th anniversary of obtaining democracy (Maluleke, 2015). In 2003, the City of Johannesburg issued out a notice requesting interested and affected parties to forward written submissions on its proposal to rename 10 streets in Newtown. The image below shows the City of Johannesburg's request for written submissions from affected parties in 2003 which was published in the Sunday Times on 20 April 2003.

Figure 4.1: City of Johannesburg's request for written submission



Sunday Times 20/04/03

small companies to Pe...

REQUEST FOR WRITTEN SUBMISSION:

INTENDED RENAMING OF NEWTOWN STREETS

As part of an initiative to honour a number of artists who have made significant contributions to the development of culture and the arts in South Africa, the City of Johannesburg intends to rename the Newtown Precinct streets after them.

BELOW IS A LIST OF THE PROPOSED STREET NAME CHANGES:

CURRENT	PROPOSED
West Street	Ntemi Piliso
Becker / Reynolds Street	Gerard Sekoto
Bezuidenhout Street	Mackay Davashe
Wolhuter Street	Kippie's Close
Pim Street	Gwigwi Mrwebi
Goch Street	Henry Nxumalo
Sydenham Street	Ernest Mancoba
Avenue Street	Can Themba
Park Road	Alex la Guma
Minaar Street	Mahlathini

Written submissions on the intention to rename the streets are invited from interested and affected parties. Submissions are to be made to:

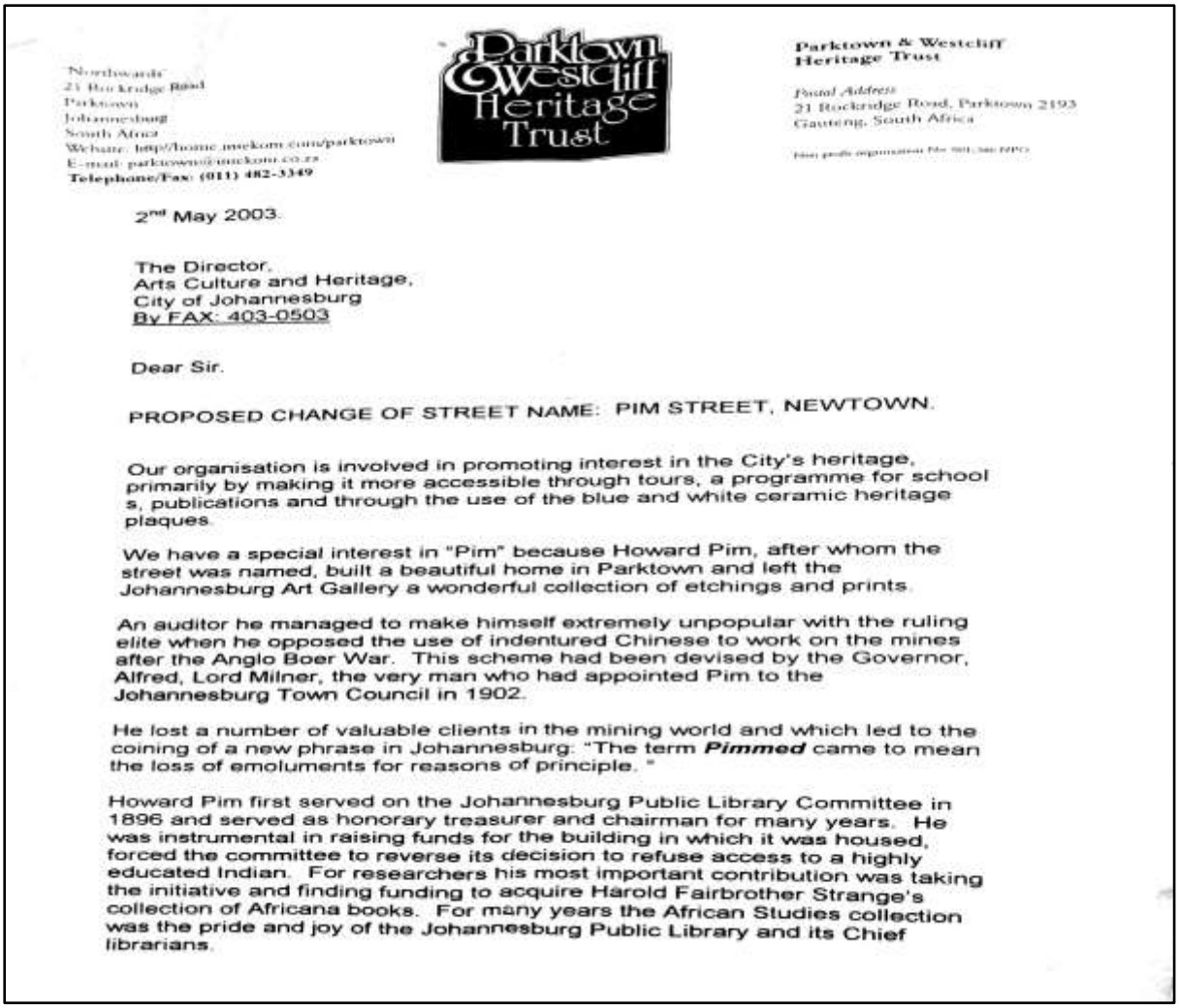
The Director
Arts, Culture & Heritage Services
P O Box 31244, BRAAMFONTEIN, 2017
Fax: 011 403-0503
Closing Date: 12:00 on 30th April 2003

Source: (Sunday Times 20 April 2003)

However, there were some objections towards some of the proposed names. For instance, from figure 4.2 the Parktown & Westcliff Heritage Trust (PWHT) felt that it was important to retain

Pim street. The image below shows an extract of their written submission to the Director of Arts and Culture in 2003 which highlighted Howard Pim's significant work in Johannesburg.

Figure 4.2: Extract of a letter to retain Pim street



Parktown & Westcliff Heritage Trust

Postal Address
21 Rockridge Road, Parktown 2193
Gauteng, South Africa

Northwards
21 Rockridge Road
Parktown
Johannesburg
South Africa
Website: http://home.mweb.com/parktown
E-mail: parktown@mweb.com.za
Telephone/Fax: (011) 482-3349

2nd May 2003.

The Director,
Arts Culture and Heritage,
City of Johannesburg
By FAX: 403-0503

Dear Sir.

PROPOSED CHANGE OF STREET NAME: PIM STREET, NEWTOWN.

Our organisation is involved in promoting interest in the City's heritage, primarily by making it more accessible through tours, a programme for school s, publications and through the use of the blue and white ceramic heritage plaques.

We have a special interest in "Pim" because Howard Pim, after whom the street was named, built a beautiful home in Parktown and left the Johannesburg Art Gallery a wonderful collection of etchings and prints.

An auditor he managed to make himself extremely unpopular with the ruling elite when he opposed the use of indentured Chinese to work on the mines after the Anglo Boer War. This scheme had been devised by the Governor, Alfred, Lord Milner, the very man who had appointed Pim to the Johannesburg Town Council in 1902.

He lost a number of valuable clients in the mining world and which led to the coining of a new phrase in Johannesburg: "The term ***Pimmed*** came to mean the loss of emoluments for reasons of principle."

Howard Pim first served on the Johannesburg Public Library Committee in 1896 and served as honorary treasurer and chairman for many years. He was instrumental in raising funds for the building in which it was housed, forced the committee to reverse its decision to refuse access to a highly educated Indian. For researchers his most important contribution was taking the initiative and finding funding to acquire Harold Fairbrother Strange's collection of Africana books. For many years the African Studies collection was the pride and joy of the Johannesburg Public Library and its Chief librarians.

Source: Johannesburg Heritage Foundation (2018)

In this letter dated 2 May 2003 the Parktown & Westcliff Heritage Trust (PWHT) articulated how Pim had improved the Johannesburg Art gallery and how he raised funds for the city's library. In addition to that, several articles were also published in the press raising concerns on the proposed street names. For instance, a letter to the Star Newspaper on 02 May 2003 written by Annica Marincowitz (a member of the public) entitled "Newtown name-changes are missing the point" raising gender-based concerns on the street renaming process. A copy of the letter is presented below:

Figure 4.3: A newspaper article raising gender inconsideration on street renaming in Newtown



Newtown name-changes are missing the point

2/5/03
The Star

The Johannesburg City Council plans to rename 10 Newtown streets after "a number of artists who have made significant contributions to the development of culture and the arts in South Africa".

The streets are the following: West, Becker/Reynolds, Bezuidenhout, Wolhuter, Pim, Goch and Minnaar streets, Sydenham Avenue and Park Road.

The list of artists, writers and musicians to be honoured consists of Ntemi Piliso, Gerard Sekoto, Mackay Davashe, Kippie Moeketsi, Gwigwi Mrwebi, Henry Nxumalo, Ernest Mancoba, Can Themba, Alex la Guma and Mahlathini.

These people are among those South Africans whose contributions to the country's artistic life have not received the recognition that was and is their due and the Newtown Precinct is a fitting place to do so.

However, what a pity that in the council's effort to redress the neglect and disregard of the past, it is in fact perpetuating old ways of thinking: its list of 10 names includes not a single female artist. And this is not for a lack of fitting candidates.

My list consists of Miriam Makeba, Dolly Rathebe, Margaret Singana, Thandi Klaasen, Noria Mabasa, Bonnie Ntshalintshali and Mmakgabo Mapula, Helen Sebidi.

I find it very disturbing that I have to write this letter a few days after Freedom Day, April 27, in the year 2003.

The more things change, the more they remain the same, it seems.

Annica Marincowitz
Killarney, Johannesburg

Source: (Marincowitz, 2003)

The article was voicing the absence of gender representation in the proposed street names because the proposed names consisted of male artists (Marincowitz, 2003). A detailed profile of the old street names and the current street names is presented in table 4.2. The streets names which were eventually selected reflect that the City of Johannesburg later on considered some of the concerns which were raised by the public.

There are two issues that I observed or that emerged from the articles shown above. I observed that the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) was responsive to some concerns raised by the public after its notice to rename. For instance, initially Bezuidenhout street was supposed to be renamed to Mackay Davashe, but it was eventually renamed to Miriam Makeba Street. Sydenham Street was supposed to be renamed to Ernest Mancoba Street, but after concerns raised it was renamed to Noria Mabasa Street. Secondly what also emerges from the newspaper archives is that some concerns were not considered. For instance, from figure 4.9 although PWHT requested Pim street to be retained, their proposal was rejected. This shows that only concerns which were supporting street renaming were the ones being recognised rather than those who were appealing to retain names.

According to Alderman (2008) street naming can be a contested space based on who has the power to determine whose history should be commemorated. In this case City of Johannesburg had the ultimate power to make the final decision. Furthermore, the responsive public participation process by CoJ is contrary to what some respondents articulated. For instance, respondent 11 felt that the public participation process was not robust enough because she was not involved. I think the CoJ should have multiple public participation platforms to try and involve most people. In addition, commemorative street renaming is also controversial because, "the commemoration of one's past can often cause the de-commemoration of another," (Alderman, 2008). In this case, although Howard Pim conducted substantial work as indicated by PWHT, Gwigwi Mrebwi had also carried out significant work that CoJ could not ignore. Therefore, in relation to Alderman's observation the commemoration of Gwigwi Mrebwi caused the de-commemoration of Howard Pim, implying that the process is highly contested and not always even.

To initiate the second phase of the renaming process, in July 2013 a report was compiled by the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) outlining the suggested street name changes in honour of women icons namely Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph and Rahima Moosa respectively (Maluleke, 2015). These street names in honour of female icons were responding to some concerns about gender issues which had been raised earlier on (for instance the article in figure 4.10) Four streets namely Bree Street, President street, Jeppe Street and Pritchard Street were identified for renaming (Samuels, 2014). After identification of streets, a notice of intention to rename was then published in The Star, Sowetan and Beeld newspapers in 2014. Responding to CoJ's notice of intention the Johannesburg Heritage Foundation requested that Pritchard street be retained and here is an extract of their response:

> *PRITCHARD, we believe should be retained as he was a land-surveyor and we have so little appreciation for the enormous contribution made by land-surveyors in defining exact details of the land since it is described by survey,* (The Heritage portal, 2018).

Currently Pritchard street still exists in Newtown, implying that this request to retain Pritchard street was accepted. So, in 2015 three more streets were renamed in Newtown namely: Bree Street to Lilian Ngoyi Street, President Street to Helen Joseph Street and Jeppe Street to Rahima Moosa Street (Maluleke, 2015). The history of the icons behind the Newtown street

names is presented in the next section. It was gathered through literature review and from the "Naming Jozi" walking tour that I participated on the 25th of August 2018 hosted by PAST experiences walking tour company. Some of the streets which were renamed are shown below:

Figure 4.4: Bree to Lilian Ngoyi street



Source: Olawale,2016

Figure 4.5 President to Helen Joseph Street



Source: Author, 2018

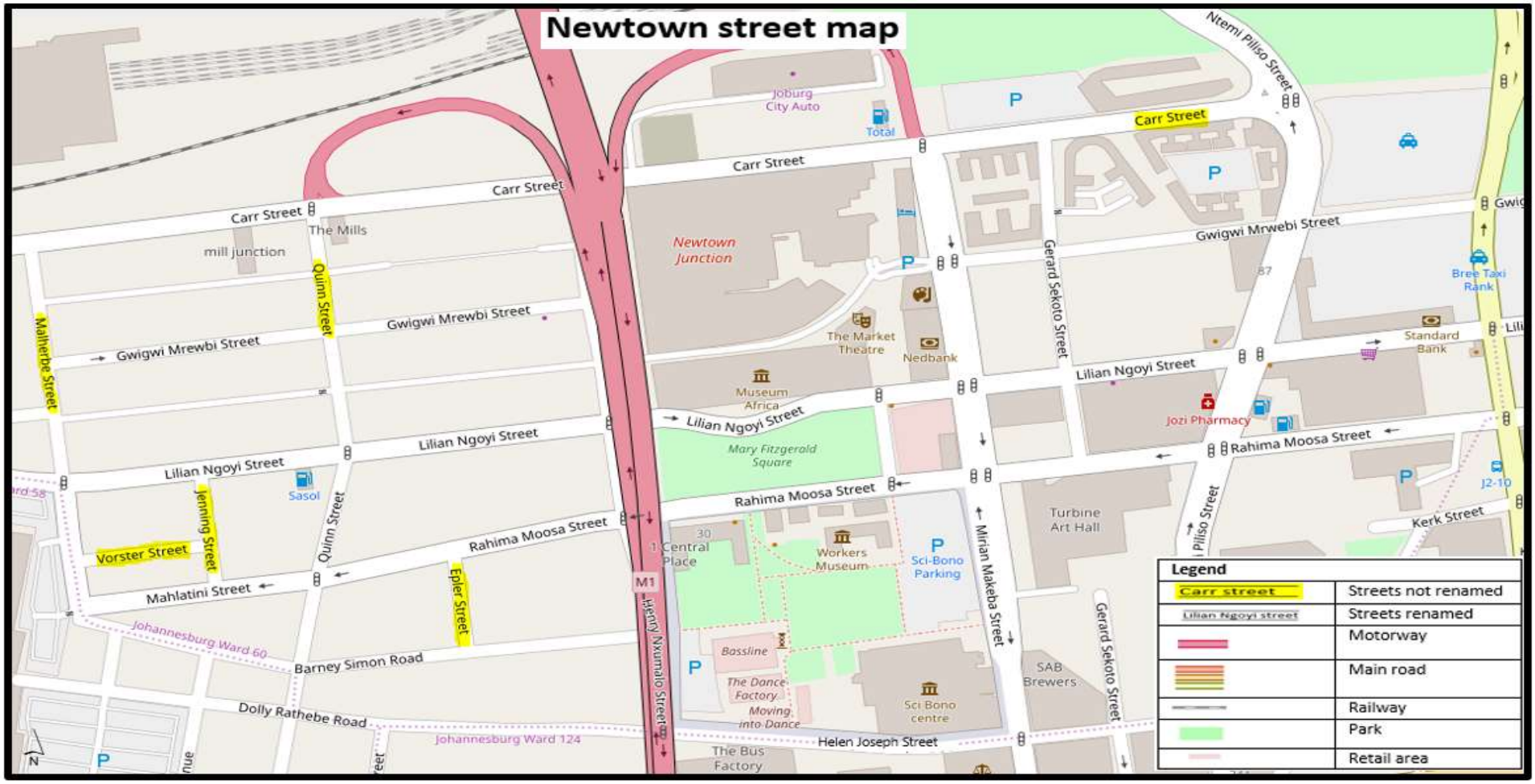
A chronicle of the old and current street names is presented in table 4.2 .

Table 4.2: A chronicle of the street names of Newtown

Old street name	Current street name
Becker street Thorpe Becker was a director of gold mining companies in apartheid South Africa	**Gerard Sekoto street** Sekoto was one of the pioneers of modern South African art. The Johannesburg Art Gallery honored him in 1989 with a retrospective that covered 50 years of his work. South Africa remained alive in his paintings throughout his life. Sekoto died in 1993.
Minaar street Johannes Christofel Minaar was the Registrar of Deeds (1849-1914) in Johannesburg	**Mahlathini street** Joseph Nkabinde, better known as Mahlathini, was one of the best musicians to emerge from South Africa. He single-handedly branded mbaqanga as the formidable music genre it is today.
Bezuidenhout street The Bezuidenhout family owned farms in Johannesburg. For instance, F.J. Bezuidenhout Sen was the owner of the then Doornfontein farm and FJ Bezuidenhout Jun owned the Turffontein farm	**Miriam Makeba street** Makeba a musician, nicknamed “Mama Africa" has long been identified as the voice of South Africa's anti-apartheid movement and spent decades in exile before white rule finally ended in the country in 1994. She added to "the overall struggle and effort to achieve change.
Goch street George Henry Goch was the mayor of Johannesburg (1904-1905)	**Henry Nxumalo** Henry Nxumalo nicknamed ‘Mr Drum” was a South African journalist from the drum magazine. He was arrested for writing about apartheid prisoners’ life. He also wrote a regular column for the Pitsburg Courier, educating US readers about the realities of the South African apartheid era.
Wolhuter street Presumably named after FM Wolhuter who played an important role in the mining affairs of Witwatersrand and as a member of Diggers committee	**Margaret Mcingana** Mcingana was a musician. The music of Margaret Mcingana filled the gaping hole left by the banning of the music of Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and a number of other activist musicians during the 1970s. Also well-known her haunting voice in the South African television series Shaka Zulu. Mcingana died in 2000.
West Street The street was located on the western boundary of Johannesburg Central	**Ntemi Piliso street** Ntemi was a musician in the early 1950 known as Bra Ntemi with his Alexandra All Star Band blending African American music with the sounds and ethos of township life. Ntemi’s African Jazz Pioneers survived the apartheid era and, after 1990, started to headline jazz venues and festivals all over Africa and Europe.
Pim street James Howard Pim (1862-1934) was a Johannesburg Councillor between 1903 and 1907, more or less the time Newtown was established	**Gwigwi Mrebwi street** Mrebwi was a fiery alto saxophonist of the 1950s who achieved international acclaim. Affectionately known as 'Bra Gwigwi', he played for The Jazz Maniacs and in the African opera King Kong. The saxophone legend died in the 1970s.
Sydenham street Presumably named either after the Rand Pioneer Easton Southwell Cox Sydenham who arrived in 1888 or commemorating the London district of Sydenham.	**Noria Mabasa street** Noria Mabasa is an internationally renowned sculptress. The only sculptress from the Venda area in Limpopo province where she was born in 1938. Her sculptures mainly focused on traditional issues pertaining to women. Her works are displayed in museums across South Africa and in Netherlands, Belgium and USA.
Avenue Road Based on a historic avenue of trees which was in Fordsburg	**Dolly Rathebe road** Dolly Rathebe was a South African activist musician, actress and investigative journalist who tragically passed away in 2004. Dolly Rathebe helped popularize the Sophia town jazz scene around Johannesburg in the 1950s.
Park Road Based on the character of Fordsburg in its early days, where the road starts from. It was in the form of a park.	**Barney Simon road** Barney Simon was a South African writer, playwright and director. In 1976, he co-founded The Market Theatre in Johannesburg and it soon became the first multiracial cultural center in South Africa.
Bree Street The translation of this common Dutch street name is “Broad Street”. Although Bree Street is not wider than the other streets which were measured up at the time and does not serve as a descriptive name	**Lilian Ngoyi street (1911-1980)** Lilian Ngoyi was an anti-apartheid activist who was under house arrest for 16 years, Ngoyi was banned from attending and participating in any social or political gatherings, becoming the person who spent the longest period under house arrest. She was part of the heroines who led the 20 000 strong Women’s’ Freedom March to the Union Buildings in Pretoria in 1956.
Jeppe Street Jeppe Street was named in honour of the prominent pioneering family of Julius Jeppe Snr. and his sons. Sir Julius Jeppe (1859-1929) was a mining and property magnate, knighted in 1922 for his pioneering role in the development of Johannesburg	**Rahima Moosa Street** Rahima Moosa lived together with her husband and fellow-activist, Dr. “Ike” H.M. Moosa, and her family still lives at this address. Together with Sophie de Bruyn, Rahima Moosa, Helen Joseph and Lilian Ngoyi, these heroines led the 20 000 strong Women’s’ Freedom March to the Union Buildings in Pretoria in 1956.
President street This street is known to have been named in honor of President S.J.P. Kruger, and it has also been suggested that this was expected to be the most important street in Johannesburg.	**Helen Joseph Street** The late Helen Joseph was under house arrest for many years. She was part of the heroines who led the 20 000 strong Women’s’ Freedom March to the Union Buildings in Pretoria in 1956.

Source: (Smith, 1971; Buitendach 2018; NHT, 2018

Figure 4.6: Newtown street map showing streets renamed and streets not renamed



Source: Newtown Wazi map, 2019

A summary of the street names and how they connect to Newtown

Although literature might not indicate exactly when some of the icons behind street names were associated with Newtown, their obituaries indicate that they stayed in Johannesburg at one point (Buitendach, 2018). Some of them were born in Johannesburg whilst some moved to Johannesburg or some of their work was exhibited in Johannesburg. For instance, Miriam Makeba and Gwigwi Mrebwi were both born in Johannesburg. However, Margaret Mcingana and Gerard Sekoto were born in Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga respectively but later on moved to Johannesburg (NHT, 2018). In addition to that, the literature indicates that Newtown became one of the few places in South Africa during apartheid where people of all races could share the stage and mixed audiences could watch or listen to artists in the same space due to a by-law stating that different races could mix because of the zoning of the original market (Stedman, 2003). This suggests a possibility of some of these icons being present in Newtown at one point. Furthermore, the art of some of these icons like the sculptures of Noria Mabasa are still exhibited in museums around Johannesburg. Also a few concerts in Newtown have been conducted to celebrate some of the icons. For instance, the "2016 Margaret Mcingana Tribute Concert" held at the Market Theatre Newtown as well as the "2010 Tribute to Makeba Concert" held at Mary Fitzgerald Square Newtown. Therefore, comparing the apartheid period and now, one can observe how the history of Newtown has at one point embraced diversity, multiculturalism, activism and creative activity. This also suggests that although some of the new street names were associated with Newtown, some of the names did not have any direct connections to the place of Newtown thereby constituting intangible heritage.

Responses on citizen engagement on the street naming process of Newtown

From the survey conducted, the respondents interviewed indicated that they were neither consulted nor participated regarding the renaming process. For instance, one lady who owns a business along Lilian Ngoyi street said:

> *I was surprised one morning to see some workers putting up new street signs just outside here, yet I own property along this street, and I did not know what was happening! I later learnt that the City of Johannesburg had put some notices in the Star newspaper, but by that time their due date for responding had already passed, (Respondent 11, 2018)*

According to the South African Geographical Names Council Act No. 118 of 1998 the whole process should be managed by local municipalities and the naming process must be community driven, in a bottom-up approach (Kumalo, 2014). The Act does not state that specific people should be notified personally. I think the City of Johannesburg conducted the process in-line with the Act by putting up notices in the press for everyone. However, although the general public can be notified through newspaper articles, I feel that the Act should be reviewed to consider notifying business owners along affected streets through personal notifications. This is because property owners incur costs to change their business addresses both physically and online to adapt to the street addresses. Therefore, if they miss newspaper notice of intentions at least the personal notices can be very helpful to prepare in time.

The first theme or section was basically responding to the first objective to understand how the street renaming process was conducted in Newtown and how citizens were consulted. The next section addresses the second objective of the study. The second objective presents the respondents' knowledge of Newtown (i.e. cultural precinct, streets and icons behind the street names).

4.4.3. Respondents' knowledge on the icons behind the street names and Newtown as a cultural precinct

(i). Knowledge on icons behind street names

All the 30 respondents confirmed that they had noticed the street name changes in Newtown. However, no one was able to specifically indicate the old name and new name of a specific street. Instead they were able to highlight collectively the old street names and the new street names, for instance I quote one respondent saying:

> *I cannot remember the old name for Lilian Ngoyi street, but I can tell you that we were used to Pim street, Jeppe street, Bree street, but now its Lilian Ngoyi street, Helen Joseph street and Miriam Makeba street. Even in other towns the general pattern is now Lilian Ngoyi street, Helen Joseph street and Albertina Sisulu street,"* (Respondent 19, 2018).

When asked about which history they know about the icons behind the street names, most respondents indicated the artistic side of the icons. For instance, 27 of the respondents indicated they knew Miriam Makeba as a musician. However, 3 respondents over the age of 60 explained how Miriam Makeba. Lilian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph had contributed to the anti-apartheid

activism. Two respondents indicated that Noria Mabasa was a sculptress and 3 indicated that Dolly Rathebe was a musician. However, 20 respondents further indicated that they felt that the selection criteria of icons honoured was biased towards ruling party politics. I quote one respondent, aged 63, who said:

> *These names are African National Congress (ANC) political agendas to honour their cadres. What if the Democratic Alliance (DA) comes into power and start renaming the streets for the second time?* (Respondent 10, 2018).

This response shows that some respondents felt that the selection criteria of icons honoured was biased towards ANC affiliated people. In my own opinion, I agree that the selection criteria maybe biased, but I still think the icons' contributions to the country still deserve to be honoured. This is because street naming depends on who has the power to determine whose history should be commemorated (Alderman, 2008). Even if a new political party comes into power and starts renaming based on its own party-affiliated activists, I believe the contributions of those icons will still be valuable. Even when Azaryahu (1997), states that the commemoration of one icon can result in the abandonment of another, I believe this is based on who has the power to rename and that moment and time.

Most young respondents indicated that they knew that the streets were named after the anti-apartheid activists, however they did not know exactly how these icons had contributed to the anti-apartheid activism and I quote one respondent who said:

> *My grandmother only told me that 'these streets were named after anti-apartheid activists' Personally; I do not really know what exactly these so-called activists did to deserve to be on our streets. Maybe we should be told what they did so that we appreciate too,* (Respondent 22, 2018).

Besides indicating that the old street names were shorter, all respondents did not have any knowledge about the icons behind the old street names. I think this is because in most cases the old streets names were coined in honour of people who held government positions before 1994 in South Africa rather than those who had outstanding contributions in different fields. For instance, Goch Street, had been named after George Henry Goch who was the Mayor of Johannesburg from 1904 to 1905 (Smith, 1971). Unlike in the current street names, where some of the icons were outstanding journalists, musicians, sculptors and anti-apartheid activists which gives the names more exposure to diverse populations. For instance Miriam Makeba

was both a musician and anti-apartheid activist; Noria Mabasa was an internationally renowned sculptress; Henry Nxumalo was an international journalist who kept countries like United States well-informed on the realities of the South African apartheid era (Buitendach 2018). This means that it is not easy for citizens to remember icons based on their former government positions but rather after their significant artistic contributions in different fields. This also explains why the born-frees would not have been aware of the apartheid contributions, but at least were aware of the artistic side of these icons. For instance, some were able to indicate that Miriam Makeba, Ntemi Piliso and Mahlathini were musicians. It also speaks to the scale of iconic contributions being recognised by the street renaming processes. If I compare the scales of iconic contributions that I mentioned above, the renaming process pre-1994 recognised icons with lower scale of contributions as compared to post-1994. It suggests that the lower the scale of contribution, the lower the levels of being remembered by the public.

(ii). Knowledge of Newtown as a cultural precinct

In-terms of perceiving the whole of Newtown as a cultural precinct, there were mixed feelings. Twenty-four respondents indicated that they felt that Newtown was a cultural precinct because of the existence of a number of elements like: a collection of old buildings which offer services like music, dancing, theatre and the existence of art in the town. I quote one respondent aged 23 who said:

> *What attracts me to Newtown is art. I think Newtown is a cultural precinct because art reflects our culture. For me there should be art to every activity that one can do; Be it dancing, acting, singing, painting or even accounting, there should be art on how it is done. That is why the Dance Factory and the Market theatre attract me to Newtown more often,* (Respondent 24, 2018).

I also quote another one who said:

> *I visit Newtown because I love the Jazz that is played at Niki's Oasis Restaurant Jazz Lounge. They have maintained playing deep and real jazz there, unlike the jazz that is played at the Orbit in Braamfontein which is not really 'cool' for oldies like us,* (Respondent 30, 2018).

On the other hand, some respondents felt that the cultural infrastructure is there, but what lacks is the connection among the citizens, infrastructure and the cultural spaces. I quote one respondent who said:

> *"Of course, as I am walking now I see Museum Africa, I see the Market theatre, I see these wooden carved heads and paintings on walls but still Newtown is just cold for me. I do not feel that energy and buzz of what they call the cultural precinct* (Respondent 13, 2018).

Most of the above responses reflect that that people perceive the elements of a cultural precinct as tangible heritage like music, cultural buildings and art in Newtown although some may not connect to it. In most instances, part of the identity of a cultural precinct is normally around tangible heritage and historic buildings as suggested by Sack (2011). In addition, a study conducted by Bailey et al. (2004) in Newcastle listed the cultural strengths of a town as exceptional projects; established institutions; structurally sound buildings and arts organisations deciding to locate there.

No one mentioned that they perceive street names as elements of a cultural precinct. Some responses to support this include responses like:

> *…….It is just a street name that I will use to reach my destination!* (Respondent 3, 2018).

> *I cannot say these street names give me memories besides reminding me that we are now in a democratic South Africa…* (Respondent 28, 2018)

> *The time that I spend in the streets is too little to immerse myself….*(Respondent 16, 2018).

From the above extracts, it means some people:

i. Perceive street names as location markers only.
ii. Perceive new street names as indicators of change in ruling power.
i. Do not have enough time to interact with street spaces to such an extent that they can relate with them.

Based on the above extracts, although the implementers of street renaming intended to preserve heritage, the public does not share the same sentiments. I think this suggests that the heritage behind the street names might be there, but it is too passive or rather inactive to elicit responses from people.

4.4.4. Respondents' memories incited by the previous and current street names.

Three respondents older than 60 years had memories of the street names whilst the other 27 indicated that they did not have any memories incited by the street names. However, from the three respondents aged 60 and above one lady indicated that she did not have any specific connection with any street in Newtown but rather Pretoria and I quote:

> *"The only street I connect with is not in Newtown but Sophia Williams-De Bruyn street in Pretoria. I felt this connection when we marched along Sophia Williams-De Bruyn as women in 2016. When I saw all those women and listened to the emotional speeches I started imagining all the work that she did at a young age, and this pushed me to even research more about her afterwards. The march left some kind of heaviness in my heart,"* (Respondent 30, 2018)

The street the respondent was referring to, is named after Sophia Theresa Williams de Bruyn who was the youngest (18 years old) amongst women who led the march of 20 000 women on the Union Buildings to protest against the requirement that women carry pass books. The respondent participated in the 2016 Women's day march which honoured women who led the 1956 march. The 2016 march was a joyous and emotional occasion especially during the unveiling of the Living Women's monument. The monument was composed of statues of Lilian Ngoyi; Helen Joseph; Rahima Moosa; with Sophia Williams de Bruyn unveiling her own statue in an emotional gesture. One of the aims of the statues was to take people through apartheid, patriarchy and segregation thereby cutting across racial lines and urban-rural divisions.

The respondent indicated how she was moved by how the women of long back lived their lives with a purpose as compared to women of today (Respondent 30, 2018). She further indicated how touching it was for women to unite and march regardless of their races. She also indicated that she started feeling this kind of connection, reflection and emotion through the women's march of 2016 as she saw lots of women marching together in commemoration of other women.

One significant element from this response, is that commemorative celebrations drive evocations between people and spaces. For instance, Sophie de Bruyn street was renamed in 2012, yet this woman only felt a connection 4 years later due to the women's march. This relates to how Hannigan (2003) iterates that events can be used as a means of augmenting the image of cultural infrastructure. This also speaks to six respondents who indicated that Newtown had cultural infrastructure, but they did not feel any connection with it. This therefore means that there might be a need to timeously conduct occasions or functions which remind people on the cultural infrastructure surrounding them.

One significant issue that emerged is that street names act as reminders of change to the elderly rather than evoking memories. I quote one respondent who said:

> *I cannot say these street names give me memories besides reminding me that we are now in a democratic South Africa. My memory normally gets refreshed when I watch something that I can relate to on television about the apartheid or when my grandchildren bring their homework about apartheid to me.* (Respondent 28, 2018).

By just seeing the local names on the streets, this respondent is reminded of the transition from the apartheid period to a democratic South Africa. This means that she is being reminded of how political power has shifted to Africans. This is in line with what Raento and Watson (2000) emphasize when they describe that street renaming in Africa is an affirmation of the Africans' political dominance and ownership of newly liberated urban space.

From this response street names are perceived as time-period markers. Further than that they do not really evoke memories. The response also indicates that media and people can actually evoke memories better than street names. The majority of respondents (27) indicated that although they saw the new street name changes they did not really have any memories incited by the street names and I quote one respondent who said:

> *"When I drive down Albertina Sisulu street, it is not like I am going to have a history lesson about Albertina Sisulu. It is just a street name that I will use to reach my destination!"* (Respondent 3, 2018).

This respondent feels that street names are just place markers rather than memory evokers. This response concurs with Hagett (1979) who indicates that the primary function of street names is for easy manoeuvring around localities. This means that the respondent appreciates the primary function of street names. A large number of 'born-frees' felt that the street names are just names, which do not evoke memories. I think this is also influenced by the absence or inadequacy of occasions and infrastructure that brings memories.

I quote another one who said:

> *The time that I spend in the streets is too little to immerse myself in memories because I will be moving from one point to the other. You see, it is easy for me to relate to spaces or buildings where I spend more time rather than streets I just pass by. I remember how I got so much interest in knowing more about Gandhi the day I saw people taking pictures next to his statue at Gandhi square (Respondent 16, 2018).*

This response is indicating that even if people would be interested in reflecting more on the street names, the time spent on streets is too little. In fact, there is nothing about the street name that can attract people to stay longer in that street. In my own opinion, heritage which does not initiate any form of interaction with the people is dormant. This means that heritage preservation should not only end after setting up heritage structures or resources. Instead planners should move a step further to activate the heritage resources so that they do not remain passive.

4.4.5. Overall perceptions regarding the street renaming process in Newtown

(i). Responses from the interviews

From the interviews, three main issues were raised about the general perceptions regarding the renaming process i.e. Most business owners felt that they were not adequately consulted; lack of knowledge regarding the icons behind the street names; and lack of knowledge on the criteria used to select the people behind the street names. I quote one respondent who said:

> *It is hard to judge whether these icons deserve to be commemorated or not, because I do not know these people's stories. Maybe if given a chance to learn their history and engage I could also appreciate,* (Respondent 15, 2018)

The above response shows that the respondent admits that she does not know the history of the honoured icons, but she is willing to learn and engage or participate if given the opportunity.

Some business owners interviewed in 2019 said:

> *Aren't we supposed to get personal communications as people who work up and come here to our properties every day, what does the law say?* (Respondent 34, 2019)
>
> *I saw the newspaper advert but I was out of Newtown. I still remember how I complained why they didn't provide an email address rather than only providing a postal address.* (Respondent 33, 2019)
>
> *…. How about we do it vice versa. We propose names first then we ask the municipality for inputs. Now that's real engagement.* (Respondent 35, 2019)

The above responses from business owners indicate different concerns on how they were consulted. The concerns include request to receive personal communications, request to open up for more engagement modes and lastly restructuring the engagement process.

Furthermore, 20 respondents added that they felt that the renaming process was not really necessary because the country should focus on pressing problems rather than street naming. I quote one passionate respondent who said:

> *I embrace change gladly especially when it improves the quality of life for those who need it most. Trying to eliminate the whites' part in the history of this country will not change anything. These new street names have not improved our lives. We are hungry, and we have no jobs, yet no one asked us whether we need new street names or food. Why waste money for those long names instead of improving livelihoods.* (Respondent 18, 2018).

The above response was from a 28-year-old young woman who was very bitter because of being unemployed. She felt that South Africa has bigger problems to tackle rather than naming streets. The element of inadequate citizen participation in the renaming process is reflected when she said, "no one asked us." She also touched on the issue that the current names are very long as compared to the old names.

(ii). Overall perceptions regarding the street renaming process in Newtown from social media

Although the Facebook threads selected fall under "street renaming Joburg/Jozi CBD," there are some streets which span through both Johannesburg CBD and Newtown. For instance, Lilian Ngoyi Street and Rahima Moosa Street pass through both Newtown and Johannesburg CBD. Therefore it is correct to indicate that the extracts presented below also represent views for street renaming Newtown. However, the views might not represent or be generalised for everyone because:

i. Not everyone uses Facebook.
ii. They are not specific to Newtown but combine both Newtown and Johannesburg CBD.

These Facebook discussions emerged in March and October 2015 after the two phases of renaming streets from 2003 to 2013 in Newtown were complete. From the two threads, one Facebook user would update a status to inform others or to express how he/she feels about the renaming process. The other Facebook friends would then comment below the first status update to express how they feel about the renaming process. The extracts are presented below as follows:

Figure 5.1: A Facebook thread (07/10/15) on street renaming in Johannesburg CBD (identities hidden for ethical reasons)



Source: Facebook link not provided for ethical reasons

From the above thread a Facebook user updated a Facebook status as follows:

> *Who the hell is Pixley Seme? This, by the way is the name that is replacing the famous Sauer street in our Joburg CBD. I noted that Bree Street has also been red-taped. I wonder which ANC cadre it is going to be named after. Do people even use these cadre names?*

Both Pixley Seme and Bree streets pass through Newtown and Johannesburg CBD. From the above Facebook status update, I sense an irritated voice. Although the person did not know the history of the Pixley Seme, he/she felt that street renaming was biased towards political parties and wondered if people even used the new street names.

The second Facebook thread is presented below:

Figure 5.2: A Facebook thread (14/03/15) on street renaming in Johannesburg CBD (identities hidden for ethical reasons)



Source: Facebook link not provided for ethical reasons

From the above thread a Facebook status was updated as follows:

> *Be careful when you are around Jozi CBD of some street name changes. Bree street to Lilian Ngoyi; Jeppe street to Raheem Moosa; President street to Helen Joseph Street…….Be careful when you are around Jozi Town. Don't get lost unless you know Jozi like me……..*

From the above Facebook status update, the person was informing other people about the changes in street names in Johannesburg CBD. The person raised a concern about getting lost easily due to the new street names.

Looking at the responses that followed from both Facebook, extracts the main issues raised were that:

- The new names are too long e.g. from Sauer street to Pixley Seme Street.
- The new names make giving directions very difficult.
- Renaming streets is wasting money, the government should focus on pressing problems like improving basic service delivery.
- People felt that they were not consulted.
- You can get lost easily due to the new street names.
- People felt that there are better people who can be honoured instead of the current ones.

In short, most of the respondents on the social media extracts shared negative sentiments towards street renaming. Some of the sentiments are similar to those which were raised in face to face interviews. For instance, the issue of names being biased towards political parties and the issue of wasting resources on renaming. This indicates that most people were not happy with the renaming process. From my own view, the issues raised above are linked to concerns on how public participation was conducted. For instance if the majority of people were aware, they would have indicated that the government should focus on basic service delivery rather than new street names. In addition, I also share the same sentiments of the names being too long. I still think using the surnames and initials would shorten them.

4.5 Summary of Chapter

The chapter presented the case study and findings of the study. The first section contextualises the Newtown in terms of its historic background drawing from the Johannesburg urban regeneration projects. One significant issue that emerges is that is the idea of Newtown becoming a cultural precinct was due to both its historical heritage and new cultural institutions which were part of the urban regeneration strategy. The second section presented the findings from data collection in the form of four themes. The first theme titled "Understanding the street renaming process" was an enquiry into how the renaming process was conducted. What emerged is that, there were two phases of the renaming process and people indicated that the consultation process was inadequate. The second theme labelled " Respondents' knowledge on the icons" assessed people's knowledge on the history behind the street names' icons as well Newtown as a cultural precinct. Most people did not really know the history of the icons, but some people were aware that some icons were apartheid activists and ANC politicians In terms of perceiving Newtown as a cultural precinct, responses reflect that that people perceive the elements of a cultural precinct as music, cultural buildings and art in Newtown. It is important

to note that no one mentioned that they perceive street names in Newtown as elements of a cultural precinct. I think the heritage behind the street names is too passive to interact with people. The third theme named "Respondents' memories incited," was an enquiry into memories incited by the current and previous street names. It was in a way linked to the theme of "respondents' knowledge on icons," because most people indicated that the street names did not evoke any memories. The fourth theme titled "overall perceptions regarding street naming," focused on assessing the general perceptions from the public on street renaming in Newtown. Generally, most of the respondents are not satisfied with the renaming process. They feel that there are more important issues to focus on rather than street renaming. I felt that most of the sentiments, that emerged under this theme were due to inadequate citizen participation in the renaming process. The issue is reflected in both survey responses and social media extracts.

CHAPTER 5: OVERVIEW AND WAY FORWARD

5.1 Overview of the study

The study assessed heritage preservation in post-apartheid urban landscapes through the lens of street renaming. The research focused on intangible heritage, in the form of urban memory. The assessment was based on whether street renaming influences the urban memory of people. My main research question was 'How does post-apartheid street naming influence the urban memory of citizens?' I focused on a case in Newtown, Johannesburg. Data collection was conducted through face to face interviews, observations and archival research (social media and newspaper archives).

After data analysis, I now feel that given more time I would love to interview some officials from City of Johannesburg. From my archival research I got some information about the responsible authorities involved in street renaming. However, I still feel I would get more insights to support my findings from the general public. I also observed that a number of these new street names in Newtown are the same street names used in other areas outside Newtown. Respondent 19 also observed that when he said, "Even in other towns the general pattern is Lilian Ngoyi street, Helen Joseph street and so on*,"* (Respondent 19, 2018). We have Helen Joseph street in Newtown, Pretoria and Polokwane. We have Lilian Ngoyi street in Newtown, Pretoria, Middelburg and Durban. I think this use of the same street names in different areas may suggest that the street names are not place specific. Probably if the icons behind the street names had some explicit connections to Newtown I might have received evocations which are specific to Newtown. This is because the neighbourhood context is amongst the factors that influence urban memory amongst others (Alderman, 2002).

Given a second chance to conduct this same study, I would add more respondents especially the elderly and go a step further to include all races, for instance Indians. In addition, if I had more time I would even conduct a study on focusing on the social media archives only. There were a number of threads on social media that could add more data. How each research sub-question was answered is illustrated below:

5.2 How the main and sub research question were answered

I will start the section with the sub questions and finish with the main research question.

How was the street naming process conducted in Newtown?

Data to answer this research question was sourced from face to face interviews and archival research. The study revealed that there were two phases of the renaming process in Newtown. The first one commenced in 2003 whilst the second one commenced in 2013. The City of Johannesburg (CoJ) put up notices to rename in local newspapers. People who come across the notices raised their concerns through written submissions. CoJ then responded to some of these issues raised through written submissions. For instance, issues were raised around gender imbalance on the proposed street names of 2013. CoJ addressed that issue by incorporating female names like Rahima Moosa and Helen Joseph in the proposed street names. However some respondents raised concerns around public participation. For instance as indicated in section 4.4.2 Respondent 11 indicated that seeing a new street name sign being erected just outside his property, without her knowledge was a surprise to her. I think perhaps as a property owner she preferred a personalised communication. In short, the public participation process was conducted, but did not seem to reach to those affected immediately, like those who live, own property or work on the concerned streets.

Which memories are elicited by the previous and current street names in Newtown?

Data to answer this research question was collected from one on one interviews. Three respondents older than 60 years had memories of the street names whilst the other 27 indicated that they did not have any memories incited by the street names. Amongst the elderly, one significant issue that emerged was that commemorative celebrations drive evocations between people and spaces. In addition, one significant issue that emerged among the elderly respondents is that street names act as reminders of change to the elderly. The study further revealed that to some people, street names are just place markers rather than memory evokers. Lastly it is also important to note that some people indicated that the time they spend in streets is too little to even immerse themselves in street spaces.

What do citizens know about the history behind street names?

Most people did not really know the history of the icons. Some indicated that they did not know much except that some were artists, some apartheid activists and ANC politicians. The reality in Newtown is that most of the icons behind the street names were artists only; anti-apartheid activists only; or both. For instance Margaret Mcingana and Miriam Makeba were both musicians and activists; Rahima Moosa and Helen Joseph were activists only; Gerard Sekoto

and Noriah Mabasa were artists only. Furthermore, I still think the icons' contributions were significant and deserve to be honoured regardless of political affiliation. In addition, most respondents indicated that they knew the artistic side of the icons. Most young respondents indicated that they knew that the streets were named after activists, however they did not know exactly how these icons had contributed to the country. It was also in the same section that respondents were also asked to indicate whether they perceive Newtown as a cultural precinct. This would help to assess the kind elements that the public perceive as constituents of a cultural precinct, specifically also checking if they easily recognise street names as part of that. Responses reflect that people perceived the elements of a cultural precinct as music, cultural buildings and art in Newtown. It is important to note that no one mentioned that they perceive street names in Newtown as elements of a cultural precinct. This means that the meanings supposed to be conveyed by the street names in Newtown are somehow limited such that they are not recognised by the people. I also think that not knowing the history behind the icons makes it even harder for the people to perceive the street names as constituents of the cultural precinct. This also suggests that sometimes no matter how the street names have been carefully selected, they may not be a good way to evoke intangible heritage. Such circumstances reveal the consequences of how some processes of street renaming can limit the meanings which the street names are supposed to convey regardless of the appropriateness of the names used.

What is the perception of the citizens regarding post-apartheid street renaming by the government of South Africa?

To answer this question data was sourced from the interviews and archival research. Generally most of the respondents indicated negative perceptions regarding the way in which the renaming process was carried out mainly because: Business owners felt that they were not adequately consulted; Lack of knowledge regarding the icons behind the street names; Lack of knowledge on the criteria used to select the people behind the street names; Some thought that there are better people who can be honoured instead of the current ones. Others felt that the new names are too long e.g. from Sauer street to Pixley Seme Street. Some respondents perceived renaming streets as a waste of resources whilst the government has pressing problems like improving basic service delivery and high unemployment rates. Most of the perceptions raised revolve around the manner in which people were engaged.

To what extent is street naming contributing to heritage preservation?

This research is an assessment which builds up from all the other four research questions discussed above. Based on the study conducted, I think it is safe to conclude that street renaming coupled with limited public participation (i.e. one platform of communication); non-transparent selection of icons honoured; and inadequate awareness programs are not a good way to preserve heritage. This means that the link between street names and intangible heritage preservation cannot be strengthened if essential elements are not considered. Limited public participation leaves citizens uninformed about the renaming process thereby causing a lot of speculation and ignorance. Although politicians feel that the renaming process preserves heritage towards solidarity in the country, I feel that that if the criteria of choosing heritage to be preserved is selective then some people will not appreciate it. Furthermore, some responses suggested that street renaming frustrates citizens when a country has other challenges like poor service delivery and high unemployment rates. I believe that heritage preservation might be of lower priority as compared to road construction for instance. However, heritage preservation is also important and has its own budget. Blaming poor service delivery on funds being "wasted" to street renaming process without providing statistics is debatable. This issue suggests the importance of evaluation processes so that people refer to statistics and facts to support their grievances.

Main research question: Does the urban memory of citizens reflect that street names are preserving heritage in Newtown?

In short, from the issues articulated in the sub questions, the respondents' urban memory is not really eliciting the intended concepts of intangible heritage preservation. This was influenced by how the process was carried out, how the people were engaged, how icons to be honored were selected and also how the respondents have little to no knowledge on the history of the icons honored.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Pausing any future street renaming plans and conducting evaluation.

Considering several issues raised by the public and the economic state of the country, I feel that it is necessary to pause any future plans of renaming streets and conduct an evaluation process. From the sentiments shared, people felt that the government should channel its funds to pressing problems like basic service delivery provision. People felt that the funds which bought stationery to install street names; update maps; putting up notices; and all other indirect costs could have been channelled to renovate the streets. I still maintain that claiming that

money wasted on renaming streets would have been used to address poor service delivery is a fallacy. It also speaks to how some people indicated that they do not appreciate the street renaming process because they were not consulted, and they do not know the history of the icons. Some indicated that maybe if they were engaged, they would also appreciate. Such responses may suggest why street renaming might not be achieving its primary goal of heritage preservation and why people feel that too much money is being budgeted towards street renaming. The goal is to make sure we achieve what street renaming is intended for efficiently. It is necessary to evaluate any implementation process conducted so the process can be improved.

5.3.2 Documenting the history of the icons behind the new street names

There is a book by Smith (1971) which documents the history of the icons behind the old street names of Johannesburg. It was easy for me to access information about the old street names of Newtown. However, for the current street names I had to trace information from different sources like old newspaper articles which took longer. In addition, some respondents indicated that they do not know how exactly these icons contributed to the country so that maybe one day they can appreciate too. I suggest that such information should be made available online perhaps in the form of Wikipedia articles or blogs such that anyone can access it online. In addition to that, the use of Quick Response (QR) coded blue plaques along streets is also recommended. A blue plaque is normally a plate of with text or an image inscribed on it to memorialise people, events, localities or anything else (Rennison, 1999). In this case the QR codes on the plaque will link to more details online which may not fit on the blue plaque. The same information online can further be used to publish a book on the history of street names in Newtown. Such a book will be very helpful to those who may not have access to the blue plaques or the online articles. The documentation of such information can be useful not only to Newtown, but to the country at large since the same street names are also being used in areas outside Newtown

5.3.3 Reviewing the ratio of new street names to old street names in future plans.

I feel if the goal of street renaming in South Africa is heritage preservation then there should be a balance between the old street names and the new street names. Street renaming can either unify or divide people if not conducted fairly because normally privileged groups are typically in a better position to propose their heritage as dominant. From the first Facebook thread (figure 5.1), one person indicated that “this renaming process is all about eradicating the past.” If you

analyse the statement in the lenses of old street names you would share the same sentiments. I still think we should not eradicate almost all of the old street names, if we really want to preserve heritage. When you walk around Newtown, over 80% were renamed. I am not saying the City of Johannesburg should remove the new names and restore the old ones. I am just suggesting that for future renaming plans around Johannesburg, the ratio of old names and new names should be reviewed. I cannot suggest the right ratio, but if all the streets are renamed, I feel that a part of the history of pre-1994 might be lost, forgotten and never recovered. Since Chauke (2015) asserts that street renaming is an emotional issue to some South Africans, one way of doing it could be preserving some old 'neutral' street names. In this case I use 'neutral' to refer to street names that are not linked to people, but rather based on the terrain. For instance Bree street and West street. Another way perhaps it could be allowing the citizens to suggest old street names that they want to be retained. Although the respondents of this study indicated that the street names do not evoke memories, some people somewhere else might be having memories from the old street names. This is why I feel some of the old street names should not be phased out. Personally, I have memories from my childhood streets that I am reminded of every time I go there. It would be sad for me to see all those streets being renamed.

5.3.5 Using multiple platforms of public participation

There is evidence that the public was given the opportunity to raise concerns through newspaper notices placed by the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan municipality. However from the responses I feel that business owners were not really satisfied with the public participation process.

Mlangeni (2009) states that renaming is loaded with issues of identity, power and contestation, which makes me feel that an intensive public participation process is necessary. Respondents felt that if they had participated maybe it would have helped them to learn the history of the honoured icons and maybe appreciate. I also think that advertising renaming notices in newspaper articles was not enough because not everyone had access to the newspapers. I think it is better to use platforms which can convey messages to more people. For now I think it will be better to take advantage of municipal IDP meetings to inform people about any future street renaming proposals through ward councillors. Public participation is critical not on the inception stage but for ongoing development and strengthening connection to spaces.

5.3.6 Public awareness programs

It was evident from the responses that people were not aware of the history of the icons honoured in both the old names and the new names. It looks like whenever the new street name tags were erected that would be the end of the renaming process. I feel that after installation of the new names, there should some follow up awareness programs to inform citizens about these icons. Some of these icons are normally celebrated only on public holidays like Freedom Day. Such activities include commemorative marches, street naming tours. Such activities do exist but are inadequate, and when they are conducted they will be expensive for some citizens to take part. I feel that it is necessary for the government to work with other non-governmental heritage organisations and academic institutions to support such awareness programs. They can also encourage the elderly to volunteer and conduct heritage story telling days in cultural institutions. Hannigan (2003) also concurs that events can be used to develop the cultural infrastructure of a place and a means of augmenting the image of a place. The goal is to devise affordable ways to inform the public especially the young people to towards the goal of preserving heritage.

5.4 Conclusion and way forward

Considering the dynamics of contemporary urban planning, one cannot ignore how heritage preservation is being used as an urban regeneration and place making strategy. In addition one of the goals of commemorative street renaming in South Africa is to preserve heritage towards maintaining solidarity in the country (Ndletyana, 2012). But what do the public think? This is what this study answers. In this case, the focus was on assessing whether street naming is a good way to preserve heritage towards urban regeneration and place making in Newtown. The main research question was to examine whether the urban memory of citizens reflect how street names are preserving heritage in Newtown. I found out that the citizens' urban memory did not show that street names are preserving heritage in Newtown. Some felt that the street names were just place markers only. Others also indicated that the current names do not serve any other purpose besides being detectors of change of new government coming into power. Respondents indicated that they were not involved in the process and they well not well-informed about the history of the icons being honoured. Instead respondents indicated music, cultural buildings and art in Newtown as part of heritage preservers rather than the street names. As I explained earlier I think the main issue here is that the street renaming process conducted was lacking interms of its citizen engagement and heritage awareness methods. The study recommended that any renaming proposals in the pipeline should be paused for now and an immediate heritage evaluation process should be conducted. In addition recommendations

were also suggested to keep the public well-informed about heritage especially the youth to achieve heritage preservation through street naming. These include installation of QR coded blue plaques; online documentation of the history of icons behind the new street names; conducting public awareness programs; as well as reviewing the current ratio of old street names to new street names in future. Future studies can also focus on how all these suggestions can be implemented to improve the preservation of heritage.

Most of the previous studies on street naming in South Africa based their findings on secondary evidence like newspaper articles and reports. However, this study is original because it also includes empirical evidence based on face to face interviews. The study is very important because one of the goals of street renaming in South Africa is heritage preservation. Furthermore, the use of heritage in urban regeneration and place making is becoming instrumental in present day urban planning. Although Newtown street names represent intangible heritage as they are not related to the built form, they are not really evoking the urban memory expected, but are rather serving as locality markers. Based on the concerns raised by respondents it looks like from the way the renaming was conducted, it is not contributing significantly to heritage preservation, specifically intangible heritage.

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APPENDICES:
Ethical clearance certificate



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING
HUMAN RESERCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE PLANNING

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
PROTOCOL NUMBER: SOAP052/07/2018

PROJECT TITLE:	Assessing historic preservation in post-apartheid urban landscapes: Insights from the street names of Newtown.
INVESTIGATOR/S:	Shylet Nyamwanza (Student No: 1887190)
SCHOOL:	Architecture and Planning
DEGREE PROGRAMME:	Masters of Science in Development Planning (MScDP)
DATE CONSIDERED:	14 August 2018
EXPIRY DATE:	14 August 2019
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE:	Approved

CHAIRPERSON
(Professor Daniel Irurah)

DATE: 15-08-2018

cc: Supervisor/s: Alex Parker

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATORS
I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to endure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

Signature **Date** 22-08-2018

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Participant Information sheet

Participant Information Sheet

RESEARCH TITLE: Assessing historic preservation in post-apartheid urban landscapes: Insights from the street names of Newtown.

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE PLANNING

Greetings to you.

My name is SHYLET NYAMWANZA and I am currently a full time student studying towards a MSC DEVELOPMENT PLANNING in the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of Witwatersrand. I am conducting a study entitled "Assessing historic preservation in post-apartheid urban landscapes: Insights from the street names of Newtown." This is part of the requirements for the award of the degree. I am inviting you to be part of the study through a survey, where you will be responding to questions regarding your views about Newtown as a cultural precinct and its street naming process. You will be required to consent if you are comfortable with your responses being recorded through an audio recorder and written notes. The survey will take no longer than 30 minutes of your time. The survey will be conducted in Newtown, at any time that is suitable for you between 8 am and 4pm. You will be asked to confirm, tick and sign whether you are willing to be recorded or not. You have been selected to participate in this study due to your presence in Newtown. Your participation is voluntary, you may refuse to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable, and you may withdraw at any time without penalty or loss. You will receive no payment or other incentives for your participation. Your participation will be completely anonymous, and you will not be personally identified in the final report. Each respondent will; be allocated a number, based on your turns to participate, for instance the first participant will be 'Participant 1.' Confidentiality is not guaranteed because the information supplied will be transcribed, reported and published on the Wits repository.

The results of the survey and your personal views will not be linked to you in the final report. In the event that I use direct quotations from this survey, please note that your identity will not be revealed, each participant will be allocated a referral number derived from your turns to participate. Any comments that you make that you deem "off the record" or similar, will not be quoted. Further, any information that you share will be kept anonymous and can only be accessed by me on a password protected computer. Questions like question 3 and 9 which ask about your memories might evoke some sensational experiences from your past if you have some. Other than that, there are also no foreseeable risks associated with your participation. The study is solely for academic purposes and once completed will be available on the Wits online repository and as a hard copy in the library and will be accessed by those who have access to Wits resources. By signing the consent form you will be agreeing to participate in the study. If you have any questions, concerns, or comments, please feel free to contact me at 1887190@students.wits.ac.za or my supervisor. Dr Alexandra Parker at alexandra.parker@gcro.ac.za.

Consent form

NAME: Shylet Nyamwanza

DEGREE: MSc Development Planning

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE & PLANNING

Consent Form

RESEARCH TITLE: Assessing historic preservation in post-apartheid urban landscapes: Insights from the street names of Newtown.

I hereby confirm that I have been informed by the student researcher of the purpose, procedures, and my rights as a participant. I have received, read and understand the written participant information sheet. I have also been informed of:

- ☐ The nature of my participation in the form of a recorded survey (written and audio)
- ☐ The survey will be conducted in Newtown for a maximum of 30 minutes.
- ☐ I was selected to participate in the study because I am in Newtown at the specific moment and time.
- ☐ Participation is voluntary, I can refuse to answer and withdraw from the study at any time.
- ☐ I will not receive any payment or incentives from the researcher.
- ☐ There will no loss of benefits.
- ☐ Some questions might evoke some sensational memories.
- ☐ Anonymity of my responses.
- ☐ The research findings will be solely used for academic purposes.
- ☐ The findings will be disseminated via the Wits online repository and the library.

I therefore agree to participate in this study by responding to the survey questions..

I AGREE / DO NOT AGREE to audio-recording during the survey.(Cancel the inappropriate)

PARTICIPANT:

N/A_____
Printed name

_____ _____
Signature Date

Survey questionnaire for respondents in Newtown, Johannesburg

SECTION A: Knowledge about Newtown as a cultural precinct

1. Do you think Newtown is a cultural precinct? Elaborate on what has changed/not changed.
2. At your age, what are the distinct streets/infrastructure/activities/places that draws you to Newtown? Why do they attract you?
3. When you look at some of the streets/infrastructure/activities/places in Newtown what do they remind you about your past?
4. As you move around Newtown, do you feel that you belong to the area? And what makes you feel that way?

SECTION B: Street naming in Newtown

5. Have you noticed any changes in the street names of Newtown? Explain.
6. Before the street names were changed did you know that they were going to be changed? If yes how did you know about this?
7. What are some of the street names that you still remember that were used before they changed to the new ones. Do you know why they were given those names or why do you think they were given those names?
8. What are some of the new street names that you know? Do you know why there were given those names? If yes explain what you know. If no, why do you think they were given those names?
9. Who are the people behind the street names of Newtown? What do you know about them? (history, occupation, their stories etc.).
10. How did you learn about these icons?
11. How do you relate to the history of the icons behind the street names? (memories, reflections, experiences, stories, lessons. etc.)
12. Is there a particular street that you have a strong or specific connection with? May you explain why?
13. Explain whether you think the icons behind these street names deserve to be commemorated or not?
14. Have you ever been consulted or asked to participate in the street renaming process? How?
15. Do you think your participation in the street naming process was important/ would have been important considering your knowledge, race, business and gender? How do you feel about this?
16. Which parts of Newtown should be changed, and which ones should be preserved?
17. Explain why you think the street name changes are necessary/not necessary ?
18. Any other issues you wish to bring to the attention of the researcher?

Thank you for your time.

A detailed profile of interviewees

Respondents	Age	Race	Gender
Respondent 1	29	White	F
Respondent 2	31	White	F
Respondent 3	24	White	F
Respondent 4	26	White	F
Respondent 5	33	White	M
Respondent 6	27	White	F
Respondent 7	25	White	M
Respondent 8	26	White	M
Respondent 9	28	White	M
Respondent 10	44	White	F
Respondent 11	55	White	F
Respondent 12	30	White	F
Respondent 13	32	Black	M
Respondent 14	29	Black	M
Respondent 15	22	Black	F
Respondent 16	23	Black	M
Respondent 17	26	Black	F
Respondent 18	28	Black	F
Respondent 19	46	Black	M
Respondent 20	32	Black	F
Respondent 21	22	Black	F
Respondent 22	21	Black	M
Respondent 23	32	Black	M
Respondent 24	23	Black	F
Respondent 25	26	Black	F
Respondent 26	24	Black	F
Respondent 27	22	Black	F
Respondent 28	63	Black	F
Respondent 29	60	Black	M
Respondent 30	68	White	F
Respondent 31	55	Black	M
Respondent 32	45	Black	M
Respondent 33	59	Indian	M
Respondent 34	69	White	M
Respondent 35	60	Black	M
Respondent 36	58	White	F
Respondent 37	44	Black	M
Respondent 38	48	Black	M